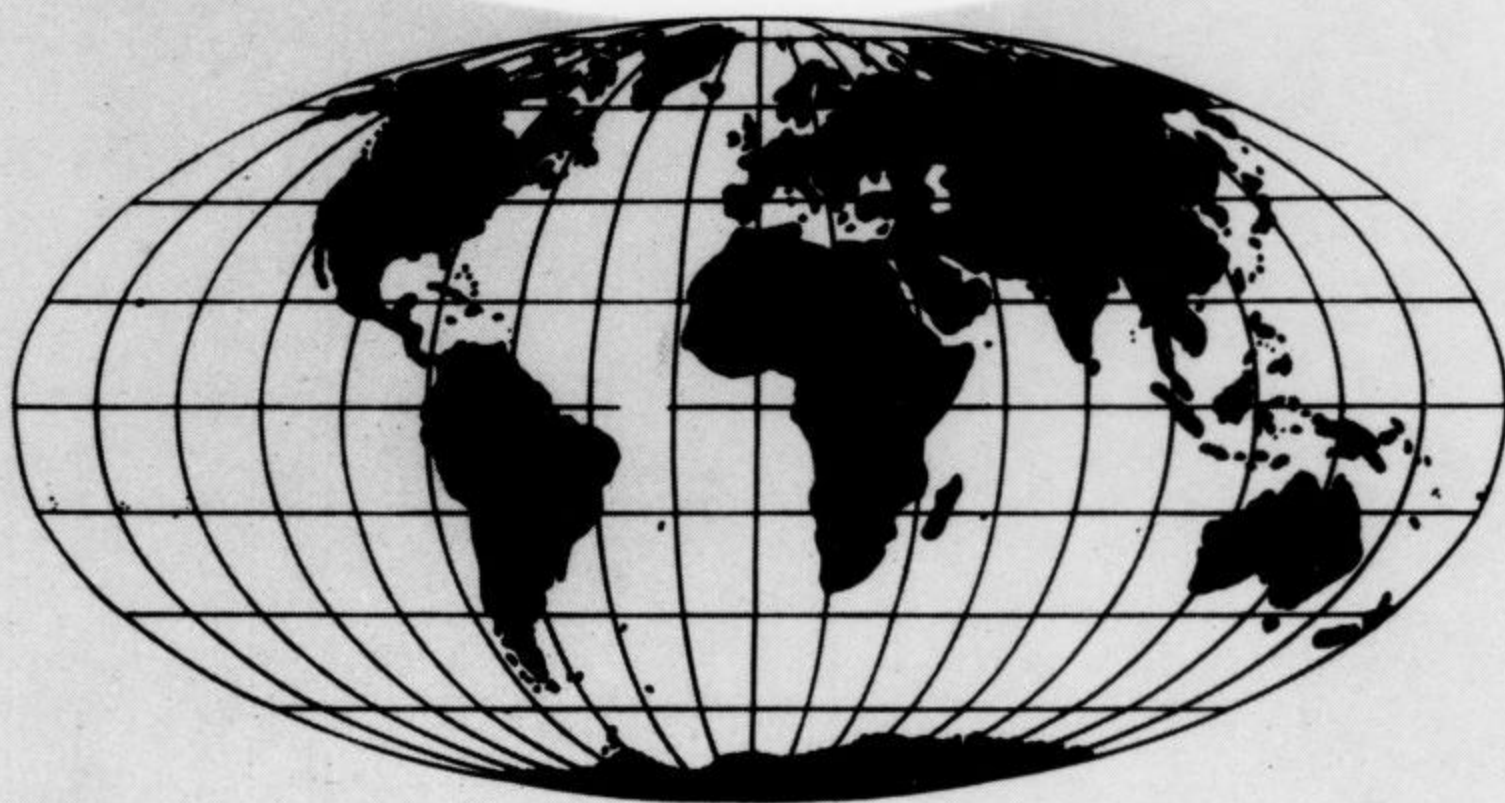


WORLD MARXIST REVIEW



Problems of Peace and Socialism

In This Issue:

**The Historical Role and Significance of the
Struggle of the CPSU**

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Who Is Revising Agreed Decisions?



WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW: Problems of Peace and Socialism

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WISCONSIN MARSHES: A HISTORY OF THE STATE AND ITS PEOPLE

By J. M. HARRIS, Editor of the Wisconsin State Journal

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The Historical Role and Significance of the Struggle of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Luigi Longo

I THINK it is fitting at the present time once again to review, even if in the most general outlines, the tremendous role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in advancing the world system of socialism.

This party, founded and moulded by Lenin, became tempered in the crucible of the first victorious socialist revolution; for the past 46 years this party has been guiding the world's first state of workers and peasants, which since its inception has been an inspiration to all peoples battling for freedom, which smashed Hitler's hordes and gave the decisive impetus to the establishment of the socialist world system; this party initiated on one-sixth of the earth's surface the transition from socialism to communism "in the name of man, for the benefit of man"; this party holds aloft the banner of revolutionary Marxism, which it has enriched with Lenin's priceless teaching and has made it the rallying point for all the forces fighting for the revolutionary reshaping of society; this party, in its ideas and actions, has always shown mankind the way to peace, freedom and progress.

It was not always easy to steer the right course in the turbulent current of events of the past 50 years. It fell to Lenin, to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to tackle the job of smashing the chains of capitalism, to be the pioneers at the price of incredible difficulties and deprivation in building the new socialist society. The October Revolution ushered in a new era in world history. Under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, and as a result of the efforts of the working class and the peasantry socialism took shape as a new political, social and economic system, became a state power in world affairs; spurred on the growth of socialist consciousness among the working class and working people of all countries and changed not only the physiognomy of the world but the entire course of history.

The doctrine and example of the Bolsheviks

inspired the vanguard of the working class in the capitalist countries and in some of the colonial countries to found Communist parties, parties based on new political and organizational principles. But, owing to the uneven economic and political development of the capitalist countries socialist revolutions did not take place everywhere simultaneously and proceed according to plan. The Soviet state, devastated by the Civil War, weakened by economic disruption, had to face the foreign intervention alone. After defeating the armed onslaught of the imperialists and emerging victorious from the Civil War, the country embarked upon the New Economic Policy (NEP). Under the leadership of Lenin the Party worked out a plan for the radical reconstruction of society, the plan for building socialism. But was it possible in the conditions of the relative stabilization of capitalism, in the conditions of NEP, to consider the question not only of embarking on the building of socialism in one country, but of completing it?

This was the big question to which the Party, guided by Lenin's precepts, replied in the affirmative, proving with facts and in sharp polemics against Trotskyism that it was taking the right course. The technological and economic level of the country at the time was low, the world's only socialist state was exposed to the treacherous attacks of the capitalist world that encircled it. Under these conditions the class struggle in the Soviet Union assumed particularly sharp forms. As Lenin had foreseen, it was easier to begin the revolution in Russia than to continue it.

The Bolshevik Party proved equal to its task. It decisively overcame all the resistance, vacillation and difficulties, and in an historically brief period, and without outside help, the Soviet Union became a mighty industrial power, economically independent of the capitalist countries, reshaping economic relations and the entire mode of life of the peasantry.

In order to build socialism a cultural revolution had to be carried out. The working people, who in their overwhelming majority had been illiterate, made a gigantic leap forward. More than a hundred nationalities and peoples not only gained political equality, they were wrested from the economic and cultural backwardness in which tsarism had kept them. They took the high road of socialism and well-being, most of them bypassing capitalism. These achievements greatly enhanced the might and defense potential of the Soviet Union, its prestige and its influence in the world.

The Soviet Union was able to achieve this thanks to the efforts and sacrifices made by the people, thanks to the efforts and continuous questing of the Bolshevik Party for forms and methods best suited to building the new society. It had to traverse an unexplored path replete with pitfalls and difficulties. This, perhaps, helps to explain the mistakes and distortions that were made in the period of socialist construction, which proceeded in incredibly difficult internal and international conditions. Despite the mistakes of the Stalin leadership, despite the harsh measures to which it resorted to overcome the resistance of the enemy to crush it, the class content, the democratic and socialist nature of the new Soviet system did not change.

The facts disprove the allegation of the Trotskyites that the policy of building socialism in one country was a manifestation of nationalism in relation to the world revolution. Just the reverse. By taking that course the Soviet Union rapidly caught up with the capitalist countries economically and placed all the might of the world's first socialist state at the service of peace and freedom. As its successes multiplied, the Soviet Union was able to multiply its efforts in upholding peace and the freedom of peoples. Indeed, it was at that time that the Soviet Union headed the peoples and states which had resolved to oppose the fascist aggression.

It was at that period that the international Communist movement, under the influence of the experience of the Bolshevik Party, intensified its activities in the countries under the colonial yoke, and extended the front of struggle for peace and against fascism. It was then that the policy of a united front of workers and other sections of the working people, of peace partisans and anti-fascists, of all democrats, was reaffirmed, developed and adapted to the new situation. This policy, further elaborated in 1935 at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International,

became the basis of the popular fronts in many countries and the worldwide rallying of the peoples in defense of Republican Spain. The aid to Republican Spain was the first concrete instance of the grand united front of peoples, parties and a state against fascism; it was an instance of the united action which later was to manifest itself in full during the Second World War and to become the basis for the victory over fascism.

The Soviet Union played a decisive role in defeating German fascism and Japanese militarism and thereby saved mankind from fascist enslavement. Thanks to this the military victory created favorable conditions for overthrowing capitalist and landlord rule in a number of countries of Europe and Asia. After the war many new countries took the path of socialism. The people's revolution triumphed also in China. These victories dealt a fresh blow at the positions of imperialism. Today socialism flourishes not only in one country, but in a whole system of socialist states which are inhabited by a third of mankind and which form a social, economic and political community of free and sovereign peoples, united by common interests and aims and by close bonds of socialist solidarity. This solidarity is the guarantee of their security in the face of imperialist reaction. The material and political aid rendered by the Soviet Union enabled them to overcome in the shortest space of time the ravages of war and the backwardness inherited from the past.

The People's Democracies accumulated new political experience containing many new and original forms of socio-economic and political organization. This new type of organization reflected the distinctive features of the socialist revolution at a time when imperialism had grown weaker and the balance of forces in the world had shifted in favor of socialism. It reflected also the distinctive historical and national features of the respective People's Democracies.

It confirmed, moreover, the validity of the basic lessons of the October Revolution and Soviet experience, namely that only if power is in the hands of the working classes can the success of socialist construction be ensured; that only in close alliance with the non-proletarian working masses can the working class perform its role of builder of the new society; that only a socialist state can organize and unite the masses, carry out the planned guidance of cultural and economic construction and uphold the gains of the revolution.

Today the Soviet Union and the entire community of socialist states are the reliable bastion of peace and the freedom of peoples. They are working to change the world, to do away for all time with the colonial system and to achieve the victory of world socialism. The superiority of the forces of socialism over the forces of imperialism, of the forces of peace over the forces of war, is becoming increasingly apparent on a world scale. This new balance is man's greatest boon, because it lessens the danger of military adventures on the part of imperialism. The Soviet Union and its Communist Party played a decisive part in achieving this result and not only because of the impact of the October Revolution and of socialist construction, but also because of the guiding influence which led to the emergence of new socialist states, of the socialist world system. Communist construction in the Soviet Union accords with the interests of the entire socialist world system, with the interests of the international proletariat and the whole of mankind.

As noted earlier, in the course of the titanic work of building socialism in the Soviet Union, when by force of circumstances the role of international leader was virtually thrust upon the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, mistakes, distortions and excesses were committed by the Stalin leadership. The objective conditions in which this work was carried out made for extreme centralization of power. But the centralization was preserved and even intensified when these conditions no longer existed, when the centralization was clearly at variance with socialist society at that stage of development. For Stalin the subjective factors were everything, everything depended on the ability, loyalty and orientation of the functionaries and the primary organizations.

The struggle against the class enemy was thus turned into a struggle within the Party, against "sabotage" and "betrayal." Power was concentrated in the hands of a few; administrative orders became the prevailing method. Democracy in the Party and socialist democracy in general were often sacrificed to the Stalin cult, while the apologetic approach to political work prevented a proper assessment of the problems that arose with the development of Soviet society, thereby weakening the strength and militancy of the Party. And while it is true that the mistakes and limitations of the Stalin leadership never affected the roots of the revolutionary process, never altered its significance in world developments, they nevertheless devitalized

and retarded the revolutionary process. This, of course, told on socialist construction, on the advance of socialism in other countries, on the creative power of Marxism, on the way the specific problems of the international working-class movement were solved.

During Stalin's time all differences were qualified as irreconcilable contradictions, as "disavowal" of principle, as disruption. And when disagreement is qualified as disruption there is no place for discussion. Yet creative development of Marxism-Leninism implies frank discussion, and exchange of opinions, a constant questing. Hence democracy in the Party is essential if it is to be in constant touch with objective reality, if mistakes are to be rectified and if democratic centralism is to function properly. Growth of socialist democracy is essential if close ties are to be established between the Party and the masses. It is in close unity of thought and action, of discussion and practical activity that the Communist Party demonstrates that it is by its very nature a party of struggle and revolutionary action. "Uncompromising fidelity to principle," warned Gramsci, "naturally presupposes tolerance in discussion which precedes decision."

It is noteworthy that it was the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that took the initiative in laying bare the mistakes and distortions of Stalin, in remedying the situation. The Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses of the CPSU denounced the Stalin cult and spurred on the fight for strict adherence to socialist legality and extension of democracy. This showed that the Soviet system and the Communist Party had the strength to recognize mistakes and shortcomings and to overcome them, guided by Marxism-Leninism.

"The attitude of a political party towards its own mistakes," Lenin wrote, "is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the party is and how it in practice fulfils its obligations towards its class and the toiling masses. Frankly admitting a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analyzing the conditions which led to it, and thoroughly discussing the means of correcting it — that is the earmark of a serious party; that is the way it should perform its duties, that is the way it should educate and train the class and then the masses."*

By denouncing the personality cult and its consequences the Communist Party of the

*V. I. Lenin, "Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder.

Soviet Union made an invaluable contribution to restoring Marxist-Leninist principles in the international working-class movement, to their further elaboration. The critical analysis made by the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses was the starting point for a decisive reappraisal and improvement, stimulated the process of remedying matters, enabled the parties to get away from their former schematic and sectarian positions, to better understand the changes taking place and to appreciate the new opportunities for revolutionary action. The creative energies of the Communist parties were multiplied and Marxism-Leninism enriched its content in live contact with reality. This work of criticism, assessment and improvement inspired the program documents of the international Communist movement on the most important problems of our day, the documents drawn up and approved by the 1957 and 1960 meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties in Moscow.

On the basis of the materials of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses of the CPSU and the documents of the Moscow meetings, Communists recognized that it would be a grave mistake to copy the methods and decisions which the Communists of the Soviet Union followed in the specific historical conditions in which they had to work, to see these as the only way to socialism. Incidentally, this was Lenin's view who as early as 1908 warned that "the international revolutionary movement of the proletariat does not, and cannot proceed evenly and in the same forms in different countries. . . . Every country introduces its own valuable and original features into the general stream. . . ."

In one of the chapters of his "*Left-Wing" Communism* Lenin drew general conclusions from his polemics against Left sectarianism: ". . . unity of the international tactics of the Communist working-class movement of all countries demands, not the elimination of variety, not the abolition of national differences (that is a foolish dream at the present moment), but such an application of the *fundamental* principles of Communism (Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat), as will *correctly modify* these principles in certain *particulars*, correctly adapt and apply them to national and national-state differences. Investigate, study, seek, divine, grasp that which is peculiarly national, specifically national in the *concrete manner* in

which each country approaches the fulfilment of the *single* international task. . . . Such is the main task of the historical period through which all the advanced countries (and not only the advanced countries) are now passing."

In 1943 the Executive Committee of the Communist International stated the following: "The profound difference in the historical paths of development of the different countries of the world, the different character and even diversity and contradictory nature of their social systems, the differences in the level and rate of their social and political development, and lastly, the difference in the level of the class consciousness and organization of the workers determine the different tasks facing the working class of the different countries." Arising from this the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern decided to dissolve the Third International when the successes of the Communist movement and the situation created by the war offered favorable opportunities and new ways for advancing towards the goal.

This advance was marked by the elaboration of new political assessments and conclusions, by mass action. The quest for new forms of revolutionary action was reflected in the struggle for a *democracy of a new type* which took the shape of the *People's Democracies* in those countries where power had passed into the hands of the democratic and anti-fascist forces. In other words, the conquest of power took a different form than was the case in the Soviet Union; it was carried out by methods and a combination of forces that had their own distinctive features compared with the Soviet experience.

One might say that the dissolution of the Comintern in 1943 found its logical development in the initiative displayed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in rejecting the concept of a "leader" state and a "leading" party. This by no means signified rejection or underestimation of the role played by the Soviet Union and the CPSU in world affairs. It simply signified recognition of the equality of all Communist parties, their complete independence in deciding on their political positions, practical actions, organizational and inner-Party forms, corresponding to the specific economic and political conditions in their countries, the traditions and democratic forms of life, the immediate tasks confronting these countries, in close solidarity and ideological unity with the international working-class and democratic movements.

*V. I. Lenin, *Inflammable Material in World Politics*.

An analysis of the situation that has arisen as a result of the emergence of the socialist world, the disintegration of the colonial system and the new balance of forces in the world in favor of socialism, has shown that new forms of transition to socialism, new forms of organization and government in building socialist society are possible.

"Today in a number of capitalist countries," we read in the documents of the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960, "the working class, headed by its vanguard, has the opportunity, given a united working-class and popular front or other workable forms of agreement and political cooperation between the different parties and public organizations, to unite a majority of the people, win state power without civil war and ensure the transfer of the basic means of production to the hands of the people. Relying on the majority of the people and resolutely rebuffing the opportunist elements incapable of relinquishing the policy of compromise with the capitalists and landlords, the working class can defeat the reactionary, anti-popular forces, secure a firm majority in parliament, transform parliament from an instrument serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie into an instrument serving the working people, launch an extra-parliamentary mass struggle, smash the resistance of the reactionary forces and create the necessary conditions for peaceful realization of the socialist revolution."

The big monopolies in the developed capitalist countries are encroaching on the interests of the working class and the people generally all along the line. Their oppression is becoming increasingly unbearable not only for the working class but for all sections of the population. In these circumstances it is possible to launch a broad and sustained movement of workers, peasants and middle sections of the urban population against big monopoly capital, against its policy of reaction and war, for democracy and for what we call structural reforms.

