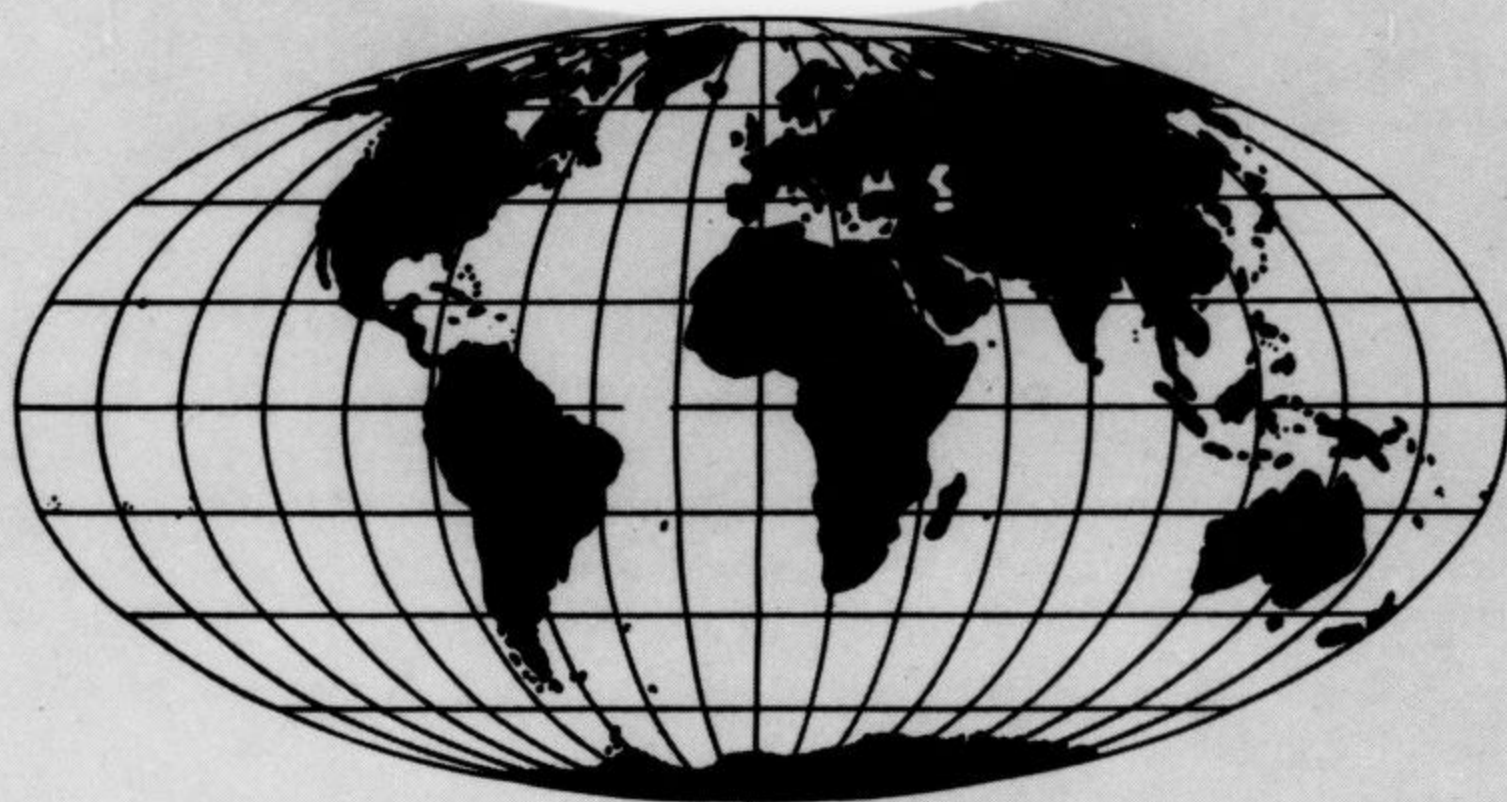


WORLD MARXIST REVIEW



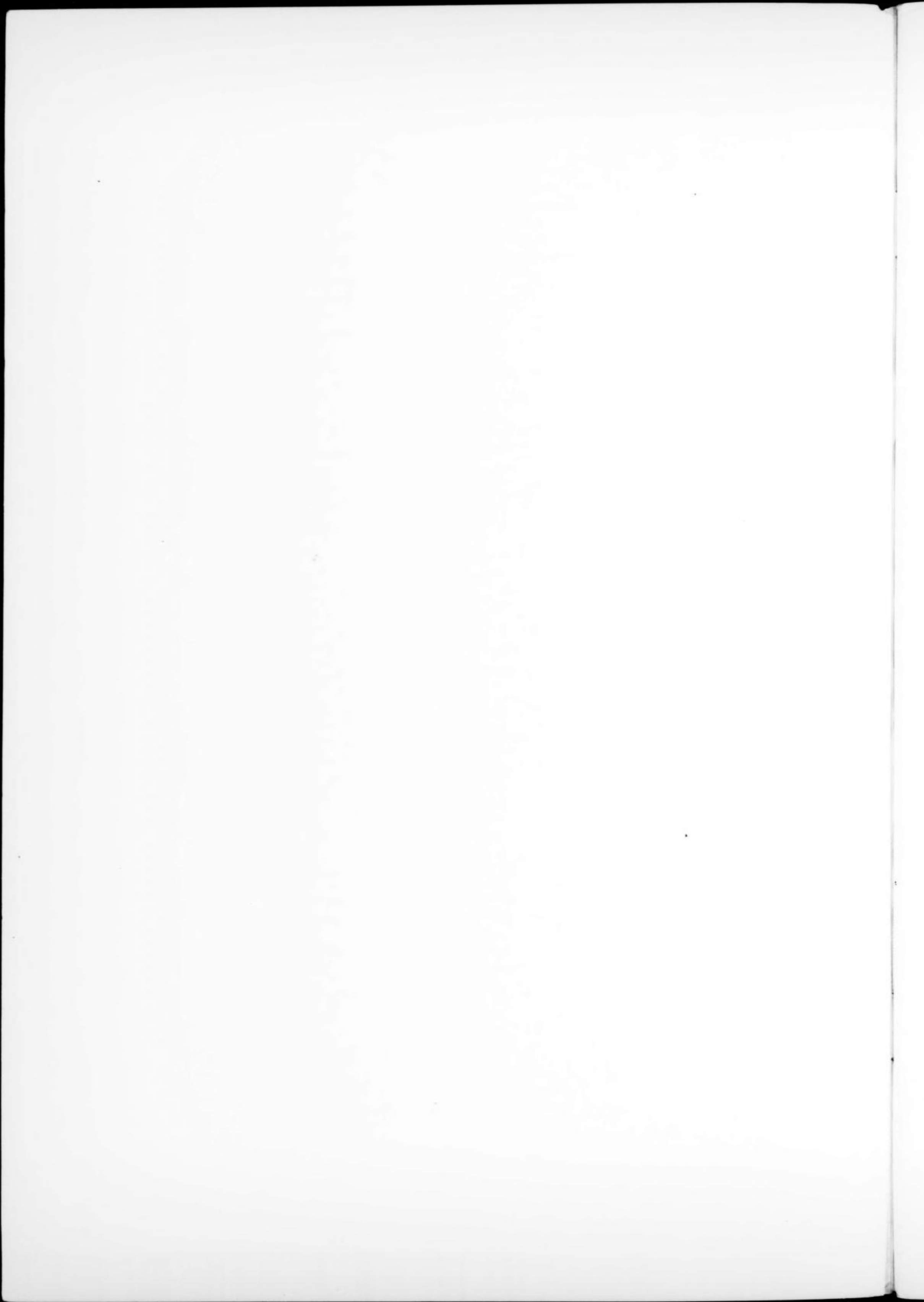
Problems of Peace and Socialism

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**Creative Marxism Is the Basis
for Revolutionary Practice**

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U.S. Imperialist Policy in Latin America



WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW: Problems of Peace and Socialism

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Unity Is the Guarantee of Success for the Communist Movement

Ezekias Papaioannou

THE world revolutionary movement and above all its Communist vanguard are now going through a crucial phase in their development the consequences of which, unquestionably, will have far-reaching significance not only for the fraternal parties but for man's future.

The ideological conflict in the world Communist movement is a clash between two lines: forward-looking, creative Marxism, which indicates the ways and means for the revolutionary reconstruction of society and cements the ranks of Communists everywhere, and a reckless dogmatic opportunism which, looking backwards, substitutes pseudo-revolutionary phrasemongering for revolutionary action and undermines unity.

This struggle involves all the fundamental problems of contemporary social development, all the basic aspects of the policy, strategy and tactics of the Marxist-Leninist parties; it impinges on the activities of all progressives.

The Progressive Party of Cyprus Working People (AKEL) resolutely rejects the views and methods employed by the Chinese leaders in their ideological struggle against the general line of the world Communist movement as being incompatible with Marxism-Leninism and capable only of weakening the unity of the fraternal parties.

AKEL, whose efforts are directed at solving the problems confronting the anti-imperialist and national-liberation movement of the people of Cyprus, draws its strength and inspiration from the support accorded it by the working people. At the same time it studies closely the collective experience accumulated by the world Communist movement, its traditions and its creative approach to the political and socio-economic issues of the class struggle. This fortifies our positions and multiplies our strength, helping us better to assess the full range of problems facing our people and to chart the way forward.

The decisions of the Twentieth and Twenty-second congresses of the CPSU and the documents of the meetings of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties held in Moscow in 1957 and 1960 are of

very great significance for our Party. The conclusions drawn by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU helped us to deal a decisive blow at sectarianism and dogmatism in our own work. The principles of the Moscow Declaration and Statement, which derive from creative Marxism-Leninism, gave us a deeper insight into the situation and helped us to define the tasks of our struggle and to draw up the program adopted by the Tenth Congress of our Party in March 1962.

AKEL cherishes its links with the fraternal parties and considers itself duty bound to work for international Communist unity. Although the present situation in the Communist movement is a complex one and although the leaders of the Communist Party of China are intensifying their splitting activities, we look to the future with optimism, confident that this time, too, the Communist movement will overcome the differences and will again achieve the unity which is the law of its development.

The unity of the international Communist movement is being built and fraternal co-operation within it consolidated in a sharp ideological struggle in the course of which the principles governing the relations between the Communist parties and their moral and political standards are being verified, enriched and developed, and new forms of international contact between the parties are being evolved.

The inviolable foundation of the principles of inter-party relations evolved by Marxism-Leninism and verified in the course of revolutionary practice is proletarian internationalism, which stems from the class affinity of all sections of the Communist movement, from the identity of their social tasks, and which is an expression of the organic connection between the international solidarity of the fraternal parties and their equality and independence. Needless to say, proletarian internationalism constantly develops and becomes richer in content, acquiring new features at each successive stage.

In our time this finds expression in the dialectically contradictory process of internationalization of the revolutionary struggle,

on the one hand, and differentiation in the forms of Party activity, on the other. The Communist movement is becoming more and more multiform and ramified, what with the rapid increase in the number of parties, the growth of their membership and the emergence of more and more specific features in the socio-political situation. At the same time its activities are becoming more international, and the march of events makes it imperative to cement the solidarity of the parties. The basis of unity is thus being steadily strengthened.

1.

The unity trend among Communists of all countries is an objective law of the Communist movement, the basic manifestation of proletarian internationalism in inter-party relations. "The interests of the struggle for the working-class cause," declares the Statement of the 1960 meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties, "demand of each Communist Party and of the great army of Communists of all countries ever closer unity of will and action. It is the supreme internationalist duty of every Marxist-Leninist Party to work continuously for greater unity in the world Communist movement."

Experience and revolutionary practice show that all truly Marxist parties regard themselves not as isolated national units but components of the powerful movement of champions of communism. AKEL is aligned with the international Communist movement as a whole by its genuinely internationalist spirit and conscious striving towards unity and solidarity. Its future success will depend not only on its correct political line in keeping with the conditions of Cyprus, not only on the support of the working masses, but to a large extent also on how united all the fraternal parties stand.

The present stage in the international Communist movement calls for resolute effort to strengthen the unity of the fraternal parties, for unity is indispensable for developing the world revolutionary process further and consolidating the Communist movement in general and its various units in particular. The 81-Party Statement emphasizes: "Resolute defense of the unity of the world Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and prevention of any action likely to undermine that unity, are a necessary condition for victory in the struggle for national inde-

pendence, democracy and peace, for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of the socialist revolution and of the building of socialism and communism. Violation of these principles would impair the forces of communism."

The working people of Cyprus and AKEL regard with anxiety the disruptive activities of the dogmatists, activities which are detrimental both to our own national-liberation movement and to the struggle waged by the peoples of other countries for liberation. The present actions of the leaders of the Chinese Party in the international Communist movement may lead to critical situations and, in some cases, to division in the parties and in the democratic and liberation movements. Indeed, those who are working for a split are not only flouting the interests of the fraternal parties and all the anti-imperialist forces, they are weakening the ranks of the fighters for national liberation, weakening the ranks of the Communists and undermining their strength and capacity for militant action.

AKEL holds that it is imperative to bend every effort to cement international unity, to uphold it ideologically, to wage an irreconcilable struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, against petty-bourgeois nationalist ideology which in some cases takes the form of revisionism and in others that of dogmatism.

The Statement of the 81-Party meeting pointed to revisionism as the main danger in the world Communist movement. Since then the fraternal parties have had much experience in combating revisionism; they have repulsed all the revisionist efforts to violate the unity and solidarity of the Marxists-Leninists. Today a growing number of Communist parties note the emergence of Left opportunism, dogmatism and sectarianism as the main danger in the international Communist movement. The dogmatists put the emphasis on their erroneous, narrow national aims and tasks, forgetful of their international responsibilities and ignoring the common interests of the world revolutionary movement. Lenin in his day repeatedly warned the Communists against the dangers of political lines based on nationalism, not on a class approach.

In our view, to strengthen the unity of the parties it is essential always to be guided by the interests of the world revolutionary movement and strictly to abide by agreed decisions on the fundamental questions of

strategy and tactics set forth in the jointly agreed documents.

At present, when the Communist movement has neither an integrated world-organization nor a set of common rules, a correct understanding of what Lenin had in mind when he spoke of conscious "international proletarian discipline" is of cardinal importance.

Lenin had in mind the duty of all Communists to abide by the joint decisions of their international conferences and to live up to their voluntary international commitments, and the need for Marxist parties always to take the aims and tasks of the world revolutionary movement into account.

Adherence to joint decisions is the internationalist duty of every Marxist Party. As the Statement of the 1960 meeting puts it: "the interests of the Communist movement require solidarity by every Communist Party in observing assessments and conclusions jointly reached by the fraternal parties at their meetings concerning the common tasks in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism."

2.

The relations between the Communist parties are relations between equals working for common aims and common tasks. At the same time each Party is a distinctly national force, the vanguard of its people, the champion and exponent of the people's interests. Hence the equality and the political and organizational independence of the fraternal parties are essential elements of cooperation among them.

AKEL is guided by the joint documents of the international Communist movement, which stipulate that all Communist and Workers' parties are equals, irrespective of their experience and accomplishments. No Party "stands above" or is "subordinate" to another. They all have an equal voice in matters concerning the entire movement.

Our Party has grown and has advanced from success to success in the struggle for the interests of the working class and all other working people not only because its policy accords with the interests of the masses, but also because it is an equal member of the great family of Communists.

All Marxist-Leninist parties enjoy sovereign rights. Whether it is a matter of elaborating the methods of struggle for socialism in its own country, working out its practical policy of defining its forms of organization and inner-Party life, each Party

guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism, proceeds primarily from the economic and political conditions of its country and the internal tasks facing the national working-class movement. But at the same time genuine equality and independence presuppose profound understanding and respect for the views and conclusions of other Communist parties, respect for their creative contributions.

The Communist movement countenances no outside interference in the internal affairs of one or another Party, no attempt to direct a Party's activities from without. No Party, whatever its membership, revolutionary experience and prestige, is entitled to impose its views on the fraternal parties or to decide what their tactics or the forms and methods of their work should be.

Being completely independent, AKEL determines its own political line, defines its aims, and decides what forms of activity and methods to use. It is in the forefront of the fight to win complete national independence for our country. The Republic of Cyprus was proclaimed just over three years ago. But the agreements signed in Zurich and London,* which were imposed from without, have not solved the Cyprus question in the way the people wanted. The seizure of part of our territory for British military bases, the U.S. radar installations in Cyprus and the use of the country by the U.S. imperialists as an espionage center against neighboring countries, the presence of Turkish and Greek troops and, lastly, the granting to the Turkish minority of rights unwarranted by its numbers — all are violations of the national independence of Cyprus.

The people are now waging a struggle to get rid of the adverse consequences of the Zurich-London agreements and to win genuine national independence. Basically we are now at the stage of anti-imperialist, national-liberation struggle.

The fight against imperialism, the main enemy of the Cypriots, requires the militant unity of all the forces of the people in a broad anti-imperialist front. In this front, as envisaged by AKEL, the working class will play an important vanguard role.

AKEL is the standard-bearer of the anti-imperialist unity of the masses. It enjoys prestige and influence among the people thanks to its close contact with the masses

*The Republic of Cyprus was proclaimed on August 16, 1960, under the Greek-Turkish agreement concluded in Zurich in February 1959 and endorsed by Britain in London in the same month.—Editor's note.

and to its struggle for their day-to-day needs and interests, for the unity of all against imperialism, for peace, for a demilitarized and truly independent Cyprus.

The principle of equality and independence of the fraternal parties, while incompatible with any unwarranted claims on the part of any unit of the working class or any single party to some special rights or a special role in the working-class and Communist movement, nevertheless does not negate the concept of a vanguard in the international Communist movement.

We know full well that every Communist Party makes its contribution to Marxist theory and in elaborating common questions of strategy. But some parties have more experience in theoretical and practical struggle than others, experience that may be valuable also for the others. This experience enriches the common treasure-store of Marxist experience and is, therefore, the property of all. It is generally recognized that the experience of the CPSU is greater and richer than that of other parties. "The experience which the CPSU has gained in the struggle for the victory of the working class, in building socialism and in the full-scale construction of communism is of fundamental significance for the entire world Communist movement," the Statement of the 1960 meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties declares.

In recent times the question of the international significance of the fraternal parties' revolutionary experience has come up on repeated occasions. Needless to say, the experience of a Communist Party and its decisions, based on this experience, are binding for that Party alone. Each Party chooses from the common store of Marxist knowledge that which it considers most useful. But to deny the significance of the contributions made by other parties and to consider one's own experience infallible runs counter to the spirit of internationalism.

Capitalist ideologists have long argued that the equality and independence of the fraternal parties are fictitious. We now find that this view is acquiring currency also in the writings of the dogmatists.

It is a regrettable fact that the Chinese leaders, echoing capitalist theoreticians, are now repeating the hoary allegations that the CPSU is trying to dominate the Communist movement, that it operates with the "big stick" and with "sacred writ" seeking to impose its views by means which a "master" might employ in relation to his "servants,"

that its attitude towards the other Communist parties is arrogant and high-handed. Even in the activities of some of the fraternal parties not in power they claim to detect a striving to dictate to the Communists of the former colonies.

AKEL has long maintained close fraternal ties with the Party of Lenin. Although it is the party of the working class and all the working people of a small country, it has never seen the slightest indication of "arrogance" in the attitude of the CPSU; never has the CPSU tried in any way to interfere in the internal affairs and policy of our Party. On the contrary, the CPSU has always treated us with the greatest tact and consideration. Our relations with it are based on genuine equality and independence.

But can the increasingly persistent efforts of the Chinese leaders to impose their erroneous concept of world development on the international Communist movement and to interfere in the internal affairs of fraternal parties be qualified as anything but a violation of the principle of equality and independence?

3.

The 1960 meeting stressed that mutual aid and support are vital to Communist activity in both socialist and capitalist countries. Our experience shows that small parties established comparatively recently or forced underground by persecution are in particularly great need of such help. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that both the present and future successes of the Marxist vanguards in such countries depend not only on the correctness of their policy and their militancy, but also, in one or another measure, on the support of other Communist and Workers' parties.

The support of one Party for another may take the most diverse forms, depending on the situation. Lenin said: "In reality there is one, and only one kind of internationalism, i.e., working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle *in one's own country*, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy and material aid) *such a struggle*, such, and only such a line in every country without exception."

The working people of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries who are engaged in all-out effort to build up their economy and to achieve a productivity of labor higher than under capitalism, who are resolutely combating imperialism and colonial-

ism, working for world peace, and displaying solidarity with the workers of other countries, have set a splendid example of how to fulfil one's international duty in the common interest of all revolutionary forces.

It is gratifying to note that the Communist and workers' parties of the developed capitalist countries are in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism. They are redoubling their efforts to rally all the anti-monopoly forces around the working class, and rousing the working class to combat the threat of a new war spearheaded against the socialist camp.

Our Party welcomes the activities of the Communists of the newly free countries as well as of those countries still fighting for national independence, who are rallying the masses for determined action to put a speedy end to all survivals of colonialism, to carry the national-liberation revolutions to completion, to win fundamental democratic reforms, and to direct their countries along genuinely progressive lines of development.

One of the most important instances of mutual aid and support in the Communist movement — a tradition tested in the crucible of class struggle and hallowed by the blood of millions of selfless internationalists — is the struggle waged by the fraternal parties to prevent the export of imperialist counter-revolution in any form.

Time and again our people have voiced their appreciation of the support accorded by the Soviet Union to their national-liberation struggle, and of the Soviet government's firm stand which led to the cessation of the imperialist intervention in Egypt in 1956, when the imperialists used the territory of Cyprus for their criminal ends. AKEL and the people of Cyprus also constantly feel the support of the socialist camp and the Soviet Union in particular, of all peoples dedicated to freedom and peace, in their struggle for true national independence, peace and social progress. Without this assistance our efforts would be doomed.

The history of class struggle shows that mutual aid and support among the fraternal parties, the solidarity of all Communists, are particularly important at crucial moments when the revolutionary forces and imperialist reactionaries are locked in combat. Our common interests require the utmost unity among the fraternal parties, concentration of all forces and means to combat imperialism, practical action in defense of the peoples' revolutionary gains.

This is how the Marxist-Leninists met the Caribbean crisis of 1962, one of the most serious collisions between the forces of socialism and capitalism since the war. This confrontation was a test of the courage and staunchness of the Communists, of their ability to foil the designs of imperialism, to defend the socialist revolution in Cuba and at the same time to prove the superiority of the policy of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems.

The prestige of the CPSU became greater than ever among all Communists, precisely because it acted in the spirit of the true Leninist traditions of proletarian internationalism. Other Communist and Workers' parties, too, showed that they fully understood their responsibility to history and the meaning of proletarian solidarity.

But what stand did the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and the Albanian Party of Labor adopt? Instead of concentrating their fire against the main enemy, imperialism, they launched a campaign of vilification and abuse against the CPSU and the Soviet Union. At the critical moment the Chinese and Albanian leaders acted not as allies in the fight but as observers on the sidelines, as unfriendly critics.

Nor can the stand taken by the leadership of the CPC against the partial test-ban treaty signed in Moscow be reconciled with the principles of proletarian internationalism. By signing this treaty the Soviet Union once again showed that it strictly adheres to the decisions of the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960.

The present line of the Chinese leaders on issues of world policy is one of open violation of the principles of proletarian internationalism for they counterpose their own dissenting platform to the world Communist movement.

In our time, together with the growth of the strength of the international working class and its Marxist vanguards and their influence on the march of events, the responsibility borne by the Communists for man's future and the success of the world revolutionary movement is greater than ever.

Never in all history have the progressive forces made such headway towards genuine freedom from oppression and exploitation as in our day. At the same time never has man faced so deadly a threat as that of nuclear war. The consequent need to safeguard the gains of the world liberation movement and to prevent a thermonuclear holocaust, and also the trends towards internationalization

of economic and political life in the modern world, have heightened the responsibility of the Communists for the future of the world and the capacity of the revolutionary forces for militant action.

AKEL has always approached the issues facing it with a strong sense of responsibility. It is aware that Communists must always bear in mind that the policy and actions of every fraternal Party, big or small, whether it functions in capitalist conditions or stands at the helm of a socialist state, effect directly or indirectly the interests and future not only of its own country but of other peoples, and can have far-reaching international consequences.

4.

The international conferences of 1957 and 1960 and the regional and bilateral meetings held in recent years enabled all Communist and Workers' parties to state their views on the basic questions of theory, strategy and tactics. These conferences demonstrated the identity of views of the overwhelming majority of fraternal parties on basic questions of theory and practice, a fact which was recorded in the joint program-documents of the world Communist movement.

At the same time it became clear that this identity of views was not always absolute. The common principles of Marxism-Leninism notwithstanding, different viewpoints and diverging opinions emerged in the international Communist movement.

That the Communist parties should have different approaches to particular problems, that there should be diverging viewpoints and conflicting opinions in the Communist movement is understandable. This is a natural feature of normal development in the course of which common positions are evolved on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and revolutionary theory is enriched.

The unity of the international Communist movement has nothing in common with conforming to a universal pattern. Differing viewpoints in assessing the same developments and problems stem from the differences in the objective conditions and in the social milieu in which the various units of the working class and their political parties live and function. Then there are the differences in national traditions, and not everywhere do we find the same level of class consciousness and organization, or the same degree of readiness to participate in the revolutionary struggle or in building socialism.

There are also other factors of a subjective order.

While believing in the possibility of differences in viewpoints in the Communist movement, we see no reason why they should grow to the extent that they cannot be easily overcome by unbiassed examination of positions and patient search for mutually acceptable solutions.

The bounds of debate are defined by Marxist-Leninist theory. Hence it is obvious that differences and controversies caused by some section of the Communist movement moving away from Marxist-Leninist positions cannot be solved by the methods generally accepted among like-minded Communists.

The need to strengthen the unity of will and action among the Communists of all countries on the fundamental questions of strategy and tactics is of very great importance. These questions include the general line of the international Communist movement, problems with a vital bearing on the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism, and principles affecting the common interests of all Communist and Workers' parties.

The international Communist movement, by virtue of its very nature, possesses everything requisite for resolving differences that may arise. The important thing is to proceed from that which unites the parties and to seek solutions which would not aggravate and deepen disagreement.

To strive to settle differences does not mean renouncing the basic principles of Marxist theory. It means assessing with the utmost care the position adopted by one or another Party, taking into account that which is basic and essential — its attitude towards the struggle of the working class, for the triumph of socialism and communism. Everything secondary and irrelevant should be brushed aside.

In our opinion it is extremely important in discussing diverging views to be guided by the lofty aims of the movement, and this implies always bearing in mind the need to cement its unity.

Experience shows that in debating differences it is essential to eschew methods alien to Leninism and refrain from distorting and misrepresenting the viewpoints advanced. What is utterly impermissible is deliberately to falsify the opponent's views or to ascribe to him positions which he has never held.

An indispensable condition for settling the differences is a comradely tone. The polemic should be conducted in a calm and dignified

manner unmarred by crude and unwarranted attacks or the use of invective unworthy of Communists.

The joint documents of the fraternal parties define the procedures for settling disputed issues. The 81-Party Statement lays the emphasis on collective discussion, through the leadership of one Party contacting the leadership of another, meetings and consultations, and, when necessary, through conferences and exchanges of experience, study of one another's positions, etc.

When all these avenues have been exhausted, open criticism remains the basic method of rectifying errors committed by one or another Party; ignoring them would be tantamount to encouraging erroneous actions and views. But in all circumstances the criticism should be comradely and constructive, so that the Party concerned might recognize its mistakes and correct them itself.

The fact that the Communist parties are equal and independent by no means signifies that they should close their eyes to the mistakes committed by the Communists of one or another country.

If a Party violates joint decisions, counterposes its own policy to the general line of the international Communist movement and embarks on activities that weaken the common front, Marxist-Leninists have no right to remain silent. True internationalists cannot overlook mistakes. This is not interference in the internal affairs of fraternal parties.

The Communist movement exercises no administrative powers over its members and rejects the idea of any party being the final judge of right and wrong. What above all stands on guard against erroneous views is international Communist public opinion, which is guided by scientific knowledge of the reality around us. This consensus of opinion is formed through an exchange of views in which diverse viewpoints are tested on the touchstone of collective experience; it

is set forth in joint decisions and verified in the class struggle.

Public discussion of controversial issues in no way conflicts with Marxism-Leninism and the principles governing inter-Party relations provided it is conducted within the framework of the theory of scientific communism in a calm, comradely atmosphere. Such discussion not only clarifies the positions of the parties concerned but also deepens and develops one or another precept of Marxist theory.

The Chinese leaders' insistence that open criticism is a breach of the joint documents of the Communist parties, on the one hand, and their actions in violation of the agreement to end the polemic and the charges, on the other, only go to show that their attitude in no way promotes the unity and solidarity of the Communist movement.

* * *

Unity has never been so urgent as it is now. The present differences and the danger of a split are a cause of anxiety not only to the fraternal parties but to all who cherish the cause of peace, national liberation and socialism.

Unity is the source of strength which makes the international Communist movement invincible. The enemies of communism are gloating in vain over the differences that have arisen. Unity will triumph, for it stems from the very nature of the grand army of Marxists-Leninists. Unity is a law of the Communist and Workers' parties, but it does not come about automatically; it is achieved through determined struggle against all distortions of theory.

The consistent revolutionary, the Marxist-Leninist, is he who consciously and untiringly works for the unity of the fraternal Communist and workers' parties, against the common enemy of all peoples — imperialism — for peace, national independence and socialism.

Creative Marxism Is the Basis for Revolutionary Practice

L. Sharkey

MARXISM is an eternally living and developing theory. The development of Marxism reflects both the new conditions in which this movement finds itself and the experience accumulated by it. That is why each new stage in the revolutionary working-class movement gives rise to a new stage in the development of Marxist theory, to a closer combination between the general concepts and "the concrete analysis of the concrete situation," to a bold and straightforward review of propositions which have become outdated or have not justified themselves.

Creative development of Marxism is not a smooth and conflict-free process. At each new stage, at each abrupt turn in history, Marxism has had to resist opportunist trends: revisionism, dogmatism, reformism, leftism, etc.

Errors and deviations in the international Communist movement present a serious danger; today this danger is perhaps more serious than at any time in the past. This is because the responsibility of the Communist parties has grown. First, a number of parties are now ruling parties and any mistake made by these parties may adversely affect their countries and the international conditions in which the working class is waging its struggle. Second, now that man faces the threat of a nuclear war, a wrong step and, what is more, a wrong line by a party at the helm of power could have virtually catastrophic consequences. There would be no time to rectify the error. The successes of our movement and the possibilities opening up before it together with the responsibility devolving on our movement, all demand that Communists pursue a well-thought-out and well-founded policy, a policy designed to bring us victory over imperialism in the conditions of peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems. "Nothing can doom us but our own errors," Lenin said. These words are of special significance today. They come to mind when one reads some of the documents put out by the Communist Party of China.

II

The present danger to the Communist movement is connected with the "special position" taken by the leadership of the Chinese Party. It goes without saying that a different approach to one or another problem is possible and even natural among the fraternal parties. All parties, big or small, whether ruling parties or not, should make and they are making, their contribution to the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory, drawing primarily on the experience of the movement in their respective countries, as well as on the joint experience of the world revolutionary movement. It is inevitable that there should be a different approach to the problems of the day, different shades of opinion reflecting the specific national or regional features, different interpretations of the international scene, when seen in the light of national problems. This is prompted by the very development of the international revolutionary movement, by the rapidly changing and varied conditions in which the Communists and their allies are working, and, lastly, by the growth in the number of socialist countries.

On more than one occasion in the postwar there have been debates and conflicts of ideas in the international Communist movement and between particular Communist parties. But these, in the final analysis, strengthened unity and reinforced the theoretical basis of the movement. Therefore, the fact that differences might arise on one or another point is nothing unusual in itself, nor is it a cause for any particular concern. But, in the opinion of our Party, the leadership of the Chinese Party on *all major issues* deviated from the general line jointly elaborated by all the fraternal parties; and, what is more, is trying to impose its particular views on the other parties; acting in this way the Chinese leaders are denying them the right to take part independently in determining the general line of the Communist movement and their own political line in the spirit of jointly elaborated decisions and in keeping with the conditions

obtaining in their respective countries.

Even more alarming, in our view, is the circumstance that the Chinese leaders have, in their actions against the agreed line of the international Communist movement, overstepped the bounds of the ideological debate; they are taking the way of political struggle against the other socialist countries and against the majority of Communist parties. The facts impel us to the conclusion that the Chinese leaders have deliberately embarked on a course of splitting the international Communist movement. Violating the principle of proletarian internationalism they seem to be bent on organizing their "own" Communist movement, to split the democratic organizations wherever possible on a racial-regional principle; they are giving every encouragement to factional groupings inside and outside the parties. This is the case, for example, in Australia where the Chinese leaders give every support to the Hill group, which has advanced a Left-sectarian program completely divorced from reality, a program that censures unity with the Labor Party and advocates adventurism in the economic and political struggle.

The attitude taken by the Chinese leaders creates a real danger to the international Communist fraternity, and to the world revolutionary movement in general.

What is the essence of this "special position" of the Chinese leaders? What justification is there for their claim that they are the sole guardians of the "universal truth of Marxism-Leninism"?

Our Party believes that the views of the CPC leaders represent a peculiar kind of revision of Marxist theory—and in the first place, of the theory of the class struggle and the socialist revolution. Engendered by nationalism, petty-bourgeois intolerance and the desire to occupy the dominant positions in the fraternal community of equal parties, the views of the CPC leadership on all important issues merge with Trotskyism. In "theoretically substantiating" the *universality* of their concepts the Chinese comrades give an extremely dogmatic and over-simplified interpretation of many propositions of Marxism and simply refuse to analyze concretely concrete situations.

Here, in our view, one of the basic contradictions in the position of the CPC leaders manifests itself most glaringly. They depict their "Sinoized" (to use their own expression) Marxism—based at best on a one-sided and, as the practice of recent years has shown, inadequate reflection of the require-

ments and the specific features of Chinese reality—as a higher stage in the development of Marxist theory, as a universal doctrine.

The Chinese leaders, judging by their latest documents, claim to have a ready-made revolutionary prescription for all countries and for all stages of the revolutionary process. This prescription, which is being foisted on Communists in other countries (in the letter of the C.C., CPC of June 14, 1963 the word "must" is clearly abused), is based on a demagogic game of citing the classics of Marxism-Leninism; the letter of Marxism is actually opposed to the spirit of Marxism. The same operation is performed with the experience of one or two revolutions which is absolutized, emasculated and then offered as the universal answer to all questions of our time. The genuinely revolutionary, living and developing teaching is turned into a collection of petrified dogmas. The Chinese leaders apparently also regard a real sign of "revolutionary-mindedness" to be loud-sounding slogans and strong epithets, force of voice rather than force of argument, maximum repetition of standard accusations and abuse against imperialism, against its real and imagined allies, against all who think differently, and first and foremost against all Communists who do not agree with them.

Add to this their incessant repetitions and the defense—we don't know against whom—of the elementary truths of Marxism which nobody denies, abstract schemes that have nothing in common with reality, eclecticism instead of dialectics.

In the position of the Chinese leaders and in their prescriptions there is much that is familiar to the international Communist movement. Many parties passed through this in the twenties and in the thirties, and later. Their belated defense of the Stalin cult derives evidently not only from their present general disbelief in democracy as a way to socialism and its integral attribute, not only from some factors affecting the internal life of their country and Party, but also from a desire bureaucratically to centralize the movement, to monopolize Marxist-Leninist theory, all of which was characteristic of the times of the cult. One cannot but recall in this connection that at one time the Communist Party of China itself experienced the negative consequences of such methods and actively combated them. The present stand taken by the CPC leaders hampers the discussion designed to clear the way to the new unity of the world Communist movement on the basis

of further developing and deepening Marxist-Leninist theory.

The claims of the Chinese leadership to monopoly in interpreting Marxism-Leninism makes it imperative for all the parties to elaborate Marxist theory collectively and independently. Without dwelling on the absurd charges of "abetting imperialism," of "deceiving the working people," etc., accusations which merely discredit those who hurl them against the Party and the country of Lenin, we would like here to express the viewpoint of Australian Communists regarding some theoretical and political questions of vital moment for our Party, and which we think have been incorrectly interpreted in the Chinese documents.

III

The first conclusion that suggests itself after reading the Chinese documents is that in assessing the times and the main developments of the day the Chinese leaders look backwards, not forward, and they try to fit present-day reality into the logical categories of the past. It is worth noting that of the aggregate of contradictions the Chinese comrades refuse to single out the basic contradiction, namely, the contradiction between the socialist and capitalist systems. For them this is but one of the contradictions, and, what is more, its significance is underestimated in every way. If anything, the significance of another contradiction is played up—that between the oppressed peoples and imperialism. According to the Chinese comrades this contradiction, and the national-liberation struggle to which it has given rise, determines the specific features of our time. This obviously underlies the definition given by the Chinese "theoreticians" of the present epoch as the epoch of imperialism, wars and revolutions, that is, they repeat a formulation applied to an entirely different period in the past, and ignore the definition of our epoch as formulated in the Statement of the 81 Parties.

This is far from being a scholastic matter, a matter of formulations; it concerns a crucial problem of Marxist-Leninist theory. The definition contained in the Statement served as a starting point in elaborating the strategy and tactics of the Communist movement in the present stage. To reject this definition is not to see the new possibilities opening up to the revolutionary movement thanks to the fact that socialism has become the determining factor in world development. This refers in the first place to the problem of

war and peace, to peaceful coexistence, to the new conditions and forms of the struggle for socialism in the developed capitalist countries, to the problems of the new stage of the national-liberation movement, to the internal problems of the socialist countries and the socialist system as a whole, to the problems of inter-communication and interaction of the main forces of the world revolutionary process. The Chinese comrades, however, tackle many of these problems formally, from a standpoint characteristic of the past stage of the revolutionary movement.

For our Party working in conditions of a developed capitalist country, the question of the way to socialism is of particular significance. We cannot agree with the Chinese comrades' treatment of this question. We are told that the Communists, the working class, "must" carry out a revolution. But how, concretely, to lead the masses to the revolutionary reshaping of society? The documents published by the CPC do not supply the answer (indeed, it is hard to imagine that the Chinese comrades seriously think that the working people in a country like ours can be urged to start a "revolutionary assault," an "armed uprising" under present conditions). They merely state that "where the sombre domination of imperialism and reaction exists the people must rise up in revolution." Attempts are made to impress on us that the Communist parties should pin their hopes on some extraordinary turn of events, and, while waiting for this to happen, should confine themselves to fighting for immediate demands, to "accumulate forces," "to hold aloft the banner of revolution," etc. As for the revolution itself, the Chinese comrades see it simply as an armed uprising, and in this connection refer to the fact that history "knows of no precedent of the peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism."

For the Chinese comrades this signifies recognizing and upholding "the universal significance of the path of the October Revolution." This approach has nothing in common with the spirit of October, with creative Marxism. Communists who take a creative approach to Marxism proceed from the fact that the forms of the transition to socialism, the forms of socialist revolutions are varied, and that they will become even more so as the revolutionary movement develops in breadth and depth. It is this proposition that is expounded in the Statement of the 81 Parties which our Party has signed and which also carries the signature of the representative of the CPC. But the Chinese comrades,

departing from creative Marxism, have buried this truth in oblivion.

There was a time, and the veterans of the international Communist movement still remember this, when the leaders of the CPC regarded the questions of the revolution differently, from creative, not from dogmatic positions. And understandably so, for the Chinese revolution, the socialist character of which is not questioned by any Marxist, differed from the October Revolution in many respects. The peasantry, headed by the working class, formed the basis of the political army of the revolution in China; the main channel of the development of the revolution, its prime motive force was the national-liberation struggle against foreign imperialism and its agents. The revolution in China was not one sweeping act; it was a long drawn out process in the course of which the Chinese Communists took many steps and actions which had no parallel in the October Revolution (or for that matter in the prerevolutionary period in Russia). And there were not a few dogmatists at the time who on these grounds accused the leaders of the CPC of subjectivism, of "deviating from Marxism." But then truth was on the side of the leaders of the Communist Party of China, for they proceeded from a concrete analysis of the objective situation in their country, from the specific features of development of the socialist revolution in economically underdeveloped countries and countries dependent on imperialism, creatively took advantage of these conditions to bring about the victory of the revolution.

The same is true of the Cuban revolution which, developing in the new epoch and under the new socio-political conditions, differed in many respects from its predecessors; its recognition as a socialist revolution also encountered the resistance of dogmatists, but this did not prevent it from winning, from becoming one of the epoch-making events in the history of the worldwide struggle for socialism.

But is it not clear that the conditions in which the struggle for socialism is unfolding and will continue to unfold in the developed capitalist countries differ greatly from those which obtained in Russia in 1917 or in China in the period between the twenties and the forties? Is it not clear that in these countries the revolutionary vanguard of the working class has its own difficulties and problems requiring different forms and means of bringing the masses to an understanding of the need for the socialist reconstruction of so-

ciety? And is it not clear that in our times, with socialism becoming the decisive force of social development, when for the first time in history there is the real possibility of banishing world war from the life of society, when the socio-political role of the working class and its organizations is growing, that these new circumstances impart essentially new elements to the forms of the transition to the socialist revolution, and the forms of the revolution as such? In these conditions ever more favorable opportunities are arising for a peaceful transition to socialism, through winning the overwhelming majority of the population for the revolution, through the use of those forms and institutions of political life and struggle which are traditional for the Western countries. At the same time this way is, increasingly, becoming the *demand* of the times. The 1960 Statement gives a clear answer to these questions, resolving them in the spirit of creative Marxism, whereas the leaders of the Communist Party of China, by advancing their "new" general line, go backward instead of going forward from the Statement, retreating into dogmatism.

The socialist revolutions for which the Communists are struggling selflessly and steadfastly in the imperialist countries, will, no doubt, have their specific features in each country. But they will also have a number of common features that will distinguish them from revolutions both in the economically underdeveloped countries and in countries at a medium level of capitalist development. Our Party holds that the distinctive features of the socialist revolutions in these countries will be the following: a long revolutionary process, the gradual extension and greater stability of the social base of the revolution, different forms of political alliances, the struggle for general democratic demands as a component of the struggle for socialism, the gradual winning by the anti-monopoly coalitions headed by the working class of the main economic and political positions—a process which will be completed with the transfer of power into the hands of these coalitions. These peculiarities also presuppose the possibility of utilizing Parliament and other political and economic institutions of capitalist society, the carrying out of a number of socio-economic and political reforms as a means of advancing to socialism, cooperation of the democratic parties both before and after the transition to socialism. It is these concepts that underlie our Program today, and it is these concepts that guide our

Party in its practical work. Needless to say, we never lose sight of the *possibility* of another, non-peaceful way, a way we do not want, but which the bourgeoisie *may impose* upon us by opposing the will of the majority of the people, by resisting the country's democratic advance.

To uphold "universality of the October Revolution" does not mean that coming revolutions will be an exact reproduction of all its aspects and peculiarities; it means making a penetrating analysis of the specific conditions of the transition to socialism in each country, foreseeing a possible change in these conditions, finding the ways and means for the mass work and leadership corresponding to these conditions, and thereby accelerating the maturing of the subjective conditions for the socialist revolution. "Do not copy our tactics, but analyze the reasons for their specific features, the conditions that gave rise to them, and their results; apply not the letter, but the spirit, the essence, the lessons of the experience of 1917-21," that is what Lenin, the leader of the October Revolution, taught us Communists. True to creative Marxism, the Program of our Party stipulates the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism, and we will follow this path undeviatingly.

IV

For us correct relations with the labor movement, that is, with the majority of the Australian workers, is the main condition for success. Our Party is in complete agreement with the thesis of the 1960 Statement on the possibility and necessity of healing the split in the working-class movement, on the necessity of close unity between Communists and Social Democrats not only in the fight for immediate demands, for peace and democracy, but also in the struggle for socialism. We realize that without definite forms of cooperation with the Labor Party it will be impossible to achieve unity of action with the working people who follow this Party, and without this no success can be won in the struggle for socialism.

The elaboration by the international Communist movement of the question of the relations between Communists and Social Democrats is, undoubtedly, an important contribution to the development of Marxism-Leninism, for it rids the revolutionary working-class movement of a number of dogmas which did it grave harm in the past. On the other hand, the attitude of the Chinese comrades, despite some formal admissions and reserva-

tions is, in effect, permeated through and through with sectarianism.

Whereas the other fraternal parties, proceeding from the urgent need for unity, stress that which unites the various trends in the working-class movement, the Chinese leaders give priority to that which disunites them, stressing the need to expose Social Democracy, "to have nothing to do with the Social Democrats." While the Communists stress primarily the need for unity in the struggle against the common enemy, the Chinese comrades insist that first "the masses under the influence of the Social Democratic parties should be won over to our side." Whereas the Communists strive to advance a program of action acceptable to the entire working-class movement, the general concept of revolutionary development advocated by the Chinese leaders can but deepen the split in the labor movement.

It is characteristic that the Chinese leaders concede the possibility of united action with part of the Social Democrats only in the struggle for immediate aims, for peace and national independence, but exclude the possibility of united action in the struggle for socialism. This shows that the Chinese leaders do not understand the necessity and the possibility of establishing firm and enduring unity with Social Democrats, thus precluding in advance any possibility of their participation in the fight for socialism.

Our Party maintains that to adhere to views of this kind means to adopt an attitude of stark sectarianism. We reject this attitude because it can only doom the working-class movement to stagnation and defeat and isolate the Communists from the majority of the working class. Our Party has always fought for the unity of the working-class movement, and the experience gained by us in this respect fortifies our confidence that we are following the right road.

In the twenties it was the Communists who made the decisive contribution to the struggle for trade-union unity, which was crowned with the establishment of a single national trade union center in our country. The constructive fight for unity, for the vital demands of the working people, helped to raise the standard of living and extend the rights of the working people and to strengthen the positions of our Party in the unions.

We have cooperated for long with the Labor Party members in these organizations. And experience has shown that ideological differences are not an insurmountable obstacle to this work or to other forms of united action

and common struggle. Such points in the Labor Party program as repeal of the anti-labor legislation of the Menzies government, guarantee of the right to strike, shorter hours, better conditions, withdrawal of the Australian troops from Malaya and proclaiming the Southern Hemisphere an atom-free zone are actively supported by the Communists. The latter take part in the struggle for the Labor Party's return to office. For example, during elections Communists vote Labor in most of the constituencies and allot them their second preference votes all over the country.

It is to the joint Communist-Labor work and struggle that the working class of Australia largely owes the winning of the 40-hour working week. This policy of the Communist Party is largely due to the fact, a highly important one for the working class, that the spirit of extreme anti-communism so typical of many of the Social Democratic leaders in Europe, is alien to the Australian Labor Party, including its core of leaders. This party has not revised the socialist clauses of its program. All this makes it easier for the proletarian masses to assimilate the experience of their struggle, and opens up perspectives for the further advance along the road of anti-monopoly struggle and social change.

V

National narrow-mindedness, failure (or rather unwillingness) to understand the concrete conditions in which the Communists work in the particular countries, and renunciation of the creative spirit of Marxism inevitably lead the Chinese leaders to renouncing the fundamentals of Marxist theory, of which they proclaim themselves the sole champions, to theoretical regress. Maximalism evolving into adventurism, extreme nationalism, adherence to the personality cult, unscrupulousness in the choice of means of struggle and propaganda, *a priori* confidence in one's own infallibility, complete rejection of self-criticism and reluctance to admit one's mistakes before the people—these are typical of petty-bourgeois ideology and policy.

One of the main principles underlying the "Chinese" concept of the world revolutionary process is: "the worse the better" and "all or nothing" — which is an utterly petty-bourgeois and anarchist view. Indeed, in the letter of the Chinese leaders of June 14 we read: "*U.S. imperialism is pressing its policies of aggression and war all over the world, but the outcome is bound to be the opposite of*

that intended — it will only be to hasten the awakening of the people in all countries and to hasten their revolutions." (Author's italics. —Ed.)

This is not a slip of the pen. As the Central Committee of the Popular Vanguard Party of Costa Rica stated recently, their delegation was told in Peking that the "cold war is a good thing," that "tension is good for the revolutionary struggle." The same concept is reflected in the stand taken by the Chinese government in regard to the test ban treaty. It also reveals the attitude of the Chinese leaders on the question of the struggle to uphold democracy, for social reconstruction and better conditions for the working people in the capitalist countries. The more reactionary the regime, the greater the chances of successfully combating it; stagnation of the productive forces or, better still, an economic crisis is the best ally of the revolutionary movement; partial gains divert the masses from the struggle for their basic aims, lull and corrupt them, and sow illusions— such in essence is the standpoint of the Chinese comrades. This in many respects explains their attitude to problems of the revolutionary movement in the countries of developed capitalism: lack of faith in this movement, attacks on the strategic line of the Communist parties of these countries, and virtual orientation on export of revolution.

But what has this stake on misery, despair and prejudice as the main levers of revolutionary action to do with Marxism? Such an attitude to the masses, to social development, is utterly alien to Marxism.

Marxism regards the working class and the masses as the makers of history, not as blind tools in the hands of "chosen" leaders of groups using any methods which they believe will lead to the goal. It is not the desperation of the people, but their *consciousness*, their understanding of the purpose and goal of the struggle that is the main lever of the socialist revolution.

As the party of an ascending class, the Communists do not stake their all on social regression. They welcome social progress in all its forms.

In particular, our Party holds that in conditions of peaceful competition of the two systems economic progress in the capitalist countries as such can by no means retard the development of the revolutionary movement. In its struggle against capitalism the working class can take advantage of booms, provided its actions are vigorous and militant and the policy of the revolutionary vanguard,

a correct one. Those are mistaken who say that economic progress generally favors the monopoly bourgeoisie in their struggle against the working class, that a rising standard of living under capitalism tends to increase class collaboration. On the contrary, experience shows that the gains wrested from capital by the workers' struggle with the aid of an active and constructive policy on the part of their vanguard may become the bridgehead for a further advance, for putting forward new demands affecting the very foundations of the power of the monopolies.

The history of the working-class movement refutes the claim that the revolutionary spirit of the masses is always in direct proportion to their poverty, to the degree of terror used by the ruling classes, and international tension. It is the experience and tradition of struggle that determine the political views of the working people. Recent lessons of class struggle show that it is the more organized and the comparatively better paid contingents of the proletariat that are in the front ranks of the working-class movement, that the periods of economic boom are, as a rule, periods of upsurge in the strike movement of the workers. On the other hand, it is common knowledge that fascism took full advantage of the despondency and hopelessness which affected a considerable part of the working people in a number of countries as a result of hardships caused by the 1929-33 crisis.

This is equally true of the influence exerted on the people by reactionary, authoritarian or fascist regimes, by terror against the revolutionary and democratic movements. Contrary to the views held by some dogmatists, these facts do not create objectively favorable conditions for the revolutionary struggle. Recall, for example, Nazi Germany. What happened in Nazi Germany brings out at once the fallacy of the proposition that the cold war and international tension are "good things," that they favor the revolutionary movement. The reverse is true. In an atmosphere of war psychosis it is easier for the bourgeoisie to destroy the vanguard of the movement, to split the movement, poison the

masses with jingoism and to export counter-revolution. And conversely, peace and easing of tensions, acceptance of peaceful coexistence favor the revolutionary struggle in each country and hinder counter-revolutionary intervention from without.

To the anti-democratic and anti-humane principle "the worse, the better," to the policy of banking on catastrophes and cataclysms which alone are supposed to further the advance towards socialism, the Communists oppose their policy of constructive struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and a radical improvement in the position of the people, a struggle which is alone capable of educating the working people in our countries in the spirit of socialism and paving the way to the ultimate victory of the socialist revolution.

* * *

In their letter of June 14, the Chinese leaders speak of the need for a revolutionary Party based on Marxism-Leninism, capable of combining the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with concrete revolutionary practice in one's own country, a party with close contact between leadership and masses, capable of upholding the truth and rectifying mistakes and wielding the weapon of criticism and self-criticism. These are fine words, but it should be said that not a single Party shaping its policy along the line now advanced by the leaders of the CPC would be able to meet any of the foregoing requirements. Indeed, it is the Chinese leaders who "want their prescription drawn up in isolation from reality to be adopted as the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism," it is they "who force others to accept it unreservedly."

What they themselves term "Sinoized Marxism" cannot by its very nature serve as the theoretical basis of the international Communist movement. In all its activities our Party adheres firmly to the principles of proletarian internationalism, principles of creative Marxism-Leninism, and will do all in its power to secure the triumph of these principles in the International Communist movement.

The Experience and Tasks of the Communist Party of Sweden

Hilding Hagberg

IN THE MORE than thirty years that the Social Democrats have been in office Sweden's economy has forged ahead. Industrial output has trebled—the biggest advances being made in electric power, iron and steel, industrial plant and pulp; the merchant fleet, too, has grown. The depressions that affected some branches after 1935 were partly compensated by an upward trend in other branches.

In the period under review the agricultural population decreased from one-third to one-tenth, but the total volume of agricultural output was not affected. Its relative share in the national product is slight, not more than 4.5 per cent.

The structure of Swedish society has changed greatly since the Second World War. In the past two decades the category of *employers* has decreased by 30 per cent, the category of *factory workers*, who comprise the bulk of the population, declined by a few per cent, while the category of *office workers* has nearly doubled. There are now two office workers for every three workers at the factory bench; and these two categories number 2,800,000 persons; the number of *employers* on the other hand has dropped to 450,000. The number of independent agricultural producers, who come within the category of *employers*, will by 1970 in all probability account for a bare five per cent of the population, whereas the category of *office workers* will, numerically and socially, draw closer to that of the factory workers, although, of course, a small group in this category will, economically, come within the propertied class.

Thanks to the militant spirit of the working class the standard of living has risen steadily, despite the inflation; there are more jobs, and reforms guaranteeing the working people important social rights have been won. These developments, however, were accompanied by a relatively intensified exploitation, as the changes in the distribution of the national product show. Thus, in the past two decades the share of private consumption dropped from 70 to 60 per cent, whereas the share

of capital investments rose from 25 to 35 per cent (in round figures).

The Social Democrats are not inclined to change this trend which is dictated by measures relating to taxes, rents and prices; these measures are a source of antagonism between the workers' parties in Sweden.

Even though there is much that is progressive in the policy of Swedish Social Democracy, and even though it claims to be a socialist party, it shows little inclination to change the economic structure of society. In the thirty years that the Social Democrats have been in power the concentration of capital and monopoly development have been exceptionally high. And although the share of the government and the municipalities in industry, investments and national income has grown considerably, the monopolies have buttressed their dominant position in the economy.

Despite the strong organization and political influence of the labor movement, the question of united action and cooperation to effect the socialist reconstruction of society cannot be raised as an immediate task right now because of the attitude of the Social Democrats to the Communists and the trend of their policy. It is therefore, a question of tackling more modest tasks which will pave the way for other, more far-reaching tasks.

II

The Communist Party has, of course, always advocated working-class unity. But a variety of factors has prevented it from making this the keynote of its activity. Not least among these factors was, and is, the anti-communism of the Social Democratic leaders. In addition, their attitude in the trade unions and their government policy have made more for conflict than cooperation. As for the Communists, so long as things went smoothly it was easier to overlook their mistakes and engage more in talk about united action without taking effective measures in that direction.

Two important dates show how the Party's activities have changed. In 1953 our Party

decided to break the sectarianism which had deepened the split in the labor movement, nullifying all the attempts to achieve unity. The passing of Stalin had nothing to do with this; of course. But it is symbolic that it was just at that time that the Party made its first attempts to break with the Stalin line of directing the main blow against the compromising parties and of regarding the defeat of these parties as the highroad to victory over the main enemy.

The external circumstances that prepared the ground for the change in Party policy were Sweden's involvement in the orbit of American imperialism, the steady undermining of the government's policy of non-alignment, the economic depression that followed in the wake of the inflation, the reactionary offensive against the Party, launched with the aid of government bodies, and the retreat of the government and the trade unions under the pressure of finance capital.

In order to halt these trends and avert the danger of regression, it was necessary to achieve working-class unity. This was the cardinal question discussed by the Party at its congress in 1953. Before unity could be established the Party had to take issue with those in its ranks who wanted to continue to work in the old way.

The second important date is 1956 when the capitalist parties for the first time in twenty years succeeded in winning a majority in the Lower House.

These developments made for a community of interests between the Communists and Social Democrats on two important issues—that of a pension reform* and of depriving the capitalist parties of the positions they had won as a result of their parliamentary majority.

Both these tasks have been carried out, the former permanently, the latter for the immediate future at any rate.

In the fight to accomplish these tasks, the need for cooperation arose, which took the form of many practical actions. The feel-

ing of solidarity grew among the working people. To make the aforementioned results possible the Communist Party withdrew 11 of its nominees in the general election and called upon its supporters to vote for the Social Democratic candidates. Thanks to this the two parties together gained the majority of seats in Parliament. At the same time the Party, continuing to occupy the position of the key partner* in the Riksdag, announced that it would support the Social-Democratic government against any blocs that might be established by the capitalist parties with a view to forming a capitalist government. This meant, of course, that the Communists were holding themselves jointly responsible for the measures of the government, including those which it had opposed and which it still considers to be unjust. But we were faced with the problem of choosing the lesser of two evils, and certainly we considered replacement of the Social Democratic government by a bourgeois government to be the greater evil. In certain circumstances this restriction of political activity can create difficulties for any party; our Party was no exception.

In carrying out this policy it was important to find out on what fundamental issues our *interests coincided*, and which could serve as the basis for cooperation and united action. It was no less important to ascertain on what fundamental issues we were *at variance*, draw the proper conclusions and not allow our differences to hamper cooperation.

Thus, besides our identity of interests on the pensions issue and on changing the parliamentary balance, we established a similar unity in defense of neutrality and non-alignment, in defense of the democratic rights and liberties won to date and their development, and in the fight for a progressive social and cultural policy.

There were differences, however, on economic issues, on the question of Sweden's ties with the various monopoly integration systems, and on defense policy.

In the sphere of economic policy sharp differences and debates arose because of our differing attitudes to the wage demands of the workers, to the tax system, the scale of housing, rents and prices.

The government and the majority in the Riksdag having brought Sweden into EFTA, essayed to have her accepted in the Common Market. Many voices from different camps were raised in opposition to this, but the

*The long-service pension reform provides for payment upon retirement (67 years) of a bonus paid by the respective enterprise or office.

This bonus, together with the regular old-age pension, should be about two-thirds of the worker's highest annual income for the last 15 years before his retirement. Upon the death of the breadwinner, the members of his family qualify for this pension. The reform also provides for family allowances and higher pensions in the event of prices being raised.

During the campaign for a pension bonus the Trade Union Federation succeeded in getting the Employers' Association to agree to take out life insurance policies for all engaged in production at the expense of the respective enterprises. In the event of the worker's death his widow is paid a grant of 24,000 kronor and an extra 7,000 kronor for every child.—Ed.

*In the Riksdag the seats are almost equally divided between the Social Democrats and the capitalist parties. Hence the deciding vote rests with the Communist deputies.—Ed.

Communists alone opposed this policy as a party.

On the question of defense the Communists stand for neutrality and will resist any attempt to violate this policy; we are against the enormous military expenditure connected with the arms drive, and we are sharply critical of the lack of democracy in the armed forces and of the government's defense policy, of its reluctance to heed the experience of struggle for national freedom both before and after the Second World War.

But we did not allow our differences on these issues to prevent our cooperation on those on which our views coincided. We also urged that different programs and opinions regarding the future should not stand in the way of cooperation.

The revised program of the Social Democrats departed from the Marxist positions to which they had formerly adhered. This revision was prompted by the desire to adapt the programs to current policy and to soft-pedal the differences with the bourgeois parties concerning some points in the earlier programs.

As a result of this revision the class struggle in the new program is defined in terms less obnoxious to the bourgeoisie. Thus the former demand for socialization is replaced by the point about a so-called "mixed society" (91 per cent private capitalist production, five per cent state and four per cent communal and cooperative production). The "class state" which figured in the previous program is replaced by the "welfare state." The social revolution is considered in effect as having been completed and the new program idealizes class collaboration. As mentioned earlier, anti-communism is a feature of the leaders of Swedish Social Democracy. Hence their program, while proclaiming a solidarity of sorts with the Western capitalist countries, makes no mention of even a restricted community with the socialist countries.

Still, officially Social Democracy proclaims socialism as its ultimate goal. And although the program does not show how socialism is to be achieved, the Communists give them every credit for proclaiming it as their goal, for it corresponds to the aspirations of the Social Democratic workers, to their hopes of the future.

III

The cooperation and united action between the working-class parties have had their impact on the policy pursued in the country

since 1956, and what is more, were responsible for the following major changes:

the more reactionary forces in Sweden's political life have been relegated to the background;

the policy of neutrality has been consolidated and has won the support of the people;

forward-looking social and cultural policies have become possible; big reforms have been carried out;

in the public organizations and in the factories unity and friendly relations have been established between the workers, members of the working-class parties; also the relations between our two parties have become less strained.

The factors that made these changes possible were the policy of united action which the Party has pursued since 1953, and also the *change* in policy of the Social Democratic Party, caused by its defeat in the 1956 elections, and by the influence exerted by the Communist Party's policy.

As distinct from its former passive and conciliatory attitude the Social Democratic Party has since 1956 pursued a more progressive and militant policy in relation to the bloc of bourgeois parties. This is where it differs from the other Social Democratic parties. *But this policy could not of itself have secured the aforementioned results had it not been for the stand taken by the Communist Party.* In consequence the Communist Party, bearing in mind its numerical strength, has played a more significant political role than any of the other parties.

The results to date show that a small Communist Party can influence the policy of a country and, what is more, that it can also get a strong Social Democratic party to move to the left; the results show that by its activity the Party is preparing the ground for the unification of all working-class forces. True, this unity is as yet only on issues of common interest. Still, it is the first step toward the restoration of Marxist unity of the working class and the labor movement generally, no matter the difficulties ahead.

It is difficult in the space of one article to deal at length with the Party's former erroneous views, with the incorrect methods of work which it had to discard before it was able to establish its present relations with the Social Democratic Party. It had to get rid of the idea that all other parties constituted a single reactionary force. It was necessary to direct the main blows against monopoly capitalism as enemy No. 1, and not against the Social Democratic Party, to win

allies for the working class and to isolate the main enemy. The tendency in ideological and propaganda work to regard the Social Democratic Party as not being part of the working-class movement had to be overcome. Along with finding a common area of agreement on current political issues we had to realize that cooperation between our two parties was one of the conditions making for the victory of socialism in Sweden. It was necessary to explain that the struggle waged by the Communists against capitalism was in no way intended to damage the Social Democratic Party organizationally. It was necessary to scotch the notion that Social Democracy was the first obstacle to the success of the working class, to put a stop to the stereotyped and often tactless talk about the need to distinguish between leaders and members, to expose the nonsense that the Communist Party wanted to use the Left to split the Social Democrats.

These wrong concepts had made it difficult for the Communist Party to carry out a realistic and constructive policy, created difficulties in the way of achieving united action.

But the Party coped with this task, showing that united action and cooperation on issues of common interest did not necessarily mean agreement on ideological questions, that cooperation was possible without compromising on questions of principle.

The gains of the Swedish working-class movement and of the Swedish people, including those that have been achieved thanks to the Party's change in policy, did not, however, win wide support for the Party in the general elections. The results of the last municipal elections were, let it be said, a disappointment to us, for the leftward swing was the result primarily of the influence exerted by the Social Democrats.

This is explained by the following three factors:

1. Although important gains were won as a result of joint measures carried out in the social and cultural sphere, the electors nevertheless gave their vote to the Social Democratic Party as the biggest workers' party, and as the party in power.

2. Anti-communist propaganda is still able to erect a barrier of mistrust between the electorate and the Communist Party. Through economic coercion and propaganda this mistrust was played up on the question of peace, the national question and on the question of democracy and dictatorship. By means of falsification and misrepresentation reactionary propaganda was able to present American

and West German imperialism as the citadel of pacifism and freedom, and West Berlin as the victim of the East German tiger. This tactic of presenting a flagrant falsehood as the truth was somewhat successful also on the national question, with the result that those who sought to subordinate the national interests to American imperialism were held to be "patriots" while the real fighters for national freedom were represented as traitors and as agents of foreign countries. Thus reactionaries of all hues are pictured as the standard bearers of democracy (there is no mention of the economic and ideological dictatorship carried out by the 15 families of financial magnates), whereas the true advocates of democracy are depicted as the defenders of a reactionary dictatorship. We are living at a time when this sort of incredible falsification of the truth still has currency.

3. During the cold war and because of it our Party weakened somewhat organizationally as did the opportunities for putting its point of view across. The inflation, too, affected our financial position.

These factors help to explain why the Communist Party, although it serves the best interests of the people, is still unable to win a sizeable vote and to secure a big circulation for its publications.

This is understandable. It is a matter of a bigger and stronger organization — in this case the Social Democratic Party — being able, thanks to its joint political and other actions with other organizations, to win the support of the masses for the time being.

IV

Now that the main tasks of united action and cooperation advanced by the Communist Party following the victory of the bourgeoisie at the 1956 elections have been accomplished, the next task is to explain to the Party and to the working people in what new spheres we can establish a community of interests that would serve as a platform for further cooperation and joint action. This community of interests exists or may arise in the spheres of foreign policy, social and cultural development and in the sphere of agriculture.

For instance, in the sphere of foreign policy, non-alignment and neutrality, the Uden plan to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons and to create an atom-free zone, to strengthen peace in the Baltic area, to promote trade with other countries are areas where we can have a community of interests.

In the social and cultural spheres, areas of common interest are, say, the 40-hour working

week and winning four weeks' paid holidays, the housing question, equal pay for equal work, irrespective of sex, social security for families, children and the aged, a better and democratic school system.

The government's agricultural policy favors the big farms at the expense of the small ones. But along with this it has helped to preserve obsolete production relations and has placed a heavy economic burden on the people and primarily on big families, people in the lower income brackets, and on the small farmer. With the urban population expected to account for 95 per cent of the entire population by the '70s its interests should naturally be the determining factor also in agricultural policy, but not of course at the expense of those engaged in agriculture and who grow the country's food.

In all these areas the labor movement shares *common interests*. Although this does not as yet mean that they share *common views* the Communists can here, as in many other fields, direct their efforts and social development along realistic, progressive lines. Time and the actions of the Communists can help establish this *unity of views* which is *essential* if cooperation and united action are to be achieved.

Every attention is being given to ideological and organizational questions with a view to strengthening the Party and extending its influence.

The problems that arose in connection with exposure of the personality cult, the ideological differences in the international Communist movement are problems that face all the parties, including the Communist Party of Sweden. Although these problems have not prevented us from exerting a strong influence on the country's policy, they have, however, complicated things for the Party and have retarded its growth. They have also caused uncertainty and confusion, and the enemies of the Party are taking advantage of this. Wherever there is a tendency towards revisionism and sectarianism the cold-war men are not slow to foster it.

If the present differences in the international Communist movement continue much longer this will hamper the growth of the Communist parties and prevent them from making the most of favorable political circumstances. Should the differences grow sharper this will affect especially the smaller parties. It is not only a matter of the psychological and moral cross-currents engendered by the absence of unity and the angry discussion but — and this is even more disturbing

—the fact that in the balance are the basic aims of our ideology and policy and, first of all, peaceful coexistence. The absence of unity on this issue is sure to be utilized by the enemies of the working class; it can shake the confidence of the masses in the good-will of the Communist parties.

On January 10, 1962 the leadership of the Communist Party of Sweden addressed two letters, one to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the other to the Central Committee of the CPSU in connection with the new policy on the question of peace, expounded by the Chinese delegation at the Stockholm meeting of the World Peace Council in December 1961.

In these letters our Party criticized the viewpoint of the Chinese comrades, their disruptive and disorganizing activities which could prejudice the struggle for peace and also the international Communist movement. We suggested calling an international meeting of representatives of all the parties, holding that the above-mentioned two parties were best qualified to prepare the conference through bilateral talks. The Central Committees of the two parties replied in the affirmative to our proposal.

It does not follow from this, however, that we considered the differences that had arisen to be the affair of the two parties only which, because of their prestige and influence, bear a special responsibility for the unity of the international Communist movement. The points on which the Chinese Party had taken issue with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, points which it had aired during the polemic, and which its spokesmen made public in international organizations, also concerned most of the Communist parties, including our Party, for the standpoint of the Chinese comrades was at variance with decisions *unanimously* adopted by all the parties.

The pessimism of the Chinese proposals concerning the "general line" of the international Communist movement on the question of averting nuclear war, a pessimism that is blind to the prospects of peaceful competition and the possibility of some countries, including Sweden, advancing towards socialism without civil war, is as incomprehensible and unacceptable to us Swedish Communists as is the Chinese leaders' strange criticism of the healthy and imperative need to eradicate the personality cult. Attempts to strengthen the Communist parties through the personality cult, to discard the principles of collective Party leadership have never been known to bring good.

To us it is inconceivable that experienced Communist parties should allow national interests and certain differences between states to influence their views regarding theory; and the strategy and tactics of the international Communist movement.

We believe that a split in the international Communist movement would be a grave danger, for this would damage and weaken the chief factor of peace, the surest guarantee of socialist progress. A split in the broader, but politically less conscious international front which is fighting against war, for disarmament and the banning of nuclear weapons would, in turn, help the forces of the imperialist front, would result in passivity on the part of the non-Communist forces in this international front who together with the Communist parties are working for world peace and democracy. A split of this kind would be a grave danger. Clearly the parties which without a moment's thought ignore this danger are not fully conscious of the responsibility they have taken upon themselves.

It is, therefore, most improbable that this revision of Marxism, of the aims of the international Communist movement, could win the sympathy of the Communist Party of Sweden, that our Party would take a passive and neutral attitude. But to avoid this happening it is necessary of course to torpedo all attempts to confuse the issue, and to present the case clearly.

It is doubly important that the Communist Party of Sweden and its supporters should be imbued with the idea of peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition, for this will equip them with arguments in its favor and in favor of creating the conditions for social revolution without civil war. These ideas are in tune with the needs of the day. But they can be realized only in struggle against those who want to "settle accounts" with capitalism through a world holocaust, against those who do not want peaceful competition which stands every chance of success, a suc-

cess which is ensured by the camp of socialism, by the ideas of socialism and by the victorious building of socialism. An attitude of this kind can but retard the growth of social and economic democracy, the need for which and the possibility of which was engendered by capitalist society, by the growing consciousness of the working class and its determination to fight for human rights.

The organization of propaganda in our days necessitates enormous financial resources. More and more newspaper trusts are making their appearance, resulting in many newspapers being squeezed out of existence. Only the powerful economic association can hope to weather the competition. The Social Democratic press has dwindled and many of its remaining publications are in a precarious state financially. Some of the old bourgeois newspapers, having been bought by the trade unions, are trying to win a place for themselves at enormous cost.

The Communist press has even greater difficulties to contend with, what with steadily rising prices and production costs. This abnormal situation poses for us, and for the Communist press throughout the world, the question of new printing technology. Beginning with next year our national daily will be printed in the new way, according to the new technology of newspaper production, thus lowering cost of production and simultaneously ensuring a high-quality product.

At its last Congress the Party set the task of recruiting five thousand new members. To date more than 4,000 recruits have been made, and it is clear that the target of 5,000 will be reached before our next congress to be held at the beginning of next year. This increase is more than numerical. It speaks of the Party's greater activity among women and the youth, and of its new orientation on the mass organizations and industry. This, it can be said, is the paramount task facing the Communist Party of Sweden in the organizational sphere.

World Socialism and the Working-Class Movement

Jean Blum

WHEN studying the evolution through which the world is passing today three elements emerge from the extremely complex and kaleidoscopic general picture. First, the rapidity of the changes taking place in all spheres of life (in science, technology, economics, social conditions and, lastly, in politics). Two, the irreversible character of the obvious superiority of socialism over capitalism and, three, the scale of the upheavals engendered by the process of the disintegration of colonialism, a process that is inexorably developing despite the resistance of the imperialist powers.

These three elements are apparent and indubitable but, of course, not in equal measure.

The rapidity of the social processes is obvious to all. It requires no particular effort to see this.

The liberation struggle of the peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries and the significance of this struggle, likewise call for no comment. One must indeed be blind not to see it and appreciate its impact.

Now let us take the question of the role of the socialist countries. It is clear that no really serious economic, social or political problem can any longer be studied without taking into account the experience of the socialist commonwealth. The direct impact this experience has had on a world scale, and especially on what is now known as the 'third world,' is indisputable and obvious. But matters are not so simple when touching upon other of its aspects.

1.

What impact is the growth of socialism having on the developed capitalist countries and on the development of the working-class movements in these countries? This question leads to many others, for example: Are the changes taking place in the world under the influence of socialism deep-going or are they merely superficial changes? Can one speak of major changes in the life of the traditional capitalist countries from the political point of view?

Indeed, imperialism continues to exist; it continues to be dangerous, and it is fighting back; it is still able in places to gain victory over the working-class movement and sometimes, despite its contradictions, to carry out some of its baneful plans. It is also true that the threat of a nuclear war has not been removed, that in many capitalist countries the monopolies and their figure-heads have deprived the working people and their organizations, the democratic movement and the entire people of their basic rights.

In other words, imperialism is the last rampart blocking the way to the victory of socialism on a world scale.

Thus, on the face of it, it would appear that it is not so absurd to assume that there can be no question of any serious changes being effected in the capitalist world so long as imperialism exists. Or to put it differently: imperialism must be destroyed immediately; that is the only acceptable criterion for truly deep-going changes in the capitalist world.

This is tantamount to saying that the liberation struggle of the colonial, semi-colonial and former colonial countries is the sole positive factor at the present stage of world capitalism.

It is also tantamount to regarding the developed capitalist countries as something homogeneous, to saying that the working-class movement in these countries no longer plays an independent role in revolutionary development, or that at any rate it is experiencing a period of decline.

These concepts are not the idle thoughts of arm-chair philosophers; they are intensively advocated in the working-class movement by left-sectarian and petty-bourgeois elements. They could, of course, be parried formally, by quoting from the classics of Marxism-Leninism which speak of the historical role of the proletariat. But this method of argument is anything but Marxist-Leninist.

The intrinsic feature of Marxism-Leninism is that it studies social development, dialectically assesses its past and present trends, its further course of development. It would,

therefore, be wrong simply to postulate that the working class of the traditional imperialist countries plays a revolutionary role because it is the most numerous and most concentrated working class. It would be more in place to study the life and evolution of this working class in close connection with present day social development.

2.

The positive impact exerted by world socialism on the evolution of the revolutionary working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries is undeniable. It is precisely in our day that the force of example of socialist construction, of which Lenin spoke, has become one of the big factors in world revolutionary development. But we should not close our eyes to the fact that there are still numerous factors in the Western world that are hindering this force of example from exerting its full influence on the working class.

To begin with it is a question of the capitalist monopolies and the dictatorship of the monopolies in the countries where they are entrenched. Outwardly this dictatorship does not always bear a brutal and absolute character. It may even be said that in many of its manifestations it is refined, cultivated and flexible. It is able to exploit in its interests even some of the gains won by the working class, by "legal," that is, the ordinary, methods of struggle under capitalism. The monopoly bourgeoisie likes to represent these gains as something it has graciously bestowed, as the "natural" result of its rule. It even forms, wherever possible, workers' organizations under its aegis and proclaims "human" and "social" relations of a new kind between employer and worker.