In these circumstances it is possible to establish in a number of capitalist countries a close interdependency between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism, so that the one could influence the other and thus initiate a chain of transitional movements and changes which, by gradually tilting the balance of forces, would prepare the ground for the revolutionary takeover of political and economic leadership by the working class and other sections of the working people.

In this way the anti-monopoly struggle and the fight for structural reforms and democracy become part of the struggle for socialism. Only by closely linking up one form of the struggle with the other, can the Communist movement effectively oppose, on the one hand, reformism which ignores and rejects the socialist perspective and, on the other, sectarian extremists who pay lip service to this perspective but who are incapable of taking any effective political mass action to make it a reality.

These conclusions have been registered by the international Communist movement in the documents adopted by the Moscow meetings in connection with the possibility of achieving the socialist revolution by peaceful means, as was pointed out by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU. But these documents contain the warning that even in the new conditions we must not forget Lenin's words that the ruling classes will never relinquish their power voluntarily. As the Program of the CPSU states, "the success of the struggle which the working class wages for the victory of the revolution will depend on how well the working class and its party master the use of *all forms* of struggle — peaceful and non-peaceful, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary — and how well they are prepared to replace one form of struggle by another as quickly and unexpectedly as possible."

In some of the capitalist countries the Communists anticipate advancing towards socialism in a peaceful and democratic way. This does not necessarily mean that it will be possible in all cases to avoid an uprising or civil war, for the reactionary bourgeois groups will always be ready to resort to violence in order to bar the road to political and social progress. The Communists, therefore, regard the extension of the class struggle of the workers, of all strata of the working people, as the only way of paralyzing the reactionary forces, of isolating them and, in the event of their resorting to violence, defeating them on the battlefield.

A big contribution to the treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism were the Twentieth CPSU Congress decisions on the question of war and peace in our time and the tasks this posed: the character of war in view of the incalculable destructive force of thermonuclear weapons; the real possibilities of averting such a war in view of the new balance of forces between the capitalist world and the socialist world; the need to work for peaceful coexistence between the countries

with differing social systems, the tasks to be accomplished by the working-class and Communist movement, by all democrats and peace fighters in order to build a world without weapons and without war.

The decisions of the Twentieth Congress, which also served as the basis for the documents of the Moscow meetings of Communist and Workers' parties (and subsequently embodied in the Program of the CPSU), put an end to the absurdity still nourished by some people that revolution would come about not as a result of the internal development of the country concerned, not as a result of the sharpening of its own social contradictions and not depending on the degree of the resistance of the dominant classes, but from without — either as a result of *pressure* exerted by the socialist countries, or through war.

The merit of the Twentieth Congress and of the international meetings in Moscow is that they clearly stressed the Marxist-Leninist opposition to "export of revolution" and, equally, to "export of counter-revolution." The Statement of the 81 Parties, adopted in 1960, says: "The fact that both world wars, which were started by the imperialists, ended in socialist revolutions by no means implies that the way to social revolution is necessarily through world war, especially now that there exists a powerful world system of socialism." And the Program of the CPSU reaffirmed: "Communists have never held that the road to revolution necessarily lies through wars between countries. Socialist revolution is not necessarily associated with war. . . . The great objective of the working class can be realized without a world war."

The Program "considers that the chief aim of the Party's foreign policy activity is to provide peaceful conditions for building a communist society in the USSR and developing the world socialist system, and together with the other peace-loving peoples to deliver mankind from a world war of extermination." These words are confirmation of the traditional policy which the Soviet Union has pursued since its birth. It will be recalled that its first act was a call for peace addressed to "all governments and nations." Today the Soviet Union is pursuing its peace policy in conditions which make it possible to wage the struggle against war more vigorously and to chart the future with greater confidence. The increased might of the Soviet Union and the system of socialist states, the worldwide rallying of peace forces have prevented the imperialists from shifting the

competition between the two systems onto the rails of war, onto the path of armed conflicts. This is the basic result of the peace policy of the Soviet Union and its Communist Party. But it also indicates that something has changed in the world. Not, of course, the aggressive nature of imperialism. Had things depended solely on the will of the imperialists the world would long since have been plunged into a new conflagration. But the question of war and peace no longer depends entirely on the will of the imperialists. Forces have appeared that are capable of foiling the imperialists' plans of aggression, of restraining them from resorting to nuclear weapons as a means of establishing their world supremacy.

The danger of a new war has, of course, not been removed, but "the consolidation of the Soviet state and the rise of the socialist world system were historic steps towards the realization of man's age-old dream of banishing war from the life of society. In the socialist part of the world there are no classes or social groups interested in starting a war. Socialism, having outstripped capitalism in a number of important branches of science and technology, has supplied the peace-loving peoples with powerful material means of curbing imperialist aggression."* Thanks to the existence and might of the Soviet Union and to the system of socialist states the peoples of all countries have been able to enjoy the blessings of peace these latter years.

But is it possible in the present international situation to avert war? This question is being asked by all peoples. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union replies: "A world war can be averted through the combined efforts of the mighty socialist camp, the peace-loving non-socialist countries, the international working class and all the forces that stand for peace. The growing superiority of the socialist forces over the forces of imperialism, of the forces of peace over those of war, will make it possible to banish world war from the life of society even before the complete victory of socialism on earth, with capitalism surviving in a part of the world."**

The road to lasting peace lies through general and complete disarmament under strict international control, through ending the cold war, through a policy of peaceful coexistence between the socialist and capitalist countries. Such are the proposals and

*Program of the CPSU.

**Program of the CPSU.

the substance of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries.

*"Peaceful coexistence implies renunciation of war as a means of settling international disputes, and their solution by negotiation; equality, mutual understanding and trust between countries; consideration for each other's interests; non-interference in internal affairs; recognition of the right of every people to solve all the problems of their country by themselves; strict respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries; promotion of economic and cultural cooperation on the basis of complete equality and mutual benefit."**

Faithful to the policy of peaceful coexistence the Soviet Union won a significant new victory with the signing, jointly with the United States and Great Britain, of the Moscow Treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water.

Peaceful coexistence, as we know, is a specific form of the class struggle between the two systems. Hence its purpose is not to preserve a socio-political status quo in the world. Peaceful coexistence is regarded by the socialist countries as a basis for further strengthening the positions of the socialist system in its competition with capitalism. It provides favorable opportunities for waging a vigorous struggle in the capitalist countries, for advancing the working class and breaking the power of the big bourgeoisie in the colonial or former colonial countries.

The Soviet Union has consistently pursued its policy of peaceful coexistence, regarding it as the only reasonable principle in relations between states with different social systems. Peaceful coexistence or destructive war—this is the alternative today. In the Statement of the meeting of the 81 Parties the Communists of the world pledged to uphold peaceful coexistence and to wage a determined struggle to prevent war. The Communists, the working class, the forces of peace and democracy, the Statement declares, have no more imperative task than that of safeguarding humanity from a new global disaster.

Peace and the policy of peaceful coexistence afford the peoples who have liberated themselves from imperialist domination the most favorable opportunities for national rebirth, for doing away with the age-old backwardness and poverty, for winning complete political and economic independence.

The imperialists are desperately trying by new methods and in new forms, and in the

guise of economic "aid," to retain their stranglehold on the former colonies, to preserve their positions in these countries and to win new ones. National liberation is not completed with the winning of political independence. The latter is only the first step towards effecting fundamental socio-economic changes, towards solving the vital problems of national rebirth.

The October Revolution, which brought with it absolute equality for all the peoples of the Soviet Union, awakened the East and drew the colonial peoples into the movement for liberation and national independence. The victory of the Soviet Union in the Second World War, the rise of the system of socialist states contributed decisively to the victorious advance of this movement. It could now rely on the fraternal aid of the socialist countries and on the support of the international working-class movement. In the present complex and difficult phase when the countries which have freed themselves from colonialism have to maintain their independence, have to turn to the job of building a new national life, they have true and sincere friends in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries. "They help and support these countries generously in achieving progress," says the Statement of the 81 Parties, "in creating a national industry, developing and consolidating the national economy and training national personnel. They cooperate with them in the struggle for world peace and against imperialist aggression."

For its part the CPSU has declared that it considers fraternal alliance with the peoples who have thrown off colonial or semi-colonial tyranny to be a cornerstone of its international policy. "The CPSU regards it as its internationalist duty to assist the peoples who have set out to win and strengthen their national independence, all peoples who are fighting for the complete abolition of the colonial system."*

As socialism wins new victories and advances towards communism the unity of the peoples grows stronger. Because the socialist revolutions did not everywhere take place simultaneously, and because the countries concerned were not all at the same level of economic development when they started building their new life, the building of socialism will not everywhere be completed at the same time nor the transition to communism effected simultaneously. But as in the case of building socialism, the first country to

*Ibid.

*Program of the CPSU.

embark on building communism breaks new ground for the other countries, gives them the benefit of its experience, enables them to reduce the time needed for building socialism and effecting the transition to communism in their own countries.

One can say, therefore, in the words of the CPSU Program, that the "construction of communism in the USSR promotes the interests of every country of the socialist community" because, apart from anything else, "it adds to the economic might and defense potential of the socialist camp and provides progressively favorable opportunities for the USSR to expand its economic and cultural cooperation with the other socialist countries and increase the assistance and support it renders them." The establishment of communism in the USSR will be "the greatest victory mankind has ever won" for "every new step made towards the peaks of communism inspires the working masses in all countries, renders immense moral support to the struggle for the liberation of all peoples from social and national oppression, and brings closer the triumph of Marxism-Leninism on a worldwide scale."

* * *

From this brief review of the principal stages in the life of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union we see that its struggle, its example, its victories, have been epoch-making; that its great leader Lenin made an invaluable contribution to revolutionary theory; that it has never swerved from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, socialism and proletarian internationalism; that it is continuing to play a decisive role also today, in the period of the sharp competition between socialism and capitalism and the transition to communism.

All these facts have long since been recognized not only by Communists, but by working people and democrats the world over who are able to assess things in their proper perspective. These facts are constantly corroborated in documents of the Communist parties and the international working-class movement. The Communist Party of China, like the Communist parties of other countries, also recognized these facts and signed the documents of the international meetings in Moscow which, on the basis of a comprehensive analysis of the present conditions of the class struggle, express this recognition.

It is to be regretted that the leaders of the Communist Party of China have in the past few years, and especially in the past few

months, taken a different stand on this question. They have been making the most monstrous and absurd accusations against the CPSU and a number of other Communist parties regarding questions of theory and policy, and practical activities. The Chinese comrades, who together with the Communists of the world had hailed the momentous turning point made by the CPSU at its Twentieth Congress which enabled it to reject the Stalin cult, to expose the distortions and mistakes to which the cult had given rise, to overcome its consequences and restore the purity of Marxism-Leninism and its creative spirit, are now denigrating all this. The CPSU also analyzed the changes in the international situation as a result of the headway made by the socialist countries and showed the new opportunities for advancing towards socialism in the conditions of the respective countries.

This analysis and these findings are now represented by the Chinese leaders as renunciation of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the class struggle, when the facts, on the contrary, show that they are a further development of this doctrine in the present historical period; the Chinese leaders qualify the present general course of the CPSU and the international Communist movement, which is determined by the existence of two opposing systems — imperialism and socialism — as renunciation of the historic mission of world revolution; they arbitrarily counterpose the liberation movement of the peoples oppressed by imperialism to the revolutionary role of the working-class and popular movements in the capitalist countries; they hold that the possibility of averting war in our day and of building new relations between peoples on the basis of peaceful coexistence is a dangerous illusion.

The Chinese comrades, as we see, are taking issue with the entire policy charted by the CPSU and the international meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties. They are substituting for concrete analysis an abstract and arbitrary comparison of positions and theses, substituting attacks, distortions and slander for an objective assessment of ideas and experience. The Chinese comrades are thereby demonstrating their unwillingness to take into account the specific features of our time, features which determine the course of the revolutionary movement, and are erecting a veritable system of pseudo-revolutionary Left phraseology which cannot but hamper the Communist parties in their advance towards revolution.

In their concepts the Chinese comrades in every way minimize the role of the socialist system in the world revolutionary process and ignore the fact that the central factors of our day are the international working class and its greatest gain, the socialist world system; that the principal characteristic of our time is that the socialist world system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society, that today this system is a reliable shield under whose protection the peoples that have won their liberation, or are still battling for their liberation from colonialism, can ensure their independence and successfully continue the process of their own national revolution. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America can win complete national emancipation and economic independence from imperialism only in close alliance with the socialist countries and with the international working-class movement.

During the meetings between the CPSU and CPC delegations in Moscow the Chinese comrades attacked the Soviet Union's constructive approach to other issues which until then had not occasioned any dispute: about the Soviet Union developing from a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a state of the entire people, and the CPSU into a party of the entire people. All these points, which are contained in the CPSU Program, are sound and well grounded. After the victory of socialism the remaining classes of society are classes of working people. Hence there is no longer any need for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Its social base now derives from all classes and strata of society for whom, after the victory of socialism, the proletarian state is no longer an instrument of class domination, but a political organization of all the people. The working class therefore is no longer in need of a dictatorship to exercise leadership of society. It does so by virtue of the decisive position it holds in social production and by virtue of its prestige and influence. And the Communist Party, having become the party of all the people, does not cease to be the party of the working class, since this class is the biggest and foremost section of the people.

On the issue of the personality cult the Chinese comrades have made a complete about turn. They allege that leadership cult is an element of Lenin's teaching on the relations that should exist between leaders, parties, classes and the masses. This about turn, evidently, is connected with the desire to extol the role of the leaders of the Com-

munist Party of China, to make them infallible authorities on Marxist-Leninist theory.

But the personality cult is not simply a matter of Stalin or other Communist Party leaders. It is a much bigger issue: it is a question of the ways and means of building socialism, of the maximum development and extension of socialist democracy; it is a question of the organizational principles of the Party, of whether they will ensure the creative and conscious participation of all activists in elaborating and implementing the political line. The personality cult is incompatible with the creative spirit of Marxism-Leninism, with Lenin's doctrine on the dictatorship of the proletariat and relations between the masses, parties and leaders. The condemnation of the cult by the Twentieth Congress enabled the CPSU to eradicate the distortions caused by Stalin, and inspired the Communist parties to constructive endeavor. And wherever this creative activity was carried out it was accompanied by an upsurge in the working-class movement.

Marxism-Leninism, said N. S. Khrushchov in his report to the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, has always condemned the personality cult, considering it to be alien to the spirit of the proletarian revolutionary movement, to the spirit of communism. For Marx, Engels and Lenin the people were the makers of history, and they always stressed the leading and organizing role played by the party of the working class. This does not mean of course that Marxism-Leninism denies the role played by working-class leaders, but it emphatically opposes extolling, let alone idolizing, one or another leader. The personality cult relegates the people and the party to the background, belittles their role and significance.

At its recent congresses the CPSU, proceeding from condemnation of the cult, adopted decisions that are of historic significance for the world Communist movement; at its Twenty-Second Congress it adopted its Third Program (the first was adopted at the Second Congress of the Party in 1903, the second at the Eighth Congress in 1919), the program of building communism. "The Draft Program," says Comrade Khrushchov on this question, "marks a new stage in the development of the revolutionary theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The Program furnishes an explicit answer to all the basic questions of the theory and practice of the struggle for communism and to the key questions of the present-day world development. The Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses of the

CPSU, which introduced much that was new in principle into the solution of the fundamental issues of Party life and the life of Soviet society, and into the analysis of the processes of world development, were of truly historic importance in the drafting of the Program."

In its new Program the Communist Party of the Soviet Union pledges to continue to strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement, to develop fraternal ties with all the Communist and Workers'

parties and "to coordinate its activities with the activities of all contingents of the world Communist movement for joint struggle against the danger of a new world war, in the interests of the working people, for peace, democracy and socialism."

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union will honor this pledge as it has all its other obligations. It is this that gives Communists throughout the world confidence that their efforts and struggle will likewise be crowned with success.

The Inviolable Foundations of the Unity of the International Communist Movement

I. G. Maurer

THREE YEARS have passed since the Moscow meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' parties—a meeting that stands out as an historical milestone in the life of the parties all over the world and in the peoples' struggles for peace and socialism.

Ours is a time of momentous change in the destinies of the peoples; humanity is passing through a far-reaching process of rebirth—the transition from capitalism to socialism. What gave the Moscow meeting its epoch-making significance is that it made a thorough assessment of this extremely complex process and provided scientifically substantiated answers to the questions of the day.

The maturity and ideological clarity of the Communist and Workers' parties, the profound spirit of democracy that permeated the sessions of their world forum, and the contributions made by the parties—all combined to produce a Statement incorporating the collective wisdom of the movement as a whole.

Now, three years later, the theoretical and practical significance of the Statement of the meeting—the charter of the international Communist movement and an invaluable contribution to the treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism—is more evident than ever. Once again the power of analysis and scientific foresight of Marxism-Leninism has been amply

demonstrated. This is a power possessed only by a theory inseparably linked with reality and stemming from this reality, a theory to which dogma is alien, a theory capable, as Lenin put it, of generalizing the basic features of the moment, of analyzing the zigzags of history and drawing the correct theoretical and practical conclusions.

Defining the present epoch as one of struggle between two diametrically opposed systems, of socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions, of the disintegration of imperialism and the abolition of the colonial system, of the transition to the socialist path of more and more peoples, of the triumph of communism on a world scale, the Statement of the Moscow meeting characterized our time as a time when the socialist world system and all the forces fighting against imperialism and for socialism are becoming the decisive factor of social progress.

The sum-total of the experience of the Communist movement shows that it is essential for the Communist and Workers' parties to take cognizance of the objective reality, the stage of social development and the specific features of each given period in history, for to ignore these can only lead to grave errors.

The meeting pointed out that the main contradiction of our time is that between capitalism and socialism, while the chief motive

force of human progress is the international working class and the socialist world system.

As a result of the far-reaching changes that have taken place, socialism, for the first time in history, preponderates in the world balance of forces. In these new conditions the opportunities have grown and are continuing to grow for the working class and the peoples to solve the key problems of social life in conformity with their interests.

Practice and experience are the supreme criteria of theory. And the events of recent years have fully confirmed the assessments made at the Moscow meeting. In these years the positions of socialism have become stronger, the Communist and Workers' parties have achieved signal success, their ranks have multiplied and their influence has grown, the national-liberation movement has won new victories, the bond uniting the anti-imperialist forces in the world arena has been cemented, while the idea of working for peace and peaceful coexistence has captured the minds of growing numbers of people.