Generally speaking, the monopolies have drawn a very definite lesson from the defeat of fascism in the Second World War.

To be sure, a fascist solution on the Hitler pattern is still the ideal that best suits their cherished ambitions and, consequently, the ambitions of the top men and politicians representing them. But the latter are careful enough not to lose sight of the fact that Hitler and his allies were nevertheless smashed. They therefore never hesitate to don the garb of democrats, or even of "renovators" of democracy, when they think this advisable.

Another obstacle hampering the spread of socialist influence in the West is anti-communism. The bourgeoisie of the traditional

imperialist countries are adept in using this weapon; they have in their arsenal countless and effective means of spreading their ideology, the effects of which are hard to combat.

Still another obstacle in the way of socialist influence is connected with the specific features and processes taking place in the working-class movement itself.

Here mention should be made of the existence, and in the case of some contingents of the working-class movement the prevalence, of reformism, which is combined with variations of anarcho-syndicalism.

Mention should also be made of the Christian workers' movement whose leaders are, basically, hostile to the class struggle.

These factors, further magnified by the influence of the bourgeoisie, largely explain two negative phenomena the significance of which should on no account be minimized.

The first is the preservation, in different forms and degree, of the split in the labor movement in the traditional imperialist countries.

The second is the more subtle and, therefore, more dangerous form anti-communism is assuming today. It no longer takes the form of the vituperation characteristic of Hitler propaganda. On the contrary, the present-day anti-communism even acknowledges some of the achievements of the socialist system, of communism. But it ascribes these achievements, as a rule, to the application of coercive methods of government which, it alleges, sacrifices democracy and personal freedom to these achievements.

We should not, in my view, underestimate the effect of this sort of argument which draws upon the revisionist theory that the socialist path may, of course, be necessary as far as the underdeveloped countries are concerned, but that in the case of the developed capitalist countries progress will be achieved through the gradual "transformation" of capitalism.

The picture I have drawn so far is anything but encouraging, but it would be a far more discouraging one if one were to believe the "theory," so dear to the Right reformists, that material comfort vitiates the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

But there are other factors which far outweigh those mentioned here.

3.

The working class of the traditional imperialist countries has accumulated much valuable experience. In particular, it now has a better idea of what modern technology and

its progress means, what bearing the development of this technology has on social progress. It now has a better practical knowledge and understanding of the contradictions engendered by the appropriation of the means of production by the exploiting minority.

Add to this another new powerful factor, namely: *knowledge of the scientific and technological achievements of the socialist countries and the social impact of these achievements.*

Even without clearly formulating this thought the worker is becoming increasingly aware that the source of the successes of the socialist countries lies in their political and social development. Hence, he is also coming to see that this development by its very nature cannot but be the reverse of what the anti-Communist propaganda says about the socialist countries, that the launching of the sputniks would be inconceivable without a certain standard of living and cultural level. In other words, he sees that in the socialist world everyone can give *free rein to his individuality.*

The successes of the socialist world are of enormous value for us. Here, two aspects should be stressed. The first is that these achievements demonstrate the advantages of socialism as a social system and thereby help to develop the socialist consciousness of the working class. The second is that these successes spur on the working people in their fight for better conditions, for a better life. They know that they have a firm bulwark on which they can rely. This infuses them with renewed strength, inspires them with confidence in their ultimate victory.

At the same time the working class in the imperialist countries has accumulated rich experience in the fight for its rights—whether it be for repeal of reactionary laws or for enacting laws that benefit the working people.

And when we speak of the successes of this struggle we should not allow ourselves to be taken in by the stock arguments of politicians in the service of the monopolies, or of reformist leaders. The fact is that *the basic liberties and rights that take root and develop under socialism and elements of which are contained de jure in bourgeois-democratic law, are not the handiwork of the bourgeoisie, or of the advocates of reformism. They are the result of the revolutionary pressure brought to bear by the masses, inspired by the example of the socialist countries.*

Of course there is no denying that the working-class movement for democracy does

not always sufficiently enough appreciate its strength, does not always have a clear idea of its perspective. Still, revolutionary pressure exists and it is growing.

Incidentally, 18 years after the Second World War it can be said that the proletariat of the traditional imperialist countries has, *on the whole*, learned from the experience of the victorious struggle against fascism.

The experience of anti-fascist struggle has not come easy, for the international bourgeoisie has been able through its "Atlantic" policy to confuse the issue for years, partly to distort the real meaning of the people's anti-fascist alliance which was the bedrock of the victory over Hitler and his allies. The likening of socialist rule to Hitler totalitarianism—a propaganda trick of bourgeois circles and some Right Social Democratic leaders—caused some confusion among the working masses which has not yet been entirely dispelled.

Of great help to the working class in the West in this respect was the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, which had a tremendous impact on the working people.

The tragic facts of the cult, denounced at the Twentieth Congress, were seized upon by international reaction for the purpose of striking at the Communists, at our Parties.

However, the activity of the Communist parties, and also time, did their work. *Truth is revolutionary.* The working-class movement in the traditional imperialist countries now understands socialism better than it did before, has a clearer concept of it, and is now better able to see its living, creative and democratic nature. The working class now gives more thought to the building of socialism, to the problems associated with it and how to cope with the problems, it now has a better understanding of the role played by the working people in this.

To be sure not all the battles have as yet been won in this field. But the fact is that the evolution in the minds of the working people has had far-reaching consequences, consequences which have impelled reformist leaders and sometimes even statesmen to re-examine their views.

It is precisely the evolution in the minds of the people that explains the growing popularity of the idea of peaceful coexistence in the traditional imperialist countries.

4.

Here another factor comes into play: the knowledge the working class in the develop-

ed capitalist countries now has of modern war—the war to the preparation of which the industrial magnates have geared their countries' entire material potential.

This knowledge is not the same everywhere. We still cannot say that everywhere enough has been done fully to expose the mechanism of the arms drive and to rip the mask off the monopoly arms manufacturers and warmongers.

Still, despite this, war has to a large extent lost its mystical character in the eyes of the working class of the imperialist countries. Few people nowadays doubt that it is the selfish interests of the capitalists that are the root cause of war. And since the working people are today less credulous regarding the tales about a cataclysm occurring through some mysterious agency, the idea that it is possible to avert war and even to outlaw it for all time, is gaining ground.

The experience of the two world wars has made abundantly clear what would be the aftermath of a nuclear world conflict. Little wonder therefore that millions of men and women feel so strongly on this score, and shudder at the very thought of a catastrophe which could be started purely by accident because some NATO general misunderstood the radar readings.

Finally, the optimism displayed by the powerful socialist countries, first and foremost by the Soviet Union, the CPSU and its Leninist leadership, their determination to prevent a new world war, to put an end to war for all time, is increasingly becoming for our working class a source of confidence in its strength in the struggle against war.

Some people might argue that the peace movement after all has not yet led to outright condemnation of war, to the Atlantic policy being resolutely rejected in all its aspects. To argue thus is to forget about the existence of the class enemy who spares no effort to deceive the masses, to forget about his strength and the means at his disposal.

The all-important thing is that the policy of peaceful coexistence as a whole, which the socialist world pursues and which the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses of the CPSU showed to be an imperative of our time, is each day winning more and more support.

Thus the experience of the socialist countries has not been lost on the working class in the traditional imperialist countries; on the contrary, this experience is evoking a broad response.

5.

Let us return to the questions posed at the beginning of the article, which might be summed up as follows: The revolutionary movement in the developed imperialist countries, then, has been enriched by the experience of the socialist countries, but what concretely has it contributed to the world revolutionary movement since the end of the war?

For one thing the crusade against communism proclaimed by Churchill at Fulton has failed. For another, the advocates of "brinkmanship" are finding themselves increasingly isolated, even in imperialist circles. Furthermore, it is not at all accidental that the recent NATO meeting in Ottawa stressed the need for a reappraisal of policy. Nor for that matter is it accidental that notable changes are taking place in Vatican policy which exerts a very definite influence on the world bourgeoisie.

The successes of socialism, and first of all of the Soviet state which is building Communism, undoubtedly *play a decisive role in this evolution*. But these successes could not in themselves have yielded these results had it not been for the fact that the warmongers in the imperialist countries found themselves faced with the growing resistance of the masses headed by the working class. Recall the Suez crisis and the stand taken by the British trade unions at the time.

On the basis of the experience accumulated, and as a result of the influence of world socialism three ideas have crystallized in the minds of the working people in the imperialist countries. These ideas have already prevented the capitalist monopolies from launching a general offensive against the socialist countries and against the liberation movement in the oppressed countries and countries in the process of liberating themselves.

The three ideas are that war can and must be outlawed; that the capitalist monopolies are barriers to economic, scientific, social and political progress and that their dictatorship can and must be smashed; that human dignity calls for an ever better way of life, and the economic demands of the working class strike telling blows at the policy of the bourgeois governments.

These ideas are not always expressed with crystal clearness in the programs of workers' organizations. Very often the formulation and the argument appear to be reformist, and this at times gives rise to Left distortions.

Still, they are revolutionary ideas inasmuch as they are a threat to the capitalist monopolies and their dictatorship, to their power and their basic policies, since they inspire the workers to wage a fight which is becoming ever richer in content. A case in point. The reply of the French miners to de Gaulle's "injunctions" led to a big victory for the French working class; this victory in its turn had a tremendous effect on the way of thinking of the representatives of all political trends in France and in the neighboring countries.

Hence it would be dangerous to argue that the powerful stream of the world revolution bypasses the imperialist countries. It sweeps through countries, and, gaining momentum in its passage, comes into collision with the capitalist monopolies and acquires ever different forms. To reject these forms just because they do not fit in with some ideal pattern would be a mistake.

The working-class movement in the capitalist countries is today a more conscious and organized revolutionary factor than it was yesterday. And this can be observed everywhere and every day in the ever broadening struggle of the working people who are overcoming the difficulties and obstacles in their way.

Capitalism is still with us. But the influence exerted by socialism, the experience accumulated by the working-class movement, the strength of this movement which relies on the power of the socialist community of nations—the material base of the world proletariat—on the victories won by the national-liberation movement, these factors make it possible to develop an active struggle against capitalism, to strike it shattering blows.

In order to head this struggle and make it as effective as possible, the Communists follow certain basic principles.

First, they emphatically reject the idea that capitalism can be destroyed from the outside, simply as a result of the increased

might of socialism, let alone the victories of the anti-colonial liberation movement, without decisive action on the part of the working class in the capitalist countries. This concept, far removed from reality, makes for Left phrasemongering and passivity.

Secondly, the Communists do not take a prejudiced and mistrustful attitude toward the masses and towards the Social Democratic and Christian mass organizations of the working class. They have always regarded it as a mistake to identify the working masses who belong to reformist organizations and trade unions with the Right-wing leaders. This approach would condemn revolutionaries to political inaction. Experience has shown that whenever the Communists discuss the question of a united front with the masses the latter invariably respond by taking effective action in the course of which they compel even their most reactionary leaders to take a positive attitude.

Lastly, the Communists see their task in achieving unity of the working-class movement in the fight against the capitalist monopolies.

The working-class movement in the traditional imperialist countries is vibrant with the aspirations of the masses who are fighting the dictatorship of the monopolies. Proof of this is the upsurge of the working-class movement in Italy which brought it such a resounding victory in the last general election.

To realize these aspirations (essentially deeply revolutionary) through united action is the task of the Communists. At their meeting in March 1963 the Communist parties of the six Common Market countries outlined a program of united action which has met with favorable response in socialist and Christian working-class circles.

This is the road the working class of the developed capitalist countries should take if it is to fulfil the revolutionary role assigned to it by history.

The Fight for Democracy and a General Amnesty

Mass Action in Greece

Zizis Zografos

THE Communist Party of Greece is concentrating on the fight for peace and in defense of democratic rights and liberties. The two tasks are indivisible; one follows logically from the other, for in order to uphold peace, to develop the movement against the nuclear arms policy and for peaceful coexistence the people must have basic rights and liberties, or at least those proclaimed in the Constitution. The urgency of this became apparent first in connection with the outrages in Salonika on May 22 which aroused universal condemnation and led to the resignation of the Karamanlis government, and then in the light of the subsequent maneuvers of the reactionaries to continue the old anti-democratic policy.

The People Want to See Democratic Rights Restored

The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party (1961), and the Central Committee meetings held since then advanced as the principal task of the working class and the people the fight for democratic liberties and against the ERE* government as the agency of the plutocratic oligarchy and foreign monopolies, and against its neo-fascist measures.

The fight for democracy which the people have been waging since the end of the imperialist intervention in 1944, became more acute after the general election of October 1961. That election, a swindle, was planned by the reactionaries in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and Bonn and with their direct participation; it took place in an atmosphere of anti-communist hysteria.

The ERE government enacted one fascist decree after another. In July 1962, for example, it rushed through Parliament a law on "security measures." The idea was to "modernize" and perpetuate the anti-democratic measures of the civil war period. Many of the articles in this security law resemble

the articles in the security laws passed under Mussolini and Hitler.

The neo-fascist laws of the ERE government were accompanied by establishing and financing a number of neo-fascist organizations which further inflated the machinery of coercion (secret police, Central Information Service, the gendarmerie, special services, the army, etc.). These organizations are headed by known traitors, wartime collaborators. The summoning of opponents of the government to police headquarters, intimidation and threats aimed at forcing people to renounce their political beliefs, became common occurrences.

Repressions against the democratic press acquired unprecedented scope; heavy sentences were passed on newspapers of the Left and the Center. Government interference in judicial matters, in the affairs of the local authorities and in the trade unions became more cynical and brazen. Every step taken by the people met with police violence. When office workers declared a strike the government retaliated with the fascist measure of declaring a civil mobilization. Even harsher measures were taken against political prisoners with a view to securing their physical extermination.

This fascist process is marked by three features. *First* is the appearance of the neo-fascist military clique, among whom are many former collaborators. The activities of this clique have spread from the army to the entire state machinery and semi-government organizations. Entire border areas are under its complete control; through the Central Information Service and General Staff it keeps a close watch on every step taken by the democratic movement. *Second* is the existence of a military apparatus armed and trained specially for waging civil war. And the *third feature* is the resort to *political assassination* as was the case in Salonika on May 22 when Grigory Lambrakis, MP, was killed with the object of terrorizing ERE's

*ERE—the National Radical Union—the party of big capital associated with the foreign monopolies.—Ed.

political opponents. It has now been fully established that the murder of Dr. Lambrakis and the grave injuries inflicted on Zarouhos, another MP, were the work of the neo-fascist organizations in keeping with a plan drawn up by the ERE and U.S. agents; the murder was under the direct supervision of high-ranking police officers.

The new tactic of relying more and more on imperialist aid is particularly evident in Greece where after World War II the reactionaries aided by the British and the Americans gained the upper hand. The new tactic was outlined by ex-Prime Minister Karamanlis at the NATO meeting in Athens in May 1962. "It is true," he said, "that the home front is the internal affair of our respective countries. But on the plane of the alliance the resistance of the home front to the Communist conspiracy directly concerns the entire Atlantic alliance. The fall of one loophole is not the less painful because it has been caused by internal and not external factors. Atlantic solidarity, therefore, acquires broader significance and has a bigger mission to fulfil. It means solidarity not only during war, but in time of peace as well!"

The Karamanlis government—the docile tool of the plutocratic oligarchy and the foreign monopolies—pursued a policy that clashed more and more with the interests of the people, with the general trend of world development.

Features of its economic policy were: selling of the natural resources to foreign capital; a greater dependence on the West German monopolies as a result of Common Market membership; extra military expenditure in compliance with NATO's demands; a ruthless offensive against factory and office workers; freezing and slashing the price paid for farm produce; the imposition of new taxes totalling a thousand million drachma on consumer goods, which still further reduced the standard of living. As a result thousands of small and middle farms are now on the brink of ruin. In the words of the ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs three million peasants "live like cattle." Wholesale migration of peasants to the towns and even abroad in search of work has become a veritable scourge.

Corruption among the plutocratic oligarchy and its government has assumed enormous proportions. The scandals that periodically break into the press have disclosed only some aspects of the sordid deals between the plutocratic oligarchy and the foreign monopolies.

But it is in its foreign policy, in its arms race and reckless provocations that this gov-

ernment has most of all disregarded the interests of the people. Not only has it approved the policy of the wilder men in the Pentagon and in NATO. Whenever possible this government has acted as the initiator of this kind of policy; it did so at the time of the Caribbean crisis which brought home to the people the terrible danger of a nuclear holocaust.

Despite the measures taken to conceal the truth from the people, reports in the press showed that the reactionary government was docilely carrying out Washington's "new frontier" policy. This was reflected, for example, in the hurried installation of a rocket base on Crete, in storing nuclear weapons at the U.S. and NATO bases in Greece, in the plans to arm the Greek air force under NATO command with nuclear weapons, in the U.S. Sixth Fleet being granted the use of Greek territorial waters and ports; it was also reflected in the commitments undertaken by the government in connection with the planned "multilateral" NATO nuclear force, in providing bases for Polaris submarines, and in its consenting to allow Greek vessels, including merchant vessels, to be equipped with the Polaris rocket.

Drawing attention to the direct link between this policy and the terror unleashed against the peace fighters in Salonika on May 22, the Communist Party stressed that "the fact that the Karamanlis government has chosen this particular moment to attack the peace forces and democracy shows that it is in a hurry to carry out the policy of the imperialists to turn Greece and the Mediterranean into a nuclear base from which to launch an attack on the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies; this policy, the Communist Party said, heightens the danger of a nuclear conflagration."

But after the first post-election shock, a powerful movement, the most widespread in recent years, was launched against this policy. The strike movement in 1962, the biggest of its kind in many years, is continuing with even greater force this year; in the first quarter of 1963 four times as many were on strike as during the same period last year. Clashes took place between peasants and the gendarmerie. The struggle waged by the youth, by the intellectuals and middle sections, expanded.

This broad movement in defense of the immediate demands of the working class, coupled with the action for peace, sparked the mass political struggle. After the electoral swindle of 1961 a struggle developed to annul

the election and to hold free elections based on proportional representation. This struggle has gained momentum since it first started nearly two years ago, it has acquired new forms.

Ever bigger sections of the people are linking the struggle for their demands with the struggle against the government. The organizations of the working people are fighting for the restoration of democratic rights. The youth, especially the students, are playing a most active part in this struggle. Other expressions of the will of the people were the decisions taken by the municipal councils to give streets and squares the name of Democracy. During the centenary celebrations of the Royal dynasty spontaneous demonstrations were held demanding the restoration of democratic rights.

The extent of the popular resistance to the government's anti-democratic policy may be gathered from the fact that although Greece is virtually a police state, the courts were compelled in 150 cases to denounce the fascist thugs and police agents who resorted to violence during the election. Under mass pressure the State Council, despite strong government opposition, adopted a resolution to the effect that the "communist rebellion had ended,"* thereby abolishing the juridical fiction on which the anti-democratic regime rested.

The working class and the entire people vigorously opposed the government's proposal to amend the Constitution, needless to say, along fascist lines. The Left and Center parties, acting together, turned down this proposal and refused to participate in the special commission formed for the purpose.

The most trenchant form of the fight for democracy were the *big demonstrations* organized by the opposition parties in Athens and in other places. Biggest of all were the meetings held in Athens in April and November 1962, and the protest movement sparked off by the murder of Dr. Lambrakis.

If the murder of Dr. Lambrakis, the purpose of which was to terrorize the peace movement, showed that the political struggle had entered upon a sharper phase, the subsequent actions, and especially the massive funeral accorded Dr. Lambrakis, revealed the determination of the people to torpedo the government's plans to impose fascist methods on the country. Hundreds of thousands of people in Athens, Piraeus and Salonika took part in

the demonstrations. More than half a million people attended the funeral of Dr. Lambrakis. The procession was headed by the leaders of the Left parties together with the leaders of the Union of the Center and the Party of Progressives.

Even though the Center leadership is pursuing a policy aimed at dividing the democratic forces, they all merged in a single front.

The people displayed exceptional activity and initiative during these actions. The murderer and his two accomplices were seized thanks to the courage displayed by one of the peace supporters who jumped onto the racing motorcycle and after a struggle disarmed the thugs and handed them over to the police.

Sculptors, painters and poets denounced the crime. The dastardly murder of Dr. Lambrakis awakened to political activity many in all walks of life.

The mass action showed that the fight for democratic rights has entered a new stage. Features of the movement are its mass character, the setting up of committees to guide the activity, the movement for proportional representation, the joint actions by some of the opposition parties whose views on certain issues coincide; growing opposition in the Union of the Center to the Rights.

This fight has its roots in the National Resistance which brought the country onto the highroad of democratic advance and democratic institutions. But further progress was halted by the armed intervention of the imperialists who placed in the saddle the reactionaries, those who had collaborated with the Nazis. This is the source of the present antagonism in the political, social and national life of the country.

Freedom for the Political Prisoners

The fight to secure the release of the political prisoners and for a general amnesty is an integral part of the struggle for democratic liberties. This movement now embraces big sections of the population. It takes the most diverse forms, such as the sending of letters, petitions, public meetings and resolutions passed by communes and municipalities. In short, all parties, including the leaders and press of the opposition and in places even leaders and press organs of the government party, are urging the release of political prisoners and a general amnesty.

The movement for a general amnesty has received wide support abroad. A striking expression of international solidarity was the

*The reactionaries who unleashed the civil war of 1946-49 called it a Communist rebellion, and used this as the pretext for their anti-democratic measures.—Ed.

Conference for the Release of Greek Political Prisoners held in Paris on March 23-24. This conference, which was attended by 250 personalities from 17 countries, decided to set up an international committee and national committees to campaign for the amnesty and for implementation of the provisions contained in the Declaration on Human Rights; it decided also to send a representative delegation to Athens to investigate the situation in the country and to submit to the King and the Prime Minister the demand for an amnesty for all political prisoners; the conference also supported Earl Russell's appeal to the United Nations.

Demonstrations in support of the amnesty took place in London during the visit of Queen Frederika—who in the past was active in the Hitler youth organization. Her refusal to receive the petition from Betty Ambatielos, wife of Tony Ambatielos, seamen's leader and National Resistance fighter who has been in prison for more than 15 years now, did little to endear the Royal lady to the public.

These actions had political repercussions. Sections of the British public, the Committee of 100, and Labor MPs felt that the scheduled Royal visit should have been cancelled. This solidarity action has greatly encouraged our people.

The response to the amnesty movement was reflected also in the cordial welcome accorded Manolis Glezos, Greece's national hero, during his visit to France, Britain, Italy and the Soviet Union. In Moscow Glezos was presented with the International Lenin Peace Prize in appreciation of the fight waged by the people of Greece for peace.

Our people are profoundly grateful for this international support. Thanks to this solidarity, executions were stopped in 1953, the evil designs of the reactionaries and their backers — the Pentagon and NATO — were exposed and thousands of political prisoners were subsequently released.

Our people are also deeply appreciative of the international recognition of their struggle for peace and democracy. This recognition was seen in the award of the International Peace Prize to three Greek peace fighters, in the decision of the World Peace Council posthumously to award the Gold Medal for Peace to Dr. Lambrakis and to institute a Lambrakis Peace Prize.

All the political prisoners are men of the National Resistance. Many of them were decorated with national and Allied medals for their patriotic services. Yet these men

are still in jail, while the traitors and war criminals have long since been released.

Most of the political prisoners are ill, and some of them are in a critical condition. Last year four prisoners died in the space of two months, among them Eritriadis, a leader of the Communist Party.

The parliamentary actions of the Opposition and the action organized by the people outside Parliament have yielded good results. The mass pressure has secured the release of hundreds of National Resistance men, including Manolis Glezos; the right to hold meetings and even demonstrations has been partially secured, the juridical fiction of a "communist rebellion" has been annulled, the government has been forced to reconsider some election results, etc.

The most important result of all, however, was the removal of the Karamanlis government which revealed the deep crisis of the corrupt regime.

The reactionaries are trying to find a way out of the situation. Papinelis, the spokesman of neo-fascism and protege of the ERE party, has been appointed Prime Minister. His government, needless to say, is a tool of the plutocratic oligarchy and the foreign monopolies. The maneuvers of the reactionary clique and foreign imperialism are designed to suppress the popular movement, to give them time to regroup their forces, to postpone the general election or, failing this, to hold it in an atmosphere of anti-communist hysteria and terror. Hence the recent provocations against the democratic movement and its leaders, the so-called "redoubled" proportional representation system which the government recently rushed through Parliament with a view to returning the ERE party to power.

The opposition parties and the people, combating these designs, want a simple proportional representation system. The unity trend among the democratic forces is gaining ground.

Unite the Democratic Forces for the Fight Against Reaction

The prestige of the Communist Party and of the Left generally has grown. They have earned this prestige by their uncompromising struggle against the police regime and for the unity of all democratic forces, by their firm stand in the face of the terror, and by their concrete and realistic program for democratic reconstruction.

An important factor in this development is the correct policy pursued by the Communist

Party. Exposing the maneuvers to impose a dictatorship in parliamentary guise, the Party stressed the need to steadfastly uphold democratic liberties, to fight for the removal of the ERE government, the No. 1 enemy of the nation.

Of fundamental significance is the Party's thesis that the present balance of political forces is most favorable for securing a democratic change, that this change can be effected provided that *all who now suffer from the policy of the Rights unite into a broad and powerful popular movement, provided all the democratic forces combine on the basis of a common minimum program in keeping with the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people.*

Calling upon the democratic parties and their leaders to consider this program, the Communist Party says: "We are putting forward a program of action, but we do not insist on its acceptance. We do not say: all or nothing. Let us consider it, let us discuss our points of view. Let us put aside what divides us and find what unites us." Unity of action loses all meaning when a Party insists on imposing its own viewpoint. Unity can be achieved only by both sides giving due consideration to each other's views and mutually accepting them.

The Communist Party has pursued a flexible policy in rallying the democratic forces. It supports the program of the EDA which is in keeping with the interests of the people. It has declared its readiness to cooperate with any party, with any leader, even if only temporarily, even if only on some points and even on one point, as long as this cooperation promotes the national cause and the fight for democratic rights.

The Central Committee followed this course in relation to the Union of the Center which, although basically voicing the interests of the national bourgeoisie, includes representatives of the plutocracy tied up with foreign capital. The Party, however, took issue with the attempt to make the Left trail behind the Union of the Center, criticized its negative attitude to the question of democratic unity, its idea of "a struggle on two fronts" (i.e., against the extreme Right and the extreme Left, implying by the latter also the Communists). But the Central Committee unhesitatingly recognized the positive features in the Center's activities, to restore democratic liberties and in this connection proposed: let the democratic forces advance their respective ways but make common cause when fighting the common enemy.

In its criticism of the Union of the Center the Communist Party stressed that democracy is indivisible, that a struggle on two fronts would be disastrous, that the Communist Party's insisting on its right to function is not a "special demand," that, as experience has shown, the moment the Communists are outlawed the interests, rights and even the very existence of other organizations are imperilled. The Party rejected the Union's allegation that the Communists "abuse" democracy. The Party has never pursued a policy of deception. We have never concealed that we consider socialist democracy to be the most complete democracy. But we take into account the present situation which is characterized by the absence of democratic rights and the normal functioning of the parliamentary system, by a ruthless drive to abolish the remnants of the rights and liberties of the working people. The democratic forces are faced with the dilemma: democracy or fascism. In the circumstances the Party sees its paramount task in fighting for the democratic liberties written into the Constitution, for the restoration of democracy and in organizing resistance to the neo-fascism now rearing its head.

Our Party has more than once pointed out that the reactionary clique is able to maneuver, to extricate itself even from the most difficult situation because the democratic forces are still divided, because public life is poisoned with the venom of anti-communism. As a consequence, the Rights are able to maintain themselves in power, to deceive the people by plugging the line that the withdrawal of ERE from government would result in chaos.

From this we see the grave responsibility of the Union of the Center leadership is taking upon itself by insisting in keeping the democratic forces divided, by its policy of anti-communism and a struggle on two fronts. It is seeking by means of this policy to establish itself in the good graces of the U.S. imperialists, as well as of NATO and the court circles, and, all its protestations to the contrary, to win their support as a stepping stone to power. The Union leaders hold that these forces will, eventually, change their attitude to the Union. But what the leaders of the Union Center do not see is that the imperialists will change their attitude towards Greece only when changes in Greece effected by Greeks themselves compel them to do so.

Our Party has also pointed out that the Union leaders regard the people and their struggle not as the decisive factor in solving

internal problems, but merely as auxiliaries whose main function is to exert pressure on court circles and on foreigners.

The Union is using its "crusade among the people" not so much for rallying the latter as for addressing appeals to the court and advertising its "services" in the fight against communism.

That explains why its leaders deserted the field at the very moment when the intensified struggle could have prevented the appointment of Pipinelis to the premiership or compelled his government to resign.

It likewise explains why immediately after the impressive demonstration at the grave of Dr. Lambrakis, and following the criticism of the Pipinelis program, Papandreu saw fit to boast of his anti-communism, of how he helped to "smash" communism in December 1944. Papandreu forgets that the upsurge of the popular movement (which he calls communism) was halted not by him but by British bayonets, and that this intervention is the root cause of our country's present troubles. Moreover, it explains the maneuvers of the conciliatory wing of the Union, led by Venizelos, to form an ERE Center government. This would jeopardize the democratic development of the country.

The Party's Tactics and Immediate Tasks

The Party has been able to carry out its flexible policy not only because of the favorable objective conditions. This policy was made possible by the Party's resolute struggle against revisionism and dogmatism. The Party denounced the revisionist idea that the anti-imperialist struggle should be relinquished, that the Left should keep in the background, so as not to "annoy" the enemy, that the Left should unite with the bourgeois parties, regardless of principles, that the people are "tired," that since the election coup, the prospects for the democratic movement are nil.

The Party has also condemned dogmatism and sectarianism so assiduously advocated by the leaders of the Communist Party of China. We know from our own experience the harm dogmatic and sectarian views can cause in our struggle. The holders of these views refuse to recognize that the new conditions call for new forms and methods of uniting the democratic forces; they reject every chance of cooperating with the Union of the Center.

The Party, having eschewed revisionism and dogmatism, has charted a new course, one corresponding to the political demands and aspirations of the masses. In determining

its new policy the Party is guided by the documents of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings, by the decisions of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses of the CPSU and by the congresses of other fraternal parties.

The Central Committee drew attention to shortcomings in Party work and in the democratic movement generally. The more serious of these are: the slow growth of the mass struggle compared with the objective possibilities; an incorrect approach to extra-parliamentary and parliamentary activity due to the failure to understand that parliamentary activity can be effective only when it goes hand in hand with extra-parliamentary activity and promotes this activity.

There are also shortcomings on the ideological front where the enemy is particularly active. Not all our members and activists, for instance, fully appreciate the significance of the struggle for democratic liberties, the responsibility that devolves on the Party as the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class for the development of this struggle. There is also ideological confusion on the question of what should be the attitude of the Left to the Center; the demarcation line between the parties of the Left and the Center is not always clearly drawn.

Another shortcoming is the gap between the growing influence of the progressive forces generally and the level of organization. In conditions of police rule this can have grave consequences.

The struggle against the terrorist methods of the State and neo-fascist organizations is not being waged intensively enough; often it is confined to sending protest telegrams. As the Central Committee has pointed out repeatedly this is due not only to organizational weaknesses but also to the way of thinking of some of our activists who cherish legal illusions. Not all our activists realize that the peaceful way by no means implies waging the fight only within the ever-narrowing limits allowed by the police state. Just the reverse. This struggle is accompanied by bitter class battles. The Central Committee has pointed out that it would be wrong to assume that by not "combating" reaction, by behaving "sensibly," we will be able to avoid retaliatory blows and reprisals. The entire experience of the working-class movement proves the reverse. The reactionary offensive can be repulsed and defeated only by the joint efforts of all democratic forces.

These weaknesses could be observed at the time of the big actions and at the funeral

of Dr. Lambrakis. An analysis of the situation showed that had the mass actions of the people been better organized and more boldly led the results could have been more effective and the Karamanlis government could have been overthrown sooner.

The struggle is still hampered by the sectarian policy pursued by Zahariadis, especially on the issue of working with the democratic forces and their unity.

* * *

Difficulties still lie ahead of the democratic movement. Many obstacles will have to be overcome if it is to unite the democratic forces and organize and rally them in the struggle for democracy, peace and progress.

The people are confronted by a well-organized enemy — the police regime of the plutocratic oligarchy which rules with the backing of the imperialists. Hence the urgent task of the working class, of the forces of democracy and peace to wage an *organized*, more, *a well-organized, mass struggle*. Joint action by all working people is the sine qua non of success. To this end it is necessary that all anti-fascist fighters should make every effort to organize and rally the masses, release their initiative, encourage and step up their activity, heighten their vigilance and protect their organizations and functionaries.

The immediate task is to give our people

a clear program, to explain to them that the way out lies through unity of all the democratic and national forces on the basis of a common democratic program. Our Party has urged the other parties to advance a similar program. Popularizing unity of action and our program will make it easier for the people to prevail on their leaders to make common cause on the basis of a common program.

But if we are to develop mass action and further the struggle for democracy and peace, we must first overcome the shortcomings in our ideological work. We must work among the masses. This will enable us to expose the reactionary nature of the regime. We must explain to the people that restoration of democratic liberties is the only way out of the situation; we must show the vistas that will open before them under a democratic regime. We must explain that in conditions of a regime of violence and tyranny, refusal to see the need for unity can but weaken the struggle and prolong the rule of the ultra-Right.

The Communists for their part will work among the masses to carry out the tasks outlined above. They will devote all their energy to ensure that the hard fight of our people for peace, democracy and social progress will be brought to a successful conclusion.

Austrian Neutrality and the Common Market

Edmund Fiala

AUSTRIA'S relationship to the Common Market for a number of years has been the subject of considerable debate. The issues at stake are essentially the neutrality and economic independence of Austria and, above all, its future relations with West Germany.

The two government parties are involved in the struggle. The big employers and landowners, prompted by their class interests, are insisting on joining the EEC. Membership would, they think, buttress capitalism in Austria. The Pan-Germanists in the People's Party and the Socialist Party pursue the same aims, while the patriotic people in both are opposed to joining the EEC, preferring to remain in EFTA. The Communist Party, opposed to all forms of association with the EEC, has advanced its own constructive plan for a way out of the present crisis in the political and trade spheres.

Until now the foreign and trade policies of the Austrian government have been, on the one hand, the outcome of a compromise between diverse trends and, on the other, of the balance of forces on the international arena.

The government's decision to join the EFTA in 1960 was such a compromise. The Pan-Germanist elements welcomed it, seeing in it a way to smuggle Austria into the EEC in a roundabout way. On the other hand, at that time neither the USA nor Britain was interested in Austria joining the Common Market. And the Soviet Union and neighboring socialist countries repeatedly advised Austria against rash decisions.

The following year the USA and Britain, as became known later, arrived at a secret understanding on joint policy in Western Europe designed to bolster up the shaken positions of the USA in the capitalist part of the continent. At the same time Britain sought entry into the EEC with a view to weakening the Franco-West German alliance.

The Common Market supporters in Austria hastened to declare EFTA "dead" and increased their pressure on the government. Nor were they unsuccessful. At the end of

1961 Austria raised the question of its entry into the EEC with associate status. Foreign Minister Kreisky's statement in the Ministerial Council of the EEC in Brussels in July 1962 announced his government's readiness not only to adhere to the customs and trade policy of the Common Market but also to comply with some of the other provisions of the EEC treaty. The West German press pointed out at the time that the Austrian application for association all but accepted the obligations of full membership.

In his Brussels statement Kreisky made a number of reservations connected with Austrian neutrality. For one thing, in the event of the danger of war or the actual outbreak of war Austria claimed the right to suspend the agreement on association or to annul it. It also reserved the right to denounce the agreement if the EEC took economic or political steps which, in relation to third countries, were incompatible with Austrian neutrality. Moreover, the demand was advanced for a certain "freedom of action" in trade with third powers. (This vague formulation evidently referred to trade with the socialist countries.)

The reservations were clearly self-deception, for Hallstein, Chairman of the EEC Commission, had long before declared in a report in Zurich that neutrality had outlived its time. The neutral countries, he said, must choose between association with the EEC or neutrality, since "the two do not go together."

When the negotiations between Britain and the EEC failed, it became clear that both West Germany and France had their own political and military irons in the fire and were bent primarily on realizing their plans for a so-called "third force"; that the aggressive policy of the Bonn-Paris axis was directed against the socialist world and all peace-loving countries, and that, finally, a neutral like Austria could never become a party to such an alliance without risking its neutrality.

It will be recalled that in 1955 Austria committed itself to "perpetual neutrality."

The government declared in the Moscow memorandum that it would pattern its neutrality on Switzerland. As regards relations between Austria and West Germany, Article 4 of the State Treaty strictly prohibits all forms of political or economic union between Austria and Germany.

The Common Market, true, is not Federal Germany, but it is dominated by France and West Germany. No one can seriously argue that Austrian association with the EEC would not lead to close economic and political links with West Germany.

Despite the clearly political nature of the Common Market and the fact that there is quite obviously a struggle under way between Britain and the USA, on the one hand, and France and West Germany, on the other, for domination over it—a struggle in which no neutral country can take sides—the Austrian government not only did not withdraw its application for association but confirmed its readiness to enter the EEC.

Early this year Federal Chancellor Gorbach issued instructions for steps to be taken to bring Austria into the Common Market. After some hesitation, the Socialist Party reached agreement on this score with the People's Party. During a foreign policy debate in Parliament the Socialist M. P. Czeretz favored association with the EEC, repeating the reservations put forward in Brussels in the summer of 1962. "Let us define our neutrality policy ourselves," he said.

But Austrian neutrality is based on international agreements. How, then, can one of the parties to these agreements, in the given case Austria, interpret neutrality as it wishes? The Swiss government, incidentally, has to all intents and purposes withdrawn its request for association with the Common Market.