Like the other fraternal parties, the Rumanian Workers' Party sees in the Statement of the 1960 meeting a guide to action; it considers the application of its conclusions and assessments to be a prerequisite for further successes in the fight for peace and socialism.

I

The Statement of the 1960 meeting, noting that the issue of the day is defense of peace, stresses that the basic task of the Communist parties is to prevent a new world war. This reflects the resolve of the Marxist-Leninist parties to work for peace and thereby justify the trust reposed in them by the peoples.

The Moscow meeting, proceeding from a thorough analysis of the features of our time and of the present balance of forces, drew the conclusion that the peace forces are now stronger than the forces of war, that they are able to foil the imperialist attempts to unleash a new world war, that the steady growth of the peace forces creates a tangible possibility of excluding world war from the life of society even before socialism has triumphed all over the world.

True, the nature of imperialism has not changed; so long as imperialism exists, the breeding-ground of aggressive wars remains. That this is so can be seen from the policy of the ultra-reactionaries, the wild men who advocate continuing the arms drive, preserving the military blocs and the war bases on

foreign territories, and who are for meddling in the internal affairs of other peoples.

But imperialism is no longer the sole and all-powerful system in the world. The thesis that it is possible not only to avert world war but also to exclude it from the life of society is based on the deep-going changes taking place in the world, on the fact that the steady growth of the forces of socialism and peace, which embrace the socialist camp, the international working class, the national-liberation movement and the democratic movement for peace, is an irreversible process which is bound to add to the preponderance of these forces in the world. Simultaneously with the growth of the socialist forces, the general crisis of capitalism is deepening, the contradictions of capitalism are growing, the colonial system is disintegrating and bourgeois politics and ideology are being gripped more and more by crisis.

The peoples do not and cannot accept the prospect of another world war, which at the present stage of science and technology would inevitably develop into a thermonuclear holocaust, a disaster of inestimable magnitude in which hundreds of millions would perish, entire countries would be devastated, their populations annihilated and the centers of civilization destroyed. In 1918, foreseeing this trend in military technology, Lenin, as related in the memoirs of Krupskaya, expressed the view that modern techniques would eventually make war so destructive that it would be ruled out.

Aware of their responsibility for the fate of their countries and upholding humanity's future interests, the Communist parties and the socialist countries consider it their duty to open the eyes of the people to the danger of thermonuclear war and, by uniting the most diverse forces, to do their utmost to forestall it. Moreover, this must be done now, before the H-bombs begin to fall.

The basic idea set forth in the Statement on the question of peace—that world war can be averted by united all-out struggle of all the peace forces—has proved its value as a mobilizing force opposed to fatalism and passivity. It is an idea which impels the peoples to action, imbues them with faith in their own strength, rallies them to determined struggle against imperialism in order to prevent it from plunging humanity into the abyss.

There have been many tense situations threatening world peace in the years since the war. During the Caribbean crisis, for instance, the nations were brought face to face with

the danger of a thermonuclear world war. In this grave situation the Soviet Union displayed a high sense of responsibility for the fate of mankind; the catastrophe was averted and peace preserved through negotiation, and, at the same time, the independence and gains of the Cuban people were safeguarded. But the serious moments notwithstanding, the salient facts remain that world war was prevented and peace preserved, a number of local seedbeds of war were stamped out, restraints limiting their freedom of action were imposed on the aggressive military circles and new positions were won by the peace forces.

But this should not be allowed to foster complacency or to dull vigilance. No less timely now than when it was written is the thesis of the Moscow meeting that "to fight for peace today means to maintain the greatest vigilance, indefatigably to lay bare the policy of the imperialists, to keep a watchful eye on the intrigues and maneuvers of the warmongers, arouse the righteous indignation of the peoples against those who are heading for war, organize the peace forces still better, continuously intensify mass actions for peace, and promote cooperation with all countries which have no interest in new wars."

While working to safeguard peace, the socialist countries are duly concerned with ensuring their own capability to deal a smashing rebuff to aggression at any moment. The ending of the nuclear monopoly of the USA and of its superiority in nuclear weapons, and the possession by the Soviet Union of a vast nuclear-missile power which it has placed at the service of peace and the security of all socialist countries as well as other countries fighting for their freedom and independence, is of enormous importance in this respect.

The march of events in these past years has shown that the Moscow meeting was right in placing the emphasis on the peaceful coexistence of the two opposed world systems as the inviolable foundation of the foreign policy of the socialist states and urging these countries and the Communist and Workers' parties to implement this principle as the general line of their international policy.

People everywhere are coming to see that the choice is between peaceful coexistence and a nuclear catastrophe. Hence the growing popularity of the idea of coexistence as the only correct and rational principle of international relations, the immense support it has won among the most diverse social strata and sections of people of different political, religious and philosophic views.

Proceeding in its foreign policy from close

unity with the other socialist countries and solidarity and cooperation with all the forces of peace and progress, the Rumanian People's Republic is working consistently to implement the principles of peaceful coexistence in the international arena. This can be seen from the initiative it has displayed in the diplomatic sphere, its contributions to solving controversial issues and its efforts to promote economic contacts and scientific and cultural exchange with all countries, irrespective of social system. Rumania's economic relations with more than 80 countries are based on mutual advantage and aimed at bringing the nations closer together and promoting international cooperation. Experience has shown that such relations facilitate the removal of the accretions of the cold war and make for peaceful coexistence.

Implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence and the implied recognition that outstanding international issues cannot be solved by a world war affirms negotiation as the only way to settle such questions.

This, of course, does not mean that the way forward is free of all obstacles. Solution of problems by negotiation requires of the socialist states persistent effort and initiative, readiness to enter into reasonable compromises; it means using the contradictions in the imperialist camp to isolate the brinkmen, bearing in mind that even among the rulers of the NATO countries there are people capable of soberly assessing the dangers with which nuclear is fraught for their countries and hence inclined towards more rational politics, people who concede that war should be averted.

The most effective way to rule out the very possibility of war is general and complete disarmament. As the 1960 meeting pointed out, implementation of the program of general disarmament advanced by the USSR and supported by the other socialist countries would be of truly epoch-making significance for the destinies of mankind. Recent years have witnessed a notable growth of sentiment in favor of disarmament. One indication of this is the stand taken by a number of non-socialist states. As for the resolve of large sections of the people to work for disarmament, this is evident from the diverse militant mass actions that have taken place—demonstrations, peace marches, protests against military bases and the stationing of nuclear weapons.

By virtue of its aims, the fight for disarmament is anti-imperialist in character; it is a component of the struggle waged by the

forces of peace and progress against imperialism. In negotiations, at international forums, in world organizations and in mass movements, the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' parties advance the slogan of disarmament as a clarion call to action against the arms drive and the burden it involves, thereby striking a blow at the aggressive imperialist circles and depriving them of freedom of action.

At the same time the 1960 meeting took a realistic view of the situation and pointed out that disarmament cannot be achieved by adhering to the "all or nothing" principle, that the socialist countries and all the peace forces should work patiently, step by step, towards its realization. As the Statement declares, "it is necessary to wage this struggle on an increasing scale and to work perseveringly for tangible results — a ban on the testing and manufacture of nuclear weapons, the abolition of military blocs and war bases on foreign soil and a substantial reduction of armed forces and armaments, all of which could pave the way to general disarmament."

It is from this angle that the Communist parties regard the partial test-ban treaty. This treaty, a gain for the policy of peaceful coexistence, is a positive factor in international life, regardless of the fact that it does not cover underground tests and does not solve the fundamental issues that must be settled in order to prevent world war. Its practical effect is cessation of nuclear tests which contaminate the atmosphere, water and food with radioactive fall-out and which are a threat to health even in peacetime. On the political plane the treaty, a step towards détente, creates conditions for successfully tackling other outstanding international issues.

The Moscow treaty has been welcomed by world public opinion and accorded an international recognition that few agreements have enjoyed. More than 100 states have signed it. Regarding it as a reflection of the policy of peaceful coexistence, disarmament and relaxation of tension pursued by the socialist countries, as a component and tangible manifestation of their general line of struggle for peace, the Rumanian People's Republic too welcomed the treaty and was among the first to sign it. Our Party believes that it thereby performed its duty not only to its own people but to all peoples in full conformity with the spirit of the 1960 Statement and Appeal to the Peoples of the World,

in conformity with the true interests of peace and socialism.

The Rumanian People's Republic considers itself duty bound to work unremittingly, shoulder to shoulder with the other socialist countries, to ease international tensions, to end all nuclear testing, to ban the production of these weapons as well as of the means of their delivery, for destruction of the nuclear stockpiles and the reduction and subsequent abolition of all armed forces and conventional armaments. It is opposed to the proliferation of national nuclear weapons, regarding this as an extremely urgent issue. The cause of peace will only gain if the spread of nuclear weapons can be prevented, for such proliferation would greatly increase the danger of world war.

The idea of nuclear-free zones has won wide recognition. Projects have been advanced for such zones in Central and Northern Europe, Latin America, the Far East, etc., and the Rumanian People's Republic, seeking to promote détente and to strengthen international security, is working perseveringly to make the Balkans, too, a zone of good-neighborly relations. The proposals to this effect made by the Rumanian government have been accepted by some of the Balkan states and are widely supported by the public. On Rumania's initiative the U.N. General Assembly included in its agenda the question of regional measures to improve relations between European states belonging to different social systems. Such agreements would promote good-neighborly relations and normal cooperation among countries, besides releasing vast areas of the world from the grip of the arms drive and helping to reduce tensions.

Displaying unflinching initiative, the forces working for peace, disarmament and coexistence are constantly putting forward new proposals, such as the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty countries, and the reduction, or, as a first step, the freezing of military budgets. The elimination of the survivals of the Second World War by concluding a German peace treaty would be of particular importance for strengthening peace.

The Communist and Workers' parties are working indefatigably to carry out their historical mission — to create on a world scale a society without exploitation, poverty and war, and, pending the achievement of that goal, to free mankind of the incubus of world war.

II

In our day, when world development is determined by the competition between the two systems, the decisive role played by socialism finds striking expression in the achievements of the socialist countries in building the new society.

The Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries are guided by what Lenin said about these countries exerting a decisive influence on the international scene through their economic developments, by the example set by socialism in economic and cultural progress and raising the standard of living.

Overcoming the difficulties which inevitably attend the complex work of building a new social system, the peoples of the socialist countries have achieved signal success in building the material and technological base of socialism. Under the leadership of Lenin's Party, the CPSU, whose experience is of fundamental importance for the entire Communist movement, the Soviet Union has undertaken the full-scale building of communism. Much has been achieved also by other socialist countries, especially as regards the rapid growth of industry and primarily its leading branches, raising the productivity of labor, promoting scientific, technological and cultural advance, and improving living conditions. Overall industrial production in the socialist countries grew by more than 70 per cent in the past five years, whereas the capitalist countries registered only a 25 per cent increase. In 1962 industrial output in the countries affiliated to the Council for Mutual Economic Aid rose roughly by nine per cent as against four per cent in the West European countries.

Thanks to the high rate of growth, the socialist countries increased their share in world industrial production from 20 per cent in 1950 to 37 per cent in 1962.

Our people are making good headway with the economic development plan elaborated by the Third Congress of our Party. Annual plans are being systematically fulfilled and overfulfilled, and all branches of the economy are steadily advancing. According to preliminary figures, the gross industrial output increased during the first four years of our six-year plan at an average annual rate of 15 per cent instead of the 13 per cent called for by plan. This year industrial output is 7.4 times the 1938 figure. With the completion of the collectivization of agriculture, socialist relations of production have triumph-

ed throughout the economy and the conditions have been created for a still more rapid growth of farm output. And as the economy has moved on from success to success, the national income has been increasing year by year, ensuring a steady rise in real wages and the standard of living.

Being the ruling parties, the Communist and Workers' parties in the socialist countries are responsible primarily to their own peoples, but at the same time also to the international working class, for the successful building of socialism. As the Statement of the Moscow meeting points out, it is the international duty of these parties to increase industrial and agricultural production at a rapid rate and to pursue a correct economic policy, for in this way they can contribute to the strengthening of the socialist world system and the growth of the forces of socialism throughout the world.

In order to carry out the complex tasks of building the socialist economy it is essential to draw on all internal resources, to make maximum use of the potential of each country, while fully utilizing the advantages accruing from cooperation and mutual aid within the framework of the socialist world system.

Guided by the principles of equality, mutual benefit and comradely mutual aid, united by strong bonds of international solidarity and community of interests and aims, forging ahead together along the path of socialism and communism, the free and sovereign peoples of the socialist countries are working to promote all-round economic, political and cultural cooperation in the interests of each country and of the socialist camp as a whole.

Strict observance of the basic principles of cooperation among socialist countries — respect for each other's sovereignty, equality, mutual benefit and comradely mutual aid — is a guarantee of the progress of the entire socialist world system, of the realization of the national and international tasks confronting the Marxist-Leninist parties of these countries. These principles add to the prestige of socialism and enhance the power of attraction exerted by the relationships between the socialist countries, whose example is a stimulus to the struggle waged by the peoples of the capitalist countries to safeguard their sovereignty and independence against encroachment by imperialism.

In pursuance of these principles the socialist countries affiliated to the Council for Mutual Economic Aid have worked out a

system of international socialist division of labor. Above all this involves coordination of national-economic plans with a view to combining international specialization with all-round development of the economy of each country and doing away with the historically conditioned discrepancies between their levels, primarily through industrialization of the less developed countries; the aim is to increase production in each socialist country taken separately and in the entire socialist world system as a whole.

International socialist division of labor, then, helps to eradicate the aftermath of the previous, capitalist, division of labor which fettered the productive forces of our countries and tended to perpetuate their division into advanced industrial and backward agrarian countries.

These principles and tasks were reflected in the decisions of the meeting of the First Secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist and Workers' parties and heads of government of the Council countries held last July which confirmed the "Basic Principles of International Division of Labor" adopted in June 1962.

At present the Council for Mutual Economic Aid takes in only part of the socialist world system, although economic cooperation among all socialist countries is clearly of paramount importance for strengthening the potential of the community as a whole. Our Party therefore considers it imperative to search, together with the non-affiliated countries, for ways and means of bringing them all into the orbit of the Council in order to make full use of the advantages accruing from the development of socialism into a world system, and to provide a durable material foundation for the unity of the socialist countries. The Council would then be in a position fully to play its part in promoting economic cooperation between these countries with due regard for the specific conditions of each.

Our Party and the government of our country, steadfastly observing the principles set forth in the Statement of the 1960 Moscow meeting and in other joint documents, will continue to do everything in its power to promote fraternal cooperation, to strengthen the socialist world system and to ensure its new successes in its competition with capitalism.

The strengthening of the socialist system and the weakening of the position of imperialism open up new vistas for the proletariat; they create exceptionally favorable

conditions for the peoples' struggle for freedom and social progress. The Communist parties take all this into account as they concentrate on mobilizing and organizing the workers and the masses generally in their respective countries to realize the working people's striving for social emancipation.

One of the conclusions of the Moscow meeting was that the victory of socialism in separate countries and on a world scale can be achieved without world war, in conditions marked by the peaceful coexistence of the two systems.

Marxists have always held that the road to the socialist revolution need not necessarily lie through war between states. This is all the more true in our time, when there exists a powerful socialist world system and when the world balance is steadily shifting in favor of socialism. The Communist and Workers' parties regard peaceful coexistence as a specific form of class struggle, a form of struggle between socialism and capitalism, as the setting for struggle between the socialist and the bourgeois ideologies.

Proceeding from the principle that it is the inalienable right of each people to choose the social system it wants, the Statement of the Moscow meeting once again confirmed the precept laid down by the world Communist movement that socialist revolution, which involves a reconstruction of society without precedent in history, cannot be imposed from without, by armed force; it is a result of the internal development of each country, of the extreme aggravation of social contradictions which are solved by the revolutionary struggle waged by the proletariat in alliance with the masses in general and primarily with the peasantry. The working class, headed by the Marxist-Leninist parties, seeks to defeat capitalism without military intervention and without world war.

The peoples' struggle to order their own destinies enjoys the solid support of the socialist camp and the Communist and Workers' parties, which are resolutely opposed to imperialist export of counter-revolution. Indeed, the vast political and material strength of the socialist camp and the other progressive forces throughout the world and their solidarity with revolutionary movements are making it increasingly difficult for the imperialists to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries in order to suppress these movements.

History has confirmed Lenin's thesis concerning the multiplicity of the ways in which the socialist revolution develops in different

countries; it has borne out his prediction that this diversity will steadily increase as the revolutionary process embraces new countries and peoples. But however great the variety of forms, the road from capitalism to socialism is bound to lie through the working class winning political power and establishing a new state power.

The vitally important task of ascertaining what ways and means of winning power are the most suitable in one or another country naturally devolves upon the working class, on the revolutionary forces of the given country, who will solve it in accordance with the balance of forces, the internal and international conditions in which the class struggle is waged.

The Statement of the Moscow meeting points out that in our time thanks to the new international balance of forces the proletariat of a number of capitalist countries and its vanguard may find it possible to unite the majority of the nation and, setting the masses in motion, crush the resistance of the reactionaries and win state power without civil war.

At the same time the meeting underscored the imperative need for the working class and its Party to master all forms of struggle to win power, peaceful and non-peaceful alike, so as to be prepared to go over quickly from one form to another, depending on the specific conditions in which the socialist revolution develops. The working class does not consider force an absolute necessity in all circumstances, for even in the event of non-peaceful transition the sharpness of the class struggle depends not so much on the proletariat as on the resort to violence by the reactionaries and the extent of their resistance.

The meeting devoted special attention to combating the imperialist monopolies — the building of a broad anti-monopoly front taking in the working class, the working peasantry and other sections of the working people, as well as even some strata of the bourgeoisie. Inter-state organizations of the Common Market type are a product of monopoly policy, a new form of struggle to recarve the capitalist world market among the big associations of capitalists, a new way in which the more powerful imperialist states seek to penetrate into the economy of their weaker partners, trampling on the sovereignty and independence of the latter; integration of this kind is an instrument of the aggressive policy of the international finance oligarchy, a weapon used by the monopolies

in their offensive against living standards and against the civil rights of the working people.

The Common Market, far from representing an "irreversible" and "progressive" process as some theorists claim, is one of the most sensitive tangles of inter-imperialist contradictions.

The working class of the capitalist countries, headed by the Communist parties, calls on the people to combat the monopolies, to fight capitalist integration, to defend the economic interests and democratic rights of the working people, and to uphold the independence and sovereignty of all peoples.