According to the Zurich correspondent of the *Wiener Boersenkurier*, well-informed Swiss circles consider the participation of neutrals in the Common Market out of the question primarily because the EEC does not recognize any reservations as regards denunciation of agreements on association, nor does it admit that military and economic considerations entitle the neutral countries to enjoy some special rights. We have nothing to add to this Swiss view. It hits the nail on the head and coincides with the opinion of all patriotic forces in Austria.

There is no doubt that the idea of using Austria as a wedge to split EFTA—and this

is precisely what is in question—stems from the plans of the West German politicians. For the fact is that as far back as 1957 the West German concerns devised their own schemes for bringing the whole of Western Europe, with the exception of Britain, into the EEC.

The West German design is reflected in the foreign policy demands of the Freedom Party. Some time ago this party advanced the demand that Austria withdraw from EFTA and join the EEC without delay. During this year's budget debate in the Lower House one of its spokesmen, Mahnert, again insisted on a "foreign policy the prime task of which would be to speed up Austria's association with the EEC."

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The Austrian Industrialists' Association, politically one of the most influential organizations in the country, has set its sights on the Common Market. Since 1945 no Minister of Finance or Trade has been appointed without the approval of the Industrialists. The Presidium of the Association consists exclusively of big capitalists, who have long been associated with foreign capital and who see the guarantee of their continued existence in the EEC and the West German concerns. The President of the Association is Mayer-Gunthof, a top man in the Schoeller concern. During Nazi rule, Philip Schoeller, the head of this concern, ran the country's economy. Now, as then, he is one of the leading Pan-Germanists.

These people count on association with the Common Market strengthening the extreme Right and weakening the influence of the working class; another hope is, with the aid of foreign capital, to return to private hands the nationalized industry (the share of this sector is about 25 per cent of the total industrial output). They also look forward to a growing share of the national income being channelled their way through tax reductions for the rich and through bigger state subsidies to private industry.

There are, of course, industrialists who shy away from association with the EEC, fearing the competition of the big concerns which dominate the community. These are mostly small and middle-bracket employers with good export contacts with the socialist countries. But their political influence is far less than that of the big employers.

The Industrialists' Association has on repeated occasions gone over the head of the government to establish contact with the

leading bodies of the Common Market. Not long ago Professor Nemschak, head of the Economic Research Institute, travelled to Brussels, obviously on the initiative of the Association, and brought back with him the conditions for Austria's entry as an associate member. These conditions are:

1. Association with the EEC is possible only on the basis of a customs union and a common tariff, which are to be complemented by other economic and socio-political measures, such as liberalization of the movement of capital and manpower and the right to establish branch concerns. The economic policy of Austria in the various fields would thus be coordinated with the other EEC countries.

2. Association implies agreement in principle with the political aims of the Common Market. The EEC promises to recognize Austria's commitments as a neutral.

3. No substantial increase in the share of the socialist countries in Austrian exports; the EEC is prepared to allow up to 20 per cent. (The present percentage is 14.8.) If the EEC declares an embargo against other states, Austria will have to "discuss" the situation with the appropriate bodies of the Common Market.

4. Austria "in all probability" will be accorded the right to annul the agreement on association in the event of anticipated or actual military complications.

The EEC is thus demanding that Austria renounce all the basic rights of economic sovereignty and recognize the political aims of the Common Market, i.e., the political and military alliance. Withdrawal from the EEC is not guaranteed, it remains a mere assumption.

These demands are utterly incompatible with the "perpetual neutrality" solemnly proclaimed by Austria.

* * *

Under capitalism abolition of tariff barriers and quota restrictions and the resulting extended division of labor can, in our opinion, stimulate the productive forces and increase the social product only if the countries concerned are of approximately equal strength. Austria can hardly be said to be an equal partner.

Our geographical location in relation to the territory of the EEC is highly unfavorable. Our industry consists mostly of small and medium-size enterprises, while raw materials and semi-manufactures loom large in the production structure. These structural

weaknesses are reflected in our exports, especially those to Western Europe. Reduction of tariffs would adversely affect our industry owing to the structure of our foreign trade. Let us examine this circumstance in greater detail.

If Austria were to join the Common Market, import duties on goods from the EEC countries would have to be reduced by 60 per cent as of July 1, 1963, and the EEC plans call for their complete abolition in the future. The same privileges would be extended to Austrian exports to the Common Market. The equality, however, would be purely formal. Actually, a reduction in tariffs would increase competition from the other EEC countries owing to the differences between Austria's import and export structures in its trade with the Common Market.

In exports to the latter, raw materials and fuel account for 29 per cent of the total, semi-manufactures for 41 per cent and finished products only 21 per cent. On the other hand, the share of finished manufactures in the imports from the Common Market amounts to 58 per cent of the total, raw materials and fuel 12 per cent and semi-manufactured goods 23 per cent.

The duty on raw materials and fuel is negligible, and on semi-manufactures does not exceed 10 per cent. The sensitive area is finished products. Since the Common Market countries sell to Austria, both in absolute and relative terms, far more finished goods than they buy from Austria, their industry would gain far more than ours.

If tariffs in trade with the Common Market countries were to be cut by 60 per cent, Austria's revenue from import duties would decline from the present 3,500 million schillings to approximately 1,400 million. Duties on Austrian exports to the EEC would go down from the 1,500 million schillings to 600 million.

As a result our exporters could offer their goods on the EEC markets for 900 million schillings less than at present and increase their competitive capacity accordingly. But the competitive power of the EEC countries on our home market would increase by a total of more than 2,000 million schillings. In other words, Austrian industry would lose much more at home than it would gain in the EEC countries. Thus the structural weaknesses of our industry, reflected in exports, would damage Austria's interests in the event of association with the Common Market.

Liberalization of import trade within the framework of the present Organization of

Economic Cooperation and Development has already considerably increased the pressures on Austrian industry. Although at times this can have a beneficial effect as a counterweight to the tendency of prices to rise as a result of cartel practices, it has in many cases acted as a brake on young but otherwise viable Austrian industries. At the same time liberalization has made domestic firms dependent on the big foreign concerns.

Joining the EEC would unquestionably make things worse. To tariff reductions would be added the complete lifting of restrictions on imports from the Common Market. Moreover, of all the OECD countries the greatest benefit would accrue to West Germany. As it is, the growth of West Germany's share in our imports (at present it is about 43 per cent) is accompanied by a steady strengthening of the positions of West German capital in Austria. Entry into the Common Market would accelerate this trend.

Export of capital and licences accompanying the export of goods from West Germany has made many Austrian enterprises dependent on West German concerns. At present West German capital controls roughly 12 per cent of our engineering industry, 29 per cent of the electrical industry, 11 per cent of the clothing, nine per cent of the chemical, nine per cent of the glass and seven per cent of the paper industry. The enterprises controlled by West German firms account for some six per cent of our total industrial output. At present the nationalized industries are an obstacle to the flow of German capital into the basic branches of heavy industry and in particular the most important engineering enterprises. It should be recalled that prior to 1938 German capital controlled roughly one-third of Austrian industry and that Nazi Germany utilized this to implant fascism and undermine Austria's independence.

Apart from tariff reductions and removal of all import restrictions, the Common Market countries insist on Austria allowing them to set up subsidiary enterprises and lifting restrictions on the movement of capital.

Austria long ago granted West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the USA and Switzerland the right to set up branch enterprises within the framework of so-called "reciprocal agreements"—a right which West Germany has taken advantage of more than the others. Entry into the Common Market would make it necessary to extend the same privileges to France and Holland.

Austria has already lifted many restrictions on the movement of capital originating in countries signatory to the European monetary restrictions as well.

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EEC stipulations concerning the agricultural market would adversely affect Austrian farmers who, economically, are in a weaker position. This applies primarily to the wine and vegetable growers of the mountain areas, since the new tariffs would undercut the present Austrian prices for their produce.

The production of such staples as grain and milk is now subsidized by the state. But with the EEC insisting that such financial assistance be discontinued, the result would be a heavier burden for consumers.

The EEC likewise demands that Austria not only adopt the common foreign tariffs but also restrict its trade with the socialist countries. The country would be wholly subordinated to the trade, economic, financial and general commercial policy of the EEC.

The renunciation of rights which all this implies is fraught with many dangers to the economy. As it is, our foreign trade is far too tightly bound to the Common Market, which takes 50 per cent of our exports and provides nearly 60 per cent of our imports. Besides the over-emphasis on raw materials and semi-manufactures in our exports, this shows there are serious structural flaws in our foreign trade set-up. Owing to the excessive reliance on the EEC, our export trade is highly sensitive to crises. At present, however, Austria is not yet bound hand and foot, and it can do something to improve the foreign trade structure. Above all it can increase trade with the socialist and the underdeveloped countries.

It would be a mistake to draw any analogies between the big countries in the EEC and Austria. By West European standards, Austria lacks a strong bourgeoisie capable of holding its own against the Common Market monopolies. An enterprise considered big in Austria would in West Germany or France be regarded as medium-sized. Ever since the beginning of industrialization in Austria our "big" capitalists have always been junior partners of foreign concerns.

Moreover, Austria's subordination to the currency, financial and economic policy of the EEC would put an end to all attempts to improve the general economic structure. The inevitable result would be substantial changes in our industrial set-up, inasmuch as even stagnation in the international business situa-

tion would, owing to the structural weaknesses in the steel, paper, engineering and other industries as well as transport, cause widespread unemployment.

The more our economy becomes interwoven with the Common Market the greater the danger of crises and the fewer the opportunities for pursuing an independent anti-crisis policy.

The obligation to coordinate social legislation which the EEC seeks to impose on the associated countries would work against the interests of the Austrian wage and salary earners if only because our social legislation is more advanced than that of most EEC countries. At best it would prevent the Austrian working class from winning any new gains until such time as all the Common Market countries reach the Austrian level.

Employers, it should be said, are delighted with these stipulations of the Common Market treaty. Right now they are invoking the EEC to justify opposition to the workers' demands. For example, *Internationale Wirtschaft*, the mouthpiece of the industrialists, referring to the metalworkers' successful strike in the spring of 1962, said: "Not enough attention was paid to the fact that the new social concessions exceed by far the bounds of the legislation operating in the EEC countries."

Following a meeting of Swedish, Swiss and Austrian trade union leaders early in 1962, Olah, then President of the Trade Union Federation (now Minister of Home Affairs), joined in advising caution in moving towards the EEC, partly because of the more advanced social legislation and the generally better social atmosphere in the EFTA countries. Today no such statements can be found in any Socialist newspaper or heard from a single Socialist politician. Only a few trade union publications continue to stress that the Common Market is inimical to the working people as regards their social rights.

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Advocates of the EEC take great care to conceal their political motives. Instead they concentrate on the argument that since 50 per cent of Austria's exports go to the Common Market, the country cannot risk worsening its position by laying itself open to discrimination on the part of the latter. Krainer, who is head of the Provincial Government in Styria and who belongs to the Right wing of the People's Party, has coined a "classical" formulation of this position: "Neutral Austria will die of hunger unless it joins the EEC."

Some years ago the Communist Party rejected the idea of joining the Common Market for political reasons connected with neutrality and, analyzing the structure of our exports to the Common Market countries, showed that the danger of discrimination was deliberately exaggerated. And the facts have proved that the Party was right. Although the Common Market countries have reduced their internal tariffs and have long been working towards a common external tariff, one can hardly say that there has been any discrimination against Austria since the bulk of its exports consists of goods which are affected only very little or not at all by the EEC customs policy. As a matter of fact, exports to the EEC countries are growing year by year. In 1962, when the EEC halved its internal tariffs, Austria's exports to it rose by six per cent, while the overall export growth was five per cent. The champions of the "starvation under neutrality" theory suffered their biggest blow last year when Austrian manufactured goods sensitive to customs barriers competed successfully on the EEC markets.

When it became known that the EEC would reduce internal tariffs by another 10 per cent this summer and continue to equalize the national external tariffs, capitalist circles once again revived their old "arguments." As it was, however, the Common Market countries announced their readiness to cut the external tariff by 20 per cent, a reduction which the Austrian trade representative in Frankfurt described as highly favorable for Austrian exports.

The Communists advocate strengthening the economy and economic independence, planned improvement of the structure of the economy, promotion of research, safeguarding and extending the nationalized sector, and effective measures to protect industry against the continued influx of foreign capital. In order to ensure independence, provide safeguards against crises and maintain full employment, the Communist Party considers it necessary to trade with a greater number of countries and to put an end to harmful trade and political entanglement with the EEC. To extend foreign commercial intercourse, trade could be expanded with the socialist world, with the underdeveloped countries and indeed with all countries not involved in military blocs. A customs treaty and a trade agreement providing for selective reduction of duties could be concluded with the EEC. Moreover, the tariff reductions should exert pressure on the price policy of

the cartels. Developing industries should be protected from foreign competition.

So far Austria has only gained both politically and economically from neutrality. And to renounce neutrality merely because discrimination might result in a very slight fall

in exports would be an ill-advised venture. Austria has every opportunity to strengthen, by means of structural improvements, its viability and economic independence while staying out of the Common Market and remaining master in its own house.

National Resources and International Socialist Division of Labor

(Some Problems of Economic Development in Bulgaria)

Evgeny Mateyev

THE two basic factors underlying socialist economic progress both on a national scale and on the scale of the socialist world system are fuller utilization of the resources of each country and rapid extension of economic cooperation between the fraternal countries, in particular extension of the international socialist division of labor. These interconnected factors reflect the objective laws governing the advance of socialist economy in the context of the socialist world system.

After the Second World War, when the socialist system was established in a number of countries, the problem of the inter-relation between national-economic endeavor and the international socialist division of labor came to the fore as a practical issue of the day. The economic policies of the socialist countries and their economic relations with one another are aimed at ensuring a rational solution of this problem.

Marxism-Leninism provides the theoretical premises for correctly determining the relationship between the two factors. To build up their economies it is imperative for the socialist countries to make the fullest use of their resources. But this is also their international duty, their contribution to the common cause of strengthening the socialist community. International division of labor enables each country to make the most rational use of its national resources, and the better the socialist countries use their resources the bigger the role they can play in this division of labor. Strictly speaking, we are dealing here with two aspects of one and the same process of developing and strengthening the

socialist economy at an up-to-date level of the productive forces and at a time when the steady expansion of mutually advantageous cooperation based on proletarian internationalism has become the hallmark of relations between the socialist countries.

If the socialist countries did not make effective use of all the opportunities provided by their resources for increasing production and pinned their hopes on someone else assuming responsibility for building up their economy, if they were to count on obtaining all the resources they need from abroad, this would in the long run result in inadequate utilization of resources everywhere and a slowing down of the economic advance of the socialist commonwealth as a whole. On the other hand, if the vast potential inherent in the international socialist division of labor is not harnessed, the development of the various countries will follow autarchic lines which, in the overall context of the modern productive forces and in the light of the fact that the socialist world system is creating international relationships of an entirely new type, would be a serious brake on progress, an anachronism representing a reactionary nationalistic pipedream.

In view of this the Communist and Workers' parties in the countries affiliated to the Council for Mutual Economic Aid recognize the need to combine all-round development of the economies of the various countries with international specialization of production. It is up to each country to decide which of its branches lend themselves to international specialization, to define their place in the system of economic cooperation.

Economists in the member-countries are now conducting extensive research with a view to working out the optimal economic proportions ensuring the maximum increase of the productivity of labor on a national scale.

The Eighth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, which outlined a program of economic development for 1961-80, defined the most rational lines of international specialization for Bulgaria. In conformity with the directives adopted by the Congress, an optimal economic complex is being built up which will ensure the harmonious, proportional development of the country's productive forces and enter as an integral component into the thriving economy of the socialist community as a whole.

Under capitalism international economic relations present an entirely different picture. They are rife with all the contradictions of the capitalist system. Economic relations between the highly developed and the less developed capitalist countries, including the export of capital from the former, are primarily an instrument of exploitation designed to facilitate the plunder of the resources of the less developed countries by the dominant foreign monopolies and their local agents. In these circumstances orientation on one's own resources, a striving towards their full utilization, is a means of defense against foreign monopoly capital.

Under capitalism utilization of one's own resources and international division of labor are two irreconcilable opposites. Inasmuch as capitalist international division of labor essentially amounts to domination by foreign monopoly capital, it is a big obstacle to the use of their own resources by countries at a lower economic level. At the same time this impedes the extension of the international division of labor and tends to reduce its efficacy.

Under socialism there is no reason why a country could not make full use of its own resources while participating in international division of labor. Proper utilization of the national resources cannot create impediments to international division of labor or vice versa. Contrary to the situation prevailing under capitalism with its inherent antagonistic contradictions, under socialism, by virtue of the very nature of socialist production relations, the economic advance of one country stimulates progress in all the others.

This is fully confirmed by the experience of Bulgaria, whose economic progress is based on close cooperation with the other socialist countries.

Until the end of the Second World War the Bulgarian economy stood at the bottom of the list in Europe. In 1939 some 80 per cent of the labor force was engaged in agriculture and only 6.25 per cent in industry. The economy rested almost completely on farming. Industry, in which the light and food industries predominated, largely processed agricultural raw materials. Other natural resources were used to a negligible extent. Apart from a little coal mining and cement production, minerals were all but untapped. In agriculture the proportion of labor power per unit of farm land was high and farming techniques were at a very low level.

Under the circumstances labor power, the principal factor of economic development, was inadequately utilized. Forty per cent of all the farms cultivated less than three hectares on the average. Most of the rural manpower, especially that engaged in this group of farms, was utilized ineffectively. As a matter of fact, hidden unemployment in the countryside was the basic economic problem in prewar Bulgaria. As a result of ineffective use of natural and labor resources, the national income was low. This, and the fact that a substantial part of the national income was pumped out of the country in the shape of profit on foreign capital while another part went to a parasitic class of local exploiters, inevitably caused an acute shortage of funds for investment in production.

Prewar Bulgaria was more advanced than most of the newly-emerged countries of today, especially as regards education and health standards. But for all that it was confronted by the same problems, engendered by economic backwardness, which today face most of the newly free countries, above all the problem of concealed agrarian unemployment. Because of this socialist Bulgaria's experience in overcoming its economic lag is useful, especially for the underdeveloped countries.

Bulgaria's prewar backwardness was primarily due to the subordinate position it occupied in the capitalist world economy, in which it was assigned the role of an agrarian raw-material producing adjunct of the more developed European capitalist countries. The basic factor which made it possible to do away with this backwardness in the less than 20 years since its liberation was association with the socialist world system. The principles of equality, fraternal aid and growing cooperation which govern economic relations between the socialist countries have enabled

Bulgaria to make more effective use of its own resources and rapidly to build up its economy.

Whereas in 1939 our industry employed roughly 200,000 people, by 1960 the figure had risen to 762,000. The rapid growth of industry created jobs not only for the natural increase in the labor force but also for a considerable part of the population formerly engaged in agriculture. Industrial growth was stimulated, first, by intensive development of mineral raw-material sources, second, by increased production and more rational use of agricultural materials, and, third, by the increasing import of raw materials (metal, cotton, oil, etc.), mostly from the Soviet Union. This last factor has played a no less important role than the first two.

In particular, mention should be made of the rapid advance in fuel and power. Coal output rose from 2.2 million tons in 1939 to 17 million in 1960. Thanks to this, and also due to the extensive harnessing of water-power resources, electric power output increased from 266 million kilowatt-hours in 1939 to 4,657 million in 1960 and 6,000 million in 1962.

A non-ferrous metals industry has been established. Copper mining was practically non-existent in 1939, but in 1961 extraction of this metal reached 15,200 tons (in terms of the refined product). Lead and zinc mining rose from 5,500 tons in 1939 to 167,200 tons in 1961. With the growth of ore extraction, production capacities in the subsequent phases of the metallurgical cycle were launched one after another. Today Bulgaria is, for per capita ratio, one of the leading lead and zinc producers as well as an important producer of copper. Parallel with the creation of an industry processing non-ferrous metals from ore to finished product such branches as electrical engineering developed rapidly. In fact, the latter have been forging ahead at a somewhat faster rate than the non-ferrous metals industry.

Prewar Bulgaria had no iron and steel industry to speak of. The first works in this branch went into operation in 1953, and by 1962 output of iron ore mounted to 635,000 tons, pig iron 217,000 tons, steel 423,000 and rolled metal 330,000 tons. Now a big iron and steel works is being built in Kremikovtsi. This mill will serve as the foundation for continued expansion in iron and steel.

Bulgaria had no chemical industry before the war. In 1962, however, output of sulphuric acid reached nearly 250,000 tons (in terms of monohydrate), caustic soda 18,600

tons, calcined soda 180,000 tons, and nitrogen fertilizers 94,000 tons (in terms of nitrogen). Agriculture, which hardly used any chemical fertilizers at all before the war, is now rendered substantial assistance by the rapidly growing chemical industry. The construction of a large oil refinery providing a basis for a rapid increase in the production of organic chemicals is nearing completion.

Prewar Bulgaria had no engineering industry of its own, apart from railway repair shops and other small enterprises. But in 1962 nearly 20 per cent of the total labor force in state-owned industry was engaged in this branch. Our engineering plants now turn out nearly half of all the capital equipment needed by the country and nearly 20 per cent of its exports. In 1962 home industry turned out 2,270 metal-working machine tools, 2,430 drill presses, 17,000 internal combustion engines, 390,000 electric motors, nearly 7,000 transformers, some 9,000 electric trolleys, nearly 16,000 electric telfers, 175,000 radio sets and practically all the machines and implements apart from tractors needed for agricultural mechanization.

It is worth noting that the engineering industry began to develop even before we had our own pig iron, steel and rolled metal. In the early period imported metal, mostly Soviet, was used. The building of an iron and steel industry began with the construction of open-hearth furnaces and rolling mills processing pig iron imported from the Soviet Union. Later, practically all the other links of the full metallurgical cycle were created. Bulgaria was able to establish its own engineering industry—a branch decisive for industry as a whole—only by combining maximum utilization of its own raw material resources (especially non-ferrous metals) with the import of the lacking materials from the Soviet Union. At the same time international division of labor and specialization within the framework of the socialist system made it possible for Bulgaria, which prior to 1944 had to import even nails, to become the exporter of machines and thereby ensure for itself favorable conditions for comparatively large-scale specialized engineering production.

Had it not been for the beneficial effect of international socialist division of labor Bulgaria would not have been able to make use of its raw material and manpower resources.

And it would have been equally unable to take part in this division of labor in the sphere of heavy industry or to embark on rational specialization had it not extensively

developed its own raw material sources and increasingly channelled its manpower reserves into the extractive industries, metallurgy and engineering. It should be stressed that both in exploring and developing raw-material resources and in building up an engineering industry based on these resources the Soviet Union has rendered Bulgaria extensive aid in the form of credits, scientific and technological know-how and skilled personnel.

At the present level of the productive forces it would be irrational not only for countries like Bulgaria but also for medium-sized and even some of the bigger countries to strive to build every conceivable branch of heavy industry in general and engineering in particular. If we were to assume that in order to utilize our own resources we should create such a complete industrial complex, we would be deluding ourselves. At the same time it would not get us very far if in building up our heavy industry we did not take into account our specific conditions, if we did not make full use of our raw material resources and ignored the requirements of other branches and the internal balance within heavy industry itself, in a word, if in building up one or another branch of this industry we were to disregard the potentialities and requirements of the economy as a whole.

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When we set to work to put an end to our economic backwardness, we were confronted not only with the problem of disclosing and tapping the new resources needed for heavy industry, but also with the problem of making better use of the production potential of agriculture and light industry. First of all it was essential to increase farm production. So long as we had nearly one million small farms, of which, as mentioned above, 40 per cent were operated by semi-unemployed peasants, there could be no question of increasing agricultural output. Agricultural cooperation provided the social base for progress in the technique of farming. It opened up opportunities to increase farm production through bigger crop yields and higher productivity in animal husbandry and by improving the structure of agriculture. Bulgaria's participation in the international socialist division of labor was the principal condition for utilizing, through large-scale cooperative socialist farming, all the potentialities.

The yields of practically all crops have increased and become more stable. The wheat

yield, which amounted roughly to 1.25 tons per hectare before the war (1934-39), has increased in recent years (1958-61) to 1.7 tons, corn has gone up from 1.17 to two tons, sunflower from 830 kilograms to 1.26 tons. This increase is the result of mechanization, the introduction of modern farming methods, extension of irrigation and the use of more, though still not enough, mineral fertilizers. The replacement of draught animals by machines has made more fodder available for animal husbandry, for increasing the output of livestock products; in a word, fodder resources are now used more rationally.

Machines have released manpower from agriculture, in which far more labor than necessary was engaged even before mechanization. This excess has been increasingly drawn into industry thanks to Bulgaria's participation in the international socialist division of labor. As for supplying the farms with machines, fuel and phosphate fertilizers, this has required considerable imports, primarily from the USSR and mostly on credit.

No less important is the structural reorganization of farming involving both utilization of internal resources and extension of the international division of labor. The old-time small peasant consumed practically all he produced. Cooperative farming, on the contrary, opened the way to increased output for the market and, consequently, made for specialization. And specialization is an important condition for the rational utilization of the specific soil and climatic conditions of Bulgaria.

The structural changes in agriculture are substantial indeed. There has been a marked shift towards high-yield crops. While the average annual agricultural output in 1958-61 exceeded the 1932-38 figure by 62 per cent, the production of tobacco had trebled by 1962, sugar-beet had increased tenfold, tomatoes 14-fold, apples tenfold. Bulgaria has taken a leading place in per capita production of vegetables and fruit.

Thanks to the international socialist division of labor, an extensive external market has been opened for the agricultural products in which Bulgaria specializes. Rapid development of the export branches of agriculture has ensured an inflow of foreign currency, and this is of enormous importance for industrialization. At the same time it has become possible to expand the food-processing industry, which has also helped to increase our foreign exchange income. Bulgaria is now one of the biggest exporters of tinned fruits and vegetables.

There was a time when bourgeois economists attributed the low level of Bulgarian economy and its one-sided, agrarian nature to a shortage of mineral raw materials and a lack of capital.

Bulgaria, of course, cannot be said to be rich in mineral raw materials. Its resources in this respect are modest. As regards natural conditions, an unfavorable factor for agriculture is the need for vast investments in irrigation. But for all that, participation in the international division of labor within the framework of the socialist system has made it possible to build a substantial heavy industry, an agriculture which is forging ahead although the difficulties are sizable, and a food industry.

As for the lack of capital, Bulgaria's example is instructive in this respect too. The economists who ascribed our economic lag to lack of capital got caught in a vicious circle of their own making—they forgot that shortage of capital is due precisely to an insufficiently high level of economic development.

In the initial period Bulgaria could put aside very little for investment. Still, purposeful economic policy, concentration of finance in the key sectors, elimination of parasitic expenditure and a sound regime of economy ensured the success of the first steps. And each subsequent step increased the capital resources of the country. In 1949 we managed with great difficulty to set aside 300 million leva for investment. In 1955-56, although the share of the accumulation fund in the national income decreased considerably, investments totalled 570 million leva, and in 1961 the total rose to 1,260 million leva, or 4.2 times the 1949 figure.

Needless to say, it was not easy for Bulgaria even in 1961 to channel such funds for economic development, all the more so since the growth of capital requirements is accompanied by other mounting needs which the state cannot ignore. Hence it is just as necessary now as before to observe a regime of strict economy and to postpone expenditure which can be put off to a later date. Yet the fact remains that although allocations for investment have grown more than fourfold, the level of consumption now is considerably higher than it was when they totalled only 300 million leva. In 1949 all food was rationed and the rations were frugal. By 1952 we had progressed to the extent that we abolished rationing and went over to unrestricted trade. Since then the level of consumption has increased considerably. By

1961 retail sales of meat and meat products, sugar and confectionery items, milk and dairy products, cotton textiles had risen almost threefold compared with 1952, sales of woollen goods were more than threefold, silk fabrics threefold, footwear more than threefold. As for sales of radio sets the increase was so great that there can hardly be any comparison with 1952. In 1962 consumer buying continued to grow. This shows, on the one hand, that the old subsistence farming is being increasingly squeezed out by the market, and, on the other, that the general standard of living is rising.

Economic progress demands maximum mobilization and purposeful use of a country's resources. Even in a country as small as Bulgaria the sums required for investment run to substantial figures and have to be obtained primarily from internal sources. This process, however, has been greatly facilitated by expanding cooperation with the other socialist countries who have rendered Bulgaria substantial aid in the form of credits on easy terms.

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The need to combine full utilization of internal resources with comprehensive extension of international socialist division of labor was taken into account both in compiling Bulgaria's long-range plan for 1961-80 and in coordinating the development programs of the countries affiliated to the Council for Mutual Economic Aid.

Although good progress has been made in industrialization, Bulgaria's productive forces still lag considerably behind the developed capitalist countries and most of the European socialist countries. Rational and purposeful utilization of all economic resources to ensure continued expansion in industry and in other branches with a view gradually to reaching the level of the more developed socialist countries remains as necessary as hitherto.

By 1980 the population of Bulgaria is expected to approximate 9,550,000, with a labor force of about 5,500,000. Herein lies the main lever of economic development. It is imperative to ensure that manpower is fully utilized and the productivity of labor increased. To this end new natural resources will have to be opened up and developed. This occupies a central place in delineating our economic perspectives.

Bulgaria's ore reserves are sufficient to raise production of rolled metal to about four million tons by 1960, lead to 150,000 tons,

zinc to 90,000, copper to 70,000 tons. These estimates take into account both the present surveyed industrial ore reserves and deposits whose development can be anticipated on the basis of geological forecasts. Coal reserves, mostly lignite of low calorific value, are big enough to raise output to 85 million tons annually by 1980. This and available water-power resources promise an increase in electric power output to 50,000-55,000 million kilowatt-hours annually. Farm production can be expanded 2.5 times as compared with 1960 by increasing yields and the share of high-yield crops in the overall agricultural production.

The natural resources within Bulgarian territory are not sufficient for creating even a semblance of an all-embracing economic complex. We have no aluminum, nickel or chromium, and our deposits of oil are comparatively slight. Hence from this point of view, too, it is imperative, as the productive forces are developed and natural resources tapped, to extend the international division of labor and to define the branches in which our country can specialize.

From the standpoint of Bulgaria's natural and manpower resources it is necessary to lay greater emphasis on the manufacturing industry using mineral and agricultural raw materials. The lines along which manufacturing should be promoted are determined by the mineral and agricultural raw materials available in the country as well as its own specific requirements. For instance, our engineering industry should specialize in electrical machinery, electronic equipment, certain types of machine tools, agricultural machinery, equipment for the food industry and certain branches of chemical engineering. Specialization along these lines is a prime condition for the maximum utilization of our resources.

An examination of the most rational ways and means of using our resources leaves no doubt that Bulgaria's trade with other countries should increase more rapidly than the national income. In other words, our foreign trade will grow both absolutely and relatively, i.e., its share in the national income will increase, reflecting the further extension of international division of labor. Only in this way will it be possible to press ahead with specialization and at the same time meet all the consumer requirements.

Extensive cooperation with other socialist countries and especially such forms as coordinated planning and specialization and coordination of production play a big role in

expanding our economy. At the same time this helps to strengthen the entire socialist system.

All the more curious, then, is the attitude of the Chinese leaders with regard to economic cooperation between the socialist countries. In the last two or three years, owing to the position taken by the Chinese comrades, trade between China and Bulgaria has dropped to roughly one-fifth of what it was. This sharp decline has been felt by our economy. To "substantiate" ideologically their policy of curtailing economic contacts with fraternal countries, the leaders of the Communist Party of China have advanced the slogan of "self-reliance." An examination of this slogan shows that what is in question is not a search for the most effective ways and means of harnessing national resources, utilization of which is facilitated by close economic relations with fraternal countries, but economic isolation which can only retard progress. This is a slogan designed to discredit the most important forms of economic cooperation between the socialist countries. The concept behind it is one of economic autarchy which ignores requirements vital to the development of the productive forces of the socialist countries. Thus the political line of the leaders of the CPC, aimed at splitting the international Communist movement and undermining the unity of the peoples of the socialist community, is complemented by a policy designed to scuttle economic cooperation between the socialist countries and to prevent their economic consolidation.

The attempts made by the Chinese leaders to depict international socialist division of labor as a violation of the independence of the other socialist countries by the Soviet Union, a violation of the principle of equality and mutual benefit in the relations between socialist countries, can only evoke indignation. Bulgaria is deeply grateful to the Soviet Union for its disinterested aid which has played so important a role in our economic development. Bulgaria has already received, on exceptionally favorable terms, Soviet credits totalling more than 1,200 million rubles. With this aid it has built 73 enterprises or factory shops and 32 others are under construction. Our Party fully supports the joint decisions of the Communist and Workers' parties of the member-countries concerning the need to make full use of the advantages accruing from international socialist division of labor.

The experience of our country is cogent proof that the more extensive the interna-

tional socialist division of labor the greater our opportunities to accelerate economic development and the more rapid our progress towards completion of the material and technological base of socialism. Adhering to this line, the Communist Party and the people of

Bulgaria, guided by the principle of socialist internationalism, are doing their utmost to strengthen the socialist world system of economy and to ensure the victory of socialism in peaceful economic competition with capitalism.

Planning and Incentives

New System of Planning and Economic Management in the GDR

ARRANGING the proper balance between centralized state planning and provision of economic incentives is one of the problems of economic management under socialism. The question is not a new one, it has been raised in the socialist countries on more than one occasion. But at each stage in building socialism it is posed in a new way and calls for new solutions. Now that the Soviet Union has entered the period of all-out building of communism, now that other countries are rounding off the building of socialism, the job of finding *the most effective forms of economic management*, the optimum balance between planning and economic incentives occupies the attention of the Parties in the socialist countries.

The new system of planning and economic management in the GDR is aimed at resolving this problem.

The working people of the GDR, who are confronted with difficulties caused by the division of Germany, have achieved high rates of economic advance. In 1962 industrial output was three and a half times as great as the 1936 figure in the corresponding territory. Although the GDR is less than one-quarter the size of prewar Germany, and although before the war this part of the country was economically less developed than the western part, it produces almost as much as the whole of Germany before the war. The GDR holds sixth place among the highly industrialized countries of Europe, and it belongs to the 10 most developed countries of the world. This advance has been made possible, thanks to the systematic work carried out by the Socialist Unity Party to improve the methods of economic management. The recent Sixth Congress of the Party set new tasks in the sphere of production. In keeping with the central tasks of expanding the national economy on the basis of *higher scientific and technological standards and the steady growth of labor productivity*, work is under way to improve management methods.

Study of the problems of economic efficiency by Party and economic bodies and research institutions was accompanied by experiments in those branches where new methods of planning and incentives were introduced. A conference on the subject, held under joint Party and government auspices and attended by Party leaders, industrial managers, researchers and trade unionists, was addressed by Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the SUPG.

An Important Condition of Scientific Management of the Economy

Ulbricht and other speakers pointed out that while progress has been made, managerial efficiency was not keeping pace with the requirements of the new stage of socialist construction. Retarding factors were the specific conditions of the country's development since the liberation, and especially the existence of an open frontier with the imperialist camp. Full utilization of the economic laws of socialism to ensure the optimum and balanced development of the productive forces has become possible only today when socialist relations of production prevail in the Republic, while the closing of the frontier has in large measure cut short the imperialist subversion which in the past had created no small difficulties. The new conditions call for a radical change in the system of economic management which no longer corresponds to the new requirements of the national economy.

Planning and management will be based on strict observation of the economic laws of socialism, on really effective utilization of the economic levers and on the principle of material incentives. The conference stressed the need to get rid of a kind of dogmatism in handling economic matters caused largely by managers relying chiefly on administrative measures, while ignoring the economic levers and incentives.

Problems of this kind arose at different stages in other socialist countries, too. It is no secret that in some countries some economists and managers had wrong ideas concerning the interrelation between planning and incentives. One was that everything depended on working out detailed targets which were then presented to the particular production units, while incentives, regarded as being secondary, amounted to little more than bonuses for overfulfilling the plan. This approach lowered the efficiency of social labor and substituted arbitrary administration for sound planning.

Another of these concepts frowned on centralized planning on the pretext of combating bureaucracy, favoring instead "unrestricted" play for value factors. This concept, it was claimed, gives free rein to the "automatic" play of economic laws and "spontaneously" ensures the optimum proportions and rapid rates of growth. In reality this approach can only result in serious disproportions, in distorting the principle of incentives to the detriment of production and, ultimately, in putting the brakes on socialist construction.

Marxist economic science has demonstrated the fundamental interdependence of planning and economic levers, has demonstrated the place and role of each in the socialist economic management. Only a state plan binding on everyone makes it possible to assess the social requirements and ensure their satisfaction, to subordinate the entire development to the interests of society. And while the plan should play the leading and determining part in the socialist economy, it should at the same time provide for incentives (i.e., cost of production, prices, turnover, profits, wages, bonuses, etc.), since they are the economic levers consciously utilized by socialist society in the interests of extended reproduction.

The principles are clear to Marxist-Leninists, and *the question is how to concretize them and use them in practice.* This question was thoroughly discussed at the conference. Comrade Ulbricht pointed out that the new system was "an organic combination of scientific management and scientifically-sound, centralized, long-range state planning with extensive use of incentives in the shape of a balanced system of economic levers."

New Demands on Planned Management

The new system makes heavy demands on all governmental and economic bodies, beginning with the Council of Ministers. It is necessary to discard the old, predominantly departmental "administration" and switch over to *management* based on production.

Much importance is attached to defining the place of each body in the new system. The rule here is: *all matters to be examined by the bodies which can handle them with the utmost efficiency.* This presupposes transferring some of the rights and duties of the top bodies to the lower, within rational limits, of course, so that the top bodies, relieved of the need to engage in tutelage over the lower, will be able to concentrate on the main problems.

The development of the GDR national economy calls for improving the scientific level of planning. The traditional methods consisted largely of compiling *annual* plans, while insufficient attention was paid to scientifically-sound long-term planning. But scientific management of the national economy as a whole, of one of its branches or individual enterprises necessitates *long-range* development. What is needed is an analysis of the trends with an eye to the operation of economic laws, including the law of value.