The results of the 1960 meeting have made themselves felt also in the rising tide of social battles in the capitalist countries. In the crucible of these battles many Communist parties, such as those of France, Italy, Spain, Britain, and a number of countries in Asia and Latin America, have accumulated valuable experience and proved their ability to organize and lead militant actions of the working people. This has strengthened and consolidated their ranks, enhanced their prestige and contributed to the Communist success in elections, while promoting working-class united action.

The liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples is a powerful component of the world revolutionary process—a fact which confirms once again the identity of the interests of the peoples of the socialist camp, the working class of the capitalist countries which is fighting for socialism, and the national-liberation movement of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples oppressed by imperialism.

The disintegration of the entire edifice of colonialism as part of the deepening general crisis of capitalism — not merely the breaking away of one or several countries from the colonial system—is one of the features of our time.

In the three years since the 1960 meeting many countries have won independence: West Irian rejoined Indonesia; Goa was liberated; the liberation war of the Algerian people ended in victory; the anti-feudal revolution triumphed in Yemen, and the struggle waged by patriots in South Vietnam, Angola and South Africa gained momentum. Moreover, the role of the newly-emerged independent states has grown considerably in the international arena.

The conditions in which the peoples enslaved by colonialism are waging the fight for freedom are now more favorable than ever thanks to the new situation in the

world, the existence of the socialist world system and the powerful all-round support rendered the liberation movement by the socialist countries, the growing strength of the international working class, and the active solidarity of the proletariat of the metropolitan countries as well as of all other progressive forces.

The imperialists are finding it infinitely more difficult to resort to armed intervention to preserve their colonial privileges. The rise of socialism as the decisive factor of human progress and the changed balance of forces in the world facilitate national-liberation revolutions; and, in turn, the struggle for national independence helps to tip the scales more and more in favor of socialism, democracy and peace.

Experience has shown that peaceful co-existence of the two opposed social systems favors the eradication of colonialism. This is proof that the policy of preventing world war, of peaceful coexistence, has nothing in common with the "coexistence" of oppressed and oppressors, that it implies no "harmony" between them.

The international Communist movement and the socialist countries, while opposed to war between states and advocating the peaceful settlement of all outstanding issues between countries, give their full support to the liberation struggle waged by all available means, armed action included, by colonial peoples.

A cardinal and extremely complex task facing the newly-emerged states is that of consolidating independence through economic development and democratic reforms aimed at abolishing the age-old socio-economic backwardness, poverty and ignorance inherited from colonial rule. Of very great importance to these countries is the aid extended by the socialist states—aid with no political strings and designed above all to ensure their economic independence. The peoples of the colonial or formerly dependent countries can indeed see for themselves that they have no better friend, no more reliable source of support for their aspirations for freedom, independence and progress, than the socialist countries.

The guarantee of the oppressed peoples' victory over colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, and the guarantee of success in the efforts of the newly-emerged states to consolidate their national independence, lies in unity and solidarity with the other global forces of social progress, primarily the social-

ist countries and the international working class.

The world today is a grand arena in which the great revolutionary forces of our time—the nations building socialism and communism, the revolutionary working-class movement in the capitalist countries, the national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples and the general democratic movements—are joining in a single torrent, undermining the imperialist world system and leading humanity onto the highroad of progress.

III

From the achievements of the Communist parties in the fight for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism it can be seen that the international Communist and working-class movement has become the most influential political force of our time. The ranks of the parties now number 42.5 million members, over six million more than in 1960 and nearly 10 million more than in 1957. The terror unleashed against the Communists in a number of countries, vicious anti-communism and the fabrications of the apologists of capitalism have failed—and are bound to fail in the future—to retard the steady growth of the power of attraction exerted by Marxist-Leninist ideas on the working masses.

Yet at this very time, when unity is more important than ever for the world Communist movement, differences have appeared in its ranks on fundamental problems of the day and the controversy has become dangerously sharp. This is a cause for grave concern.

The Communist parties are linked in fraternal union by the principles of proletarian internationalism, by joint struggle for common aims—the victory of socialism and communism.

Basic in their relations is that which unites them, and this by far outweighs all possible points of difference. Consequently, it is impermissible for one Party to resort to attacks and invective against another, to distort the stand taken by a fraternal Party, to accuse it of "betrayal of the interests of the peoples of the socialist camp and the whole world," "paving the way to restoration of capitalism," "alliance with the forces of war, with imperialism, with the reactionaries of all countries against the revolution," etc., or to brand as non-socialist a country which is socialist by the very nature of its socio-political system.

Differences between the parties of the socialist countries tend increasingly to extend to state relations, and this is fraught with

particularly grave danger since the unity of the Communist and Workers' parties of these countries is the cementing factor in the socialist camp and the whole world Communist movement. Our Party considers it to be the supreme duty of the Marxist-Leninist parties of all the socialist countries to prevent any weakening of their unity, to exert every effort to strengthen friendship and cooperation among themselves.

Needless to say, differences may arise between parties on certain problems of the revolution and socialist construction, or on questions pertaining to the international Communist movement in general; as the revolutionary struggle develops, the diversity of the conditions in which the parties work tends to give rise to such differences of opinion, and no doubt will continue to do so in the future. But the diverging views can and should be discussed in a comradely spirit, in a principled way, in the light of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism.

Drawing on the experience of years, the Communist parties elaborated at their 1960 meeting a clear-cut set of principles and standards of inter-Party relations according with the present stage of the working-class movement and designed to strengthen its ideological unanimity, the unity of thought and action.

"Whenever a Party wants to clear up questions relating to the activities of another fraternal Party," the Statement of the meeting says, "its leadership approaches the leadership of the Party concerned; if necessary, they hold meetings and consultations." This, and not public controversy, not attacks and accusations which inevitably disrupt fraternal relations between the parties and the unity of the Communist movement, is the way to overcome differences.

Meetings, consultations or broader conferences, at which urgent problems can be thoroughly examined, opinions and positions ascertained and agreed viewpoints providing a guide to action elaborated, have been found to be the best way to regulate relations between the parties. The Moscow meeting of 1960, which arrived at a common platform through broad discussion and comparison of views and differences of opinion, was exemplary in this respect.

The general line of the world Communist movement was elaborated by the meetings of 1957 and 1960 and is set forth in documents bearing the signatures of all the Communist parties. It is only on the inviolable foundation of the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement

of 1960 that the unity of the Communist movement can be ensured.

The Statement stresses that it is essential for all Communist parties to adhere to the joint assessments and conclusions elaborated at their meetings. As for the assessments and conclusions set forth in the Statement concerning the character of the present epoch, the common tasks of the Communist and working-class movement, and the standards of inter-Party relations, these are all organically linked; to seize on separate propositions taken out of context would mean distorting the Statement. This can only lead to arbitrary interpretation of this document, to distortion of its meaning and the general line of the Communist movement. To remain true to the 1960 Statement means adhering to all its theses and conclusions and, what is most important, to apply them in practice, to incorporate them in Party and state policy.

The Marxist-Leninist teaching — this lodestar for Communists everywhere — is constantly enriched by the theoretical and practical work of the parties. This testifies to their ideological and organizational maturity, their ability creatively to apply and develop the Marxist-Leninist doctrine in keeping with the concrete conditions in which they work. As the Moscow meeting stressed, the Communist movement has no parties that "stand above" others and no "subordinate" parties; all parties, big and small, are equal, they all are responsible to the working people of their countries and to the entire Communist and working-class movement for the future of socialism.

The equality of the fraternal parties naturally rules out any interference in one another's internal affairs. No Party is permitted to impose its own line and its decisions on others, to ignore the Party leadership in one or another country, to call for a change in this leadership, or to support any grouping within or without the fraternal parties of other countries. Strict observance of the principle of equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of other parties is essential for the correct solution of controversial issues as well as of other problems arising in the course of the common struggle.

The fundamental interests of the cause of the working class, socialism and peace require that the unity of the world Communist and working-class movement be restored. It is more urgent than ever to heed the conclusion of the 1960 Statement that "it is the supreme internationalist duty of every Marxist-Leninist Party to work continuously for greater unity

in the world Communist movement. Resolute defense of the unity of the world Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and prevention of any actions which may undermine that unity, are a necessary condition for victory in the struggle for national independence, democracy and peace, for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of the socialist revolution and of building socialism and communism."

The Rumanian Workers' Party, deeply aware of its international duty, has always worked to cement the unity of the world Communist movement. It welcomed the proposal made by the Central Committee of the CPSU at the beginning of this year that the polemics between Communist parties be terminated.

Since then, however, the situation has become worse, with the public controversy growing more and more heated. Our Party still believes that ending the debate and observing the procedures recommended by the 1960 meeting for overcoming differences of opinion between parties are the best way out of the situation, the way to restore unity on the basis of the 1960 Statement. We particularly appreciate the view expressed in the statement of the Soviet government of September 21 that the "question of stopping public polemics between the governments of the CPR and the USSR, between the CPC and CPSU, is still on the order of the day."

We agree with the proposals made by the Executive Committee of the British Communist Party in its resolution of September

14 that the public debate be discontinued and talks resumed between the CPSU and the CPC, and that all parties consider the necessity to start preparations for a world conference next year. Other parties have voiced similar views.

Our Party considers it necessary to urge all fraternal parties to put an end to public controversy; the differences of opinion should be discussed by the leadership, and patient, steadfast work begun to prepare for another conference of the Communist and Workers' parties. There is no doubt that in this way it will be possible to achieve the lasting unity which all Communists so fervently desire.

Differences in the Communist movement only play into the hands of the enemies of communism, who use them to further their own ends and to sow confusion in the ranks of the Communist parties and the working people generally. We are deeply convinced that, guided by the supreme interests of socialism and peace, the fraternal parties will exert every effort to restore unity.

The international Communist and working-class movement has encountered many grave difficulties in the course of its history, but it has always overcome them and pressed forward, gaining new strength and going from victory to victory. The continued growth of the strength and influence of the socialist world system and the Communist parties all over the world, as well as the steady shift in the world balance in favor of the forces of socialism and peace are proof that the future belongs to socialism and communism.

Turkey in the Grip of Reaction

Jakub Demir

TURKEY is one of the few countries where the national-liberation revolution triumphed after the First World War. The anti-imperialist struggle of 1918-23 brought political independence, and a sovereign Turkish state was founded on the ruins of the feudal-theocratic monarchy. However, as a result of the reactionary policy pursued by the ruling classes in the past few decades our country is now tied hand and foot to the imperialist powers politically, economically and militarily. It is a military base for the aggressive Western blocs and a patrimony of the foreign monopolies.

Policy of National Betrayal

The bourgeois-national revolution in Turkey, known as the Kemal revolution after its leader Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, although anti-imperialist in character, did not lead to fundamental changes in the social and economic life of the country. Soon after independence was won the national anti-imperialist front fell apart. The representatives of the national bourgeoisie and liberal landowners who had headed the revolution did not introduce deep-going socio-economic changes, nor did they confiscate the property of the imperialist monopolies — the banks, industrial and trade enterprises, railways, port facilities, etc. They confined themselves to confiscating the property of the Sultan, the top bureaucracy, the feudal beys and sheikhs, and of the compradore bourgeoisie who fought against the national-liberation movement and afterwards fled with the interventionists.

The reforms introduced by the Kemalists fell short of the basic requirements of the masses and did not secure to them democratic rights and liberties. This lost the Kemalists the support of the working people which in turn weakened their position in the struggle against domestic reaction and foreign capital.

It is true, of course, that in the first 10-12 years of the republic the ruling class introduced some reforms aimed at abolishing medieval survivals in the administration and cultural life, and at ousting foreign capital

from its positions. A policy of *etatism* (building industrial enterprises at the expense of the state) was pursued and this helped to protect the country's economic independence. In foreign policy, too, the trend was essentially progressive. Of major importance for the development of the national economy and consolidation of Turkey's sovereignty was her cooperation with the Soviet Union.

However, the national bourgeoisie carried out these measures ignoring the people, fearing to stimulate their activity. The ruling circles did everything to crush the incipient labor and democratic movement. Progressives and working-class organizations began to feel the pinch, and terror against the Communist Party was intensified. This was accompanied by the growing penetration of foreign capital under the pressure of which the national bourgeoisie gradually aligned itself with the home reactionaries. A sharp reversal of foreign policy took place.

After the death of Ataturk the ruling classes openly sided with the imperialist powers, including Hitler Germany. A reactionary, pro-imperialist regime was installed, the inevitable outcome of the policy of national betrayal pursued by the big bourgeoisie.

From its very inception the Communist Party has fought to consolidate the progressive forces, to extend democracy and to complete the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution. The Communists denounced the concessions to imperialism, warned that the rulers, by deliberately worsening relations with the USSR, were betraying the vital interests of the people and pushing the country into the arms of the imperialists.

The whole world knows of the unenviable role played by Turkey's rulers during the Second World War. The professed "neutrality" did not prevent the government from turning the country into an ally of Hitler in the war against the Soviet Union.

At the end of the war Turkey found herself in difficulties. The gearing of her economy to meet the needs of the Hitler war machine had brought her to the verge of economic bankruptcy. Having completely forfeited the confidence of the people, the

government looked for support to the imperialist camp. Washington, which attached great importance to Turkey's strategic position, was quick to take advantage of this, especially since it needed a base from which to carry out its aggressive designs against the socialist countries and to undermine the national-liberation movement in the Near and Middle East.

The U.S. economic and military "aid" which was begun in 1947 was the first step towards consolidating the domination of the U.S. monopolies in the country. Turkey joined NATO and CENTO and concluded a bilateral military agreement with the United States, thereby completely subordinating her home and foreign policy to U.S. diktat. Military expenditure sharply increased. The U.S. imperialists began to interfere more and more in the country's economic life, to impose shackling loans on it.

According to the U.S. Department of Commerce, American private capital investments in Turkey totalled \$65 million at the beginning of 1961 and reached \$70 million in June last year.

Foreign companies have a 50 per cent interest in the oil refining, machine-building, radio-technical, chemical and pharmaceutical industries. U.S. and British oil companies, which have built two large refineries, control Turkey's oil supplies. They have committed the government to buy its oil during the next 12 years only from them. Foreign firms, and in particular American firms, monopolize all the military projects (mainly NATO) under construction.

The Ankara rulers obediently comply with the demands of the monopolies. Thus they have acceded to the demand that foreign capital in the mixed companies should be 60-70 per cent and more, instead of the 49 percent stipulated by Turkish law; they have agreed not to import a number of items and have given foreign companies the right freely to export manufactured goods and profits.

The policy pursued by the monopolies is aimed at undermining the state sector in industry and preventing the construction of national enterprises, for this could squeeze them out of the home market. All that Turkey is "permitted" to do is to develop her agriculture and some branches of light industry. In other words, the imperialists want to keep Turkey as an agrarian and raw material appendage and a market for their own goods.

The Istanbul newspaper *Yön*, assessing

the role of the foreign monopolies in Turkey, commented as follows: "The doors have been opened to foreign capital penetration in our country. The regime of capitulation, which was abolished 40 years ago as a result of the national-liberation struggle, is being revived in a new form. Such is the main outcome of our collaboration with the West."

The country is now reaping the bitter fruits of this collaboration: one national enterprise after another is closing down, unemployment is rising and the standard of living is declining rapidly. American "aid" is solely for military purposes, the national budget is, in fact, more and more becoming a war budget. This, needless to say, places a heavy burden on the working people, considering that 90 per cent of the budget is made up of direct and indirect taxes.

The Distress of the Working People

Turkey is an agrarian country in which agriculture accounts for about 70 per cent of the national income. Hence the United States original plan to turn it into a NATO food supply base. To this end it supplied Turkey, under the Marshall Plan, with a large quantity of farm machinery, especially tractors. This led to the enrichment of the big landowners, who were able to enlarge their farms by squeezing out the small farmer.

The result is that today the big estates (14 per cent of the total number of farms) occupy about 70 per cent of the arable land, whereas the small farms, which account for 69 per cent of the total, occupy only 28 per cent. The big landlords own three to five villages each and in some cases even as many as 40 villages. But nearly 750,000 landless peasants are obliged to work as farm laborers. Many peasant families lease plots for which they have to pay the lion's share of their crop.

The housing and social conditions in the rural areas present a grim picture. According to official figures, 90 per cent of the dwellings are unfit for habitation. More than half of the population is short of drinking water; 16,000 villages have no schools; only 250 out of the 40,000 villages have electricity. Hospitals are unknown in most of the countryside, and there is only one doctor for every 4,000 people.

In Central Anatolia most of the peasants live in mud hovels which they share with their cattle. In the eastern part of the country things are even worse.

Deprived of all means of subsistence, the peasants flock to the towns in search of a livelihood only to find themselves joining the vast army of the unemployed. This migration swelled the urban population by 65 per cent between 1948 and 1959. The figure for Istanbul alone has been estimated at 80,000 annually.

The reactionary forces are least of all interested in remedying the state of affairs in the countryside. Although there is much talk about the need for this, both government and political leaders are silent about the basic problem, that of providing the peasants with land. Even the tailored agrarian law of 1945 has not been put into effect.

The neglected state of agriculture, lack of arable land, paucity of machines and a host of other causes have resulted in a steady decline in the annual harvest and the paradox that Turkey, essentially an agrarian country, has to import wheat, vegetable oils and other agricultural products. That is why Washington hastily abandoned its idea of turning Turkey into a NATO food-supply base and decided, instead, to use her as a market for U.S. goods and in particular for its surplus farm products.

By joining NATO and CENTO Turkey also jeopardized her foreign trade, losing the opportunity to trade with the socialist camp on a mutually advantageous basis.

Military expenditure to maintain a 500,000-strong army which is mostly under U.S. command, swallows up a sizeable part of the budget (direct military expenditure alone, for example, constitutes a third of the budget appropriations). The country has borrowed more than \$1,500 million from its "allies," which it will be able to pay back, according to the Turkish press, only in the year 2008, and that provided it does not seek any new loans! The deficit in the balance of payments is growing year by year. According to the Minister of Finance it will reach the sum of \$385 million in 1963 and will be \$35 million in excess of the country's total annual exports.

As a result of this policy Turkey has the second highest cost of living in the world. According to the Central Statistical Board the cost of living soared 922 per cent between 1938 and 1961. The cost of food, clothing and footwear for the same period rose 1,176, 935 and 1,032 per cent respectively. But wages have risen only slightly more than twofold.

Turkey is a country where the gulf between labor and capital, between the ruling

classes and the working people is virtually unbridgeable. A wealthy minority (two per cent of the population) pockets 38 per cent of the national income, while the remainder of the population live on the brink of starvation.