The new system foresees *the long-range plan as the principal instrument of planning and economic management.* The manner of compiling the plan will also be different. Whereas in the past it was largely quantitative assessment of the projected development from the level attained in the various branches, now the long range plan will be the end result of research to determine the main trends in science and technology for the planned period, a result of the examination of the natural and economic resources as well as of experience at home and abroad; it will also be coordinated with the planned development of the member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid. The drawing up of programs of technological development for the main branches of the national economy and for the major enterprises, work on which has already begun, will facilitate long-range planning. The new planning has proved its worth in the course of compiling the plan for 1964-70.

Another new demand in planning in the GDR is timely and proper *assessment and registration in the plan of the effect of the incentives.* The economic levers should be used in such a way as to help in reaching the planned targets. Needless to say, their effective utilization can and should help disclose new possibilities for the growth of production, and these possibilities should be envisaged in the plan.

Proper dovetailing of plan and economic levers will make it possible to solve also the complex problem of correctly defining the degree in which the targets should be item-

ized. In the materials presented to the conference it was stated that the new system should be to abolish the "old bureaucratic habit of solving minor matters from the centre," closing thereby the "various sources of extra-economic administration." Centralized planning should not and cannot encompass every detail of economic life. But this does not mean that the details should be left to the blind play of elemental forces. Skilful utilization of the economic levers will make it possible to direct the development of all partial phenomena in such a way as to facilitate the fulfilment of the plan.

Public and Personal Interests

The economic interest of society summed up in the state plan can be realized only if it is concretized as such in the various branches of the national economy. When the operation of economic stimuli is based on false criteria and the incentives assume forms which do not correspond to the conditions of production and the demands made on it, the public interests conflict with personal incentives at the various sectors of production. In point of fact, this signifies a contradiction between the objective essence of the personal interests of the working people corresponding to the interests of society as a whole and those forms of incentives which distort personal interests and bring them into conflict with public interests.

It is essential that *the character of all the measures taken to ensure incentives for the working people (cost accounting, wages, bonuses, etc.) should fully and comprehensively take into account the interests of the national economy.* "At present," said Comrade Ulbricht at the conference, "the task is to design a system of economic levers capable of ensuring that each job, while making for the utmost growth of production, should also bring in higher profits and guarantee each worker a remuneration according to his work. If we do this we shall win." In the program of the Socialist Unity Party the main principle of incentive is formulated in the following way: "What is good for society is good for each enterprise and for each worker."

Each Branch Working According to Cost Accounting Principle

The new planning and management presupposes that the role of the Amalgamations of Publicly-Owned Enterprises (APE)—the principal link in the managerial system*—should

grow. The amalgamations should be centers of management for the corresponding branch and should bear full responsibility for the entire reproduction process in this branch. For this purpose all the amalgamations will be on a cost accounting basis from January 1, 1964.

The switchover to cost accounting signifies that each amalgamation should cover from its profits all the expenditure of the branch under its jurisdiction and, in addition, make definite accumulations so that financially each branch will be regarded as a single entity. Cost accounting principles also retain their value for each enterprise. The profits obtained by the enterprise under the plan should be big enough to cover cost of production, planned investments, expenditure on social and cultural needs, etc. Whenever necessary, the amalgamation will finance the enterprises (for instance, some of the investments) from that share of profits which the factories belonging to the amalgamations set aside specially for this purpose.

An analysis of the functioning of enterprises in the GDR showed that plurality of criteria in assessing their operation can be a source of difficulties. It follows that the central place in the system of economic levers should be allocated to *profit* which would reflect in a generalized way all aspects of the functioning of the enterprise. Apprehensions that this may have negative consequences for the national economy (profit-seeking to the detriment of volume of production, quality, assortment, etc.) will be groundless in the event that the conditions of obtaining profits by the enterprises correspond to the requirements of the economic laws, and, hence, to social requirements. Utilization of up-to-date equipment, greater labor productivity and better quality output should result in bigger profits (violation of these social requirements will on the contrary, cause loss of profit). If this is achieved, the desire of the factories and of the amalgamations to obtain bigger profits will be identical with their desire to produce the maximum economic effect. Needless to say, correct utilization of profit as an economic lever presupposes that all business executives pay attention to the requirements of the national economy as a whole, and

*Industrial ministries were abolished in the GDR in 1958 and replaced by 75 Amalgamations of Publicly-Owned Enterprises under central jurisdiction. Over 30 amalgamations were

formed in the machine-building industry, five in the coal and electric power industry, six in ore-mining and metallurgy and seven in the chemical industry. The amalgamations are situated in the main areas of concentration of the corresponding branches. This reorganization has resulted in operative management being nearer to the enterprises, and has enhanced the responsibility of the latter.

should have a sense of responsibility for state interests.

Elaboration of a *new price system* is basic to this task. Hitherto the price paid by the enterprises for, say, coal, or electricity, was considerably lower than the expenditure of socially necessary labor. As it was pointed out at the conference, all measures to reinforce cost accounting and other forms of incentives will be realistic only when new prices are formed, reflecting fully the expenditure of socially necessary labor. In introducing the new price system it is necessary to take account of the needs of the national economy, because only by so doing will the new prices stimulate technological progress and better quality. At the same time it is understood that the reform of industrial prices should by no means affect retail prices.

The new system envisages putting an end to the situation when the enterprises lacked the incentives that would encourage them to make better use of the production funds, to combat accumulation of excess stocks, etc. With this aim in view, a definite percentage of the production funds at the disposal of the enterprises will be deducted in favor of the amalgamation. The latter, in its turn, will earmark for the state budget deductions from the value of the production funds of the entire branch. "Deduction from production funds," stressed Comrade Ulbricht, "could become for the amalgamation an expression of the minimum state demand in regard to utilization of the production funds and therefore in regard to creating net profit."

With all its significance profit will not, of course, be the sole yardstick, it will be complemented by other criteria such as higher labor productivity and lower production costs. The performance of the amalgamation will be assessed not simply by purely economic and production indices but also by the way it satisfies the needs of the national economy for the goods it produces. That is why under the new system the amalgamation is wholly responsible for marketing its products, for gauging demand and meeting the needs of the national economy. The amalgamation is now entitled to set up its own marketing body wherever it is expedient economically.

Personal Incentives

In the past insufficient attention was paid to the principle of personal incentive. The incentive levers were not arranged into a balanced system and as often as not their operation was contradictory and haphazard. This, of

course, prevented complete harmony between the personal and public interests.

In accordance with the new system wages should be based on the *social value of the labor* of each worker. By making skilful use of the various forms of remuneration (abandoning, for example, exaggeration of the role of piece-work), it will be possible to direct the incentive to those aspects of production which at the given moment become paramount from the standpoint of the needs of society. The task is to see that wages should reflect both the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the activity of each worker. Special attention will be paid to rate fixing. Salaries of managerial personnel will be directly dependent on the quantitative and qualitative results which they directly influence by their work.

The bonus system needs changing. Dispersal of premium funds is being eliminated as well as the plurality of criteria according to which premiums are awarded. The premium fund will be largely proportionate to the profit obtained, and such indices as labor productivity, the amount of marketed produce and observance of the planned level of employment will also be taken into account. Both the system of wages and the system of bonuses will be determined by the rise in production over a definite period and not by percentage fulfillment of plan. This will make for optimal planning.

The new tasks set by the Party in its program endorsed by the Sixth Congress call for a still closer tie between economic endeavor and political and ideological work. That is why the new Party Rules point out that the Party functions according to the production principle. The reorganization of economic management is not exhausted by issuing corresponding directives. Ahead is a complex process of persistent implementation of the measures. Successful functioning of the new system depends on the deepening of the socialist consciousness of the working people, on their understanding of the economic laws of socialism. On the level of consciousness of the masses depends their activity and their initiative in developing the economy. The Party maintains that socialist education is decisive for fulfilling the complex economic tasks. The working people should learn to solve all production problems from the standpoint of the national economy as a whole. The Party also bears in mind the indissoluble link between ideological and moral factors and incentives, and their close interaction. If the system of material incentives is properly organized, it

will help deepen socialist consciousness and develop a socialist attitude to labor.

Having analyzed economic development in the light of the tasks of the all-out building of socialism in the Republic, the Party disclosed the contradiction between the old method of managing the national economy and the

requirements of its further growth; it has found the forms and methods of leadership which correspond most fully to the needs of the day, thereby paving the way to new victories of socialism in Germany.

K. MIKULSKY

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

For International Solidarity

Scanning the Communist Press

AS WE know, an extensive discussion has developed of late in the Communist and Workers' parties on the paramount problems of the day, the strategy and tactics of the world Communist movement. On June 14 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China addressed a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in which the Chinese leaders advanced a new "general line of the international Communist movement" in opposition to the Marxist-Leninist general line elaborated jointly by the 1957 and 1960 meetings, and bitterly attacked the CPSU and other fraternal parties.

This letter was widely circulated by the Chinese comrades in all countries.

In this way the fraternal parties were confronted with the necessity to defend the general line of the international Communist and working-class movement, openly and unequivocally to formulate their attitude to the line of the Chinese leaders which threatens the unity of the international Communist movement.

On July 14 the Central Committee of the CPSU issued an Open Letter to all Party organizations and all Party members in the Soviet Union in which it drew attention to the anti-Leninist character of the views of the Chinese leaders and upheld the general line of the international Communist and working-class movement as laid down in the documents of the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960.

Many of the fraternal parties have expressed their views on the erroneous line of the Chinese leaders. In their resolutions and statements they stress the significance of the Open Letter of the C.C. of the CPSU in exposing the anti-Marxist essence of the views and practical actions of the Chinese leaders, and voice their

determination to fight uncompromisingly together with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the purity of Marxism-Leninism and to implement the jointly worked out general line of the international Communist movement.

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany adopted a resolution in which it declared its complete support for the CPSU Open Letter and rejected the charges made by the Chinese leaders against the Leninist leadership of the CPSU and the fraternal parties. "Our Party," the resolution says, "in close unity with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other Communist and Workers' parties firmly adheres to the general line of the world Communist movement which has been confirmed by developments, and will creatively apply it and fight for the purity of the Marxist-Leninist teaching. Our Party will work for the unity and solidarity of the socialist world system and the world Communist movement."

"The letter of the CPSU," says the statement issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, "is fully in accord with the views and line of our Party. Therefore the Central Committee expresses its complete agreement with the conclusions and actions of the Party of Lenin, which in the highest degree helps to fortify the Marxist-Leninist unity of the world Communist movement. Above all our Party appreciates the fact that the ideas that constitute the common program of all Communists in the struggle waged by the working people of the world for peace and communism have found their consistent reflection and principled defense in the letter of the CPSU."

Expressing their solidarity with the Open Letter of the CPSU, the fraternal parties, on

the basis of their own experience, develop and augment its arguments, stressing the absolute unsoundness of the "general line" advocated by the leaders of the Communist Party of China.

The fraternal parties stress that the mistakes of the Chinese leaders follow from their violation of the ideas and principles jointly elaborated and set out in the documents of the Moscow meetings. "In recent times," reads the statement issued by the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party, "and especially in their letter of June 14, the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party have questioned the propositions approved by all parties, including their own Party. At the same time they have launched their splitting activity in the world Communist movement and in international organizations.

"Everyday life, the experience of the class struggle and the successes won on the basis of the ideas enunciated in the 1957 and 1960 documents prove how erroneous the Chinese contentions are."

The resolution of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party reads in part:

"The Central Committee notes that the June 14 letter of the Communist Party of China arbitrarily interprets and grossly distorts the 1957 and 1960 documents of the Communist and Workers' parties and levels baseless charges against the fraternal parties which are carrying on the struggle in the spirit of these documents. The C.C. declares its complete agreement with the Open Letter of the C.C. of the CPSU since it sets forth the only possible scientific, tried and tested Marxist-Leninist position on the problems of the international revolutionary movement, communist construction and the international situation, and upholds the common Leninist line of the Communist movement against the unwarranted attacks of the leaders of the Communist Party of China."

"The line of action of the international Communist movement," says the statement of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Finland, "was laid down at the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960, and it would be a great mistake now to evolve, as the Chinese leaders demanded, a new line departing on practically all major issues from the documents of these meetings. This would mean renouncing the Marxist-Leninist principles."

The Finnish comrades stress that the views of the CPSU Central Committee expressed in its Open Letter wholly coincide with the line approved by the international forums of the Communist and Workers' parties.

The Jordanian Communist Party declared in its statement: "We, together with all Communists and democrats in Jordan, fully support the Open Letter of the C.C. of the CPSU, and the position of its Leninist leadership on all the problems set forth in that letter. At the same time our Party emphatically denounces the vile and provocative slander campaign launched by the Chinese leaders against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its leadership loyal to Marxism-Leninism. We Jordanian Communists denounce the disruptive activities carried out by the Chinese leaders against the unity of the socialist camp and against the unity of the international Communist movement."

Tribuna Ludu, organ of the Polish United Workers' Party, commented: "to the common principles of socialist and communist construction formulated above all in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement as well as in the Program of the CPSU whose latest contribution has enriched the international working-class movement, the Chinese statements reveal an obvious desire to counterpose a special, diametrically opposed concept of the motive forces, ways and means of building socialism and communism."

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Mexico declared in a resolution that "the line proposed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in the above-mentioned letter and in other documents circulated in our country can only be described as an attack on the basic principles of the international Communist movement on the questions of war and peace and the development of the world revolutionary movement and on the Leninist principles underlying the relations between the fraternal Communist parties. This line, if accepted, would result in the complete isolation of the Communists from the masses and in the defeat of the revolutionary and national-liberation movement."

A resolution adopted by the C.C. of the Communist Party of Israel resolutely condemns the Chinese leaders' actions. It says:

"The C.C. of the Communist Party of Israel regards the June 14 letter of the CPC as a sign of the anti-Marxist views expressed by the Chinese leadership from positions of great-nation nationalism and nationalist arrogance. The Chinese leaders scorn the views of the other fraternal parties and issue slanderous and false statements against the CPSU and the international Communist movement."

* * *

The fraternal parties focus attention on the attitude of the Chinese leaders, an attitude that

is causing apprehension and concern, to the basic problems of the strategy and tactics of the world Communist movement—peaceful co-existence, peace and war.

The French Party declared: "The leaders of the CPC cast doubt as to the correctness of the struggle for general disarmament and peace. In fact they deny that war can be averted as a result of the victory of socialism in a number of countries, of the liberation of colonial peoples and the development of the working-class and democratic movement, which have brought about a new correlation of forces in the world. Apparently they are oblivious to the changes caused by the existence and stockpiling of thermonuclear weapons, which impose the alternative indicated in the 1960 Statement: 'Peaceful coexistence of countries with different systems or destructive war.' A world war would wipe out millions of people in a few days. Countries like ours would be turned into radioactive deserts. And on these ruins a 'really bright future', a profoundly humane communist society in which progress and abundance will reign supreme, cannot be built. The cause of peace is inseparable from the cause of socialism."

"Our Party," says the statement of the Communist Party of Germany, "resolutely rejects the attempts of the leaders of the Communist Party of China to counterpose to the jointly-elaborated general line of the world Communist movement, another general line based on rejection of the jointly adopted decisions and their arbitrary interpretation."

"The representatives of our Party," the statement continues, "told the Chinese comrades in 1960 at the meeting in Moscow that atomic war would signify catastrophe for our working class and our people. . . . It is necessary to fight to frustrate the aggressive designs of the West German imperialists and to prevent them from unleashing a new world war from the territory of the Federal Republic."

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain points out that, while paying lip-service to peaceful coexistence, "the Chinese comrades in practice deprive this basic principle of its true meaning and distort its role in the revolutionary struggle."

"The people of Spain, waging a bitter struggle against the Franco dictatorship, know from experience that the success of the policy of peaceful coexistence and international détente accelerates the disintegration of the Franco regime and simultaneously acts as a stimulus to the opposition forces fighting for democracy in our country."

Gus Hall, leading American Communist, declared:

". . . To spread the falsehood that the Soviet Union, the bastion of world anti-imperialism, places the anti-imperialist struggle as secondary is to do the bidding of U.S. imperialism. The facts of history completely destroy this falsehood."

"The world Marxists, including ourselves, hold that the policy of peaceful coexistence is compatible with and facilitates the class struggle, the struggle to end colonialism and the emergence of world socialism. We firmly believe that this is not only correct, but that any other policy in the context of the realities of this epoch can lead only to defeats and setbacks."

The Chinese leaders, as we all know, oppose the treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. The government of the Chinese People's Republic has characterized the treaty as a "fraud which fools the peoples of the whole world" and "is completely at variance with the aspirations of the peace-loving peoples of all countries."

The fraternal parties, while hailing the treaty as a first step towards the solution of the wider problem of banning atomic weapons and, subsequently, achieving general and complete disarmament, emphatically denounce the attitude of the Chinese leaders as one which does not express the interests of the peace-loving peoples.

"It is not in our opinion," said the Political Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain, "the best use of the tremendous influence which the socialist third of the world can exercise in the cause of disarmament and peace for one socialist power to denounce another for the achievement of a Test Ban Treaty. Such a treaty has only been made possible by the support of the peoples of the world and the long and patient negotiations of the Soviet Union. . . . It is the most extreme aggressive reactionaries of the war camp in the United States and West Germany, along with de Gaulle, who have denounced the Test Ban Treaty."

"How can it be that the Chinese government, in effect, finds itself in company with such reactionary and bellicose circles?"

The Secretariat of the Communist Party of Australia, expressing its attitude to the statements of the Chinese leaders about the Moscow treaty, stressed: "The Communist Party of Australia rejects and condemns these statements by the Chinese leadership as a most damaging and irresponsible assault against the world's forces for peace, engaged as they are in a

long and complicated struggle to prevent world nuclear war."

In the statement issued by the Secretariat of the Communist Party of Norway we read:

"In view of the fact that the treaty concluded in Moscow is an important step towards safeguarding peace, the Secretariat of the Communist Party of Norway expresses its satisfaction over its being signed by the Norwegian government too. At the same time the Secretariat expresses its regret that some countries have adopted a negative attitude to the treaty. Such an attitude is not what the Communist Party of Norway considers working for peace."

The leadership of the Swiss Party of Labor adopted a resolution hailing the Moscow treaty as a first step towards banning nuclear weapons and achieving general and complete disarmament. "Most unfortunately," the resolution points out, "the leaders of the Chinese People's Republic oppose the Moscow treaty, calling it treachery and fraud and thereby distorting the policy and intentions of the Soviet Union, seeking to divide the international Communist and labor movement and representing themselves as the only qualified leaders. The Swiss Party of Labor denounces and rejects such an attitude which is incomprehensible and which runs counter to the interests of mankind, the interests of peace and the interests of all countries, including Switzerland."

Wladyslaw Gomułka, First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, said:

"We are both surprised and grieved by the position taken by the government of the Chinese People's Republic in rejecting the Moscow treaty, attacking the Soviet Union, smearing and misrepresenting its policy. The leaders of People's China evidently do not link the security of their country with the unity and fraternal alliance of the states comprising the socialist camp. Blinded by a desire to possess their own nuclear weapons, they are splitting the unity of the socialist commonwealth and the international Communist movement, thus bringing grist to the mill of the enemies of socialism and the instigators of war. Our Party and the Polish people as a whole regard the Chinese people as their friend and ally in the struggle for peace and the victorious building of socialism. We cannot agree, however, with the present policy and position of the leaders of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese People's Republic in regard to the Moscow treaty. They have taken a path which is both wrong and harmful to the victory of socialism and peace throughout the world and to the interests of their own country and people."

Unen, organ of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, in an editorial entitled "The Treaty that Corresponds to the Interests of All People" wrote:

"By opposing the treaty the Chinese leaders disregard the tireless struggle and the just demands of the peoples of the world, disregard humanism.

"By opposing this treaty the Chinese leaders show that in effect they reduce the policy of peaceful coexistence to bombastic phrases."

Criticizing the position of the Chinese leaders on the problems of war and peace, Leslie Morris, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, wrote:

"A reading of their 25-point letter shows that while they come out in favor of peaceful coexistence and disarmament they reject exactly those policies of compromise and step-by-step struggle (as in the case of the partial test ban) which *alone* can make these things realizable.

"This treaty," says a resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ceylon, "will help towards easing international tensions. It will help to reduce the harmful consequences of pollution by radioactive substances. . . . This first step will greatly encourage all who sincerely desire peace to redouble their efforts to bring about the complete prohibition of all nuclear tests and weapons, and general and complete disarmament."

* * *

The fraternal parties severely censure the attitude taken by the Chinese leaders in regard to the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Communist parties in these areas devote particular attention to the mistakes of the Chinese leadership on this question.

The Syrian Communist Party expresses "regret over the fact that the Chinese comrades are seeking to misrepresent and distort the problems of the national-liberation movement, its development and the relation between it and the socialist world system and the world revolutionary movement of the working class.

"The Chinese comrades," the statement goes on, "deny that which is perfectly clear to all, that which follows from the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, namely, that the main contradiction of our time is the contradiction between the socialist and the capitalist, imperialist systems. The national-liberation movement can consolidate its gains and win new victories only in close alliance with the countries of the socialist world system with the Soviet Union in the vanguard.

"The desire of the Chinese comrades to isolate the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America from the socialist countries and especially from their vanguard—the Soviet Union—directly coincides with the schemes and designs of world imperialism.

"The line of the Chinese comrades would deprive the national-liberation movement of the political, economic and military aid of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. This would result in the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America falling into the clutches of imperialism with their hands tied."

The statement of the Lebanese Communists published in the newspaper *Al Akbar* says:

"Our people like the other Arab peoples know from experience . . . that the Soviet Union is for them the best friend and the most powerful support in the struggle for national independence. . . .

"Are the Chinese leaders who today claim that the interests of the national-liberation movement are at variance with the interests of the socialist world commonwealth not aware of that which is known to the Communists in Asia, Africa and Latin America, namely, that the national-liberation struggle of the colonial peoples would not have been able to win its victories, despite the heroism and self-sacrifice for which it was distinguished, had not the October Revolution and, after it, the emergence of the socialist world system shaken imperialism to its foundations and undermined the strength of the colonialists? The great and decisive victories of the national-liberation movement and of the national revolutions were won at a time when the community of the socialist countries, with the Soviet Union as their vanguard, became the decisive factor of social development."

"All Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples," says the statement of the Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India, "know well the unparalleled contribution made by the Soviet Union to the struggle for national independence, against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The Soviet Union's determined action in support of the peoples battling for national independence has been a decisive factor in halting imperialism, again and again. . . .

"All the lies and slanders of the CPC leadership against the Soviet Union in regard to the national independence struggle will never wipe out from the memory and the day-to-day experience of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, that the Soviet Union and its government and the Communist Party are the

strongest and best champions of the worldwide movement for national independence.

"Indian Communists severely condemn the attempts made by the CPC leadership to import racial and regional sentiments in order to divide the international movement for peace and socialism and build up hate against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries of Europe."

Rejecting the charges levelled by the Chinese leaders against the CPSU on the question of aid to the national-liberation movement, the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica stressed in a statement:

"No honest person can deny that the liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Cuba in Latin America has been successful largely thanks to the solidarity and aid of the Soviet Union.

"In their letter the Chinese comrades try to counterpose the Communist parties and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and, in large measure, also to the Communist parties of the European countries.

"Our Central Committee declares that in the opinion of the Costa Rican Communists the existence of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and our solidarity with it is the earnest of success in the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples of Latin America."

Anvar Mustafa, member of the Political Bureau of the Iraqi Communist Party, wrote on behalf of Iraqi Communists in a letter to the CPSU:

"The militant revolutionary solidarity of the socialist world system, the heartland of which is the Soviet Union, with the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America is the guarantee of successful development of the movement of the peoples battling for national independence and self-determination. Any attempt to counterpose these two forces to one another or to set the peoples against the socialist camp by means of extreme nationalism and racism, and to drive a wedge between the cause of peace and the national-liberation struggle, is hopeless and harmful."

Mardom, organ of the People's (Tudeh) Party of Iran, wrote:

"One of the charges advanced by the Chinese comrades against the CPSU is that this Party and the Soviet government apply the principle of peaceful coexistence to the relations between the colonial countries and the imperialists, that they refuse to support and consolidate the national-liberation movements. The facts give the lie to these charges. The history of recent years shows that not on a single

occasion has the Soviet government denied any form of aid to the national-liberation movements. This aid has been moral, economic, financial, political and even military."

Bashir Hadj Ali, a leading Communist in Algeria, in a press statement denouncing the splitting activity of the Chinese leaders, stressed: "The responsibility of the Chinese comrades is exceptionally great. Their splitting activity in the international Communist movement, their attacks on socialism are extremely harmful and especially at the moment when the ideas of socialism (I mean scientific socialism) have been taken up by the masses and especially by the working class of the countries which have freed themselves from colonialism. The stand of the Chinese leaders is fraught with the danger of causing confusion and may put a brake on this great liberation movement of the peoples."

* * *

The Communist parties expose the inconsistency of the Chinese leaders in defending the ideology and practice of the personality cult. The Chinese leaders, they stress, not only retreat from their own previous statements on this question but oppose the common position of all the fraternal parties, which have resolutely condemned the personality cult and are doing everything to prevent a repetition of the mistakes of the past.

The statement issued by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia says:

"Our Party and the workers of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic were shocked by the fact that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China did not hesitate, in its letter of June 14, to come out in defense of the personality cult which has been condemned by the entire international Communist movement. After the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China expressed agreement with the general position of the CPSU on that question; yet today when the benefit of the removal of the unhealthy phenomena of the personality cult has been fully confirmed, it adopts an entirely different stand.

"The restoration of the Leninist standards in the Marxist-Leninist parties and the process of purification in the international Communist movement after the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU have been the main factors making for the further advance of socialism and its growing impact on world development, and for the big victories won in recent years in the struggle for peace and progress."

"Those in the international Communist move-

ment," said Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, "who today defend the personality cult and its methods should not count on us because we, our Party and our people have had enough of the personality cult and do not want to see it again. In waging a fight against the personality cult, we are fighting for socialism, for peace and well-being for our people."

Friedl Furnberg, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria, said in a report unanimously approved by the Central Committee of the Party:

"In their letter the Chinese comrades sharply opposed the exposure of the Stalin personality cult and the removal of its grave consequences. . . .

"In effect the Chinese comrades are against overcoming the personality cult, and they want to preserve its remains. It is not fortuitous therefore that for a long time they have said nothing about socialist democracy and its extension. The political concept of the CPC and its 'general line' boil down to thrusting the Communist movement back to the period preceding the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, the congress that opened to the world Communist movement new vistas towards which practically all the Communist parties are now working."

"The exposure of the Stalin personality cult," stresses a resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Denmark, "was decisive for the further development of the entire Communist movement. All parties agree that the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU marked the beginning of a new phase for the whole movement, and life has confirmed this. Such being the case, it is not clear why the Communist Party of China calls the struggle against the personality cult 'erroneous and harmful'. The Communist parties have no desire to allow a return to mistakes which have been overcome. They will see to it that these mistakes never recur."

* * *

The fraternal parties expose the methods used by the Chinese leaders in their splitting activities, methods which imperil the unity of the world Communist movement.

"In an attempt to win preponderance for the dogmatic and extremist standpoint," stressed the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party, "the Chinese leaders have resorted to methods which should be condemned since they are based on factionalism. Acting in this way the Chinese comrades not only deliver a blow to unity which, judging by their words

they are anxious to preserve, but actually prevent the process of searching, analysis and debate which are so essential in view of the growth of the Communist and revolutionary movement and because of the new and complex tasks facing it all over the world."

"Violating the principles of the 1960 Statement," said the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina, "the Chinese comrades flagrantly interfere in the affairs of fraternal parties, including our Party. As factionalists, they do not hesitate to use anti-party groupings. In Argentina, they incite adventurous elements against some of the most highly respected leaders of the world Communist movement and spread lies about the leaders of the CPSU. These are hostile actions, violating the most elementary and generally recognized principles of revolutionary organization, actions opening the way to a split and causing injury to the supreme interests of the world Communist movement."

The same idea is expressed in the statement issued by the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Canada:

"The factional activities of the Chinese party in many countries, including our country where it is in direct contact with the Trotskyists, are in violation of the standards of conduct which should regulate the relationships between fraternal parties."

"It is with regret and concern that we note," said Nicolae Ceausescu, Secretary of the C.C. of the Rumanian Workers' Party, "that the differences which have arisen on the main problems of our time remain. And instead of resolving them in the framework of the relations between the parties and in a Party spirit, by way of comradely discussions conducted with patience and with a sense of responsibility, these differences have of late become dangerously sharp. We find it impossible to agree that the treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, even if it is only a first step towards resolving the urgent problem of averting world thermonuclear war, should be used as a pretext for increasingly sharper attacks, for baseless charges and sharp expressions like 'deceiving the people', 'collusion with imperialism', 'betrayal of Marxism-Leninism', etc."

"Sharp attacks and ascribing to others intentions they have never entertained is incompatible with normal relations between states and all the more impermissible in relations between socialist countries and between Communist and Workers' parties."

"This attitude, besides threatening to affect the relations between the socialist states, does

nothing to clarify the problems and to create the conditions favorable for a sincere and objective comparison of opinions and for reaching a common point of view."

"The emergence of different views on some of the problems of social development, no matter how great the difference, does not give any Communist, and even less so any of the fraternal parties, big or small, the right to interfere in the internal affairs of other parties and shower another Party or its leadership with all kinds of epithets. . . ."

"We maintain that it is necessary to put an end to methods which are causing grave injury to the relations between the Communist and Workers' parties, that it is necessary to resolve all controversial issues on the unshakeable foundation of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of the decisions adopted jointly at the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960."

The Communist Party of Greece stressed that "the wrong stand and actions of the Chinese comrades constitute a serious threat to the unity of the world Communist movement."

"We call upon all Communists in our country to combat the anti-Party group which publishes the newspaper *Classe Operaria*," wrote Luis Carlos Prestes, General Secretary of the Brazilian Communist Party. "These elements seize upon the differences in the international Communist movement to carry on their splitting activity."

"In this sense it is worth noting that some of the editorials in this paper were broadcast by Peking radio. This is a breach of the traditionally friendly relations between us and the Chinese comrades. We have already notified the leadership of the CPC of this."

"True to the principles of unity of the Communist movement, the Brazilian Communists will safeguard the unity of their ranks against any splitting activity."

The Communist Party of Chile draws attention to the fact that the statement contained in Point 12 of the June 14 letter of the Communist Party of China was actually a call for a split in the Communist parties which do not support the Chinese deviation. "The situation," the statement says, "is aggravated by the fact that the splitting activities are carried on with the help of factionalists expelled from Communist parties, hirelings and adventurers. This is being done at a time when the democratic forces in our country are engaged in a fierce battle with imperialism and the reactionary forces, and are making every effort to achieve a government of the people. In these circumstances the entire imperialist propaganda

machine is trying to profit by the situation created by the Chinese comrades."

The resolution adopted by a meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Denmark says:

"We greatly regret the methods used by the leaders of the Communist Party of China in their attacks on the jointly elaborated line. These methods are not marked by a desire to reach mutual understanding and unity. On the contrary, they are prompted by the desire to create factions, which can only aggravate the difference of viewpoint. There is no justification for the attacks levelled at the fraternal parties, arbitrarily ascribing to some parties opinions which, as everybody knows, they do not hold. There is no justification for the fact that the Chinese leaders are helping the ruling classes of the capitalist countries in their attacks against the fraternal Communist parties in these countries. There is no justification for the fact that they show no desire to reach understanding and unity on the basis of the principles of the world Communist movement, a desire which was above all displayed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in its relations with the Communist Party of China."

The fraternal parties are taking the necessary steps to safeguard their ranks against the disruptive activities of the Chinese leaders and call for vigilance.

"Faced with the splitting activities of the Chinese leaders," stated the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia, "the members of our Party will consolidate their ranks, reinforce their unity and uphold the Marxist-Leninist principles, their Program and their Rules; they will demonstrate once again that no one will succeed in undermining their confidence in the Soviet Union, the bastion of world peace and the guarantee of the liberation struggle waged by the peoples oppressed by imperialism, or their trust in the glorious CPSU, the Party of Lenin which is victoriously leading the building of the world's first communist society and gives an unparalleled example of solidarity with the Communists and revolutionaries of all countries."

* * *

The discussion and denunciation of the incorrect attitude and disruptive activities of the Chinese leaders continue in the international Communist movement. More documents, articles and statements by leading Communists appear in the Party press. It is already clear that the Chinese leaders, who have pretensions

to leadership of the international Communist movement, are isolated.

The fraternal parties pursue above all the aim of preserving and reinforcing the unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. It is this concern that underlies the Open Letter of the CPSU Central Committee and the documents of the other fraternal parties.

A resolution of the Italian Communist Party points out in this respect:

"... It is important to see all the things we have in common and the things on which we differ in order to achieve unity, as a result of which all the parties will be better able to display their independence, to make their ideological and political contributions and to compare viewpoints and openly debate various positions.

"The Italian Communist Party will welcome any initiative aimed at defending the unity and independent action of the international mass organizations and developing them in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, in order to uphold the unity and solidarity of the Communist and working-class movement in the struggle for the victory of the common cause—the cause of peace and socialism."

"Together with the CPSU and the other fraternal parties," says the statement of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, "our Party will do everything to reinforce the unity and solidarity of the international Communist movement, work actively to overcome the differences with the CPC. But this does not depend on us alone. Above all this depends on the behavior and actions of the Chinese leaders. Unfortunately, they are obstinately carrying on their harmful activities, their policy of dividing the international Communist and working-class movement."

The documents of the fraternal parties are permeated with the spirit of adherence to principle, of sharp but comradely criticism. They are free from the arrogance and malice which are so pronounced in all the documents and statements of the Chinese leaders and in the articles in the Chinese press.

None of the fraternal parties has any desire to defame the Chinese comrades or to "excommunicate" them from the international fraternity of the Communists. The only aim of this principled and comradely criticism is to help the Chinese leaders to correct their mistakes, to repair the damage caused to the international Communist movement by their unconsidered actions, and to strengthen the unity and solidarity of the Communists of the world on the solid foundation of Marxism-Leninism.

The Guarantee of New Victories

THE meeting of representatives of the Communist parties of the Northern countries of Europe held in Copenhagen issued the following communique:

"Representatives of the Communist parties of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden, meeting in Copenhagen over August 16-17, discussed urgent problems of mutual interest. Complete identity of opinions was reached on all the issues reviewed.

"The representatives of the four Communist parties declare that the struggle waged over the years by the socialist countries and all the peace forces has now been crowned with a positive result — a partial ban on nuclear tests. This ban prevents the pollution of the atmosphere and is the first step towards relaxing international tension.

"Most countries, including the Scandinavian countries and Finland, have signed this treaty which opens greater possibilities for the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons and for general disarmament on an international scale. Our parties approve this step of our corresponding governments, for it is in complete accord with the views of our parties and the aspirations of the people in our countries who insist on a continued and active contribution to the cause of world peace.

"The meeting greatly regrets that the Communist Party of China has rejected the treaty.

"The signing of the nuclear-test-ban treaty provides the Northern countries with fresh opportunities for ensuring peace in this part of the world. Now is the time to declare the North of Europe an atom-free zone in keeping with the ideas contained in the Unden Plan and the proposals made by President Kekkonen of Finland. These plans were previously rejected by the other governments on the pretext that insufficient progress had been made in the international negotiations on banning nuclear weapon tests. Now this pretext no longer exists.

"Representatives of the Communist Party of

Denmark informed the meeting of the initiative displayed by this Party in discussing this matter with the fraternal parties of the socialist states nearest to Denmark. As a result these countries stated that they were prepared to respect the inviolability of Denmark and, together with the other socialist powers, to provide her with the necessary guarantees in the event of her opting for neutrality and declaring herself an atom-free country. Moreover, the fraternal parties of the socialist countries were prepared to take part in guaranteeing that nuclear weapons should not be used against such neutral states.

"The participants in the meeting declare that this opens up new paths for creating a neutral and atom-free zone in the North of Europe.

"The meeting further, expressed its complete agreement with the principles of Marxism-Leninism which have become the subject of controversy in the international Communist movement. Our parties regard the decisions adopted jointly at the meetings of 1957 and 1960 as the general line for all Communist parties. In particular this refers to the need to stress the importance of carrying on the struggle for peace as the paramount task of our time, the need to carry on the fight for peaceful coexistence, for democracy and national independence, and the need to stress the ever growing possibilities of ensuring a peaceful transition to socialism. This line signifies practical implementation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism in the policy of the Communist parties, and it is on this basis that the unity of the world Communist movement can be ensured. Experience has shown that there are no reasons for changing this line. It is essential that the Communist parties should work in keeping with the concepts formulated in these statements.

"The meeting expresses the hope that the Communist parties throughout the world will do all in their power to ensure unity, the sure guarantee of new victories for peace, democracy and socialism all over the world."

Militant Press of the Portuguese Communists

THE Party press plays a big role in all countries, and especially in Portugal. Throughout the 37 years of Salazar's fascist regime with its ruthless suppression of all forms of democratic activity, the Communist Party alone has preserved its national organization, regularly publishing its newspapers and periodicals. To all patriots who want to

see their country liberated from fascist domination, to all working folk fighting for their rights, the Party press is a breach in the wall of silence created by the fascist censorship, a source of truthful information where the people can learn about the problems of the day, and about home and international affairs.

The Party press has become an expression

of popular resistance to the Salazar regime, an essential link in the democratic struggle. It lights up the road to freedom and hope in the dark night of fascism. Beaconlike, it burns brightly, notwithstanding the reprisals. Herein lies one of the services rendered by the Communist Party which have won it the recognition of the people.