The government is shifting much of the burden connected with the "economic rehabilitation" onto the shoulders of the working people. So-called "saving bonds" are now issued to workers as part of their wages. This form of compulsory loans over a 10-year period still further reduces the already low purchasing power of the worker.

Monthly wages in the textile industry average 300 lire, but the official minimum for a family of four is 2,300 lire a month. Some categories of workers in the mining industry earn a bare 160 lire a month, working 14-16 hours a day, but a doctor's fee for a visit is 30-50 lire. An additional burden is the social insurance contribution.

The disorganization of the economy, the result of Turkey's participation in aggressive military blocs and excessive military spending, is causing insecurity in the business world, stagnation and the closing down of enterprises. This in turn is adding to unemployment which is a veritable scourge. The official figure is four million, a truly astronomical figure for a country with a population of less than 30 million. But, as noted earlier, the ranks of the urban unemployed are constantly being swelled by the millions of agricultural workers, mainly landless peasants, small farmers and seasonal laborers coming to the towns in search of work.

The Fruits of the Military Coup d'Etat

The reactionary policy of the Menderes government, the steady worsening of the economic situation due to the enormous military expenditure, and the intensified repressions against the progressive forces — all have engendered discontent among the public and the army.

A military coup d'état was carried out in the country in May 1960. The military group that came to power thought it best to tell the truth about the economic situation. It spoke of the need for reforms, for a return to the policies of Ataturk, and for a policy of peace. The Bayar-Menderes clique which had brought the country to the brink of economic and political disaster was brought to trial. There was more political and trade union freedom. These developments led the

people to hope that there would be major changes in home and foreign policy, that social and democratic reforms were in the offing.

However, shortly after the new Constitution was adopted the parties representing the big bourgeoisie and landowners consolidated their positions. As before, the workers and peasants were not represented in the National Assembly. The policy of the new coalition government showed that the coup d'état, which had been carried out on the crest of popular unrest, would do little to change things. Realizing that the Bayar-Menderes policy could spark off a social explosion, the ruling classes decided to forestall things by removing from office the representatives of the big landowners and compradore bourgeoisie and by "appeasing" the masses with promises of socio-economic reforms.

It is true that in some respects the new Constitution is more progressive; it guarantees political freedoms, even if limited ones. But that still does not make it truly democratic in character for it does not guarantee implementation of the agrarian reform, nor does it solve the national-minorities question. The old anti-constitutional and anti-democratic laws are still in force. More than five million Kurds, for example, have no civil rights, including the right to call themselves Kurds. To the detriment of her own national interests Turkey is supporting the reactionary forces in the war against the Kurds in Iraq.

In the sphere of foreign policy the coalition government has kept to the previous pro-Western course. It did not avail itself of the chance to improve and develop relations with the socialist countries and turned down the Soviet Union's proposals aimed at strengthening peace, preferring, instead, to follow in the footsteps of the Bayar-Menderes regime, as demonstrated by its alignment with the NATO and CENTO blocs.

Continuation of the policy of militarization has brought with it further growth in military expenditure and worsened the economic situation.

Allocations for the Ministry of National Defense which totalled 2,100 million lire in 1961 rose to 2,500 million in 1962 and 2,800 million in 1963. But agriculture gets only 440 million lire under the current budget, and the Ministry of Industry even less, about 190 million. As a result, the national income per head of the population is declining from year to year.

In the past three months alone prices, especially of foodstuffs, averaged a 30 per cent increase. Unable to cope with the unemployment problem the government is widely encouraging the shipment of workers to Federal Germany where they are employed in the mines on the most arduous jobs.

Matters have been further aggravated by new, shackling U.S. credits and by the tax increase. This has given rise to spreading discontent among the people and in the army which erupted in the abortive coups d'état of February 1962 and May 1963.

In search of a way out of the economic crisis and in an attempt to pacify the people, the government has drawn up a new economic development plan. But for this the budget has had to be increased by another 2,000 million lire which the government hopes to get through foreign loans and economic "aid." Hence the new plan will only further increase the country's dependence on foreign capital.

Before the plan was approved by the National Assembly, it had been submitted to economic experts and representatives of foreign powers for consideration. An international consortium of representatives of 13 states, among them the United States, West Germany, Britain and France, was founded to supervise the economic "aid." The consortium agreed to give \$250 million to finance the program's first year and \$1,250 million over the five-year period.

One of the stipulations made by the consortium is reorganization of the state sector in industry. The idea, obviously, is to abolish this sector and return all the national enterprises to private capital.

The private sector is valued at about 10,000 million lire, the state sector, at more than 50,000 million. It is clear that the private sector can hope to engulf the state sector only with the help of foreign capital.

Our Party, together with the other progressive forces, is urging that the state sector be extended and consolidated on democratic foundations. For us it is not merely a question of whether the state or the private sector holds sway; it is an issue between the progressive forces, on the one hand, and the reactionary and imperialist forces, on the other.

The Struggle of the Working Class

A feature of the situation in Turkey is the spread of the political and economic struggle of the workers, their growing class consciousness. Today the Turkish proletariat is no longer the inexperienced, unorganized

and numerically small class that it was 40 years ago. The growth in the proportion of the working class, and especially the industrial proletariat, speaks of the changes taking place in the social structure of the country.

At present the working class totals two million people, including 600,000 farm laborers. It should be borne in mind that the accelerated growth in the past ten years has been due mainly to the influx of the rural non-proletarian elements, that is, peasants who have been forced off the land. Part of the working class is, therefore, still connected with the village, is still swayed by petty-bourgeois ideology and the false concept of the "single Turkish nation," widely advertised by the ruling classes. Needless to say, these factors are influencing the character of the working-class movement.

Still, never before has there been such a widespread movement of the working class in defense of its rights as there is today, a fact which is viewed with alarm by the local reactionaries and their American patrons.

Since the 1960 coup the working-class movement has entered upon a new stage. Two hundred new trade unions have been formed. In many of the trade unions functionaries without any idea of the tasks of the proletariat or who had simply been agents of the bourgeoisie were removed from the leadership.

Altogether there are 550 trade unions in the country. Their membership now stands at 350,000. A notable feature is that the unions no longer confine themselves purely to economic issues, they advance political demands. At the end of 1961 more than 150,000 workers demonstrated in Istanbul demanding an end to unemployment, the right to strike and a law on collective bargaining. This demonstration, the biggest in the 40 years of the Republic's existence, was a test of strength.

The strike movement and demonstrations acquired still greater scope in 1962, despite the fact that strikes were banned. One of the most significant actions of the year was the demonstration of the building workers in Ankara in May. The press described this demonstration as the first big social movement in the country. Noteworthy, too, was the protest meeting against the U.S. Morrison-Knudsen company in Eregli in which representatives of 210 trade unions participated, and the strike at the Turkish-American owned Kavel workers in Istanbul.

The action of the workers against the foreign companies, which was widely supported by all the democratic and progressive forces, was anti-imperialist in character. As for the five-week strike at the Kavel works, which was also widely supported by trade unions and the progressive press, it marked a new stage in the working-class movement in Turkey.

In their drive to blunt the class struggle, to deprive the workers of their right to take an active part in the political life of the country, the ruling circles are suppressing the Communist and all other progressive movements, are playing up the old bogey about the "Communist danger."

In Turkey, as in many other countries under the economic, political and ideological domination of imperialism, anti-communism is an official policy of the government. Membership in the Communist Party, outlawed since it was founded 40 years ago, is regarded as a crime. Anti-Communism is stoked up by the official propaganda. Workers, trade union leaders and intellectuals are tried and imprisoned on the charge of belonging to the Party.

At the beginning of this year one of the senators demanded, with the backing of government officials, that special security men be trained to combat Communism, that special courts be set up to try Communists, that more severe sentences be passed on them, and that all persons suspected of Communism be dismissed from government institutions.

Fascist hoodlums, in the pay of the bourgeois parties, raid the premises of progressive organizations. The progressive press, too, is baited. But unlike Menderes who had journalists imprisoned for the slightest criticism of his regime, Inonu applies economic pressure as a result of which a number of newspapers and journals have had to go out of existence.

For the Unity of National Forces

One of the basic problems awaiting solution is that of achieving unity of the progressive forces. Our Party holds that until these forces are united into a single national front it will be impossible to wage an effective struggle against imperialism and feudalism, to uphold national independence, to carry out fundamental democratic changes, to ensure social progress and raise the standard of living. For the Communist Party the establishment of a national front against imperial-

ism and reaction is seen as the key to victory.

It goes without saying that this front must be headed by the working class. But the workers will not be able to establish this front on a firm basis, to be its organizers and leaders, unless there is unity in their own ranks. In other words, working-class unity is the prime prerequisite of a strong national-democratic front.

The reactionaries are doing everything in their power to prevent the working class from uniting. The Right-wing union leaders are continuing their splitting activities. It is true that now, when it is possible despite government pressure to elect union functionaries, the Right-wing leaders feel less secure and pretend to favor working-class unity, to support the rights and interests of the workers. In short, they are copying the tactics of trade union reformists in other capitalist countries.

The Confederation of Labor, uniting 293 trade unions, is the biggest organization of its kind in the country. It is headed by Seifi Demirsoy, a former member of the Republican People's Party with which he still maintains close contact. In protest against Demirsoy's policy the Lefts in the Confederation leadership, as well as several Left trade unions, decided to withdraw from the Confederation. This gave the reactionaries full control of the organization. It is obvious that sectarian actions of this kind can only hinder the development of the working-class movement.

The working class is beginning to realize the need for unity, as can be seen from the amalgamation of small industrial unions into larger ones. On the other hand, the imperative necessity to uphold the political interests of the working class led to the establishment in 1961 of a legal political organization, the Workers' Party. This Party exposes the reactionary policy of the coalition government, and urges all progressive-minded people to rally round the working class.

It sees one of its basic tasks in combating the reactionary laws which enable the ruling classes to persecute progressives on the charge of "Communist activity." Its actions in support of disarmament and friendship with all peoples, in which it is guided by Ataturk's watchword: "Peace at home and in the world," have the support of all progressives.

Small wonder therefore that the founding

of this party encountered the bitter opposition of the reactionary clique. What has particularly infuriated it is that the Workers' Party is heading the struggle of the working class with success, that its influence is growing.

The progressive forces of the nation are seeking a way out of the impasse. They realize that the capitalist way will not solve the country's problems, that the socialist world by its economic, social and cultural achievements has proved how the problems troubling all patriots can be tackled. Socialist ideas are more and more gaining ground among the people; they are a powerful antidote to the anti-communism fanned by the domestic and international reactionaries.

Socialism is the ultimate goal of our struggle and it is to this end that all our efforts are directed. Some political organizations in our country, however, believe that socialism can be built in Turkey already today, and have made this their watchword.

But they have clearly not taken into account the relationship of forces, the level of political consciousness of the masses, the fact that in a country which is ruled by the most reactionary landowners and bourgeoisie, a country which has been placed under the economic, political and military domination of imperialism, socialism cannot as yet be the watchword of the political struggle. The watchword that socialism can be built "already today" narrows the chance of establishing a united national-democratic and anti-imperialist front, alienates those who are ready to fight imperialism and its allies inside the country.

What classes and social strata could unite in this front, what class interests are opposed to the interests of the imperialists and big landowners?

The core of a national front, as our Party sees it, and for which it is working, is the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. We must recognize that our influence among the peasant masses is clearly insufficient. One of the most important tasks facing us, therefore, is to lay the foundations for a worker-peasant alliance.

It is not only the farm laborer and poor peasant, but also the middle peasant and rural bourgeoisie who suffer from the oppression of the imperialists, the feudal chiefs and the big landowners. The rivals of the rural bourgeoisie, rivals with whom it cannot compete even on the homemarket, are the U.S. agricultural monopolies. From this point of view the interests of the rural bourgeoisie coincide

with the interests of all the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces of the country.

A revolutionary potential which the working class should not disregard is the town petty bourgeoisie who form the bulk of the national bourgeoisie.

Finally, that section of the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie whose interests are hard hit by the foreign monopolies on the home market, could also join the ranks of the national-democratic front. Their interests conflict with those of the imperialists, the feudalists and the compradore bourgeoisie.

Thus the national-democratic front would be a front incorporating under working-class leadership the most diverse classes and social groups in the country, united on the issue of national independence against the imperialists and their agents inside the country—the feudalists and reactionaries of all hues.

The Communist Party of Turkey is guided by Marxist-Leninist theory and by the basic principles formulated in the documents of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties, creatively applying these principles in the specific conditions in our country. Our Party rejects the pseudo-revolutionary, reckless home and foreign policy which the leaders of the Communist Party of China would have the international Communist movement follow. The theses of "prodding" the revolution, and that the proletarian revolution depends ultimately on the national-liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, far from furthering the class struggle and the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed peoples, hamper this struggle.

The experience of Turkey, and also of some other countries, shows that to divorce the national-liberation movement from the socialist world system, from the working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries is virtually to doom the given countries to imperialist enslavement, to loss of political independence and sovereignty.

Our Party's watchword is: an independent, democratic, peace-loving and neutral Turkey. Our immediate task is a struggle, headed by the working class, for a state of national democracy supported by the progressive forces of the people. But first it is necessary, we believe, to put an end to the rule of the

compradore bourgeoisie and big landowners, to abolish the foreign bases and to withdraw from NATO and CENTO, to win independence and achieve genuine democracy. It is likewise necessary to solve the national question, to carry out a deep-going agrarian reform, eliminate everything that hampers the development of the national economy, end the anti-communist and reactionary propaganda, raise the standard of living and establish economic relations with the socialist countries. We hold that all this is essential before we can begin building socialism in our country.

Peace is essential to the existence of our people. If the country is to emerge from its present plight the war policy must be rejected. Hence the fight for peace is the main task of our Party which upholds the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence.

The claim made by the Chinese leaders that coexistence is detrimental to the class struggle and the national-liberation movement of the peoples only serves the purpose of the imperialists who are looking for pretexts to justify their aggressive policy. The stand taken by the Chinese leaders on this, as well as on a number of other fundamental issues, is in direct contradiction to Marxism-Leninism and the general line of the international Communist movement unanimously adopted at the 1957 and 1960 Moscow meetings.

The people of Turkey, groaning beneath the burden of military expenditure, have suffered much from the war policy of the imperialists. Like other peoples, they, too, are faced with the threat of complete annihilation in the event of a thermonuclear war.

It is therefore understandable that they should welcome, together with all progressives, the signing of the test-ban treaty in Moscow. Not so the Turkish reactionaries who realize that they can remain in power only in conditions of the cold war and international tension.

The Turkish Communists are resolved to wage a steadfast struggle, side by side with the CPSU and all other fraternal Communist and Workers' parties, for the unity of the international Communist movement, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Economic Research and Management

Fikryat Tabeyev

THE Soviet Union's economic achievements are strikingly manifest in its rapid rate of growth. And a share of the credit is due to the economic researchers who investigate the laws governing socialist production and who have revealed no small untapped reserves and have suggested to practical workers ways and means of drawing on them.

Building the material and technological base of communism calls for unremitting effort to improve economic management on the scale of the nation, in each economic area and in every enterprise. It can be said that the economic aspect of Marxist-Leninist theory has now acquired very great importance.

But for all our achievements in the sphere of economic research, we cannot yet say that it is abreast of the requirements of the day. The inertia of the past has not been fully overcome, and the aftermath of the personality cult is still to be completely eliminated. We cannot claim to have made a thorough enough study of the laws of extended socialist reproduction, or to have adequately elaborated scientific methods of accounting, planning and economic analysis.

Sharply criticizing the lag in economic thinking and the instances of a voluntarist approach to planning which still crop up, our Party has called on its functionaries, economists and managers creatively to examine pressing problems of the socialist economy; the aim is to ensure that *the working people themselves should master the economic laws of socialism in both theory and practice and utilize them to accelerate economic growth.*

A questing is now under way throughout the country for more efficient planning, organizing and stimulating of production, for those forms and methods best suited to the requirements of the day. This creative searching is a tangible manifestation of the basic democracy of socialist production management. The fact is that both the evolution of more efficient ways of managing the economy and their realization depend above all on the participation of the masses; hence our Party seeks to provide every outlet for popular initiative in the sphere of management. Whereas under capitalism the people are divorced from management, under socialism they take a direct and growing part in guiding

economic endeavor at national, regional and factory levels. It could not be otherwise where the people reap the fruits of their labor and, for this reason, have a direct interest in efficiency. Because of this, the economic research and the improvement of production management are also the concern of the working people.

With the present rapid rate of scientific and technological progress, new opportunities to increase production efficiency are opening up year by year. But these opportunities can be realized only if managerial efficiency is in step with the times. Practical economics is posing ever new problems which await thorough assessment and optimal solutions.

Management can be improved only if the best of a variety of solutions is selected and experimentally verified before implementation. Economic science investigates not only current problems with a bearing on the requirements of the day; it is called upon also to make scientific forecasts which reliably delineate the perspectives. Unless research is conducted on this plane, some economists are bound to gravitate towards utilitarianism and others to juggling with pure abstractions, and economics as a science, lagging behind technology, would become a brake on it. Not a single technological development can be regarded in isolation from the economy.

In the past the almost complete absence of experiment in economic research adversely affected economic thought and widened the gulf between it and life. No one is likely to implement the findings of researchers without first verifying them. For there is no guarantee that these findings are correct. One can understand why planning and managerial bodies tend to be somewhat cautious when it comes to carrying out scientific recommendations.

All this has led to the recognition of the need to experiment. Needless to say, this is an area where experimentation must of necessity be confined within certain bounds. The national economy can hardly be converted into a laboratory for the experimenter to use at will. No experiment can be allowed to encroach on the foundations of the socialist relations of production, since this would negate its very purpose—to develop and perfect

the economy on the solid foundation of socialist ownership. Be that as it may, the role of experiment in the economic life of society is highly important, and it can be carried out in the enterprises, in branches of industry and in different parts of the country.

Like some of the other republics, our Tatar Republic, too, has embarked on economic experiments. The initiative, which came from the Regional Committee of the Party, was endorsed at once by the Central Committee. Moreover, many eminent economists offered their assistance. The trade unions and the workers generally responded wholeheartedly; indeed, without their participation all our efforts would have failed. Although the experiments have not yet been completed (and new problems are continually cropping up) the results of this extensive research and *the close and more fruitful contact between science and practice* which it involves are already in evidence.

In the course of the work reserves of whose existence we previously were unaware have been revealed and harnessed. The targets for the first four years of the seven-year plan were substantially exceeded. For three years now our industry has been fulfilling and overfulfilling plans as regards quantity and quality of output, assortment, production costs and productivity of labor.

Growth of production and fulfilment and overfulfilment of plans means higher wages, a bigger income for the workers. The funds set aside at enterprises for the cultural, social and other day-to-day requirements of their personnel are growing. At the same time there is a growth in the accumulation available for expanding production and increasing the social consumption funds on which the members of society draw mostly free of charge, i.e., irrespective of the quantity and quality of the labor they expend in social production.

Needless to say, economic research and experimentation are the concern not only of professional economists; they are part of the production endeavor of *all workers* in entire enterprises. They spotlight shortcomings, the reasons for these and suggest ways and means of increasing efficiency. This is more than a powerful lever making for greater output. Lenin taught us that communism begins when the working people concern themselves with increasing the productivity of labor and safeguarding the products accruing not to themselves personally or to their "nearest kin" but to society as a whole. The participation of the personnel of entire enter-

prises in improving their performance is evidence of a communist attitude to labor, of concern for the interests of society as a whole.

This mass response is the result of the ideological and organizational work done by the Party, which attaches the utmost importance to enlisting the masses in improving efficiency, regarding this as a cardinal lever which promotes social production. Administrative staffs and directives alone cannot secure maximum results if the people show no initiative. The initiative on a mass scale that comes from knowledge on the part of the working people that they are the true masters of their land and everything in it is a source of new forms and methods of work for ensuring greater efficiency.

Economic analysis bureaus staffed by voluntary workers are one of these new forms. The industrial enterprises of Tataria now have nearly 400 such bureaus in which more than 4,000 people pool their efforts. These people — executives, engineers, economists, researchers, workers, and Party, trade union and YCL functionaries — devote part of their spare time to the search for keys to better production performance. They conduct comprehensive analyses of the various aspects of production, of one or another line of output, as well as of the operation of shops, enterprises and entire branches of industry. The bureau at the Kazan Compressor Factory, for example, consists of 130 voluntary workers who specialize on questions pertaining to labor and wages, cost of production, losses caused by insufficient utilization of potential, and finances. They regularly attend seminars on economics, for to be able to analyze the performance of an enterprise desire is not enough; one must have a thorough knowledge of both technology and economics.

A few examples of the work done by the volunteer economists. At the compressor factory they established that the plans for the shift could be fulfilled in six hours by cutting down on unproductive use of working time. One suggestion was for centralized delivery of materials, tools, blueprints, etc., to the factory floor; this increased productivity of labor by 13 per cent. Now more than 1,500 workers fulfil their shift programs in six hours or less.

At the Kazan Fur Factory the spare-time economists proposed that the cost of production be calculated daily; after verification in one of the shops this method was introduced throughout the enterprise. Previously production cost had been calculated

on the basis of the monthly book-keeping records, which, as a rule, were ready by the middle of the following month. Such belated registration was hardly of much value. Now every department and work-team is posted daily on the factory's (and on its own) showing for the day before. True, a fur factory is a specific type of enterprise where the fur used accounts for more than 90 per cent and the labor expended for less than 10 per cent of the cost of production. This, of course, made it simpler to go over to the daily assessment of cost. Nevertheless, many other enterprises could learn from the Kazan fur workers' experience and develop it further. For it clearly shows the effectiveness of the efforts of the spare-time economists and of the workers themselves, who can always find ways and means of improving the work of their enterprises. Higher labor productivity, which is the aim of economic research, is basic to improving the well-being of each member of society and of society as a whole.

Since it is impossible in one article to go into all aspects of mass economic research, experimental verification and application of the results of the questing, we shall dwell only on a few which will throw light on how the problem can be approached.

* * *

Sound management requires above all sound planning. The present planning methods are far from perfect, for they do not adequately take cognizance of the continuity of production and extended reproduction. They are often too rigid and fail to provide for the prompt utilization of technological discoveries made after the plan has been approved, tending to put them on ice for a time. Moreover, collecting and processing information and planning proper involve an enormous amount of work requiring a vast number of specialists.

What is the root of these shortcomings? Although ours is a time of rapidly growing productive forces and automated production, planning still plods along with the methods and technical equipment of the handicrafts era. Inefficient manual labor predominates in the gathering and processing of information as well as in compiling plans. In order to put management on a scientific footing the prime requisite now is technical progress in the administrative sphere, extensive utilization of cybernetics, electronic computing, data-processing and control devices. The ground has been prepared for this by the objective laws of socialist economic development; more,

the urgent requirements of the economy make it imperative to move in this direction. It should be borne in mind of course that mathematical methods and electronic equipment in themselves, important though they are, cannot solve all the problems of analysis, planning and management.

Extensive questing is now under way in our republic for more rational ways of applying mathematical methods and electronic computers to these purposes. Beginning with 1959 we have been working on an inter-branch balance sheet serving as the model of a plan for the republic as a whole, for all branches of its economy separately and even for all the enterprises and their subdivisions. This balance sheet affords a comprehensive picture of the republic's economy, the volume and structure of its aggregate product, specialization in the inter-district division of labor, the flow of goods out of and into the republic, distribution of the new product among the various districts, and accumulation. It also gives by districts the average expenditure of material per unit of output, expenditure of labor on each type of output by categories of workers, the functioning plant in both physical and value terms as well as the degree to which it is utilized, a break-down of the turnover funds needed, etc.

Many economists object to the use of the term "model" in economic planning. The point, however, is the meaning attached to the concept. What is usually meant is the structure of the economy and the ratio between the rates of growth in the branches as they exist at the time a plan is being drawn up. A "model" of this kind is static. It provides a basis for planning concerned only with boosting output in the already functioning branches by so many per cent of the existing level. But planning of this kind falls short of the requirements of scientific management. In Tataria the overall balance sheet that serves as a planning model is compiled not only on the basis of the existing ratios and the level of production achieved, but also of the possibilities provided by science and technology, with an eye to the future. Given this approach, I believe that the term "model" is scientifically valid. As for the model itself, it can be worked out only with the aid of mathematical methods and electronic techniques.

Now that we are building the material and technological base of communism, the structure of investments and their rate of growth acquire particular importance. For years investments tended to be dispersed, and the

practice was to earmark bigger sums for construction and installation work than for equipment.

Mathematical methods and electronic techniques have enabled us to establish the optimum structure of investments and to disclose huge reserves for increasing production through modernization of operating plant. *Planning on the basis not of the level already achieved but of the tangible possibilities* provided by science and technology makes it possible to set the enterprises bigger but perfectly realistic tasks.

Take, for example, the Kazan Compressor Factory. It is scheduled to double its output by 1970 and to increase it 3.5-fold by 1980. Calculations by the old methods indicated that an additional investment of 45 kopeks was required per ruble in terms of the value of the projected increase. But when a comprehensive analysis of the technological level of production and technological progress in each department and at each stage of the production process was made by electronic computer at a research institute, vast reserves were discovered.

It was established that by 1970 the expenditure of labor would be reduced by 38 per cent as compared with the original calculations, metal would be used ten per cent more efficiently, expenditure of auxiliary materials would decline by 15 per cent and cost of management and services would go down by one-third. And this, I repeat, not as compared with the present, but with the original estimates for 1970 made in the factory and by the planning organizations. In other words, it was found that one-third less capital investments will be required per ruble of production growth than had been originally envisaged.

The search for more rational methods of planning and experimental verification of these methods has extended to all phases of management, from the Economic Council to the enterprises and their subdivisions. The technological and financial plans of the factories are translated into the language of mathematics and processed by computers. The model of the plan for the factory and its subdivisions thus obtained is based on data covering expenditure of labor, materials, semi-finished and finished components, fixtures, tools and other equipment, production floor-space, etc. The entire ramified system of shop, factory and district plans is incorporated in an overall model of the republic's economic plan.

* * *

Scientific planning and qualified management are impossible without sound objective criteria for the functioning of the enterprise, the key unit in the socialist system of economy — criteria that reflect the operation of economic laws. For instance, proper utilization of the law of value to ensure a high rate of development implies fixing economically justified prices. And no less essential is it for the other criteria to conform to the economic laws; otherwise there can be no talk of the latter being properly utilized.

In Soviet industry, however, indices dating from the time when the economic laws of socialism and planning were just taking shape continued for a long time to operate almost unchanged as the main yardstick. Gross and net production were then the basic indicators in the plans of enterprises, although they could not reflect many of the cardinal requirements of the economic laws. The pre-eminence given these indices was of course due to shortages of literally everything in those early years.

Nevertheless, as we see it, it would be a mistake to think that the inadequacy of these indicators as the main criterion became patent only at a more recent stage in building the material and technological base of communism. Reliance on them as the main yardstick and underestimation of other, qualitative aspects of the operation of an enterprise gave rise during the early five-year plans to such shortcomings as neglect of quality, a parochial approach to output as "advantageous" and "disadvantageous," and a striving to fulfil and overfulfil plans primarily by concentrating on items requiring less expenditure of labor but representing a higher value. While overfulfilling plans for gross and net output, plants at that time often failed to turn out the planned quantities of items calling for a greater expenditure of labor. This complicated coordination of supplies, and caused hitches in fulfilling plans. This happened because there was no adequate system of criteria conforming to the dictates either of the law of economy of social labor and the constant increase of its productivity, or of the basic economic law of socialism, for that matter.

The gross and net values of output constitute a static index of the volume of production. They cannot reflect changes in the structure of production, plant or technology. By taking in the previous expenditure of materialized labor, i.e., that contributed by other enterprises, they tend to conceal the contribution of the given enterprise. If these indicators are

taken as basic ones, it will be impossible properly to set optimum targets as regards productivity of labor, reduction of production cost and rational use of production facilities.

As far as their social essence is concerned, none of the indicators of economic performance in a socialist enterprise, not even profit, has anything in common with the indicators used by the capitalists. Efficient operation of a socialist enterprise directly benefits society generally as well as each worker by increasing both the worker's direct wages and the social consumption funds on which he draws. Hence it is in the worker's interests that production, no longer subordinated to the selfish interests of the capitalists, should bring in returns.

What, then, should be the decisive criterion in judging the performance of an enterprise? Several answers have been offered. Some economists hold that rate of accumulation is basic, others say that it is expenditure of labor measured in units of working time. An extensive discussion was started in the Soviet press by an article by Professor Liberman, who considered profitability, the rate of accumulation and profit to be decisive. To us it seems that *in judging the functioning of an enterprise the thing to be taken into account above all is the direct contribution made by its personnel to the production of the given line of output*. In the final analysis this, too, is aimed at ensuring higher profitability, and at the same time it stimulates effort on the part of the workers to improve the production process as such. The suggestion has been made in Tataria that the normative cost of processing each item be taken as the main indicator, and to check up on the feasibility of the idea an economic experiment was undertaken.

In 1962 production cost standards were worked out and approved for all branches of industry in the republic. That year was a transitional period: this new criterion was used in planning side by side with the old index of gross output. The cost index reflects technologically justified expenditure, including the wages of the production workers plus overheads, as well as expenditure, on shop and factory scale, on each line of output.

It should be stressed that this has nothing in common with the speed-up system under capitalism. Our aim is a rational organization of the labor processes, not an excessive intensification of labor. Rate-fixing is done with the direct participation of the workers and the public organizations functioning in the enterprises, in particular the trade unions.

Unlike the gross output indicator, the normative cost indicator excludes the bulk of the material expenditure involved — the past, materialized labor of other enterprises — as well as profit, i.e., that part of the value of output which tends to conceal the real volume of the production activity of the enterprise. This indicator, by giving a more exact idea of labor consumption, makes it possible to set more realistic tasks as regards raising productivity of labor, reducing cost of production and increasing the profitability of the given line of output. It is the most effective lever in planning and cost-accounting on a factory scale. Moreover, it facilitates comparative examination of labor productivity levels at allied enterprises, something that was all but ruled out formerly. Volume of production measured by this yardstick is essentially independent of changes in the assortment of output, in the profitability of lines of output and in the internal structure of the enterprise.

The enterprise is thus given an additional incentive to fulfil its production program for the full range of products, to reduce expenditure per unit of output and also to cut technological and overhead expenses. Consequently, the enterprise is impelled to introduce technological improvements in order to ensure bigger returns. It should be borne in mind that the processing cost indicator is a dynamic magnitude which constantly changes in step with technological progress but which can be easily ascertained by using mathematical methods and electronic techniques of computation.

We have not, of course, discarded the criterion of gross and net output, inasmuch as it reflects the sum-total of labor expended. But it is no longer the basic criterion.

The normative processing cost indicator is a precise and objective measure. For instance, in the first quarter of 1962, judged by the value of its output, the Kazan Chemical and Pharmaceutical Factory fulfilled its production program in fine style, and its personnel was entitled to a substantial reward. Actually, however, this showing was made by concentrating on codein, in which the factory invests labor amounting to no more than 15 per cent of the value of the product, while other (no less needed) medical preparations were neglected. With the introduction of processing costs as a standard, beginning with the second quarter of 1962, the workers took measures to ensure that the factory fulfilled the plan for all items. To do so became economically advantageous

for the factory as a whole and for each worker in particular. Needless to say, the country as a whole also gained.

The share of expenditure on materials in the production cost varies from item to item, and the ratio of profit to production cost is not always identical. With equal input of labor, value and profit rate may vary. So long as gross output was the main criterion, enterprises were not always interested in overfulfilling plans for items of higher value. For here not absolute but relative magnitudes come into play. Take, for instance, the "Teplokontrol" Factory in Kazan, which puts out measuring instruments of diverse kinds. Formerly it systematically exceeded its production program by turning out large quantities of cheap pressure gauges over and above plan, while falling short, year after year, of the plan for complex manometers which have a greater value. The point was that the latter required a far greater expenditure of labor than the simpler pressure gauges, which consequently yielded a higher profit. No amount of decisions and directives could correct the situation except for brief periods. Now, however, the factory is fulfilling its program for the whole planned range of output. And in order to reduce the processing cost below the planned level and thereby ensure higher returns, the plant has undertaken extensive work to automate production and improve technology in general.

The use of normative processing cost as the main index in planning and accounting, first in Tataria and later in the entire area under the jurisdiction of the Middle Volga Economic Council, has passed the experimental stage and is now the rule. It ushers in a qualitatively new and higher stage in economic analysis, planning and management.

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One should not, however, take an oversimplified approach to any economic indicator or to the interplay of economic factors in general. They are all complex propositions and often contradictory. No matter how sound it may be from the standpoint of economics, no new indicator alone can encompass and give expression to all the essential, interconnected factors which make for greater efficiency in production.

At present one of our basic problems is the need to improve the quality, reliability and durability of products. Needless to say, no machine can last forever, nor need it do so from the standpoint of economic efficiency. The physical longevity of a machine or of

any other item should not exceed its moral longevity; the ideal is for the two to coincide. Indeed, our aim should be to achieve a closer approximation of the physical and moral life-spans and thereby reduce to the maximum expenditure on repairs.

Our efforts to improve quality still leave much to be desired. One of the shortcomings is the inadequacy of our methods of influencing production through economic levers. Once output of a machine has been launched, the planning bodies well-nigh automatically set the targets for increasing its output, raising productivity of labor and reducing the cost of production. By achieving this, a factory may save tens or perhaps hundreds of thousands of rubles. But if the quality of the machine is not improved, if it is not made more reliable and durable, society's expenditure on maintenance and repair will increase in proportion to the output. It often happens that while an enterprise increases its profit by reducing production costs over and above plan, society has to foot a growing maintenance bill.

Improving quality requires additional expenditure in production. Each ruble of additional investment in the factory may economize for the country anything from 10 to 20 rubles in maintenance costs. Economists still have to provide a comprehensive picture of the inter-connection between reliability and durability on the one hand, and such factors as factory cost of production and the expenditure of society as a whole on production and maintenance, or labor productivity in the factory and productivity in the sphere of maintenance.

As a rule, much attention is paid in our enterprises to quality of output. The workers and engineers submit numerous suggestions aimed at improving their products and increasing their efficiency in operation. This is an example of a truly proprietary attitude towards production and the economy as a whole. But it is also very important that the criteria by which the performance of an enterprise is assessed should make for better quality, for greater reliability and durability of its products.

So as not to blunder along blindfolded, a new standard for judging quality of engineering output has been introduced in a number of plants in Tataria — effective life-span measured in hours, kilometers, etc. Here a distinction is drawn between two aspects: the guaranteed operating reserve — the time during which the manufacturer guarantees

that the machine will not need overhauling—and the overall lifetime of the machine, in other words, the general technological reserve. Generalized, these indicators characterize the quality of the design, the technological processes and materials used in making the item, and the technological maintenance standards. Not only the reliability of the machine or device but also—and this is most important—the stability of the original tolerance must be ensured throughout the entire guaranteed period of operation.

An idea of the relation between factory cost of production and social expenditure on production and maintenance, between labor productivity on the scale of the factory and of society as a whole, can be gained from an analysis of the performance of the Kazan Mechanical Works, which manufactures pumps for the oil fields. Since 1953, when serial production was begun, both the guaranteed and the overall life-span of these pumps has increased fivefold. Besides being tantamount to increasing production, this has reduced social expenditure on maintenance. By analogy with the term "annual rate of economy" used in industry, we have coined the new terms "annual rate of additional output" and "annual underfulfilment rate." In the case of the above-mentioned pump works, the annual additional output rate which resulted from the greater durability of the finished product amounts, actual output remaining unchanged, to 500 per cent. But since the quantity put out has also gone up to meet the growing demand, the percentage has actually exceeded 1,000.

To ascertain the significance of this for the economy as a whole, the outlay required for the additional output was computed. If the initial cost of designing the pump and launching its production is taken as 100, the additional outlay amounted to 117 per cent. Hence, although the technological process became cheaper and productivity of labor increased, cost of production of the pump nevertheless increased by 1.2 per cent in ten years.

At first sight, looking at the matter from a narrow viewpoint, the life-span of a machine and the cost of its production are contradictory categories. A closer examination, however, reveals how important it is to pay attention to both. In the example given above, the factory failed to cut production cost as called for by plan. But if we take into account, besides the factory production cost, also what it costs the state to operate the finished product, we shall see that the overall

cost was reduced to one-quarter. As a result, the cost of oil extraction dropped by 65 per cent. At the same time the expenditure of labor per unit of output at the factory went down by 82 per cent and overheads by 76 per cent. The slight increase in the cost of the product was due to improvement of design and the more durable materials and components used.