All our publications are printed in the country, in the extremely difficult conditions of illegality. In view of the constant police surveillance, the work entails tremendous risks. The utmost caution is therefore required at every step, beginning with the purchase of type and paper, its delivery to the printing house and ending with the printing work itself which calls for real heroism on the part of the workers. The regular appearance of the Party's organ *Avante!* (Forward), its bulletin *O Militante* (The Activist), and its various regional papers, not to mention pamphlets, leaflets and appeals, is assured solely by strict discipline, proper organization and the careful selection of cadres. The fact that during the past 14 years our central printing house has not been discovered and that for 22 years our national paper has been appearing regularly speaks of the organizational skill of the Party, of its contact with the people, of the devotion of its cadres and their readiness to make any sacrifice for the sake of our ideals.

Thanks to this the Party has been able through its press to participate directly in all major political and economic actions of the working class and the people generally, such as the big strikes of 1941-44 and the powerful street demonstrations of last year.

In the 33 years of its existence and 22 years of secret publication, *Avante!* has played a big role in strengthening Party ties, in educating and rallying the masses, in propaganda and agitation. The newspaper of the working class, *Avante!* popularizes the experience of struggle gained by the working people, denounces the Salazar tyranny, the poverty and colonial wars, reviews in every aspect the struggle of the people against fascism, actively helps to rally the masses, popularizes Party policy, informs its readers of developments in the international working class and national-liberation movements, of the successes of the socialist camp.

The regular appearance of *Avante!* can be taken as the pulse of the Party. Even when the police succeeded in discovering the underground printing press during the years 1945-1949, fascism was unable to throttle the voice of the Party—the paper was passed round the

next month in factories and in the villages, in the schools and appeared on the roads. The fruit of devotion and unceasing efforts, *Avante!* was put out by men like Comrade Jose Moreira, who was also responsible for distribution. Arrested in 1950, Moreira died under torture without disclosing the whereabouts of the printing house.

For the peasants of the southern region the Party has published since 1946 the newspaper *O Campones* (The Peasant), an important medium for educating and rallying the rural proletariat of this area. *O Textil* (The Textile Worker) and *O Cortiseiro* (The Cork screw) are intended for the workers of the textile and cork-making industries where the main contingents of the industrial working class are concentrated.

The Party also puts out pamphlets on subjects of topical interest, leaflets and appeals. It has also published, illegally, the *Communist Manifesto*, several other classics of Marxism-Leninism, Lenin's Biography, the Program of the CPSU, and other documents on the activity of the fraternal parties.

Undaunted by the fact that the police regard all Party publications found in the hands of the readers as "proof of treason" the people support the Party's call: "After reading the paper, pass it on." The numerous groups of friends of the Party, which help to circulate *Avante!* and to collect funds for the Party press are an example of the assistance rendered by the people without which the paper could not exist.

The current situation in Portugal poses new tasks before the Communist press. The actions of 1961-62 and the recent unitary conference of the opposition forces show that the struggle for democracy has assumed new scope. In line with the Party's policy its press is helping to build up a united anti-Salazar front. In the light of the successes achieved to date the Party press calls for the creation of a powerful organization representing all sections of the population, including military.

Conscious of the role the press plays in rallying the people, the Party is taking steps to overcome shortcomings in it, to make the most of its possibilities, to see that it covers national developments in time, that it has a clear style of its own.

Only in this way can the Party press make its best contribution to the battle the Portuguese people are waging to achieve their main objective at the present stage—to overthrow fascism and win freedom.

Andre TORRES

Costa Rican People's Vanguard

A COMPETITION in the sphere of organization, education, propaganda and finance has been conducted by the Party in five of the seven provinces of Costa Rica. Lasting four and a half months, the competition has yielded results which may be of general interest.

Begun last year, after the Ninth Congress of the Party which set the task of doubling the membership in two years, the competition was a success both as regards the main objective—increasing the membership and strengthening the Party organizationally—as well as in propaganda, education and in collecting funds.

Judging by the results it looked as if the target advanced by the Ninth Congress would be realized without much difficulty. However, unforeseen circumstances arose which hampered the work of building the Party.

The first was the Caribbean crisis last October and the wave of repression that came in its wake. Our newspaper was banned and the activity of the Party was restricted in one way or another.

In this critical situation the Party leadership decided to reduce the maximum number of members of Party branches in the San Jose province to seven, and to increase the number of branches. This re-grouping came up against many difficulties, moreover it took much time, and some of the branches in the capital were weakened in consequence.

The obstacles to the rapid growth of the Party were even greater outside the capital.

Summing up the results of the competition in San Jose province (the main province in Costa Rica since it includes the capital and the bulk of the population) this year, we can say that in the first half of the year the re-organization of the branches in the capital affected their organizational activity and hampered their growth. Owing to the repressions in the Pacifico Sur (the banana zone) Party membership there has shown no increase.

However, despite these negative factors and the intensified repressions in connection with the talks between the presidents of the Central American countries and President Kennedy in March 1963, the competition conducted by the five provinces was, on the whole, satisfactory.

True, the Party may not succeed in doubling its membership by the time the Tenth Congress meets next year; but it is already clear that it will be able to increase its ranks by

more than half. In some provinces the membership target has already been reached.

The percentage of meetings held and the figures for attendance both at branch and intermediary levels is very high. For example, in one province 98 per cent of the branches held meetings, and in another, 86 per cent of the members attended the meetings.

The enrollment of new candidate members, as well as the transfer of members from candidate status to full membership was successfully carried out in the five competing provinces.

We now know better than we did before that this work requires constant attention, and in many places this is not always easy. Before the Ninth Congress our Party accepted recruits into full membership. Now anyone who wishes to join the Party must first pass through a period of probation. It is interesting that despite this restriction the Party has been growing considerably faster than before. It is notable too that the calibre of the new recruits is much higher than when the probationary period was not required.

True, generally speaking, the conditions of illegality under which our Party is working are not very rigorous; nevertheless we are working under the constant threat of persecution and reprisals and, as was the case last October, the situation may take a turn for the worse at any moment. It is under the stress of these conditions that the Party was obliged to change its rules and to introduce the probation period for those desirous of joining our ranks.

It is clear to us that when international tension increases and the war danger grows repressions are intensified and democratic liberties curtailed, and the growth of the Party slows down. Hence we are waging a constant struggle for peace, against the restrictions of democratic freedom.

This, of course, does not lead us to the opportunistic conclusion that we can fight and win only in conditions of legality and extensive utilization of democratic rights. However the fact remains that in the present conditions the most favorable climate for Party growth is international détente, since this makes it easier to defend the democratic gains of the working people.

At present the organizations of the Party, including six provincial and one regional committee, with their respective branches, have

launched another competition in the sphere of organization and collecting funds. It has got off to a good start, with the entire Party mobilized for the speedy fulfilment of the plan for the collection of funds in the second half of this year (it is planned to collect 40,000 colons, which is considerably more than was collected

during the cold-war period) and also for recruiting new members.

When we hold our Tenth Congress next year our Party will have a much bigger membership; it will be better organized and better equipped to cope with its tasks.

Oscar VARGAS

Exchange of Views

The Present Stage of the National-Liberation Movement of the Arab Peoples

Last summer Marxist theoreticians from Algeria, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Sudan and Syria met at a round-table conference in the offices of World Marxist Review to discuss three points: (1) the socio-economic and political problems of the Arab countries; (2) Arab unity; (3) "Arab socialism."

The meeting, which was of a preliminary character, agreed on the need to meet again for a fuller discussion of the problems facing the national-liberation movement of the Arab peoples.

The materials of the exchange are published here in a summarized form.

I. THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES

THE national-liberation movement of the Arab peoples has registered considerable success. The withdrawal of colonial troops from Syria, Lebanon, Sudan, Egypt and Jordan under pressure of the democratic movement, the failure of the British-Franco-Israeli aggression against Egypt, the victory of the July 14 revolution in Iraq, the revolution in Yemen, the victory of the people of Algeria—such is the far from complete list of their successes. Today the Arab world includes countries which no longer belong to the sphere of direct imperialist domination. The only exceptions are the princedoms of the Persian Gulf and Aden which are still under the colonial yoke. But in these countries, too, the anti-imperialist movement is growing. For some time now the people of Oman have been battling against the British colonialists.

In the countries which have freed themselves from colonialism, the reforms carried out have

greatly weakened the positions of imperialism and feudalism; the list includes the nationalization of the Suez Canal and some foreign-owned enterprises, agrarian reform, the growth of a national industry, and extension of the state sector.

The success won by the Arab peoples can be ascribed to three main factors, which still remain the principal condition of strengthening political independence and winning economic independence.

1) the unity of the national forces in each country;

2) the solidarity of all the Arab peoples;

3) friendship and cooperation with the forces of socialism, democracy and peace, the vanguard of which is the Soviet Union.

In recent years, it was pointed out, the imperialists have again fixed their eyes on the Arab East. U.S. imperialism has become particularly active there. After the failure of the

aggression against Egypt, British influence in the Arab East declined drastically. U.S. imperialism, capitalizing on the difficulties of its British partner, advanced at the beginning of 1957 the Eisenhower Doctrine in the hope of filling the "vacuum" and bringing the Arab countries into its orbit. But the vigorous resistance of the Arab peoples and the powerful support and aid they received from the socialist countries, chiefly from the Soviet Union, forced the U.S. colonialists to retreat. Having suffered a setback in the open struggle, the colonialists changed their tactics.

British imperialism, as we know, put its stake on the reactionary forces—the feudal chiefs and the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie. This policy merely inflamed the hatred of the Arab peoples for the colonialists and the regimes that supported them. A broad coalition of national forces was formed in the struggle against the home and foreign reactionaries.

In carrying out its policy of neo-colonialism in the Arab East, U.S. imperialism relies not so much on the feudal chiefs and the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie as on the new social strata of the national bourgeoisie and part of the intelligentsia who subscribe to slogans of nationalism, Arab unity and even socialism. The neo-colonialists, while pretending to sympathize with the liberation movement of the Arab peoples, seek to direct this movement into anti-democratic channels, towards agreement with imperialism. In so doing they strive to split this movement, prevent the formation of a united national front and isolate the Arab peoples from their natural ally—world socialism.

The chief attraction for them in the Arab East is its oil. Last year some 300 million tons of oil were produced in these countries. Whereas U.S. oil production rose by a mere 1.5 per cent in 1962, the increase in the Arab countries was 9.5 per cent. U.S. and British oil companies annually obtain a profit amounting to 66 per cent of the capital invested in Middle Eastern oil. Between 1956 and 1960 the annual profit of these companies averaged 62 per cent of the invested capital in Iraq, 114 per cent in Qatar and 61 per cent in Saudi Arabia. In the past few years the oil barons pocketed \$9,000 million from Arab oil. It will not be difficult to understand, then, the damage caused to the economy of the Arab countries by the foreign oil monopolies.

Inter-imperialist contradictions are particularly manifest in the struggle for Arab oil. The British are anxious to retain their traditional positions, their zones of influence and

their oil concessions, whereas the U.S. monopolies are doing their utmost to lessen and ultimately to nullify British influence. Whereas before the war the share of the United States in Middle Eastern oil production did not exceed 20 per cent, today it accounts for 60 per cent, while the share of Britain has dropped by more than half.

The U.S. imperialists are out to found an American oil empire in the Middle East. At one time they encouraged the movement for oil nationalization in Iran in order to remove their British rival and take control of the Iranian oil, today they dream of laying their hands on all the oil of Arabia. The coup d'état of February 1963 in Iraq, engineered with the active participation of the U.S. imperialists, was one of the links in their policy of neo-colonialism.

All speakers agreed that neo-colonialism is the main danger to the Arab peoples because, first, it operates in a disguised form, second, it capitalizes upon Arab nationalism which disorients the people and, third, because it relies on the new social classes and sections, on the new ideological and political groupings. The struggle against neo-colonialism inevitably merges with the struggle against the reactionary bourgeoisie and the feudal chiefs, assuming the character of a bitter class struggle.

The principal political and ideological instrument used by neo-colonialism is anti-communism. The anti-communist campaign in the Arab countries is the direct result of growing pressure from the imperialist powers, and above all from the U.S., which regard the Communists and other democrats as obstacles in the way of their colonialist aims. On the other hand, social contradictions are growing sharper in the Arab countries. Experience has shown that the national bourgeoisie, because of its dual nature, is incapable of solving the new problems that arise on the winning of independence. The most consistent force in the struggle for far-reaching social reforms, for completing the national revolution, is the working class in alliance with all other working people. The workers want to wipe out the imperialist influence in their countries, to abolish feudal survivals, to transfer the land to the tillers, to raise living standards and to ensure independent development of the national economy. But the national bourgeoisie upon coming to power seeks to appropriate the fruits of the political independence won by the people. It halts the growth of the democratic movement, directing its main blow at the Communists, who are the staunchest fight-

ers against colonialism and imperialism, for the freedom and independence of their people.

As the class struggle deepens and the imperialist pressure grows, a part of the national bourgeoisie (and at times sections of the small bourgeoisie) succumbs to imperialist propaganda which seeks to frighten the peoples of the newly-emerged countries with the bogey of communism and claims that it is in their interests to come to terms with imperialism, alleging that this would guarantee their sovereignty. Actually, however, it is not the question of choosing between compromise with imperialism and the advent of Communists to power, for the latter do not regard socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat as the immediate aim of the present stage of the liberation struggle. They are working for a broad democratic national front which would unite all the progressive forces, including the national bourgeoisie, in the struggle for far-reaching socio-economic changes in the interests of the nation as a whole.

Anti-communism is a concession to imperialism and weakens the anti-imperialist struggle. Recent events have confirmed that the slogan of "combating communism" is spearheaded not only against the Communists but against all who want genuine independence and democracy. The present rulers of Iraq, for instance, who came to power as a result of a fascist coup, have slaughtered thousands of the best sons and daughters of the people and launched a savage war of annihilation against the Kurds who insist on autonomy within the framework of Iraq. In Syria the anti-democratic coup carried out by the Ba'athist ultras has endangered the gains won by the people in a long and stubborn struggle.

Analyzing the socio-economic and political situation in the Arab East, the participants stressed the need to take account of the historically-shaped economic and political features and the actual position of each country. All judgments should be based not on what is said by one or another statesman but on the practical steps in the sphere of home and foreign policy in their organic unity. Unfortunately, the positive aspects of some governments are exaggerated at times on the grounds that their attitude on one or another international question is progressive, for example, that they subscribe to the policy of positive neutrality and non-alignment in aggressive blocs. Needless to say, this attitude should be given every support, for it is the outcome of the nationwide liberation struggle, a result of the spread of the ideas of democracy and socialism among

the people, of the growing prestige of the socialist countries. The Communists, who sincerely support such a position on the part of the governments of the Arab countries, are doing all in their power to reinforce these aspects of the political line of the ruling circles of the newly-independent states because this strengthens the cause of world peace.

Things, however, are not as simple as all that. It should be borne in mind that today even reactionary governments cannot openly proclaim their hostility to socialism as they did before. How, for example, can even the reactionary section of the Egyptian bourgeoisie openly oppose the Soviet Union which rendered decisive support to Egypt during the imperialist aggression in 1956 and rapidly responded to the request for aid in building the Aswan dam? Moreover, the economic interests of the Arab national bourgeoisie compel it to cooperate economically with the socialist countries. The same is true even in regard to the big bourgeoisie whose economic interests are closely linked with the world capitalist market but who often use socialist aid as an instrument for maneuvering and exerting pressure on the imperialists in order to obtain still more "aid" and more loans.

It is necessary to determine whether or not a particular government carries out a policy which on the whole is anti-imperialist, weakening imperialism, or whether it prosecutes a pro-imperialist policy even though at times, for tactical reasons because of a desire to restore its prestige, it adopts an anti-imperialist stand on some international issues. For example, the Kassem government, despite its hostility to democracy, pursued on the whole an anti-imperialist policy and supported world peace. It was, therefore, considered an anti-imperialist government. And conversely, the government of General Abboud in the Sudan, which has established relations of a kind with the socialist countries, pursues essentially a pro-imperialist policy and therefore cannot be called anti-imperialist.

It is also necessary to see whether or not the policy of a particular government or a class grouping helps to advance the national-liberation movement in the Arab world or whether it weakens and retards this movement. For example, the policy pursued by the governments of some Arab countries on the scale of the Arab East as a whole has many positive aspects. Yet this policy has resulted in disrupting the unity of the national forces in recent years, in weakening the solidarity of the Arab peoples in the struggle against imperialism,

and has created favorable conditions for the economic, political and ideological penetration of imperialism in the Arab countries and for delivering blows at the Communist and democratic movement. Consequently, in order correctly to assess the policy of one or another class or political grouping it is essential to take into account not only the progressive steps taken on the scale of one country, but all aspects of this policy both inside the country and on the scale of the whole Arab East.

Speakers dwelt on the main socio-economic reforms in the Arab countries since political independence, and analyzed the class structure and the attitude of the various classes and political groups on the question of the ways of development of the national-democratic revolution.

In Syria as in other Arab countries, said the Syrian representative, the national-liberation movement has made important advances. But even in this country, where the democratic movement is at a relatively high level, feudalism has not been wholly extirpated. Under pressure of the peasant masses the national bourgeoisie has had to carry out an agrarian reform. The land reform laws promulgated in Syria, Egypt, Iraq and in some other Arab countries represent not only a concession to the revolutionary movement but also signify the natural development of capitalism in these countries. These reforms are not radical since they do not aim at completely abolishing the feudal relationships in the countryside. For example, the land reform law in Syria stipulates that one owner is entitled to 400 hectares of unirrigated land, and his children and wife to 40 hectares each. As for irrigated land, one owner can have 80 hectares and his children and wife 10 hectares each. Moreover, the reform is being carried out very slowly. At the time of the union of Syria and Egypt land had been distributed only in eight villages in the Syrian region.

In Egypt where the agrarian reform was proclaimed more than 10 years ago, strong feudal survivals still persist. One owner can have 100 feddans of land (one feddan=0.42 hectares) while 50 feddans are allotted to his wife and to each child. In fact the land is divided among rich peasants who constitute a special class. A similar process is taking place in Syria.

The Syrian Communist Party advocates distributing the land among the peasants without compensation, lowering the maximum level of land ownership, and establishing state farms

on the vast tracts of arable land. Parcelling of these areas would lead to a fall in agricultural output.

The Communist Party has advanced the slogan of setting up state farms capable of effectively tilling the land, and ousting the feudal chiefs and sheikhs. The peasants receiving the land should be supplied with machines, seed and irrigation facilities. This slogan is widely supported by the people who fought for its implementation before the coup of March 8, 1963.

As to the Syrian national bourgeoisie, the period between September 28, 1961, and March 8, 1963, has demonstrated its inability to carry out deep-going socio-economic changes and to meet the urgent demands of the working people. Parting company with the people's movement for the sake of its mercenary interests, it has joined hands with the ultra-Right forces. Of late the government, which consists almost entirely of Rights, has exerted strong pressure on Premier Khaled Azem with a view to gaining concessions for the feudalists.

The working class and the peasantry are not developed enough politically to head the movement. This situation enables the petty bourgeoisie and the intellectuals to effect coups d'état by exploiting the trends in the army and making use of the mass movement by paying lip service to slogans calling for nationalization, land reform, etc., which are popular among the people. The coup of March 8 in Syria was carried out jointly by the military and the civilians. It is still difficult to say which way the Ba'ath Party will take the country. Recent developments show that the Ba'athists facilitate the infiltration of the U.S. and West German oil companies. That is why the struggle against imperialist penetration still remains the issue of the day. The present situation in Syria is conducive to the formation of a broad coalition of Communists, independent Socialists, democratic Nationalists, the Akram Hourani wing of the Ba'ath Party and part of the Aflak Ba'athists and some progressive groups of the national bourgeoisie.

The principal aims of the national forces of our country, said the comrade from the Sudan, are to oust the foreign monopolies, uproot the feudal survivals, fight neo-colonialism, and work for the all-round development of the national economy. The way to achieve these aims is to fight for democracy. The objective international factors, particularly the existence of the socialist world system and its ever growing role in social development, create favorable opportunities for the victory of the

national forces, for abolishing the last vestiges of the colonial system in our country and ensuring economic and social progress. At present neo-colonialism is the main danger for the national-liberation movement. In the Sudan neo-colonialism found expression in the military coup d'état. Since winning political independence the national forces have fought not only for the complete abolition of the old colonialism but also against neo-colonialism in any shape or form and especially against U.S. neo-colonialism.

Thanks to the powerful rise of the working-class and democratic movement headed by the Communist Party, the Eisenhower Doctrine was frustrated and the struggle against the so-called U.S. "aid" was crowned with success. The former government sought to reach an agreement on American "aid" but when it felt that Parliament would reject it, and rejection would be tantamount to a vote of no confidence, it simply refrained from convening Parliament and turned over the power to the military. The first act of the new military government was to accept U.S. "aid." The national movement was suppressed, democratic freedoms were abolished, Parliament was dissolved, the Constitution was trampled upon, political parties disbanded and laws were promulgated prohibiting strikes and demonstrations.

In these circumstances the task is to unite all the patriotic forces against the reactionaries, for national-democratic development in the Sudan.

The speaker from Iraq referred to the problem of the Kurds.

Iraqi Kurdistan, he said, is part of Kurdistan, the homeland of the Kurds who are divided between Turkey, Iran and Iraq. Besides, there is a Kurdish minority in Syria.

Kurdistan is rich in minerals, most of which are not exploited. Its principal wealth is oil. The oil reserves are great indeed, amounting to 3,500 million tons or eight per cent of the total in the capitalist world. Annual output is in the neighborhood of 28 million tons, and the principal oil center is Kirkuk. The imperialist powers which have huge oil enterprises in Iraqi Kurdistan have always aided and abetted the policy of suppressing the national-liberation struggle of the Kurds.

Ever since its formation in 1934 the Iraqi Communist Party has paid close attention to the Kurdish question. Already at that time it recognized the right of the Kurds to self-determination. After the revolution of July 14, 1958, the outcome of the joint struggle of Kurds and

Arabs, the Communist Party jointly with the Kurd Democratic Party fought for implementation of the article in the Provisional Constitution of the Republic which states that "Arabs and Kurds are considered partners in this nation and their national rights within the unity of Iraq are recognized by this Constitution."

When Kassem abandoned democracy, the problem of the Kurds in Iraq became acute. After turning against the Communist Party, against the rights and interests of the workers and peasants, Kassem launched repressions against the Kurd Democratic Party and deleted from the Provisional Constitution the article on the rights of the Kurdish people. With this chauvinist policy Kassem crowned his dirty war in Kurdistan.

The supporters of reaction and imperialism took advantage of the loop-hole created by the reckless policy of the Kassem dictatorship and carried out a coup d'état on February 8, 1963, which, in effect, was a sanguinary fascist putsch against the July 14 revolution. Kassem himself fell victim to his anti-democratic policy.

The Ba'ath clique that seized power is both chauvinist and anti-democratic. During Kassem's rule the Ba'ath press called for slaughtering the Kurds. Ever since the formation of their party, the Ba'athists have held that the Kurdish question should be liquidated. In the first weeks after coming to power they resorted to maneuvers aimed at isolating and paralyzing the movement of the Kurds. Their principal aim was to destroy the Communist Party and the democratic forces in the Arab regions in order subsequently to launch an armed attack on Kurdistan. And this they did despite their assurances of "recognizing the rights of the Kurdish people" and the readiness of the Kurdish patriots led by Mustafa el Barzani to settle the problem peacefully. The Ba'ath leaders, encouraged by certain circles of the oil magnates and by CENTO, broke off negotiations with the Kurds and started a racist war against them. This has outraged world democratic public opinion.

Like Nuri Said and Kassem, the Ba'athist reactionaries justify their criminal action by misrepresenting the legitimate democratic demands of the Kurds, labelling them as "disrupters" and accusing their leaders of being "in the service of imperialism." With their isolation from the people growing and their positions weakening, the Ba'athists are turning for support to British and U.S. imperialism. Today it is no longer possible to conceal the

role played by CENTO in unleashing the genocidal war against the Kurds. This cannot but endanger the security of Iraq and the cause of peace in the Middle East.

The armed struggle waged by the Kurds is a struggle for liberation from the rule of the fascist Ba'athists—the henchmen of imperialism — for a national-democratic government which would guarantee Kurdish autonomy. The Kurds enjoy the support of patriots in Iraq, they have the sympathy of the anti-imperialist and anti-war forces throughout the world. The resolute stand of fraternal solidarity adopted by the Soviet Union has earned it the gratitude and appreciation of the Iraqi people, whom it has inspired with confidence in victory. The struggle waged by the people against the Ba'ath regime is gaining momentum. In a statement issued on June 11, 1963, the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party called on all democrats, Communists, nationalists and all working people to fight to save their country, for democracy, for bread and work, for peace and independence, for the right of the Kurdish people to autonomy, for realization of the tasks of the July revolution, for a democratic Iraqi Republic that would express the will of the free people.

The speaker from Algeria dwelt on the situation in the Maghreb countries.

The Maghreb states, he said, became politically independent after the Second World War. But they won their independence in different conditions, and this has affected the situation in each country. Algeria won independence as a result of a long war. Things were different, however, in Tunisia and Morocco where, unlike Algeria, the masses did not take part in the armed struggle. It can be said that the granting of independence to these countries was largely a result of the liberation war in Algeria. The Tunisian bourgeoisie, however, took advantage of this in order to take power into its hands. The consolidation of its rule did not take place on a democratic foundation—upon coming to power it launched an offensive against democratic freedoms and abolished all opposition. Not long ago the Communist Party was banned, its press organs suppressed and its leaders persecuted.

When Morocco gained independence the various groups of the bourgeoisie, bent on winning political power, entered into an alliance with the King. At that time there was a peculiar type of union between the bourgeoisie and the feudal chiefs. Subsequently, however, the bourgeois party split, resulting in the formation of the Istiqlal Party, expressing the

ideology above all of the big bourgeoisie, and the party known as the National Union of Popular Forces which expressed the views of the small bourgeoisie. The King turned to the National Union of Popular Forces, the ruling party at the time, in order to bolster his own position. When, however, he had satisfied himself that the government did not help him to pursue his own policy, he got rid of it and gave the reins of power to a government formed by the Istiqlal Party. But, upholding the interests of the big bourgeoisie, this party came into conflict with the feudal chiefs and, consequently, with the King. This being the case, Hassan II got rid of this government too and formed a new government from among his associates who had collaborated with the colonialists. At present all the national forces in Morocco—from working class to big bourgeoisie—are opposed to the monarchy. A short while ago the King, by means of a referendum, succeeded in getting an undemocratic Constitution adopted; his idea was to get an absolute majority in the National Assembly in the elections held on May 17, 1963. But the election results were a defeat for King Hassan II. Although every means were resorted to in the election campaign, he managed to obtain only 69 of the 144 seats; 41 went to the Istiqlal Party, 28 to the National Union of Popular Forces, and six to the independents.

No socio-democratic reforms of any significance have been carried out since independence. The economy is still dominated by French imperialism. In foreign policy Morocco formally proclaimed positive neutrality. And Mohammed V started to pursue an independent foreign policy. But after his death things changed, and today it can be said that Morocco pursues a pro-imperialist line.

Developments in Algeria took a different course. Algeria won its independence in July 1962. But shortly afterwards a political crisis set in in the National Liberation Front (FLN), the leaders of the Provisional Government having gone too far in their collaboration with the neo-colonialists. The contradictions in the FLN leadership and in the government were such that two trends arose in government and the Political Bureau of the FLN; these trends can be characterized as the "Left," represented by Ben Bella, and the "Right" whose spokesman was M. Khider. The democratic forces supported Ben Bella because of his resolve to put into effect the Tripoli Program, which the other trend opposed.

The Ben Bella government has carried out important socio-economic and political re-

forms. These include nationalization of foreign-owned enterprises, agrarian reform, adoption of the Constitution, the establishment of committees for administration and management. At present the agricultural laborers and peasants organized in these committees control over 1.5 million hectares of land. In industry and trade there are 800 enterprises run by factory and office workers who are also organized in management committees. Despite the economic difficulties, these and other measures have instilled confidence and inspired the people with enthusiasm. Nationwide campaigns are held on such occasions as autumn ploughing, the beginning of the new school year, the setting up of a national solidarity fund, including the collection of gold, silver and other valuables. The people are responding to these campaigns.

At the beginning of April Ben Bella made a policy statement in which he said, among other things, that Algeria should take the path of socialism, stressing that socialism signified an agrarian revolution, i.e., realization of the slogan "land to the tiller." He also spoke about the need to extend democracy and about democratic freedoms.

As to the agrarian reform the government maintains that in distributing the land preference will be given to those peasants who form cooperatives and till the land jointly. This is a new departure in handling a highly important problem. Indeed, the immediate organization of cooperatives and joint cultivation offer better conditions for increasing agricultural output. But this question can be finally decided only by taking the views of the peasants themselves into account.

In industry government policy is aimed at setting up, on a par with the nationalized enterprises, new state enterprises designed to re-

inforce both the state sector and the national economy as a whole.

As to political organization, Ben Bella upholds the concept of a one-party system, explaining that, as was the case during the war when victory was ensured by the unity of the national forces, so today unity in the framework of a single party will help in the building of a new life. It should be said that this single party concept is not yet clear enough. In a speech last April Ben Bella said, for example, that the party should be a vanguard party uniting forward-looking people, sincere revolutionaries, who would serve the people as a whole. He failed to define, however, either the ideological or organizational principles of this party. He is of the opinion that its membership should not exceed 150,000. While opposing the independent existence of the Communist Party, he said that its members can join the new party. Thereby he opens the doors, as it were, for discussion and for joint work by the Communists and the advanced elements from the FLN in creating the future vanguard party. The Communists are not *a priori* opposed to a single party, but they believe that the conditions for this are not yet ripe. They hold that unity should be realized in a united democratic front, which will produce the revolutionary forces capable of forming a vanguard party.

At present it can be said that Algeria is in the phase of completing the national liberation. As the state sector grows and expands and the influence of the bourgeoisie dwindles, the non-capitalist way may become possible for Algeria. The state of national democracy can become the form of gradual transition to building socialism. The present measures of the Ben Bella government, while not socialist in character, assist the advance towards socialism.

II. ARAB UNITY

ARAB UNITY is a movement aimed at uniting the Arab peoples and reflects the conditions that have taken shape in the Arab countries; it is not the outcome of transient circumstances or of the desires of one class or one party. The call for unity arose during the struggle against colonialism and imperialism, for national independence.

Before the Second World War the idea of Arab unity was expressed in abstract slogans current only among intellectuals. Even the imperialists used to talk about "Arab unity." For example, immediately after the war attempts

were made to form a "Great Syria," to establish an alliance of the "crescent" countries including Lebanon, Syria and Jordan, an "Iraqi-Jordanian federation," etc.

The progressive aspect of Arab unity is that it is spearheaded against imperialism and feudalism. This aspect, approved by the people, is supported by all the democratic forces in the Arab countries. Its reactionary aspect is manifested in the desire of the Arab bourgeoisie to subordinate the liberation movement to its narrow class interests. The bourgeoisie is not waging a resolute struggle for the complete

abolition of colonialism and for uprooting the survivals of feudalism, its ultimate aim is to win political power.

The Arab peoples regard this unity as the condition for strengthening their solidarity in the struggle against imperialism and reaction, against dictatorial regimes, for far-reaching social changes. The Communists, while supporting the democratic content of the Arab unity slogan, have always opposed its reactionary aspects. Although the unity movement has not as yet assumed a mass character in some of the countries, the Communists are looking to the future, for they cannot be indifferent on the question of unity.

The conflict between the views of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat on the issue of unity has grown particularly sharp since 1957. Though the bourgeoisie is in power, and the progressives not infrequently cannot openly express their views, the slogans and ideas of the working class concerning the unity of the Arab peoples have become enormously popular.

The unification of Syria and Egypt was a touchstone for the bourgeois method of resolving this problem. Even some groups of the bourgeoisie who were enthusiastic about the idea of a union between the two countries, are now revising their position. The Ba'athists who are now in power in Syria and Iraq are stressing the local features and peculiarities of each Arab country.

The Communists see the question of Arab unity from the standpoint of their ultimate goal—the abolition of exploitation of man by man and the building of a classless socialist society. However bourgeois circles in some of the countries are trying to make out that the liberation movement developing under the keynote of Arab unity is already socialist in character.

The special part played by the Egyptian bourgeoisie in the design for Arab unity is explained by the fact that Egypt is the biggest and most industrially developed country of the Arab East. It approaches the matter from the angle of establishing its domination over the "younger brothers." The imperialists, supporting the expansionist claims of the reactionary part of the Egyptian bourgeoisie, eagerly encourage the establishment of any union of Arab states provided it is not democratic and anti-imperialist. Had the proposed unification of Egypt, Syria and Iraq affected the interests of the imperialists, they would hardly have supported such a federation. On the other hand, the imperialists are cold to the idea of an Arab empire with vast oil resources, which

would be under the undivided power of Nasser. They, therefore, are on the lookout for powerful rivals who would oppose him in this union. Recent events have shown that some of the nationalists and Ba'athists—supporters of Aflak—represent this rival force. It is not fortuitous that the Ba'athists speak about joint leadership in the proposed federation. Needless to say, they see joint leadership as a means to curb Nasser.

Speakers stressed that the idea of Arab unity has been taken up by many intellectuals, officers and students who associate it with their dream of forming a strong Arab state. The feudal element, the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie and other reactionary separatist forces are outspoken opponents of unity, for they fear losing control of the machinery of state which stands guard over their interests. After the unification of Syria and Egypt these forces were apprehensive that the stronger Egyptian bourgeoisie would establish its domination over them and deprive them of both internal and external markets. They are also scared by the recent changes effected in Egypt.

The idea of Arab unity is widespread among the peasants especially as a result of the land reform laws first in Egypt and then in Syria. The working class, which by its very nature is an internationalist force, favors unity effected on a democratic foundation and providing for a nationwide struggle against imperialism and colonialism, for a higher living standard, for friendly relations with the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union, and for paving the way towards the advance to socialism.

Depending on the specific conditions in each country, the various classes lean either to "unionist" or to "separatist" trends. For example, in 1958 the Syrian bourgeoisie stood for unification with Egypt because it feared the "Communist danger." But the same bourgeoisie came out for the break with Egypt when its interests were threatened by the bigger and stronger Egyptian bourgeoisie, which began to oust it from its markets.

Two trends can be distinguished in the matter of Arab unity—bourgeois-nationalist and revolutionary-democratic.

The first, with all the difference in its slogans and aims, maintains that Arab unity can be attained provided four main conditions are observed, namely, anti-communism and an attack on democracy, a nationalist-chauvinist ideology, isolation of the Arab peoples from the socialist camp, and reconciliation with imperialism. The supporters of this approach would like to cooperate with imperialism, but

they are afraid of falling under its direct control. At the same time they are reluctant to break completely with the socialist camp because of the advantageous relationship. But when they see that the cooperation with the socialist countries gives a fillip to the popular movement, they take the line of restricting these relations, constantly maneuvering between the socialist camp and imperialism.

Several currents can be distinguished in the bourgeois-nationalist trend. One is represented by the Egyptian bourgeoisie which, in its drive for expansion and domination over the other countries, wants to achieve the complete unification of the Arab states, right up to the abolition of their sovereignty. The Ba'ath Party stands for a federal union in which Nasser's influence would be limited to Egypt, while the Right-wing Ba'athists would hold sway in Syria and Iraq.

The revolutionary-democratic trend proceeds from the premise that Arab unity should rest on a democratic foundation, and recognize the objective conditions obtaining in each country. This approach makes it possible to establish a close alliance between the fraternal Arab countries, an alliance in which the interests of each country would be recognized, while the federal state created on this basis would have clear perspectives for socio-economic and political advance. This trend is supported by the Communists, democratic Nationalists and independent Socialists.

The lesson following from the state unification of Syria and Egypt, said the Syrian comrade, is that it has demonstrated that unity cannot exist for long if one country is made dependent on the stronger partner. In September 1961 when Syria broke with the UAR, the Communist Party said that this was a defeat not for the idea of Arab unity but for the anti-democratic policy of *diktat* and domination of one country by another.

The design for a new federal union of Egypt, Syria and Iraq in the form proposed in the Cairo statement of April 17, 1963, takes account of the objective conditions in the individual countries and preserves their sovereignty on a number of questions. It provides, in particular, for the existence of national parliaments. The incorporation of these points into the federation project was due to the lessons of the Syria-Egypt amalgamation. One, however, should not be deluded by this, because the basic principle—that of democracy—has not been observed here. As the events in Iraq have shown, this federation instead of being directed against imperialism is spearheaded against

democracy and especially against communism. The plan for the federation contains a point which merits special attention—the so-called “national security,” which, according to the Cairo statement, will come within the province of the federal government. Thus if a popular movement were to develop in one of the countries belonging to the federation, troops from another Arab country can be sent to crush it in the interests of “national security,” regardless of whether or not the local parliament wants this. Although the federation has not yet been formed, it is already rent by internal strife. The Syrian and Iraqi Ba'athists are inclined towards a union of their own countries.

The speaker from the Lebanon dwelt on the history of Arab nationalism.

This slogan, he said, was first advanced at the beginning of the century. At that time the centers of the Arab national-liberation movement were Damascus, Beirut and Bagdad. This slogan, which inspired the Arabs in the struggle against Ottoman rule and for national sovereignty, was democratic in character and took account of the objective conditions in each Arab country. The movement reached its peak in 1913 at the time of the Arab Congress in Paris. But Arab aspirations came up against the predatory claims of the Ottoman Empire, on the one hand, and the selfish aims of the Anglo-French colonialists on the other. Despite differences between the Turks and the Anglo-French colonialists, they joined hands to crush the national-liberation movement of the Arab peoples.