If the work of every enterprise is approached from the standpoint of the interests of the state as a whole, it will be seen that in engineering, as in many other branches, prolonging the life-span of the product is now the highroad to increased social productivity of labor, the decisive lever for reducing the social cost of production and maintenance. Quality, then, is an indicator which stems directly from the essential demands of the economic laws of socialism. Material incentives, too, should be devised so that each worker has a personal interest in meeting the need for high-quality output. The degree to which production is profitable and efficient cannot be judged only by what the given item costs in the factory; cost of maintenance and repairs should also be taken into account. If all the economic indices are not given proper thought, contradictions may be — and, indeed, are — artificially created between the public interest, on the one hand, and narrow departmental and individual interests, on the other. It is the economists' duty to find the most effective criteria for assessing the performance of the enterprises, criteria making for the harmonious combination of social and personal interests. Under socialism the interests of each worker are fully embodied in the interests of society. The degree to which the requirements of each member of society are met depends on the growth of social production. Realization of this impels the workers to make greater efforts to promote production and improve management.

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Tataria's experience in economic research and experimentation shows that correct decisions, sound management, and also the advance of theoretical thinking can be ensured only by profound investigations based on practical work and verified in the course of this work. In view of this, the mass political work conducted by the Party organizations is being intertwined more and more with work to solve the fundamental economic problems. The Party fully supports the initiative of the workers in this sphere, giving direction to

their efforts and guiding the economic questing in our country.

Needless to say, the trend of the questing and experimenting depends on the specific conditions and tasks involved. Of major importance is pooling of the experience accumulated in the socialist countries. We, for instance, are following with interest the work done to improve management in Poland, the GDR and in the other socialist countries.

Economic research, which has become international in character in the socialist world system, and experimental verification of the new forms and methods of management will, undoubtedly, help to improve the art of management, to raise it to a new level, putting it on a sound scientific foundation throughout the national economy and thereby accelerating the building of communism.

The Current Situation in Iraq

Aziz Al-Hajj

THE ruthless reprisals against progressives in Iraq have evoked worldwide protests. The wholesale killing of political opponents by the Baathists has now been extended to a war of extermination against the Kurdish people.

Both inside and outside Iraq people are asking how did this gang of counter-revolutionaries succeed in seizing power, whose interests do they represent, and what does the future hold for Iraq?

How the Coup Was Staged

Kassem's anti-democratic policy and his personal dictatorship provided the loopholes through which the Baathist conspirators sneaked. Instead of relying on the people, on the democratic forces in the country, Kassem pursued a policy of repressions, a policy of abrogating the rights won by mass struggle in the years that followed the July 14 revolution. Instead of fostering national unity, he divided the people and struck blow after blow at each of the patriotic parties. Instead of fostering friendship between Arabs and Kurds, Kassem ignored the Provisional Constitution, and especially the provision which stated that the Republic of Iraq is a partnership of Arabs and Kurds; Kassem opted for ultra-chauvinism and this led him ultimately to launch a dirty war in Iraqi Kurdistan.

The result was that Kassem opened wide the doors to imperialist agents and the ultra-Rights. He even placed these people in key posts in the administration, in the army and in the press. He willingly cooperated with these people in suppressing the organizations of the workers, peasants and students, and other democratic forces. His idea was to use

the reactionaries in his struggle against communism and democracy. And the reactionaries, while joining hands with Kassem in his war against the democratic forces, looked to the day when they would oust Kassem, seize power, install their counter-revolutionary regime and destroy the gains of the July 14 revolution. By egging on Kassem to pursue a policy of anti-communism and suppressing the Kurdish people they narrowed down the social base of his rule and paved the way to his overthrow.

The unjust war against the Kurds was one of the decisive factors that weakened the Kassem regime. The war in Kurdistan engaged two-thirds of the army; it added to the growing discontent with the personal dictatorship and aggravated the already bad economic situation. This situation, understandably, dangerously undermined Iraq's immunity to imperialist plots.

Time and again the Iraqi Communist Party drew attention to the dangers inherent in the personal dictatorship and especially of the war against the Kurds. In its statement of July 8, 1962, the Party reaffirmed that the fighting in Kurdistan was the source of the general political crisis which threatened the national independence and the gains of the revolution; this fighting, the statement read, was "creating fertile soil for intensified imperialist-feudal and other reactionary activities in the country . . . clearing the way for imperialist conspiracies designed to regain power, undermine national independence and abolish the gains of the revolution."

On August 12, 1962, the Party again warned the Kassem government of the danger with which the war against the Kurds was fraught.

"The activities of the reactionaries," it said, "can be attributed mainly to the aggravation of the Kurd crisis, to the growing discontent, and to the isolationist policy of military suppression pursued by the government." These activities, the Communist Party's statement continued, "have the backing of Anglo-American imperialist circles. . . ."

In a third statement issued in January 1963 our Party's warning was straight and clear, and mentioned the names of some of the conspirators in army units.

Kassem, however, turned a deaf ear to the warnings. And although he himself referred more than once before the February 8 coup to the plotting, which was supported by the imperialists and their embassies in Baghdad, he did not take the necessary measures against the conspirators whom he knew well. All he did was to order the arrest of some suspects who played a minor role. At the same time his repressive policy against the people and the democratic forces generally was continued.

Fear of the people and of the growth of the democratic forces was decisive in shaping the Kassem policy. This, in effect, was the expression of the apprehension felt by the Right wing of the national bourgeoisie who favored leniency towards reactionaries rather than reconciliation and cooperation with the democrats. Even when the people demanded arms to smash the coup, Kassem, haunted by his fear of the people, denied them arms, boasting that he would crush the conspirators in a matter of hours!

By a twist of fate Kassem himself fell victim to those whom he had intended to use as docile tools. The absence of unity among the progressive forces was the fundamental factor that enabled the plotters to bring off the coup. The armed units of the Kurdish movement adopted a tolerant attitude, anticipating a peaceful solution of their problems through understanding with the Baathists who had promised to grant the demands of the Kurds. Kassem's policy of purging the army of patriotic and democratic officers greatly facilitated the plotters. In a word, Kassem's policy of anti-communism and suppression of the Kurds cleared the way to the counter-revolutionaries.

When the coup was staged on the morning of February 8, our Party immediately called upon the people to resist it. Our Party alone acted in this way during those critical moments, although the rank and file of other patriotic parties also took part in the resis-

tance. Large numbers responded to our call in Baghdad and in other big towns. Police stations were stormed and weapons seized. The plotters, however, used tanks and armored cars. It is worth mentioning also that the conspirators resorted with some success to deception, claiming that they were defending the July 14 revolution.

The Communists and other patriots fought heroically against overwhelming odds. Some districts in Baghdad battled for days on end. The conspirators and their so-called national guard resorted to indiscriminate slaughter. Artillery was used against residential areas.

By its fight on behalf of the people our Party has gained in prestige, while the Baathist conspirators by indulging in an orgy of blood and murder have isolated themselves from the overwhelming majority of the people.

The plotters, indulging in the wildest demagoguery, accused our Party of supporting the Kassem dictatorship. Whereas, as everybody knows, the Communist Party fought against the dictatorship, pursuing the line of peaceful mass action against the dictatorship, on behalf of the people. True, our Party did not call for the armed overthrow of the Kassem government, but this was due to the fact, firstly, that Kassem, because of the mass pressure and also because of the contradictions with imperialism, pursued, even if not always consistently, a national anti-imperialist policy. This found expression in the measures taken against the oil companies, and also in the policy of cooperation with the socialist countries and support for world peace. Secondly, the political situation both at home and abroad was characterized by feverish reactionary activities. The imperialists, the supporters of the overthrown monarchy, the Baathists and pro-Nasser elements were all for getting rid of Kassem and sacrificing the country's national independence, and this despite contradictions in aims and interests among those forces. In such circumstances the launching of an armed movement would have played into the hands of the enemies of our independence. This was what actually happened. Those who benefited from the war against the Kurds were the imperialists and their supporters who staged the February 8 coup. Thirdly, the opportunities for peaceful mass action had not been exhausted by a long way. Had there been national unity among the patriotic and democratic forces, the situation would have changed quickly in favor of democracy.

Our Party had succeeded in activating the people — workers and peasants, intellectuals and other sections — against the personal dictatorship, for democratic rights and freedoms. The Party headed a big protest movement against the chauvinist policy in relation to Kurdistan. Public demonstrations were held in Baghdad and thousands of signatures were appended to petitions urging a peaceful solution of the Kurdish question. This peaceful mass struggle waged under the leadership of the Communists yielded concrete results. Land taxation was cancelled. The government confiscated all the oil concessions which the foreign monopolies were not working. Shortly before the coup, a law was enacted for the formation of a state-owned oil company. Death sentences that had been passed on democrats were annulled, and a truce was declared in Kurdistan.

The Iraqi scene a few months before the coup was marked by a growing revolutionary trend among the people, the growing isolation of the dictatorship, a trend towards unity among the democratic forces and growing discontent over the policy of repressions. There was unrest in the armed forces, caused by the war in Kurdistan. All this provided the conditions for ending the personal dictatorship and for a return to democratic life. This is exactly what the imperialists and the reactionaries sensed, and so they hastened to stage the coup.

The Character of the Coup and of the Baathist Regime

In statements issued on the first day of the coup the Communist Party pointed to its reactionary pro-imperialist nature. All that has taken place since confirms the correctness of this conclusion. The imperialists applauded the annihilation of the Communists and democrats as well as of all those who oppose the present regime. It should be said, however, that the imperialists did more than give aid and approval to the conspirators, as can be gauged from the statement made by King Hussein of Jordan. This servant of the British imperialists, aware of the differences between his masters and the Americans in the Middle East, publicly confirmed the participation of the U.S. intelligence agency in the Iraqi coup. On the first day of the coup, he said, a clandestine U.S. radio station transmitted the names and addresses of members of the Iraqi Communist Party, and this information was used by the "national guards" in their hunt for Communists. Bourgeois news-

papers contained reports about the role of British and U.S. intelligence in preparing the coup. For example, the weekly *Express* reported on February 21: "The coup d'état in Iraq was engineered by the American secret service (CIA). The British government . . . was informed of the preparations." The operation was worked out at the end of December during a meeting in Munich between General Nadjib Al Rubai, president of the Sovereign Council of Iraq and an opponent of Kassem, who was in Switzerland at the time, and a high-ranking American official. At this meeting, which later continued in London, the details of the coup were worked out. The terms stipulated by the USA and Britain to the Baathists are generally known, and the new government is zealously abiding by them. The terms include liquidation of the Communist Party, extermination of the Communists and other patriots, safeguards for the foreign oil companies and recognition of imperialist rule in Kuwait.

It is an open secret that the present regime in Iraq is simply a facade for neo-colonialism. In restoring their rule over our country, the imperialists rely above all on their new agents from the Baath Party.

What kind of an organization is the Baath Party?

At its inception in Syria in 1941, the Baath Party (Baath in Arab means "resurrection") proclaimed itself not a Syrian, but an *all-Arabia* party. Subsequently, branches were established in Iraq, Jordan, the Lebanon and Kuwait. From the beginning, the party has been violently anti-communist and has propounded a theory of national assimilation of all the people of the Arab world. Its watchword is "unity, freedom and socialism." It does not, however, aim at liberating the Arab countries from imperialist dependence and establishing democratic regimes in them as the condition for a firm alliance between these countries.

The Baathists have supported the various schemes of the imperialists in the Middle East, such as the "Greater Syria" plan. The trials held in Baghdad after the July 14 revolution exposed the collaboration of a number of Baath leaders with Nuri Said and shed light on their role in pursuing the imperialist "Greater Syria" plan. However, the struggle of the Arab peoples prevented the imperialists and their accomplices from carrying out this plan.

Until recently the Baath party played no significant role in Iraq. When the monarchy

was overthrown in July 1958, it had not more than a few hundred members. And yet, despite the minor role it played in the struggle against the Nuri Said regime, it received two ministerial posts in the new government. Through Abdel Salam Aref (then first aide to Kassem and Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces) and the two Baath ministers it sought to bring the new regime under its sway and to establish a direct alliance with the United Arab Republic. Baath withdrew from the National Unity Front, which it had joined a year before the July revolution. This isolated it from the patriotic forces and the people generally. Aref and the Baath ministers were expelled from the Cabinet, and since then the party has concentrated on provocation, adventurism and plotting. In this it was directly supported by the Cairo rulers.

Baath drew its strength mainly from the petty-bourgeoisie, recruiting members among students, intellectuals and servicemen. It had no real base among the workers, and its contact with the peasants was even weaker. As it took the road of plotting and provocation, it was joined by large numbers of Nuri Said supporters, feudalists and reactionary officers. Finding it inconvenient to issue a direct call for restoration of the monarchy, these people took cover behind pseudo-revolutionary phrasemongering, and after a certain time they began to play an increasing role in shaping its policy.

Having seized power through a military coup and having no mass support, the Baathists set about to reinforce their positions. On the very first day of their rule they guaranteed the inviolability of the property of the foreign oil companies, and the latter obliged by raising output in order to prop up the new regime by increasing the share accruing to the Iraqi government from oil extraction. The new government gave a free hand to 272 firms of British, American and West German origin whose activities had been suspended by the July revolution. The imperialists in London, Washington and Bonn, although their interests were far from identical, lavishly supplied the Baath rulers with loans. The British imperialists and CENTO openly support the war against the Kurds. Moreover, Britain is supplying the Baathists with arms and is training personnel to use these arms. At the same time the Baathists are working hard to undermine Iraq's cooperation with the socialist countries and are engaging in a campaign of slander against them. Baath

policy is a betrayal of the July 14 revolution; it is a policy of renouncing national independence and positive neutrality, exacerbating the already tense situation in the Middle East and imposing fascist terror in this whole area.

The Baathists even betrayed their former allies — the pro-Nasser groups which took part in the coup but which now are also being hounded. It is common knowledge that immediately after seizing power the Baathists entered into unity negotiations with Cairo; the result of these talks was the April 17 declaration on the forming of a triple United Arab Republic. Subsequent events, however, showed that the Baathists merely wanted to use this declaration for the purpose of spreading their rule throughout the Arab East.

The Cairo press, which initially supported the Baathists, now denounces them as fascists and imperialist agents. On September 17, the Arab Socialist Union in Cairo published a statement to the effect that the Baath party had betrayed the cause of unity and that its purpose in attending the unity negotiations was simply to deceive the people and to buttress its precarious position. The Baath rulers, the statement continued, relied for support on elements collaborating with imperialism.

Egypt's break with Baath and the worldwide condemnation of the crimes in Iraq have made things difficult for the Baath party in both Iraq and Syria and have engendered opposition trends in its ranks. This, naturally, further weakens the Baath regime. The recent Cairo visit of Abdel Salam Aref notwithstanding, the antagonisms between Baath and the UAR are extremely acute. Both Cairo and Baghdad have openly called for the overthrow of the respective governments.

At the end of September the Baath leaders in Damascus announced the impending signing of an agreement on Syria-Iraq federation. This agreement, it should be said, is a refurbished form of the old plans of British imperialism, against which the Arab peoples have so vigorously fought. The formation of unified Iraqi-Syrian armed forces early in October was the first practical step towards federation.

The federation agreement is proof not only of the complete break between Baath and Cairo and the desire of the former to isolate the UAR from the other Arab countries; what is more important, it testifies to restoration of imperialist domination in Syria and

Iraq. It implies a free hand for the oil monopolies, a resolve to carry on the war of extermination against the Kurds, and a threat to the independence and the success of the liberation cause of the Arab countries. It is proof of an attempt to extend fascist methods of government to the Arab world as a whole.

The anti-communism of the Baath Party in our country is accompanied by repression and terror of a purely fascist type. Hundreds of Communists have been shot; many more have been tortured to death in prisons or sent to concentration camps. It is a rule that persecution and slaying of Communists are followed up by persecution of all patriots and democrats. The events in Iraq confirm this. As the Baathists have admitted, the number held in prisons and concentration camps exceeds 120,000. If we bear in mind that the total population of Iraq is seven million, we will see that one out of every 25 adults has been arrested. This exceeds the proportion arrested under Hitler in Nazi Germany.

The terror and the dirty war against the Kurds have evoked indignation everywhere. Campaigns of solidarity with the Iraqi people have been held all over the world. The statements issued by the Communist parties and the socialist countries, and above all the statements of the CPSU and the Soviet government, were important support for our Party and people. The Soviet statements denouncing the wholesale slaughter in Iraq and supporting the struggle of the Kurds are greatly appreciated by the Iraqi people. It is to be regretted that the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party have not shown the same solidarity, the solidarity of proletarian internationalism. They have resumed economic contacts with Iraq. Newspapers in China have described the blood-stained government of Iraq as a "revolutionary government." Chinese students take no part in the solidarity meetings in support of our people organized by foreign students in other socialist countries. Iraqi students and public personalities now in China were not allowed to demonstrate their solidarity on the pretext of "maintaining good relations with the Iraqi government." At the meeting of the Executive Committee of the International Students' Union in Algeria last May, representatives of more than 40 national students' federations condemned the terror in Iraq, but the Chinese representative was silent. What is truly astonishing is that Peking is spreading slan-

ers against our Party, seeking to utilize our present difficulties for their disruptive aims. This attitude has nothing in common with the "revolutionary" claims of the Chinese leaders about their role in supporting the national-liberation movements. Objectively, this attitude helps only the enemies of our Party and of our people.

The Prospects and the Tasks of the Democratic Forces

The situation in Iraq is characterized by the growing isolation of the Baath clique both at home and abroad; indignation caused by their atrocities is growing. The people openly denounce the government and frankly express their sympathy with the victims of the terror, and with the Communists especially.

Discontent is prevalent in the army, particularly among soldiers and nco's; there is dislike of the dirty war in Kurdistan and of the policy of killing the patriot officers. The forming of a "national guard" from among adolescents befuddled by jingoist propaganda, declassed elements and all sorts of riff-raff is an expression not only of the fascism of the regime but also of the Baathists' fear of the army. Thousands of officers, nco's and soldiers have deserted to the Kurds. The revolt in the Al-Rashid Camp in Baghdad showed the degree of revolutionary sentiment in the army.

The economic situation has deteriorated as never before. Prices are soaring and thousands of families, deprived of their breadwinners, are in dire straits. Economic life is at a standstill in the Kurdish areas, a fact which has adversely affected the economic situation in central and southern Iraq. The Baathists, wooing the big businessmen and the feudal chiefs, are clamping down on the small industrialists, merchants and traders. The big landowners and feudal chiefs have launched an offensive against the peasants, trying to regain the land confiscated from them and passed over to the peasants under the agrarian reform law. Contrary to the demagogic propaganda, the agrarian reform has been put into cold storage. The authorities have declared that the agrarian reform should be re-examined because it was carried out "recklessly" during the Kassem regime. In this way the Baathists are alienating the patriotic forces and the people generally.