There was a period in Arab history when Muhammed Ali, ruler of Egypt, seized Syria and the Lebanon. The population of these and other countries opposed to the Turkish invaders welcomed him. But having occupied and united these countries, Muhammed Ali set out to plunder their national wealth, caring solely for the interests of Egypt. This being the case, the peoples of Syria, Lebanon and other Arab countries took to arms and fought against Muhammed Ali and Ibrahim Pasha, with the result that Arab unity founded on the domination of one country by another crumbled to pieces.

In view of the present situation in the Arab countries, especially in Iraq, Syria and the Lebanon, the national bourgeoisie cannot secure Arab unity by relying solely on its own forces. Hence it resorts to the services of imperialism. It is essential that each Arab country should develop economically and socially on a democratic foundation, in close coopera-

tion with the socialist world. When this is done, unity will be the outcome.

As the comrade from the Sudan stressed, for years the bourgeoisie there had advocated unity with Egypt; this reflected the weakness of the national bourgeoisie and its desire to obtain help from Egypt in the struggle against imperialism. But a mass anti-colonialist movement developed in the country, in which an outstanding part was played by the working class. After political independence was won the bourgeois party came to power. But, despite a majority in Parliament, it was powerless to change the democratic character of the mass movement and to impose union with Egypt. The working class advanced the slogan of the right of the people of the Sudan to self-determination and Parliament unanimously endorsed this.

Speaking of the possibilities of Arab unity, it is necessary to remember the role played by the working class, for unless the character of the political power is substantially changed the experience of the merger of Syria and Egypt will be repeated, possibly in a different way, but no genuine democratic unity of the Arab peoples will be reached. We should see Arab unity not simply in the light of the contradictions between the groupings of the Arab bourgeoisie. It is necessary to place this slogan on a scientific foundation, and regard its possibilities with an eye to the principal motive forces of the national-liberation revolution—the working class, the peasantry and the non-proletarian sections in town and countryside.

We also hold, said the Iraqi comrade, that the Arab bourgeoisie is incapable of achieving the unity of the peoples on a democratic foundation. But in the framework of the national-democratic revolution—and even before socialism triumphs in the Arab countries—there may arise various forms of a federation or confederation of two, three or more Arab states. Of course, the bourgeoisie cannot effect Arab unity in a democratic way. But in the course of the deepening of the national-democratic revolution, of the emergence of the state of national democracy in which an important role will be played by the working class in alliance with the peasantry and all working people, the slogan of Arab unity can be realized. However even in these circumstances immediate unity achieved by way of automatic incorporation of all countries into alliances will, in all probability, be out of the question inasmuch as the essential differences in the levels of economic and political development will remain for quite a long time.

We do not have in mind the alternative: either Arab unity under socialism, or unity in the framework of the bourgeois dictatorship which exists today in most Arab countries. At present it is a question of choosing between the revolutionary-democratic or the bourgeois-nationalist ways of solving the problem of Arab unity. To the bourgeois approach to the question the working class and its parties counterpose their own solution in which they proceed from the four indispensable conditions: democracy and reliance on the masses; resolute struggle against imperialism; extension and strengthening of the relations with the socialist countries, and above all with the Soviet Union; all-round recognition of the interests of all Arab peoples and the equality of each Arab country. The working-class alternative can provide a good basis for the rise of a broad mass movement in the Arab countries.

Arab unity, said the comrade from Jordan, is closely linked with the general upsurge of the national-liberation movement of the Arab peoples and with the changed balance of forces in the world arena. It cannot be regarded in isolation from the changes that have occurred in the world in favor of peace and socialism. The urge of the bourgeoisie to achieve Arab unity is prompted, as experience has shown, by its desire to seize new markets. The Egyptian bourgeoisie, for example, would like to absorb the entire Arab market, while the Syrian bourgeoisie on its part would like to get hold of the Iraqi and Jordanian markets, and so on.

The slogan of Arab unity has assisted the rise of the liberation movement of the peoples. The development of the Arab liberation movement, especially after the winning of political independence by a whole number of Arab states, shows that the Arab bourgeoisie is not in a position to establish a classical bourgeois regime, that the aims of unity should not be limited to those of expanding markets. The market problem has never been the main problem for the people. The desire only to build up a market, i.e., unification based on a single market, conflicts not only with the interests of the people but also with the interests of some sections of the national bourgeoisie. The task of achieving unity, like the problem of the agrarian reform and industrialization and other problems facing the Arab peoples, cannot be resolved by taking the way of capitalism.

The experience of the state union between Syria and Egypt which existed between 1958 and 1961 shows that by and large the Syrian

national bourgeoisie did not support that union. It is possible that the peasants and workers were more enthusiastic about it than the national bourgeoisie. It was only the Ba'ath Party that supported and sought unity with Egypt. The leadership of this Party consists in the main of representatives of anti-communist petty-bourgeois elements. It has absorbed all that has been ultra-reactionary both in Arab history and in the Right-wing Socialist movement in the West. The Ba'ath Party was formed after the Second World War in opposition to the Communist movement. Some time ago it called for Arab unity and struggle for liberation from colonialism. But the bloody events in Iraq show how much its leaders'

professions of democracy are worth. This does not mean, however, that a split cannot take place in this party, as was the case after the unification of Syria and Egypt when the Hourani group parted company with the Aflak group.

Arab unity, the speakers stressed, should be based on freedom, democracy and the equality of all countries. It is necessary to explain to the people that unity is possible by taking the way of non-capitalist development, the way of forming a state of national democracy with the working people and their democratic organizations playing an active and direct part in the political and economic life of the country, enjoying full democratic rights.

III. "ARAB SOCIALISM"

AS A RESULT of the successes won by world socialism, socialist ideas are becoming increasingly popular among the masses, a fact which is compelling statesmen and public personalities in the Arab countries to speak of socialism as a perspective in the national and social advance of the young sovereign states.

Speakers at the exchange noted that the "socialist" trend represented by Nasser, although not scientific in character, nonetheless has positive features, for it has supported many progressive measures, including agrarian reform, extension of the state sector, nationalization of foreign enterprises, the banks and insurance companies. It is true that the cooperation of the masses was not enlisted in this matter. Herein lies one of the reasons why many socio-economic reforms, and especially the agrarian reform, were not carried out to the end. Analysis of the economic measures shows that to date they do not go beyond the bounds of capitalism. The measures might be said to be of a state-capitalist nature so far, but not socialist. Time will show in what direction Egypt will go.

As for the reforms being carried out in Algeria, they are more fundamental and progressive in character, as the speakers noted. This is explained by the objective situation that arose in the country following the seven years' war which united all the patriotic forces of the nation. But even more significant is the fact that the working people are taking a direct part in putting these measures into effect. Take the management committees that have been set up with the participation of workers and peasants. The situation in Algeria today favors the country's development along the non-capitalist path.

There is no denying that the ideas of so-called "Arab socialism" have exerted their influence on students, intellectuals and also a large section of the peasantry. Many peasants in Egypt, for example, identified the agrarian reform with socialism. There are also quite a number of workers who believe that the insignificant profits now being contributed to the workers' fund are likewise the result of the building of socialism in Egypt.

Another positive feature of "Arab socialism" is that the word "socialism" has gained currency in the Arab East. The working people now speak of socialism more and more frequently. It is true, of course, that theoreticians of "Arab socialism" when speaking of socialism often distort its meaning.

"There is no doubt," said the comrade from the Lebanon, "that the measures carried out in Egypt have a number of positive aspects which we should support. But we must caution those who hold that Egypt is already advancing along the way of socialist construction. To be sure, the forms of socialist construction can be different in different countries. But this does not mean that these will be a special 'Algerian' or 'Egyptian' socialism."

"The Charter of National Action which was adopted in Egypt in 1962," said the Iraqi comrade, "contains a number of propositions that were written under the influence of socialism. But the Charter does not speak of the abolition of the exploitation of man by man. Although many of the reforms carried out in Egypt, including nationalization, are progressive inasmuch as they promote the country's industrial development and the expansion of the state sector, they do not, however, do away with the roots of capitalist exploitation. The former owners of the nationalized enter-

prises, for example, are paid enormous compensation; they hold blocks of shares, have the right to own land, not to mention property in the towns.

The comrade from Lebanon spoke on the subject of the state sector and its role in developing the newly-independent countries. "We favor the expansion of the state sector," he said, "but this does not mean that it should be regarded as the basis of socialism, irrespective of the type of political power in the country. In certain conditions the bourgeoisie is interested in developing the state sector since it can, with its help, fight the working class more easily. In a number of countries, for example, all those employed in enterprises of the state sector are considered by law to be civil servants and hence have no right to strike, to fight for their demands. All the profits, part of which in other conditions could have gone to the workers, go to the state. Furthermore, the bourgeoisie in some of the Arab countries fall back on the state sector to bolster their weak economic positions. It is, therefore, always necessary to take into account what political power controls the state sector."

The same idea was taken up by the comrade from Jordan, who said that we must always bear in mind the dual character of the state sector in the economically underdeveloped countries, its positive and negative features. As for "Arab socialism" it is not enough simply to state that it is unscientific. We must study its intrinsic features, whose interests it serves and what are the prospects of its development, if the Communists and all democrats are to pursue a correct policy, to take the right approach to this highly complex and also very important question.

"After political independence," said the comrade from the Sudan, "power in most of the Arab countries passed into the hands either of the national bourgeoisie or the petty bourgeoisie, or of the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie who are closely linked with the feudal chiefs. Two paths are open to these countries: the capitalist or the non-capitalist path. The working class and its Communist Party stand, naturally, for the non-capitalist way. The new sovereign states can take the non-capitalist way provided a united national front is established based on an alliance of the working class and the peasantry and which will also include the national bourgeoisie. Extension of democracy will be a big step forward along this path, for the fight for democracy is part of the struggle for socialism. The more thorough-going the democratic movement, the deeper will be the political consciousness of the masses and the

more clearly will they realize that socialism is the only system that will give them real freedom and happiness.

The bourgeoisie tend to be anti-democratic, to compromise with imperialism. However, under the impact of the changes on the international scene and on the home front, and the spread of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism among the masses, the representatives of the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeois theoreticians in the new countries are beginning to talk about socialism. They hope in this way to retain their influence among the people. That is why they are also trying to depict the class interests of the bourgeoisie as national interests. The task of the Communists is to safeguard the purity of scientific socialism and to expose the attempts of the bourgeoisie to distort the essence of socialism.

* * *

The struggle of the Arab peoples is developing in specific and complex conditions, and Marxists in the Arab countries, naturally, take these specific conditions into account. But there are tasks that are common to the national-liberation movement of all the Arab peoples. The participants in the exchange of views unanimously agreed that these common tasks are:

1. The fight for world peace and to avert another world war. This fight is reflected in the support for the Soviet proposals on general and complete disarmament, prohibition of nuclear weapons, the policy of peaceful co-existence, to turn the Mediterranean into an atom-free zone, and also in the demands of the Arab peoples for the closing of military bases in the Arab East, a policy of non-alignment with aggressive military blocs and no bilateral military agreements with the imperialist powers.

2. The fight for democracy as the task of the Arab Communists and of all progressives. Democracy is essential if the Arab countries are to develop normally, if their national sovereignty is to be preserved and strengthened.

The imperialists and the home reactionaries are doing their utmost in the guise of "combating communism" to abolish democratic liberties in the Arab countries and to establish fascist dictatorships there.

3. Support for the struggle of the Arab peoples who are fighting for their liberation in Oman, in the south of the Arabian peninsula, in Aden and in other Arab countries.

4. The achievement of economic independence through the development of the national industry and with the help and support of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states.

Any deviation from this course will weaken the national-liberation movement in the face of the imperialist monopolies.

The support and economic aid rendered by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to the liberation movement of the Arab peoples opens before the young sovereign states limitless opportunities for building up their own independent national economies and enables them to hold their own against the machinations of the imperialists. An expression of this support is the solidarity of the socialist countries with the Iraqi people in their struggle against the bloody dictatorship of the Ba'athists, and with the Kurd people who are fighting for their just demands.

The accomplishment of these basic tasks of the Arab liberation movement will lead to the formation of national-democratic states which, in the case of the Arab countries, is at present

the real way to effect deep-going socio-economic changes and thus prepare the objective conditions for the transition to socialism.

Unity of the world socialist system and the consolidation of the international Communist movement, in which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the tried and tested vanguard, are decisive to the preservation of world peace, to the final abolition of the colonial system and the victory of the national-liberation movement and world socialism.

The Communists of the Arab countries, true to Marxism-Leninism, to the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement will, as the participants in the exchange unanimously stressed, spare no effort to ensure the unity of the world Communist movement, and will continue to fight against dogmatism and sectarianism, for creative development of the Marxist-Leninist teaching.

Communications and Comment

U.S. Imperialist Policy in Latin America

IN launching its "Alliance for Progress" program the United States made it conditional on the formation of governments of "representative democracy" as the sole foundation on which it would be possible to effect the miraculous "changes" in the economy of the Latin American countries which were to raise the living standard of 200 million people while preserving the old economic structure intact.

A closer examination of the facts, however, reveals the true objective pursued by the United States in Latin America, namely, to bolster the reactionary regimes in that part of the world.

In Peru the army instituted control over the democratic forces, giving effect to "representative democracy" by depriving patriots of the right to vote. In Argentina where the reactionaries are past masters at the art of juggling with the law to suppress democratic freedoms and prevent the free expression of the people's will through elections, the Peronists, Communists, Socialists and others were barred from the polls. In Guatemala the reactionaries resorted to violence to halt the peaceful development of democracy.

Then came Ecuador's turn. Under pressure from the military, the Arosemena government broke off diplomatic relations with the socialist countries with whom such contact had been established, primarily Cuba, and allowed itself to be used by the State Department for international provocation. Arosemena became the tool of the State Department in the OAS. At home he stepped up repressions against progressives and the people generally. As President of one of the "representative democracies," Arosemena was a convenient screen for intrigues by the military and arch-reactionary politicians. Why, then, was Arosemena removed from office?

The answer is that popular dissatisfaction was growing. A guerilla movement sprang up, which, however, was quickly crushed. Workers' demonstrations occurred with increasing frequency. The peasants (especially those of Indian origin, who comprise the majority) took action in defense of their right to land taken from them by the landlords. Students were taking a more active part in the struggle.

Ecuador became one of those countries which began to irritate the imperialists and

their camp-followers. The people, moved by the desire for freedom and a better life, were in a ferment. The Arosemena government was clearly incapable of handling the situation, hence it had to go. As Ecuador political circles have correctly observed, the reason for the removal and banishment of the President was not his having insulted the U.S. Ambassador while intoxicated. The real reason should be sought in the recent conference of the OAS Council which was scarcely over before the military coup took place. The measures taken by its organizers were fully in the spirit of the conference.

Martial law has been declared throughout the country, strikes have been banned — any stoppage of work is regarded as "subversion" and the trade union leaders are held responsible. Constitutional guarantees of human rights have been suspended, and demonstrations prohibited.

The day after the coup the people marched through the streets in protest against this lawlessness. According to official reports, six persons were killed and many were wounded. The Communist Party has been outlawed, its leaders arrested, among them Pedro Saad, General Secretary of the Central Committee. The prisons are filled with democrats and the government has announced that political prisoners will be exiled to the Galapagos.

Why do we say that the Ecuador coup is in line with the demagogic program by means of which the U.S. imperialists hope to achieve their aim of dominating the American continent? The experience of the more than two years of the Alliance for Progress has convinced them that, with governments which still permit some democratic rights, they will be unable to realize their objective. These governments are under pressure from two quarters: on the one hand, from the old oligarchic elements who resist any change whatever in the status quo in Latin America including American attempts to induce them to make some contribution to the so-called "transformation" of the Continent (a half-hearted agrarian reform and the taxation of incomes) and on the other, from the masses who are demanding democratic changes that would give them land, bread and freedom.

Moreover, the Cuban revolution upset President Kennedy's design for a "new era of progress" for Latin America within the framework of his "new frontier" policy. The Alliance for Progress, spearheaded as it is against Cuba, has proved powerless in the face of the Cuban revolution. This explains the demand made by the imperialists to the Latin American governments (as expressed by Kennedy in his address to the Presidents of the Central American republics in San Jose, Costa Rica) to erect a wall of "dedicated men determined to protect their own freedom," a wall that would obscure from the people's view the shining beacon of Cuba and prevent travel to the island of true freedom.

There is no more suitable vehicle for a policy of this kind than the army, and the "unquestioning obedience" demanded of the armed forces in most of the Latin American countries becomes blind submission to U.S. orders.

Here are some new facts showing how Washington carries out its policy. On July 5 the State Department announced that the Kennedy administration planned to take a number of measures, both independently and through the OAS, to isolate Cuba politically and economically from the "free world."

Two days prior to this announcement, the Council of the OAS had discussed a report by the special Security Committee drawn up at the insistence of the United States proposing that the Latin American governments should exchange police information, dispatch secret agents to assist in the exposure and arrest of progressives, arrange meetings between high-ranking police, customs, communications and immigration officials with a view to preventing travel to Cuba and the circulation of revolutionary literature, and work to split the democratic movement on the continent.

The report was adopted as a "recommendation" to the governments. Chile voted against it; Brazil, Mexico, Venezuela and Haiti abstained; Bolivia, having recalled its representative from the Council, took no part in the voting.

The contents of the report and the resolution adopted testify to the designs of the imperialists and show that the OAS, as the Chilean delegates put it, "is taking the path of illegality." Legality, if by this is meant abiding by the charter of the OAS, has long since become a dead letter: the high-handed actions of Washington have turned the OAS into an instrument of aggressive imperialist policy on the continent.

The Chilean delegate described the report as "unsuitable" and "dangerous." And one can-

not but agree with him. This way is indeed unsuitable and the peoples will not allow their sovereignty to be violated or their right to independence and democracy flaunted with impunity. It is dangerous too, inasmuch as it is aimed directly against the people of Cuba. In this connection it is well to remember that the joint communique signed by N. S. Khrushchov and Fidel Castro on May 23 in Moscow states that in the event of any aggression against Cuba the "Soviet Union will discharge its international duty towards the fraternal Cuban people and render it the necessary assistance to defend the freedom and independence of the Cuban Republic by all the means at its disposal. The organizers of aggression must realize that an invasion of Cuba would confront mankind with the danger of a missile and nuclear war."

The U.S. press admitted that the voting in the OAS was a setback for U.S. policy. The growing opposition of some of the Latin American governments is preventing the imperialists from operating as freely as they would like. Hence the Washington politicians prefer to entrench themselves in Latin America through the medium of docile governments headed by a military clique or governments formed as a result of electoral swindle with the aid of the bayonets and tanks with which U.S. aid has so generously supplied the armies of these countries.

That the danger of such governments being formed in our countries is growing more tangible from day to day was demonstrated by the speeches delivered by some high-ranking army officers at a conference held in Fort Amador in Panama in mid-July. One of the speakers was Teodoro Moscoso, to whom President Kennedy had entrusted the task of getting the Alliance for Progress going. Moscoso spoke of the "decisive role played by the armed forces of Latin America" in carrying out the U.S. program; he urged the military to create a suitable climate for foreign investments, pointing to the danger with which the development of our national-liberation movement is fraught. "The army," he stressed, "should be ready to remove that danger by applying tactics that hardly ever figure in military textbooks." For should the battle the peoples are waging for their rights be "crowned with success, it will create difficulties for our own and foreign investors of capital; the latter will not wish to risk their money by participating in new and hopeless undertakings."

The imperialists' efforts to enslave the peoples of Latin America and launch a new aggression against Cuba are coming up against

the desire of the peoples for freedom. It is common knowledge that even such a conservative, if self-respecting government as the Chilean, or sycophantic regimes like that of Betancourt in Venezuela, which are being used in the aggressive campaign against Cuba, are being forced to repudiate the policy of the imperialists. This policy was aptly summed up by the Venezuelan *Clarín* which described the report of the Security Committee of the OAS Council as a case of "blatant interference in the internal affairs of Latin America." Such actions are an affront to the patriotic feelings of the masses and of those broad sections of the population which, though they do not agree with the progressive and revolutionary forces that the peoples should unite to resist imperialist domination and put an end to the survivals of feudalism and the economic backwardness of our countries, nevertheless stand for independence and national sovereignty.

In an editorial published in the Chilean Communist newspaper *El Siglo* on July 8, 1963, the democratic stand taken by the government during the voting in the OAS is described as a "patriotic action, strengthening the prestige of Chile and a true expression of the deepest democratic sentiments of its citizenry."

If it is true that Washington has abandoned the principle of "representative democracy" through the Alliance for Progress and is now engaged in supporting and engineering military coups with the aim of setting up reactionary governments to check the spread of the revolutionary movement in Latin America, isolate the democratic forces of the continent and raise a wall to weaken the impact of the Cuban revolution pending a new aggression against Cuba, it is also true that the peoples of Latin America will be able to thwart these designs.

The growing desire of the working people to live in decent human conditions without poverty and oppression cannot be satisfied by the "changes" advocated by the Alliance for Progress propagandists. Nothing but genuine revolutionary changes can fully satisfy their aspirations, and the Cuban revolution is there to show them how it can be done.

The attempts to retard the movement of Latin America toward progress, independence and democracy by violence only brings new fighters into the ranks of the revolutionaries, who are working to create a broad anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy front.

Hernan BARRERA

Embattled Venezuela

WITH the presidential and parliamentary elections in Venezuela due to be held at the end of this year, Betancourt, faced with the prospect of relinquishing his post, is concentrating on ensuring continuity of his policy, i.e., seeing to it that his successor will serve Washington as faithfully as he has done.

The reactionaries are well aware that if the people were really given an opportunity to express their will through the polls they would have little chance of remaining in power. Hence they are busy making their own preparations for the elections.

One of the tragi-comic episodes of these preparations was the performance staged by Betancourt at the opening of the Archbishop's palace in Ciudad Bolívar. He chose the occasion to charge the Communist Party and the Left Revolutionary Movement with an attempt on his life. In doing so he had a dual purpose. In the first place he wanted an excuse to make wholesale arrests, the order for which he issued on the spot. Secondly, he decided to play on religious feeling by accusing the "extremists" of evil intentions. However, even Betancourt's allies from the Social Christian

Copei Party refused to fall for this cock-and-bull story. Nevertheless several hundred people were thrown into prison for loyalty to their revolutionary convictions.

Betancourt's moves are clearly aimed at continuing his reactionary policy as long as possible. But the suspension of Constitutional guarantees, the thousands of political prisoners, the torture and murder of citizens by the police have forced the people to take to arms.

Venezuela is experiencing a grave crisis. The country is on the brink of civil war and the situation grows more acute from day to day. The people are giving a worthy rebuff to the government reprisals. Guerilla units are springing up everywhere. A few months ago they broke through a ring of government troops and now, with peasant support, are winning victories. In the towns, and especially in Caracas, the armed forces of national resistance are making life a nightmare for Betancourt.

In the course of this struggle increasingly more favorable prospects for the people's cause are emerging. The National-Liberation Front (NLF) which unites the Communist Party, the Left Revolutionary Movement and

all the militant and progressive forces opposing the present regime, is winning more and more support. The Front and its "combat arm," the armed forces of national liberation, have become a symbol of the revolt against social injustice, the true expression of the national traditions of resistance to foreign interference. The daring raid on the premises of the U.S. military mission was in keeping with these traditions.

However — and this should be emphasized — nothing is farther from the plans of the Front, or from the political line of the Communist Party and its allies than the desire to stake everything on the armed struggle. On the contrary, Venezuela today affords striking proof of the possibility and expediency of utilizing different forms of struggle simultaneously — from Parliament to guerilla action, from trade-union work to election work, and at each given moment the form best adapted to the situation takes precedence, although armed actions designed to ensure the formation of a democratic government and its subsequent protection against reactionary onslaught always remains the basic weapon.

M.P.s from the Communist Party, the Left Revolutionary Movement and other progressive parties who share a common objective, namely, to effect radical structural changes — are using parliament, in keeping with Lenin's advice, to expose the anti-patriotic character of the government, to intensify the contradictions in the enemy camp, strengthen the unity of the opposition, demonstrate the justice and inevitability of armed retaliation to Betancourt's repressions. The Front senators and M.P.s are using their parliamentary immunity not for their own private interest but as a shield and a battering ram against the enemy.

Trade union and student leaders are working along the same lines. Despite the terror, the trade unions held their Fourth Congress and set up a United Workers Center (UWC) which will steer the trade union movement onto an independent path as the interests of the working class demand. Factory and office workers now have a leading body to direct the struggle for their demands in close collaboration with the peasant federation. In this way the foundations have been laid for a mass movement which will express the common striving of the working people, namely, to combine and fight for better conditions. This is one more vitally important element in the development of a revolutionary situation a feature of which is the growing influence of the more radical groups in the universities and colleges, and the winning of positions in trade

unions until recently held by pro-government men. The revolutionary situation in Venezuela is marked also by the steady disintegration of the government coalition, the appearance of deeper rifts in the ruling classes, a growing conviction on the part of the oligarchy that the government is powerless to halt the advance of the popular movement which has been rocking the country since 1960.

At the same time the progressive forces are working out their election strategy; negotiations are under way for nominating a presidential candidate, and public meetings are being held to discuss the more progressive proposals. We make a point of stressing the importance of this aspect of our activity for a correct understanding of the general line of the movement. The progressives are taking advantage of the campaign which will end in December with the general election, the election of the President, Congress, the legislatures and the municipal councils.

We have warned the people against harboring any election illusions; we have told them quite frankly that the problems cannot be solved by elections and that what is needed are radical changes and not merely the replacement of one set of rulers by another. This, however, does not mean that we intend to boycott the elections. On the contrary, we shall be where the people are. We shall take part in the elections to combat the fraudulent practices, to expose the self-interest of the government, to compel the candidates to state their programs clearly, to facilitate the formation of a united front. Refusal to take part is justified only under specific conditions. In order to fight for free democratic elections the Communist Party and the Left Revolutionary Movement are appealing to all opposition parties and to all who support the candidacy of Jovito Villalba, Wolfgang Larrasabal and Raul Ramos Jimenez to rally around any one of these candidates on a platform that would accord with the national interests.

The Communist Party and the LRM have urged the opposition parties to form a united front to guarantee the legality of the elections. This would help us not only to win the elections but would protect our victory from possible encroachment by the reactionaries.

The Venezuelan Communists believe in utilizing all legal opportunities however insignificant. If, however, after all other possibilities have been exhausted, the need will arise to boycott the elections, as was the case during the notorious plebiscite of Perez Jimenez in 1957, we shall not hesitate to do so. To frus-

trate the farce we shall "give the floor to Comrade Rifle."

Imperialism and its allies are finding themselves up against a new situation in Venezuela, one without precedent on the continent. The government which Kenedy tried to present as a "model" for the Americas, has lost all prestige. Only at the cost of tremendous effort has it been able to remain in power. The Democratic Action Party — the one-time powerful Betancourt Party — is falling to pieces. It is at loggerheads with the Social-Christian Copei Party. In the army there is friction in the high command, and revolutionary ideas are widespread among the younger officers. The bourgeoisie is no longer united and has lost faith in itself. Torn by insoluble contradictions, some sections are coming out against foreign oppression. They are inclining toward joint action with the other progressive forces, including the Communists and the LRM. The grand designs of the government, drawn up under the aegis of the Alliance for Progress, have come to nought, and the propaganda machine which was intended to convince other countries that Venezuela had launched an agrarian reform has collapsed. The entire system is shaken by economic crisis. The National Congress, dominated by the opposition (including the Communists), is hostile to the Administration. The people, becoming more and more conscious of their strength, are confident of victory. Undivided by race barriers and prejudice and endowed with a high sense of national consciousness, they are led by revolutionary parties united in a fraternal alliance. Their political organization, the National Liberation Front, with its armed forces who are acquiring experience in the course of the struggle, enjoys great prestige.

The State Department is faced with a dilemma: to resort to a coup by the "gorillas," as was the case in Argentina, or to a "cold" takeover as in Ecuador. But the choice is not easy. For in either case this would widen the front of resistance and remove "constitutional" barriers to the unity of those who want a new government. The guerilla groups operating in close contact with the progressive officers would instantly retaliate with a crushing blow at the new usurpers.

If the reactionaries were to attempt to falsify the elections in order to keep power in the hands of those who have brought the country to the brink of disaster, the resistance front would widen and an uprising would be the only way out.

What to do then? How are the U.S. trusts to preserve their fabulous profits? How are they to save their vast investments — the biggest in the entire hemisphere. Must they reconcile themselves to the loss of Venezuelan oil, or let the Guianian iron ore, the chief source of raw material for the U.S. iron and steel industry, slip from their fingers? Let Washington worry about these painful problems. The Venezuelan people, and especially its organized vanguard, already know the answer. And we can say that the smouldering volcano that is Venezuela today is giving Mr. Kennedy and the Pentagon headaches.

The horizon is still dark. But the people see their goal clearly. For they have a beacon to light their way — the program of the National Liberation Front — a program of struggle for a truly patriotic, anti-feudal, anti-imperialist government. And ahead is the ultimate goal — socialism. The road is charted: it lies through unity of the popular forces. The main enemy has been sighted: U.S. imperialism. The home reactionaries are quaking in their shoes. But we must not underestimate the danger of the blows the enemy can strike in its death agony. We know that the struggle will be long and bitter. But we are confident of victory. It will be the victory of those who have made materialist dialectics their chief weapon, and faith in the masses their support in all their actions.

To win victory as quickly as possible we need the solidarity of the fraternal peoples already launched on the socialist path and of those nations which like our own are still waging a struggle for their final liberation. We need solidarity in the struggle against the present ruler who is resorting to terror in his efforts to cling to power. We shall need that solidarity even more tomorrow in the event of intervention by the U.S. imperialists.

We are confident that this solidarity will not be long in coming. We are not alone. Progressive people everywhere with us.

Eduardo Gonzales MUNOS

The Congo and Neo-Colonialism

(Letter from Leopoldville)

THE forms of colonial exploitation are changing to meet the changing conditions. Imperialism is seizing every opportunity to retain and strengthen its influence in the countries that have freed themselves, or are in the process of freeing themselves, from the colonial yoke.

In the Congo the neo-colonialists are preaching all kinds of economic "theories" aimed at confusing the Congolese, undermining the struggle of the nascent working class and depriving the working people of trade union rights. Some unions in our country, instead of serving the cause of the working class, are, on the contrary, helping to spread imperialist ideas, attacking the unions which are actively defending the workers' interests. In this way they are actually helping to intensify capitalist exploitation. But though their machinations hamper the workers' struggle to some extent, the local exploiters and their overseas bosses are deluding themselves if they think that the workers are not becoming conscious of their strength and will not overthrow their exploiters in the end.

The neo-colonialists, applying new methods of subordinating our country to their influence, are resorting to diplomatic maneuvers, concluding secret agreements with some separatists, and vilifying those national organizations which stand for the eradication of colonialism. The patriotic forces of the African continent, and especially the Congo, realize that they are pitted against a powerful enemy—the American imperialists and the home reactionaries who wield political power. The imperialists pin all kinds of labels on the genuine national parties, while representing the reactionaries as the true defenders of the oppressed peoples. Anti-communism is their chief weapon.

The imperialists who see the bastions of colonialism crumbling as more and more countries acquire independence are now calling for defense of the "free world." But the hypocrisy of this slogan is too blatant to be disguised. A glaring example is the action of the U.S. imperialists in supplying arms to Portugal while at the same time professing to recognize the just demands of the people fighting Salazar. This is the contradiction of a moribund system whose only law is the law of profit.

Those leaders of the African national-libera-

tion movement who are not only opposed to any forms of colonialism but to the development of the young sovereign states along capitalist lines are a thorn in the side of U.S. imperialism.

The Congo, which formally received its political independence three years ago, is still largely dependent on the imperialist powers. The Adoula government meekly carries out the policy dictated by the imperialists, and primarily the U.S. monopolists. It masks its true intentions behind a screen of propaganda, resorting at times to the most infamous methods. The imperialists labelled Lumumba a Communist and engineered his murder. But this did not prevent them from declaring him a hero after his death. Mennen Williams, U.S. Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs, did not display the slightest sign of embarrassment when he laid a wreath at the Lumumba monument in Stanleyville. This, too, was part of the propaganda campaign calculated to appease the African people.

In the meantime U.S. information centers continued to carry on a campaign against the African nationalists.

U.S. officials like to pose as friends of the Congolese people "You, sir," says the Consul or director of an American cultural center addressing a Congolese, "are destined to become an important political leader. But if you want to have a successful career you must do what we want. We in our turn will do everything to protect you from any unpleasantness that your action may evoke. Our country is very hospitable and we can grant you an allowance that will enable you to escape from the barbs of your former political friends."

The Adoula government is virtually isolated. The people regard it not as a national government but as an executive body which gets its orders from across the ocean. One of its tasks is to persuade our people that the United States is so powerful that no country is strong enough to fight it.

But our people are determined to free themselves from the neo-colonialism with which U.S. imperialism is seeking to saddle the Congo. Fortunately our people know what the American monopolies are after in our country. Their blatant interference in the internal affairs of our country cannot be concealed. U.S. consulates, as well as "cultural centers" which

are actually branches of the consulates, are being opened in the bigger towns. In Leopoldville all kinds of societies are being set up to implement the neo-colonialist policy.

The neo-colonialists like to say that the Congo is a backward country and that without foreign aid (read U.S. "aid") it will never develop. But the Congolese know only too well what American "aid" means. Wherever the shadow of the White House falls, the economic situation deteriorates and the American way

of life, with its corrupting moral influence, comes in. The U.S. imperialists declare that they want to make the Congo a "peaceful, prosperous and united vanguard of progress in Africa." But this is a lie. Let them first give work to their five million unemployed. Their statements reveal a desire to preserve the outdated system of colonial exploitation in a new guise. The Congo says *No* to imperialist exploitation in any form.

Jean MUANDA

Under the Heel of a Despotic Regime

THE regime which the people of Colombia are forced to endure, demagogically called the "National Front" government, is becoming more and more fascist in character. The Front, consisting of the reactionary forces of the two traditional parties — Liberals and Conservatives — is national in name only. In reality it has aligned itself with our worst enemy, North American imperialism.

Ostensibly the Front was set up as a result of elections, but in reality the President is chosen by the oligarchy long before the elections take place and without the participation of the people. The latter are given the right merely to endorse the choice made at "top level." This is the only way to ensure that the two traditional parties rule alternately every four years, to legalize the reactionary system and prevent the free expression of the people's will.

The monopoly regime has adopted the tactics of a police state. Moreover Parliament, whose rights have been curtailed and from which Communists and other independent forces have been debarred, is unable to offer any effective resistance to the despotism of the executive.

The dictatorship is realized by granting the President "emergency powers" in "conformity" with the law, i.e., precisely in the manner described in the Statement of the 1960 Meeting: "... dictatorial methods of government are combined with fictitious parliamentary practices, stripped of democratic content and purely formal in character."

But the reactionaries are not content with this. They are out to destroy the last vestiges of democracy.

The recent economic measures, drawn up after the pattern prepared for Latin America by the International Monetary Fund, open the door to unbridled speculation and spell misery for the working masses. The government, turning a deaf ear to the resentment these meas-

ures have evoked, is resorting to violence to crush the protest of the workers.

As a result of the devaluation, new taxes and higher prices, the cost of living has gone up by more than 30 per cent. Unemployment is assuming grave proportions. In these circumstances the feeling of insecurity and anxiety is widespread. Another currency devaluation is rumored to be in the offing. The instability of our foreign trade balance has become chronic. This is due to the economic backwardness of the country and to the U.S. monopoly on coffee, which is practically our only export item.

The government refuses to listen to the people. It fears strikes and demonstrations like the plague. The right to assembly, guaranteed by the Constitution, is constantly infringed for the government permits demonstrations to be held only in specified places and frequently changes the time and place without due warning. Police with dogs are used to intimidate marchers and provoke incidents.

Some months ago the city of Bogota was the scene of brutal repressions. Eleven workers were killed in a clash between police and strikers, although the strike was conducted according to all the prescribed regulations. But the government sees subversion in any action taken by the workers. After the incident the authorities tried to justify their crime by claiming to have discovered a plot to overthrow the government. Proceedings were duly instituted. But a thorough investigation by a Ministry of Justice judge proved that all the charges made by the government and the army commanders were utterly false.

The latest victims of government atrocities are the oil workers in Barranca-Bermaja and other areas. Three workers were killed and hundreds arrested, including trade union leaders and lawyers.

And again the government has dragged out subversion charges in order to justify its actions. The Minister of Labor has announced

that the "government will treat all trade union officials as criminals," and that the arrested men will be sent to penal colonies. In Colombia this means banishment to the Amazon jungles.

The oil workers are the vanguard of Colombia's patriots. It was thanks to their efforts that the law nationalizing the Tropical Oil Company was put into effect long before its U.S. owners had hoped. That is how the Colombian oil enterprise Ecopetrol came into being. But the imperialists, continuing their maneuvers, are doing their best to wreck the enterprise or to assume co-ownership. The workers are protesting against the imperialist attempts to build a new oil refinery which would compete with the national enterprise. They are exposing the high-ranking officials who plunder the refinery and steal its equipment, and are rousing public opinion in defense of the demand that all Colombian oil be nationalized.

The government has announced that article 28 of the Constitution will be applied to the "Communists who stir up trouble in the country." This means imprisonment without trial and for an indefinite term for all who in one way or another oppose the government's reactionary designs. Article 28, intended for emergency situations, has never been enforced by any government with the exception of the Reyes dictatorship in the 77 years since it was enacted.

The government is using the armed forces to terrorize the urban and rural population. Some provinces are virtually in a state of siege. The armed forces shoot down peasants wherever the peasant self-defense organization is weak. It was to prevent such organization that the troops fired on a crowd of peasants during a fete in Puente Rojo last year. Since then such raids have become more frequent. They are carried out either by units of the regular army or by groups of bandits hired by the government. In Sumapaz and Riochiquito soldiers and police pillage the countryside with impunity. The army commander in the Tolima area has forbidden people to appear on the street at night under pain of death.

In the Marquetalia area the peasants have been living in a state of siege for a long time. But the authorities are cautious here, since the peasants have a well-organized system of self-defense.

A favorite method used by the police to arouse panic is to explode bombs. This keeps alive the fear of "Communist" revolts and

offers an excuse for reprisals. Not long ago a pipeline in Barranca-Bermaja was blown up. That the explosion was engineered is proved by the fact that every precaution had been taken to keep the loss down to the absolute minimum. Even the pumps had been stopped in advance. Nevertheless the workers were blamed.

The military command insists that the situation is getting out of hand and that in these circumstances the army may be "forced" to assume power in order to combat the "agitation and unrest." The President himself is constantly predicting a coup d'état.

The growing activity of the masses is causing some sections of the ruling classes to view with alarm the consequences of a coup d'état. Fear that an open dictatorship might intensify the popular struggle and hasten the maturing of a revolutionary situation gives the "National Front" leaders no rest. To make matters worse, there is more than one claimant to the role of dictator, and they are getting into each other's way.

The people are not losing hope in the face of the reactionary onslaught. The popular forces, guided to an increasing degree by the Communist Party, are uniting their efforts to hold back fascism. The workers made an important step in this direction by setting up the Trade Union Federation of Cundinamarca and are planning to hold a unity congress. Peasants are bending every effort to enlarge their trade unions and are employing the tactic of mass self-defense against reactionary violence, a tactic recommended and inspired by the Communists. Gratifying evidence of the struggle waged by the people against the renewed threat of a terroristic dictatorship is the response of the majority of the Left forces to the call for unity issued by the Communist Party. If this united action is effected in the near future any attempt at a military coup will meet with a strong rebuff.

The people, rising against tyranny, will establish a truly popular government. The situation in the country and in the world today is different from that which enabled the terrorist dictatorship more than 15 years ago to unleash its savage violence. The political resolution adopted by the Ninth Congress of our Party states that the establishment of a terrorist dictatorship "would mark the beginning of a new stage of the struggle, one which would take the form of radical revolutionary changes."

José Cardona HOYOS

The Spirit of Revenge in the West German School

JUST as in old times this officer stood before the 300 boys and girls of the senior classes, and just as in wartime he had inspired his submarine crews to deeds of valor, so now too these young people quickly fell under his spell. The occasion was important also for the teachers. For the pupils it was a lesson in pure history." The foregoing appeared in the newspaper *Lauenburgische Landeszeitung*. The officer in question was Gross-Admiral Doenitz, Hitler's successor and a war criminal convicted in Nuremberg. He had been invited on January 24, 1963 to the school and had seized the opportunity to contribute his share to the education of the West German youth.

The incident, which focussed attention on the state of affairs in the schools of the Federal Republic, is actually the logical outcome of the militarization of West German education that has been going on for many years.

In the Federal Republic, anti-communism is, as it was in Hitler's time, the official state doctrine, part of the psychological preparation for war. Revanchist propaganda and jingoism have been developed into a refined system of wholesale deception. This applies in large measure also to the schools. According to Bonn it is not the mission of the school to help in "overcoming the past"; its function is to prepare the young generation not for peaceful labor but for fresh military adventures, "for a new campaign when Europe calls."

A regime whose foreign policy is clearly aimed at the revision by force of the results of the Second World War cannot refrain from poisoning the minds of the young generation with the insane ideas with which German imperialism twice prepared the nation for war. This explains why 40 per cent of the school radio programs consist of propaganda against the German Democratic Republic and the other socialist countries. This explains the link between the government council for the internal administration of the Bundeswehr and the Government committee for education and schools. And this explains why Bundeswehr officers who attend teachers' conferences sneer at humanist education and extol the virtues of the drill-ground as the model for the schools.

* * *

How do West German school-children regard Hitler? A television questionnaire produced

the following answers: "I believe that what Hitler did was right; after all, he put seven million unemployed to work at one go . . ." "In some respects life under Hitler was good, there were no murderers, like the tax murderers or the murderers of women we have today. Murderers were dealt with on the spot." "Hitler raised German foreign policy to its former level and built up the Wehrmacht thanks to which Germany's position abroad improved."

True, these replies are taken at random. But one finds almost the same sentiment expressed in the "Study of the knowledge and understanding of history by schoolchildren" ("The Psychology of Teaching History" by Waltraut Kueppers).

Compare this with what the schoolchildren say about the Jews: "The Jews placed Germany in danger by their trading and profiteering." "Most Jews are swindlers." One pupil wanted to know why "the Jews should be allowed to live here when they have their own country now."

This outlook cannot be regarded as accidental. It can be traced directly to the method of education. On the occasion of the Heine centenary, the radio reported that not a single copy of the famous poet's works had been found in any of the school libraries in Bavaria.

The youth are again being poisoned by race hatred and the Herrenvolk "theory" in preparation for another "crusade" in the East. A Bonn propaganda agency, the "Federal Center for Service to the Country", supplies teachers and pupils free of charge with booklets intended for use as textbooks. One of these, "Lower Saxony and Silesia", gives as source material a publication entitled "The German East in the German Spirit" put out in 1940. This "spirit," according to the booklet, is contained in such famous concepts as "Germanization," "the percentage of German blood," "the community of German culture and destiny." The same spirit permeates the book "German History" by Michael Freunds. A poll conducted in the Augsburg district showed that 60 per cent of the children in the area read publications of this kind. This fully accords with official school policy. School regulations in Schleswig-Holstein, for example, stipulate that only "traditional German names" be used, and recommend referring for this purpose to the

"Official Directory of Communities of the German Reich" (fourth edition, Berlin, 1939), a compilation based on Hitler's territorial claims in Europe and listing Germany's old colonies under the heading "German Territories Under Foreign Administration."

Racism is taught in accordance with a definite system. Among those responsible for this is Professor Fritz Steinicke, from whose book on methods of teaching biology one learns that: "A nation's greatest wealth is its heredity. A young man knows that it is more important to care for the 'plus-individual' and preserve a healthy heredity than to bother with 'minus-individuals'."

When a man with this outlook is allowed to guide the education of the young generation, it is hardly surprising that Professor Heyde, alias Sawade, an "euthanasia expert" who put thousands to death, should have retained his post in Schleswig-Holstein with the knowledge and approval of the highest government and legal bodies for ten whole years. Is it surprising that, with the knowledge and approval of the authorities, monsters like Wolfgang Otto, a wartime guard in Buchenwald, the murderer of Ernest Thaelmann and subsequently tutor in St. Michael's Catholic School in Geldern, or Alois Panhans, former SS chief in the Guben I concentration camp, whom an American court sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment for crimes against Polish clergy and intellectuals, could be chosen as mentors of the young generation? Today Panhans teaches in a school at Amalie-Dietrich-Weg in Hamburg!

* * *

Adenauer has adopted the fascist interpretation of the "right to self-determination" in order to justify his revanchist plans with regard to the GDR and the other socialist countries. For example, Henlein, leader of Hitler's fifth column in Czechoslovakia, is depicted in West German school-books as the man who fought against the "persecution and trickery on the part of the Czechs" for "the freedom to express loyalty to the German people and to the German outlook." The seizure of Memel is described by the same source as follows: "Here, too, as with the Austrian Anschluss and the return of the Sudetenland, justice was once again restored." (Fritz Simonsen, "The Living Past," Part 5.).

After the "restoration of justice" came the victorious campaigns. "Two army groups quickly broke through the Polish front. The enemy armies were trapped in the 'kessel' and smashed. Polish aircraft were destroyed on the ground before they had time to take off...

Within four weeks the blitzkrieg was over. Once again the German Reich included the former German territories and had moved its frontiers eastward. The rest of Poland was administered by a governor-general." ("Outline of History.")

No less "glorious" was the campaign in the West. "The Wehrmacht made brilliant use of its superiority in tanks and aircraft. By May 14 Holland had surrendered."

After depicting the invasion of Denmark and Norway as a romantic "leap northward," there arose the delicate question of the defeats suffered by the Wehrmacht in the Soviet Union. But here, too, Hitler and his generals furnished the explanation. "General Winter" came to the aid of the Russians and inflicted heavy blows on the Germans.

The results of such instruction can be seen from the following comment by one 13-year-old: "History is wonderful because it tells you so much about war and conquest." And lest any pupil get the idea that defeat may well be the logical outcome of aggression, the Bayerische Schule illustrates the situation on the Russian front: "I encircled the Russians at Minsk and Smolensk." "It was just like catching butterflies," one youth magazine adds: "One, two! Ten thousand Ivans were in the bag!" ("Operation Grandfather Frost," p. 7).

In these circumstances it is only natural that the references to the war criminals convicted by the International Tribunal are largely sympathetic. "Hostility and vindictiveness, an unjust and indiscriminate approach in some cases gravely injured the national sentiment of the soulsick German people." (History textbook for secondary schools, Vol. 4.)

With an eye to Little Europe integration plans and in view of certain revelations, the more glaring examples of chauvinism in the school system have been somewhat modified. The International Institute for School Textbooks in Braunschweig was to have played an important part in this connection. But what is the actual situation there? The historians Anneliese and Arno Peters refused to work in the Institute on the grounds that "owing to the supra-national character of the Institute, arrogance and hatred, war and striving for conquest are not condemned as such but are merely excluded in relation to the Allied nations (allied in this sense as well)."

And indeed, of late "Western" arguments are adduced more and more in support of Germany's chauvinistic claims. At the same time, the accent is not so much on actively militarizing such subjects as history which can be publicly controlled through the textbooks; in-

stead the policy is systematically to inject the poison of hatred and revenge through the medium of the so-called "Eastern studies" which run through the entire school program. For instance, one of the themes recommended for the program of religious instruction is: "the difference between the Western and Asiatic evaluation of human life," which is summed up thus: "Behind the iron curtain man is regarded not as a being created in God's image, but as a blind instrument, a cog; he is entirely at the mercy of the stronger; kidnapping and slavery there are the rule, the forcible removal of people from conquered countries as the booty of the victor was an ancient custom of nomadic tribes, which the West invariably encountered when owing to lack of unity it was unable to repulse the onslaught of the Asiatic hordes." ("The German East as taught in the Schools.")

Geography instruction follows a similar pattern. "In treating of geographical disputes it is necessary to proceed from the principle that German territory reaches beyond the frontiers of 1937 to where German national groups, e.g., the Sudeten Germans and Balts, have settled Eastern territories. The size and importance of the lost eastern territories must be emphasized and appraised as a loss for the civilized world."

Revanchist infiltration of the textbooks is accompanied by the deletion, on the pretext of "tightening up," of all historical events that might cause the pupil to draw dangerous parallels between past and present. For example, the first edition of "Man and History" allotted 41 pages to the Nazi period of German history. After the death of the authors of the book, this section was cut to 13 pages and so rewritten that, as the *Allgemeine Deutsche Lehrerzeitung* put it, "the very nature of the cuts and omissions clearly showed who was behind them." According to the book, there was no Reichstag fire. Nor does it make any mention of the concentration camps and death camps. The persecution of the Jews gets 14 lines—quite a lot when one considers that in other textbooks the subject is dismissed with a single line! Nothing is said about the destruction of Warsaw, Coventry, Rotterdam, not a word about Oradour or Lidice.

The West German school is clearly doing nothing to help the young generation to live down the past. But what is worse is that the purpose of the so-called "Eastern studies"—the backbone of revanchist education—is not so much to give a true account of historical events as to "prepare for the urgent tasks of our day."

In all justice to German schoolteachers it should be said that many of them frequently turn to the public for help in resisting the pressures and halting the militarization of the schools. When the remilitarization was in its early stages, the Association of German Teachers' Unions, the Union of Educational and Science Workers, and the Bavarian Teachers' Federation voiced their concern that "the financial, economic, social and cultural consequences of rearmament would put a heavy burden on the educational system. They refused to do anything that "was incompatible with their conscience and with their pedagogical views, and which, in particular, would place the school in one or another form in the service of militarism."

The "Bremen plan" submitted by the Federation of Teachers' Associations and calling for a revision of the form and content of the system of education was likewise dictated by a sense of responsibility for the young generation. As distinct from accepted practice, the plan provides for the teaching of history "based on a desire for historical truth and respect for the freedom and dignity of man." The purpose of instruction, as seen by the authors of the plan, should be "to heighten the youths' sense of responsibility" and to imbue them with the idea that "all nations are dependent on one another and are in need of mutual aid."

The Bonn rulers pay scant heed to the opinion of the teachers' organizations. This shows that in order to solve educational problems there must be close cooperation between the working class, and primarily its trade unions, the parents in town and country and progressive teachers.

The action of the Metalworkers' Union, the biggest and most militant trade union in West Germany, in assuring teachers and educators of its readiness to support their demands is an important step towards such cooperation. The decisions of the Sixth Congress of the United German Trade Unions and the draft of their new program contain clauses pertaining to the education of the young generation which can serve the working class as a basis for cooperation with teachers and other progressives.

The democrats in Federal Germany who are anxious to purge the school of the pernicious ideas of neo-fascism and revanchism have behind them a powerful force which, whether they realize it or not, is vigorously fighting for their interests, for common humanist ideals. That force is the German Democratic Republic. Its socialist school is an example

of the abolition of all privileges in education, an example of how the imperialist and militarist past can be overcome and the young gen-

eration brought up in the spirit of peace and friendship among the nations.

Oskar NEUMANN

Reviews

The Challenge of Marxism

THIS short book,* lively and popular and jargon-free in style and exposition, sets out to present the challenge afforded by Marxism to thought and action in a novel way. Mindful that "Marxist thought moves with the times," the editor (who is a university lecturer, author and member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain) has collected a team of six writers to expound, each in his own way, the standpoint of Marxism "on contemporary issues clearly and unequivocally, so that those genuinely interested in the Marxist approach can make up their minds for themselves." Thus it is designed for a wide audience, not for a narrow circle of the convinced or near-convinced. As he goes on to say in his Preface, "the book does not set out to be an exposition of Marxism . . . It represents, rather, an analysis, from a Marxist standpoint, of certain key aspects of modern society, and is presented primarily as a contribution to current discussions."

In this aim it succeeds admirably, and represents in several aspects a notable and unique contribution to Marxist literature and controversy. The six contributors to this slender volume include, in addition to the editor himself, the General Secretary of the CPGB (John Gollan) and the veteran Communist who is Chairman of the Party's Economic Committee (J. R. Campbell), together with an historian (A. L. Morton), a professional biochemist (E. V. Rowsell), and a university lecturer in English literature who is also a member of the Executive Committee of the CPGB (Dr. Arnold Kettle).

The editor opens the volume with a survey of "The Present Predicament," in which he first of all tackles neo-Fabian (or Right-wing Labor Party) claims that capitalism has changed its essential nature since the war. Citing a recent study of the ownership of capital in Britain and the work of Professor Titmuss (*Income Distribution and Social Change*, 1962) he concludes that the postwar nationalization

measures carried through by the Labor government of that period, while they had certain positive features, "have not altered the essential character of the British economy," and that "the trend towards monopoly, of which there have been so many striking examples recently" has continued and is continuing cumulatively. "Despite the relatively high level of employment and a 25 per cent rise in real earnings since the war, poverty still coexists with great wealth," and "vast areas of 'public squalor' still remain." With the stagnant situation of the British economy he contrasts the high growth-rates of the socialist countries, based on social ownership and economic planning. "Is it any wonder," he concludes, "that everywhere, and particularly in the under-developed countries, men are turning towards Marxism as a beacon light? That they see communism as the way to the flowering of science, education, culture — to new material and spiritual values?"

In the second essay John Gollan confronts readers with the fact that Western or bourgeois democracy faces a dual crisis: on the one hand, it is "threatened by the monopolists and their political spokesmen who are no longer finding it convenient to maintain traditional democratic forms," and is undermined by the growing concentration of power which monopoly capitalism represents; on the other hand it is faced with "the emergence of a new social system in the world" and the challenge which this represents. A large part of the essay is devoted to an exposition of how "through its control of the state machine, in spite of all social and democratic advances won by the working class, the ruling class is able to keep real power in its hands." Thus the essence of bourgeois democracy (to which Social Democracy turns a blind eye) is that "the economic power of the small group (of monopolists) which controls the effective wealth of the country . . . is secured also by their control over the machinery of the state"; from which it follows that the struggle for real democracy can only be a struggle for socialism, and "the

* *The Challenge of Marxism*, edited by Brian Simon. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1963; pp. 206. Price 21 shillings net.

future of democracy in Britain depends ultimately on the conquest of political power by the working class and its allies" through class struggle. In a concluding section on 'the future of democracy' he declares (citing *The British Road to Socialism*, the program of the CPGB):

"Working class advance to political power involves the winning of a majority in Parliament by the working class and its allies, and the use of that majority backed by the mass struggle of the people to bring about fundamental social and economic change, and the transformation of democracy and the state from capitalist forms into socialist forms . . . Britain will reach the socialist goal in her own way in accordance with her own political circumstances, historical conditions and traditions."

Thereby the contradiction inherent in bourgeois democracy will be finally resolved.

The ensuing chapters take up the theme in a number of special contexts. J. R. Campbell, after an historical introduction devoted to Marxism and its origins, deals successively with the October Revolution and the special features of postwar capitalism, in particular with the growth of monopoly (concretely but perhaps rather too briefly) and with socialist planning.

A. L. Morton, with considerable erudition, deals with the problem of the individual and society and the difficult question of the proper balance between artistic freedom and social

responsibility — a question that so widely vexes intellectuals today.

The main theme of the contribution by E. V. Rowsell is science in Britain. Research, Rowsell says, is starved and the training of scientists neglected; and this combined with the domination of research by military needs means that the potentialities of science for human welfare go unused. "Scientists can best safeguard their own future and the further progress and utilization of science by taking part in the great organized movement, led by the working class, to prevent war and to establish socialism," so that science can be used for the benefit of humanity.

A contribution from Dr. Arnold Kettle is couched in the form of an *ad hominem* appeal to intellectuals. Sensitive and sincere in tone, carefully and judiciously phrased and at times moving, its keynote is "the truth that Marxism is not, as is painted by its opponents, the antithesis of humanist ideas, but on the contrary, the humanist tradition must lead, if it is to be more than the expression of an ideal aspiration, to communism."

Although primarily attuned to the situation in Britain, these essays well deserve the attention of readers outside Britain as well as within it, and in their relevance, force and timeliness, as well as in the freshness of their approach, can be warmly recommended to both.

Maurice DOBB

Life for Noble Ideals

AT the time the young Soviet girl Valentina Tereshkova was circling the earth the veteran American Communist Elizabeth Gurley Flynn addressed warm greetings to her cosmonaut colleague.

This prompted Joseph North, journalist, to write in the New York newspaper *The Worker*: "It seemed eminently right that the Rebel Girl, of Joe Hill's song, hailed the woman whose scientific exploit electrified humankind . . . There is a direct line between Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and the space pioneer. Genealogy is not only a matter of genes, it is as much a matter of philosophy, of ideology. . . . Joe Hill's last letter bade the Rebel Girl to find more, to inspire more, girls like herself. Elizabeth, and the Gurley Flynn of our nation, and of the world are mothers and sisters of the first woman astronaut. I think of women here like Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* who was a tireless abolitionist,

of trail-blazers through the forest, like Sojourner Truth, of Mother Jones, of Mother Bloor, and the countless others of different lands, like Rosa Luxemburg of Germany, Krupskaya of Russia, and La Passionaria of Spain. Mothers and sisters of Valya."

North's parallel is to the point. He mentions the names of women who dedicated their lives to the struggle for a better future for mankind. Flynn and Tereshkova are both in the ranks of the noblest of humanity. They differ in nationality and age but this does not prevent the unity of the noble aims of their lives.

Gurley Flynn entered into political life by joining a demonstration held to pay tribute to the victims of Bloody Sunday (January 9, 1905) in Russia. In 1906, at the age of 16, she addressed the Harlem Socialist Club on the subject "Woman and Society." Since then the history of the U.S. labor movement cannot be visualized without this fearless American of

Irish parentage who has always been in the front line. Michael Gold has described her as one of the great teachers of the American nation.

In that same year, 1906, Gurley Flynn read the *Communist Manifesto* for the first time. And nearly fifty years later, in 1952, the Manifesto was produced at the Foley Square trial as "evidence" of the criminal "conspiracy" in which she was charged under the Smith Act.

Gurley Flynn was sentenced to three years in jail and, together with Betty Gannett and Claudia Jones, she was sent to the Federal Reformatory for Women in Alderson (West Virginia). "I was a convict, a prisoner without rights," she recalls. "But my head was unbowed. Come what may, *I was a political prisoner* and proud of it, at one with some of the noblest of humanity, who had suffered for conscience's sake. I felt no shame, no humiliation, no consciousness of guilt. To me my number 11710 was a badge of honor."

After being released, Gurley Flynn wrote *The Alderson Story. My Life as a Political Prisoner* (New York, International Publishers, 1963. Pp. 223.) from which the present-day McCarthys can gauge that their "reformatory" did little to "reform" the Rebel Girl.

Injustice of any kind is the one thing that Gurley Flynn could never tolerate. She wrote her book about prison with the double purpose of getting the rules changed and of compelling the authorities to revise the penitentiary system as a whole. These places cripple people, they do not reform them. The delinquent falls into the hands of the incorrigible, and, shortly after leaving the prison, he is returned to it.

She tells the story of a clever, beautiful and kind young girl driven by poverty to prostitution. "I thought as I looked at her and others around me, what a waste of human material; what she and they might have been, under a different social system! No attempt is made in prison to salvage them."

In describing the prison inmates she is able to see the human soul behind the filth of the crime surrounding it. The personality is crippled by the inhumanity of capitalist society with its motto: man is wolf to man. What the women inmates of Alderson need, "in the main," are "hospitals, sanatoriums, rest homes, training schools, psychiatric treatment — not a prison."

And the shut-in humanness responded to Gurley Flynn's kindness and friendship. One day she and other Communist women arranged a birthday party in the canteen for a 19-year-old Negro girl. The next day Gurley Flynn received a note from the girl which read: "Yesterday

was one of the best years of my life. I think even thou you all are Communist people that you all are the best people I have ever met. The reason I put Communist in this letter is because some people don't like Communists for the simple reason they think the Communist people is against the American people but I don't think so. I think that you all are some of the best people I ever met in my whole 19 years of living and I will never forget you all no matter where I be."*

The prisoners in Alderson were greatly impressed by the solidarity of the Communists. The author recalls the activities carried out by the Families' Committee of Smith Act Victims headed by Mrs. Peggy Dennis, which arranged visits to Alderson and helped the families of the prisoners. "We were envied by less fortunate women," she writes. "'Communists must be good people!' one girl said wistfully."

Inmates condemned for criminal offenses were curious as to why the veteran woman was in their midst. Gurley Flynn explained to them the connotations of the Smith Act, but they insisted: "*But what did you do?*" "After all," she writes, "one is supposed to be accused of doing something to land in prison—steal a car, rob a bank, forge a check, peddle dope, make moonshine, extort money, or commit a murder. What could I say?"

One event in her prison life stressed the absurdity of her presence in the cell. At the request of the prison authorities she wrote for the prison magazine an article on the Declaration of Independence. This became known outside the prison. Murray Kempton of the *New York Post* commented on this occasion: "Neither she nor they (prison authorities—G.G.) seemed to think it odd for a July 4th piece to come from a woman convicted of conspiracy to advocate the overthrow of the government of the United States; she wrote it and they printed it. . . . I would like to say that Thomas Jefferson would have been proud of this story; but I am more sure that he would have wondered what she was doing in jail in the first place."

Medical tests showed that the author suffered from high blood pressure and arthritis. Her knees were stiff and she found it painful to walk. The women were expected to go down on their hands and knees to wash and wax the floors of their cells. Gurley Flynn could not do this. "But waxed floors are more important in Alderson than women, be they old, sick, pregnant, or crippled," she remarks bit-

*Reproduced from the original.—Ed.

terly. "Some rules were so petty and mean they were positively sadistic."

Contrary to the regulations Flynn was placed in maximum security as a particularly dangerous prisoner, and was subjected to humiliating examinations accompanied by the doctor's imprecations against the Communists. Letters were doubly censored. The maximum number of correspondents was five according to the list approved by the authorities. During her stay in Alderson hundreds of letters and cards arrived for Gurley Flynn. And not only were they not delivered to her while she was there, they were refused to her when she left; according to the authorities they were "government property." "I have no doubt," she writes, "the FBI had a look at all of them." Moreover, even a copy of her own book *I Speak My Own Piece*, which came off the press when she was there, was given to her for half an hour and only then because it was Christmas.

"What happened to us," writes Gurley Flynn, "was in no way comparable to the terrible

fate of our comrades abroad, the martyred Czech Communist Julius Fucik, or the French Communist Gabriel Peri — both executed by the Nazis. But this does not minimize the shame of laws such as the Smith Act, the McCarran Act, and the anti-labor Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts. While they remain, what happened to us and worse can happen again and to many others, non-Communists as well as Communists: workers for peace, Negro rights, union demands. That is why we believe our cases must not be forgotten. . . ."

The ever active Gurley Flynn found the enforced idleness particularly hard to bear. "I was anxious," she recalls, "to get into the thick of things again, to help preserve and defend my views and my Party." And she regained her freedom, in order "to speak and to write again, to carry the message of peace and Socialism for our country — in my time. To this purpose my life is dedicated."

G. GREIS

Against the Persecution of Democrats

THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE CANNOT BE BROKEN!

FOLLOWING the execution of Julian Grimau, the Franco government, in an attempt to reduce the tension in the country and to deceive the people and especially public opinion abroad which had angrily protested against its crimes, rushed through a series of decrees ostensibly designed to "democratize the regime." An amnesty for political prisoners, which affected only a tiny part of the jailed patriots, was widely publicized.

Few people in Spain, however, were taken in by these steps. The summer months did not bring Franco the quiet he so desired. As was the case last year, attention was focused on events in Spain, on the heroic struggle waged by the miners.

The miners' strike which began in Asturias in July spread to the other mining areas. In addition to the demand for better conditions, the strikers called for the return of the exiles, the release of the political prisoners, an end to the sanctions, as well as trade union rights and the right to strike. The miners' strike repeated the courageous struggle of last year, which had profound repercussions both at home and abroad.

The duel between the strikers and the government, the employers, and the trade union hierarchy, which won the admiration of the Spanish workers, was the preliminary to the next round of united actions—the heralds of the political general strike which the people are beginning to regard as the best means to accelerate the overthrow of the dictatorship.

The Franco authorities stopped at nothing in their endeavor to break the resistance of the strikers. They ordered the closing of the mines in which the strikers were employed, organized lockouts, arrested strikers and deported them to other parts of the country. But nothing could break the will of the miners.

The Communist Party declared its solidarity with the miners. It appealed to all the Opposition forces to express their support for the miners in the Asturias. It urged the working people in town and countryside to organize solidarity with the strikers and to help them materially.

So that this solidarity movement should become a nationwide movement, said the Communist Party statement, mutual understanding and united action by Communists, Socialists, Catholics, members of the National Confederation of Labor, Nationalists and all workers and anti-fascists should be achieved without delay.

Supported by the entire working class the Asturian miners are making an important contribution to the common class struggle for democracy waged by the working people in other capitalist countries as well. That is why the strike had repercussions and found support not only in our country but far beyond its borders. International solidarity was shown by the workers of France, Italy, Belgium, Argentina, Mexico, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and other countries, who sent money, food parcels and clothing. Meetings of solidarity with the Spanish people were held in many countries. The World Federation of Trade Unions was to the fore in this.

After seven weeks the flames of the strike flared up with renewed force. The strike was joined by other sections of the working class, so that the summer months did not signify a slackening of the political struggle as the dictator had expected.

Franco, feverishly seeking a way out of his dilemma, is going to extremes. On August 17, at the same place where Grimau was executed, two young patriots, Francisco Granados Gata and Joaquin Delgado Martinez, both members of an anti-fascist organization, were brutally murdered. Accused of "acts of terror," they were secretly "tried" by court-martial and, without evidence and denied defense counsel, condemned to death.

The French Communist newspaper *Humanité* printed the following description by an eyewitness of their execution.

Just before sunrise, Francisco Gata was taken from his cell to the prison yard. The executioner placed a garrote around his neck and began slowly to screw the bolts. Little by little the iron compressed the neck. When the bolts were in place the executioner turned the plates around. Francisco was still conscious. Half an hour passed before death ended his suffering. His body was removed and Joaquin was put in his place; Joaquin, too, suffered the same agony as Francisco.

One finds it even difficult to imagine that such medieval brutality is possible in our day and age. The callousness of the murder aroused protests all over the world.

The Communist Party, which has repeatedly denounced individual terrorism, stresses once again that the way to bring about the downfall of the Franco dictatorship is that of organizing and developing the struggle of the work-

ing class and masses. This is the general strike, the way to which has been opened by the courageous action of the Asturian miners.

The statement issued by the Executive Committee of the Communist Party in connection with the execution of the two patriots forcefully denounces the "crime perpetrated against the two young anti-fascists who, though they denied any participation in terrorist acts, were

condemned to death by the military tribunal. . . ."

The Communist Party statement calls on all Spaniards to redouble their efforts in the fight against the fascist dictatorship, against the use of military tribunals as instruments of political repression, for a general amnesty for all political prisoners and exiles.

J. PEREZ

A DANGEROUS POLICY

THE independent countries of Africa, an important political force, are making a big contribution to the struggle of the peoples for peace. Most of these countries have refused to align themselves with the capitalist world system and its military aggressive blocs. The peoples of the former colonies do not want to have anything in common with the oppressors whom they have just driven off their necks.

The imperialists and their agents are conscious that the growing political awareness of the African working people spells danger to them. They are, therefore, trying to prevent the spread of progressive ideas in Africa, and above all the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

The neo-colonialists are particularly worried about the growth of class consciousness of the working class. To check the struggle of the working people and their trade unions they are trying to corrupt the workers' organizations and to bring them under the control of the government and the ruling parties, thus making them mere cogs in the machinery of state. With this aim in view, the rights of the working people are being restricted and organizations which refused to subordinate the interests of the working class to the needs of the top bureaucracy are persecuted. It should be said that while the constitutions of the newly independent states proclaim democratic freedoms, there are numerous laws and decrees that suppress the activity of the progressive organizations and the press.

The winning of independence initiated a process of "Africanization" of the administration, the army and the police. But the colonial office is still there. In the guise of "general technical aid" officials who specialized in suppressing the peasants' and workers' action in the Africa of colonial times not infrequently continue to direct the policy of repression carried out by the top circles of the newly independent states.

The leaders of the country belonging to the *African and Malagasy Union* still "coordinate" their home and foreign policies with those of their former metropolis—France. For example,

the establishment in France of a special tribunal for state security was followed by the establishment of similar courts in *Gabon*, *Upper Volta*, *Chad*, and the *Ivory Coast*. Only recently, the ministers of the interior of the countries of the African and Malagasy Union travelled to Paris where they visited headquarters of the police who have accumulated a vast experience in suppressing the people, while the President of the Supreme Court of the Ivory Coast and the State Prosecutor of Senegal, not content with the French experience alone, went to the United States.

The repressive measures taken in a number of countries are links in a chain of policy which endangers the national gains of the African peoples. The reactionary policy pursued by the leaders of some of the new African states is evidenced by the following facts.

Some 90,000 people lost their lives in the struggle for the independence of the *Malagasy Republic* proclaimed on June 26, 1960, (total population five million). However, after three years of political independence the key positions in the economy are still in the hands of French monopolies. The minimum wage established by the government for a number of industries is far below the subsistence level. Forced labor has been legalized for some jobs.

The right to organize proclaimed in the Constitution is flagrantly violated. A Decree of July 22, 1960, says: "The Council of Ministers is entitled to disband any association or group . . . charged with receiving, or with the desire to receive, material support from abroad or being guided by foreign slogans. Members of such organizations can be deprived of the right to travel."

The Malagasy authorities restrict the right to travel. Political and trade union leaders invited to attend international congresses are denied passports. For example, only two of the four Malagasy delegates to the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace could go to Moscow, Young people who receive scholar-

ships to study in the socialist countries are forbidden to leave Madagascar.

Many patriots have been exiled to remote parts of the country. Threats, intimidation and unwarranted arrest of members of opposition parties and members of trade unions and youth organizations are common.

In Diego Suarez, where there is a French naval base, the authorities do everything to prevent the left trade unions from functioning.

Decrees issued by the government have nullified freedom of the press. The Press Law of December 23, 1960, stipulates: "By the decision of the Minister of the Interior, any organ of the press accused of a breach of public order can be closed for 15 days."

Not long ago the director of the newspaper *Imongo Vaovao*, Rasahoby, was put on trial on a libel charge. In the eyes of the authorities this newspaper sinned by supporting last year's strikes of bank clerks against racial discrimination, and also the struggle of the dockers in Tamatav.

In Congo (Brazzaville) the reactionaries concentrate their fire on the progressive trade unions. People here recall how in May 1960, 24 trade unionists were arrested and held in prison for over five months without trial. The people succeeded in wresting the patriots from the police dungeons thanks to the solidarity of the working people of the world. But the working-class fighters are still in danger of persecution. Thus, Julien Boukambou, General Secretary of the General Confederation of African Working People, and member of the Executive Committee of the World Federation of Trade Unions, and several other trade union leaders were unlawfully detained in the police station for several days last June.

The authorities have dissolved a number of progressive organizations and parties.

In reply to the latest arrests of trade unionists, workers in Brazzaville declared a general strike on August 13. Strikers stormed the city jail and released their comrades. Their demand that Fulbert Youlou should resign at once was strongly supported by the population. Neither the police nor the appeal to French troops could save Youlou's puppet regime.

President Houphuet Boigny of the Ivory Coast is another who dreads the "Communist danger." In January the authorities suddenly discovered a "Communist plot" in Abidjan. Dozens of people who for one reason or another were not to the liking of the authorities were arrested and tried in secret by a special tribunal. Charged with engaging in "subversive activity," thirteen of them were sentenced

to death, seven to life imprisonment, while 44 received sentences ranging from five to 20 years hard labor. This monstrous verdict was condemned by world public opinion.

The wave of persecution in the Ivory Coast has created an atmosphere of tension in which intimidation and lawlessness are rampant. This plays into the hands of the French monopolists who still hold sway in their former colony and who are only too glad to get rid of those who stand for genuine independence and who are exposing the maneuvers of neo-colonialism.

A group of leaders arrested in March in the *Republic of Chad* were charged with "encroaching on the security of the state, attempting to overthrow the government and assassinate the head of the state." The "plotters" included Mahamat Abdelkrim, Chairman of the National Assembly, and Abou Nassour, State Minister. This was followed by the arrest of Dr. Outel Bono, one of the leaders of the Progressive Party, and some of his comrades, who were accused of "imperilling the internal and external security of the state." On March 26 President Tombalbaye dissolved the National Assembly in violation of the Constitution.

The authorities forbade the French lawyer Kaldor to act as defense counsel for Dr. Outel Bono. Shortly afterwards Kaldor was expelled from Chad.

The trial took place in an atmosphere of flagrant violation of legal procedure and human rights. Witnesses were tortured in an attempt to force them to give false evidence against Dr. Bono. But despite the fact that the charge of "conspiracy" could not be proved, it was later learned that Dr. Outel Bono and Abou Nassour had been sentenced to death and others to various terms of imprisonment.

The Federation of African Students in France protested against the unlawful arrest of Dr. Outel Bono and the other patriots. "The true reason for these arrests," it declared, "is that Chad is still a bastion of French imperialism. The arrests show that Tombalbaye, a docile servant of French neo-colonialism, is trampling on the aspirations of the people."

* * *

These examples by far do not exhaust the anti-democratic practices in countries of Tropical Africa.

The Statement of the 81-Party Meeting stresses that the anti-democratic policy of the ruling circles of the newly-emerged states endangers national independence and hampers the consistent implementation of the tasks of

the anti-imperialist, national-democratic revolution. Genuine independence and national rebirth require above all an effective democracy

and the participation of the people in the struggle for economic and social progress.

Sheikh A. AMIDOU, Mamadou DIENNE

THE FORCE OF FRATERNAL SOLIDARITY

WE have received a letter from Victor Manuel Gutiérrez, one of the leaders of the working people of Guatemala, in which he writes: "In sending you fraternal greetings, I am happy to convey to the comrades from *World Marxist Review* my gratitude for the expression of solidarity and for the help in the cause of my release."

Since this letter, after making a long and difficult journey, reached our office, other trade union and political leaders who were arrested with Gutiérrez during the regime of Ydigoras Fuentes have been released. Their sole "crime" was that they met to discuss the amendments to the Labor Code.

Under pressure from the movement of solidarity with the victims of the Guatemalan dictator, Ydigoras Fuentes was forced to release Gutiérrez. Nevertheless he banished him from the country.

The military junta which overthrew Fuentes carried on his policy. The new military dictatorship filled the prisons with democrats. And again in Guatemala and in other countries the people had to protest against unlawful arrests.

Under pressure from the masses at home and abroad the junta had to release the patriots, including 12 comrades of Gutiérrez who were imprisoned by Fuentes. True, here again the

military government copied its predecessor. The released patriots were deported.

The bulletin of the "Guatemalan Democratic Emigration in Mexico" thanked the organizations and individuals who had demanded the release of the democrats.

The significance of international solidarity was manifested most strikingly in this struggle for the release of the patriots in Guatemala. The military dictatorship had to listen to the voice of the people, who condemn its crimes and arbitrary actions.

The reactionaries, of course, are carrying on their policy of repression. They have arrested Bernardo Alvarado Monzon, General Secretary of the Guatemalan Party of Labor. It is to be hoped that he, too, will soon regain his freedom; the fight for his release is making headway in Guatemala. There can be no doubt that public opinion throughout the world will protest against this arbitrary arrest and condemn the policy of the government. International solidarity will again play its part in securing the release of our comrade. Progressives all over the world, men and women interested in the future, in the struggle of the Guatemalan democrats and revolutionaries, have always been and will always be on the side of these democrats.

C. TZUL

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