As was the case under the Kassem regime, the war against the Kurds is a troublesome

matter for the Baathists. For four months they conducted negotiations with the Kurd leaders in an attempt to gain time, while at the same time preparing to resume the war. The imperialists, especially the U.S. imperialists, are making desperate efforts to paralyze the armed liberation movement of the Kurds. Pressure and duress are used to split the national forces in Kurdistan. The imperialists hope to achieve their aims also by relying on certain Right elements among the Kurds.

The war is, in effect, a war of extermination against the Kurds. The rulers of Syria are taking part in it. Since the Iraqi Baathists alone cannot crush the armed movement of the Kurds, units of the Syrian army have been sent to Iraqi territory. CENTO circles are also supporting this war against the Kurds. The Iraqi command coordinates its operations against the Kurds with those of the Turkish and Iranian armies. According to the Cairo newspaper *Al Ahram* (August 9, 1963), an agreement on coordination was reached in April, i.e., over a month before the hostilities began. The Soviet Union was a thousand times right when it declared that the tragedy of the Kurds was no longer exclusively an Iraqi problem: the situation in the north of Iraq posed a serious threat to peace and security in the Middle East.

Opposition to Baath rule is assuming various forms. In Iraqi Kurdistan, where the people have taken to arms, all the democratic forces are taking part in the struggle. Many Arab patriots, military and civilian, are fighting alongside the Kurds. Our Party fully supports the Kurd struggle and our Party organizations in Kurdistan are playing an active role in the fighting there.

In the central and southern areas, the Communist Party is at its post despite the difficulties and the sacrifices. Our Party organizations suffered serious blows. Large numbers of our comrades were murdered by the Baath fascists. We lost Salam Adil, First Secretary of the Central Committee, and a number of other tried leaders and functionaries. Thousands of democrats and Communists are held in prisons and concentration camps. But while our Party suffered devastating blows after the coup it has not been destroyed. The influence and the prestige of our Party are growing. The people speak with admiration of the Communists, regarding them as the staunchest defenders of their interests and the country's national independence. Despite the efforts of official propa-

ganda to discredit our Party, the people see in the Communists their symbol of hope and victory.

Democrats in the Republican Party as well as the independent democrats are also in opposition to the regime. In recent months, the National Democratic Party — the party of the national bourgeoisie — has resumed activity and, criticizing the regime, is insisting on an end to the terror. The attitude of this party, however, is not yet that of open and firm opposition. Members of the National Progressive Party (another party of the national bourgeoisie led by Mohammed Hadid, ex-Minister of Finance who is now in prison) are also against the Baathists, though not in an organized way. The pro-Nasser nationalists, who have also been persecuted, cherish boundless hatred for the Baathists, though they have not overcome their hatred for the democratic forces. Some of them even cooperate with the pro-monarchists in the struggle against the Baath. These forces are exploiting the Baath crisis for their own ends. In view of their limited following, they rely mainly on adventurism. The antagonism between these forces and the Baath party has played a big role in weakening the latter and furthering its isolation both in Iraq and throughout the Arab world.

The imperialists realize that the end of the Baath, which lacks mass support, is not far off. This explains why they have been so active of late trying to form and arm detachments of their old and new agents; they want to be ready to "fill the vacuum" in case the Baath should be toppled. Nuri Said followers are particularly active and they enjoy the backing of King Hussein and his British masters. This group operates under slogans of saving the country from the Baathists and of re-establishing stability and security.

An analysis of the situation suggests the conclusion that conditions in the country are ripe for setting up a broad national democratic front against Baath fascism and imperialism, a front that will establish democratic rule, restore the rights of the people, grant the lawful demands of the Kurds and put an end to the plundering of the national wealth by the foreign monopolies. With the growth of the mass struggle those patriotic elements who are still hesitant will realize the need to cooperate with the Communists and to support the just struggle of the Kurds. Experience will impel them to follow the path required by the interests of the coun-

try and their own class interests. For it is not only the workers and peasants, intellectuals and handicraftsmen who have suffered under the Baath regime, but also the small and medium-sized industrialists, traders and some landowners.

The paramount task of the democratic movement in Iraq is to abolish the Baath regime and to form a genuinely democratic anti-imperialist government which would uphold the country's independence, reinforce the solidarity of the Arabs in their struggle against imperialism and take an active stand for world peace. On the day after its advent to power this national democratic government will face a whole number of major problems calling for urgent solution, and one of these is the Kurdish problem.

As far as our Communist Party is concerned, it has paid close attention to the Kurdish question ever since its inception in 1934. It has always recognized the right of the Kurds to self-determination. The Party's policy on this issue is based on the following:

1. Imperialism divided Kurdistan and encouraged, and is still encouraging, persecution of the Kurds. Hence, imperialism is the first and main enemy of the Kurdish people just as it is of the Arab, Iranian and Turkish peoples who are neighbors of the Kurds.

2. The Kurdish question is a component of the national question of the peoples of Iraq, Iran and Turkey, and the Kurdish national-liberation struggle is part and parcel of the national struggle waged by all these peoples against imperialism and reaction and for a national-democratic regime.

3. The Kurdish question has its particular aspects despite the fact that it is part of the national question in Iraq, Iran and Turkey. This is so because the Kurds suffer from national oppression and are deprived of elementary national rights. The Kurds in Iraq are part of the divided Kurdish nation.

In keeping with these principles the Communist Party declared in August 1945: "Let Arab-Kurd friendship be the symbol of our unity, of our striving for a free homeland and happy people." Stressing that the Kurds are entitled to self-determination, the Party has always fought to make the unity of the Kurds and Arabs in Iraq "an optional unity based on equal rights in all spheres."

A resolution adopted at a Party conference in September 1956 stated: "The solid basis on which Arab-Kurd fraternity should be established and developed in joint strug-

gle against imperialism is mutual recognition of the right to self-determination, of the lawful aspirations of Arabs and Kurds to liberation and national unity, and the realization of the fact that imperialism is the main obstacle in the way of the Arabs and Kurds achieving their national aspirations."

In March 1962 the Central Committee of the Party stressed that "the problem of the Kurdish nationality is organically linked with the cause of democracy for the Arab people, that organic unity of the two causes within the borders of one and the same state, Iraq, is so firm that neither can be solved in isolation from the other. The ordeal suffered by the Kurds is part of the ordeal of the Iraqi people . . . The solution of the Kurdish national problem is part of the solution of the democratic issue in Iraq . . . At present this can only mean turning Arab-Kurd unity into a democratic unity, a matter which can be achieved by granting autonomy to Iraqi Kurdistan within the framework of a united Iraqi republic . . ."

The question of oil also occupies an important place in present-day Iraq. Unless this problem is resolved the complete liberation from imperialist domination, complete national sovereignty, and the carrying through of far-reaching social and economic changes are impossible. Oil is not simply a question of national wealth which is being plundered and squandered, it is also, and this is even more dangerous, a question of an imperialist administrative apparatus established by the oil companies inside the country. This apparatus has always interfered in our domestic and external affairs, has encouraged plots and worked to prevent any genuine economic or social advancement. Oil in Iraq and throughout the Middle East, besides being cheap and bringing in fabulous profits for the foreign companies, is indispensable to the imperialists for the realization of their war designs. For this reason the oil companies gave full support to the February 8 coup. They are lavish in supporting the Baathists, and, what is more, they play the role of brokers in trying to furnish them with weapons from Britain and in getting publicity for them in the West.

There is also the matter of agrarian reform, industrial planning and other questions which, if properly solved, could raise the standard of living of our people.

* * *

Blood and hatred are endemic nowadays

in Baghdad, in Kurdistan and indeed everywhere in Iraq. Every day there are new victims. However, despite their sacrifice and suffering the people refuse to accept the present state of affairs. They are confident that this nightmare will pass in the not-too-dis-

tant future. They express their readiness to fight for a change corresponding to their interests. The future does not belong to those who trample on the people. The future belongs to those who enjoy the confidence of the people.

The Truth About the Venezuelan Oil Workers' "New" Labor Contract

Jesus Faria

EDITOR'S NOTE:

THE national-liberation movement spearheaded against the pro-imperialist regime of Betancourt and his U.S. patrons is steadily gaining ground in Venezuela.

Alarmed by the scale of the movement, the government has banned the Communist Party, the Left Revolutionary Movement and a number of other progressive organizations, but has failed to stem the rising tide of the struggle.

The struggle is now acquiring added intensity in connection with the approach of the general election to be held on December 1. The Communist Party and the LRM have called on the democratic forces to join in a united front to ensure free elections and a Left victory. That the call has found widespread support among the people is evident from the recent series of public meetings and demonstrations. This alarmed Betancourt and his camarilla. A sign of their desperation was the arrest in Caracas on September 30 of Jesus Faria, General Secretary of the Communist Party, Jesus Maria Casal, Deputy Speaker of the Parliament, and the Communist M.P.'s Gustavo Machado and Eduardo Machado. Earlier Jesus Sanoja, secretary of the Communist parliamentary group, the trade union leaders Bernade Montilla and Mauricio Brito, and hundreds of members of the Communist Party and the LRM had been thrown in prison. A puppet of the U.S. oil monopolies, the Betancourt government is thus stepping up the persecution of the democratic and progressive forces.

The article below, written by Comrade Faria before his arrest, is an exposure of those who seek to divert the workers from the struggle for their class interests.

* * *

The radio, television and press are telling the public that the new collective agreement with the oil companies signed by Luis Tovar and Agelvis Prato* and their associates implies big gains for the workers. They are trying to outdo one another in lauding the accord. "The Trade Union Movement's Biggest Gain," "The Oil Companies Will Take on Another 5,000 Workers," "Oil Workers to Get 450 Million Bolivars More," "98 Per Cent of the Workers Guaranteed against Redundancy," we read in the headlines.

*Luis Tovar is President of Fedepetrol, a federation of oil workers affiliated to the government-controlled Venezuelan Workers' Confederation. Agelvis Prato heads the other oil workers' federation known as Fetrohidrocarburos.

Tovar has boasted that the new agreement is "one of the most significant gains achieved by workers not only in Latin America but throughout the world." According to Gonzalez Navarro, President of the pro-government Venezuelan Workers' Federation, "it will substantially increase employment."

Betancourt, Pinnerua and Tovar claim that the workers will get another 70 million bolivars in wages for the period between February 13 and May 17, 1963, since the agreement is retroactive. Betancourt sets the annual increase in the workers' income at 200 million bolivars, or 600 million for the three years' term of the agreement.

But let us see what the new agreement

really amounts to and how it differs from the previous one. It provides for roughly a 10-11 per cent increase in wages. The previous agreement called for a 10-12 per cent rise. During the period of the previous agreement, the labor force employed by the oil industry declined from 40,700 in 1960 to 34,700 in 1962. Whereas in 1956 a wage increase of 10 per cent was won for some 50,000 workers, now only 34,700 workers will benefit and in 1965 still less—about 32,000. The present increase is smaller than what was demanded by the workers in view of the more than 30-per cent drop in real wages since the “hunger law” was put through Parliament by the ruling Democratic Action and the Christian-Socialist COPEI parties. The latest increase covers only an insignificant fraction of what the working people have lost as a result of the “hunger law” and the devaluation of the bolivar.

Here we would recall that in 1960, too, it was said that the workers would gain 200 million bolivars annually as compared with the previous contract. Yet basic wages and salaries in 1960 exceeded the 1959 figure by only 50 million, and by 1961 they had dropped to 86 million below the 1960 level. In 1962 the total was 105 million less than two years before. I would suggest another look at what was written about the oil agreement between February 13 and March 13, 1960. The reality of the increase in workers' income predicted by the union bosses in the ruling Democratic Action party and by those in the COPEI and the Republican-Democratic Alliance was, according to the official reports of the Ministry of Mines, as follows: in 1957-59 the overall oil workers' wage amounted to 1,837 million bolivars, and in 1960-62, to 1,835 million, that is, two million less.

Before going into the wage increases, shorter hours and guarantees against unemployment, let me say at once that the agreement contains a number of points providing for a slight improvement in the workers' conditions.

Official propagandists boast that the new agreement will improve the position of 40,000 workers and increase the wages of each by 7,000 bolivars a year. If this were so, the companies would have to pay the workers 280 million bolivars a year, or 840 million in three years. But this is a hoax because 40,000 workers will not gain from the agreement nor will each get 7,000 bolivars.

To claim that each oil worker will make his 7,000 extra annually is as much a deception as the claims that under the 1960 agree-

ment every worker would earn 33,000 bolivars a year. Had this been so, the companies would have had to pay out 1,441.7 million in 1960 alone, and 4,325 million in three years, whereas the official data give the figure of only 1,835 million bolivars.

As regards the working week, office staff in the oil industry has long had a 40-hour week, and the workers in the fields won the 44-hour week three years ago. The new agreement fixes the working week for a considerable number of workers at 40 or 42 hours. The employers, however, reserve the right to retain or restore the 48-hour week whenever necessary.

Tovar, Prato and the others now lauding the new agreement argue that it contains guarantees against dismissal. They sing the praises of the “stability” which it will bring, casually dropping that “only about 1,800 workers will be laid off.” For two per cent of the workers can be sacked with the agreement of the disputes committees of Fedepetrol and Fetrahidrocarburos. But they are silent about Article 21, which permits dismissals “in the event of reduction of personnel owing to discontinuation of operations.” In other words, they claim, on the one hand, that thousands more will get jobs, although the agreement says nothing at all about hiring new workers, and, on the other hand, say that they have agreed to the dismissal of “only 1,800 workers.” Although the agreement contains nothing on this score, Tovar declares that guarantees have been won which protect the jobs of all the workers. At any rate, fixing the total number of employees is no safeguard against a worker being thrown out.

Hence, this much-lauded agreement is the first in our country to legalize firing. True, in the past no guarantees had been won as regards the number of workers to be employed, but neither had the unions agreed to dismissals. On the contrary, they had used all legal means, including strikes, to prevent them.

Joining the hullabaloo raised around the agreement, President Betancourt has repeated his threadbare “thesis” that the Communists are losing influence as time goes on. In a recent speech he claimed that we were a “wretched band” carrying no weight among the working people; this, he said, was proved by the fact that we took no part in either discussing or signing the present labor contract.

True enough, we had no part in it, but only because the Minister of Labor prevented what he called “extremist” trade unions from

acting for their members. On their part, the union leaders from the Democratic Action, the COPEI and the Republican-Democratic Alliance — Tovar, Penalver, Pinerua, Gonzalez, Quero, Carneiro, Henriquez, Prato and Figueroa — did their bit by signing on January 28, 1963, an "understanding" with the Creole Petroleum Corporation which eloquently illustrates their policy. This document declares that "both the Creole Petroleum Corporation and Fedepetrol and Fetrahidrocarburos agree not to allow any other labor union or federation of unions to take part in the coming negotiations." From this alone it can be seen that there are other oil workers' unions in the country, which were simply prevented from taking part in discussing the agreement.

As regards the Communists on whom Betancourt vented his wrath, numerous developments both before and after his speech are more indicative than his words; for one thing, more than 50 per cent of the working people voted for Left spokesmen in Maracay, Valencia, Merida, Bachaquero, Punto Fijo, the Federal District, the Central University, and elsewhere.

The election results were the proof of the growing strength of the Communists. On the other hand, the decline of the influence of Betancourt's party is becoming increasingly patent; in some localities this party, which once had a mass following, has fallen apart.

Let Betancourt rave as he will, the hard fact is that in the 1958 election the Communists defeated the Democratic Action and COPEI parties in the Federal District.

In Betancourt's invective we are a "wretched band," yet his government and the parties comprising it are afraid to measure their strength with us in free elections, despite the advantages that accrue to them from being in power.

"Wretched band" we may be, but the plain fact is that the combined forces of the ruling Democratic Action party and the COPEI cannot defeat us in the most crucial areas.

Nor can the numerous, well-paid and well-equipped machinery of repression aided by "experts" from Spain, Portugal, Italy, Federal Germany, Britain and the USA, break the resolve of those who are resisting the violence of the government.

If we are a "wretched band," why did the President of the Republic find it necessary to devote 90 per cent of his latest speech to polemics with the "extremists" and to invective against them.

In the effort to crush this "wretched band," the government and its parties have had to devise an outrageous terroristic law which mirrors the hatred for the youth and the people generally, the fear, malice, vindictiveness and cowardice of those in the Council of Ministers who approved the Landaes-Betancourt bill.

What is needed above all in negotiating with such a dangerous and experienced class enemy as the oil monopolies is proletarian firmness and a living day-to-day contact with the people on whose behalf the negotiations are being conducted. As it was, however, the working people had no place at the negotiating table. They were not informed about the progress of the talks. They were not consulted before the contract was signed. This is how Tovar, Prato and Gonzalez practise democracy in the trade unions.

The union leaders who signed the agreement, the employers, the government and their propaganda agencies are vying with one another in lauding it. From my own experience I know that no faith can be placed in agreements lauded by the employers. An agreement that is good for the employers cannot be good for the workers for the simple reason that the profit of the former depends on the greater exploitation of the latter. When there is jubilation in the offices of the tycoons, there can be no joy in the foul hovels in which workers live. The capitalist system is loathsome precisely because of the fact that the bourgeoisie can only exist as such and wax rich by appropriating a substantial part of the wealth produced by the working people. The profits squeezed out of the worker by the oil monopolies operating in our country are mounting year by year in both relative and absolute terms. In 1947 when the total value of the oil extracted was 2,888.7 million bolivars, the workers received only 11.3 per cent of this sum in wages. In 1961 the oil extracted was worth 7,678 million bolivars, of which a mere 8.8 per cent went to the workers in wages.

The propaganda of the government and the employers, in which the Right-wing trade union leaders have joined, is aimed at deceiving the working class and the people generally into believing that the country and the oil workers are getting much more out of the oil industry than actually is the case. By means of this crude publicity they are trying to distract attention from the soaring profits of the foreign oil monopolies.

I do not propose to make a detailed analysis here of the incomes of workers and employers. I merely wish to draw attention to the gap between the two. The income of the monopolies is steadily mounting, while that of the working people is dropping. In 1961 the employers pocketed \$478 million, and the working people received \$235 million; the corresponding figures for 1962 were \$525 million and \$210 million. This is the proof that the exploiters are growing richer and the exploited poorer. Such is the law of the capitalist monopolies.

Yet there are individuals and political parties who denounce those who raise their voices in condemnation of the monopolies. These people and parties fear that the oil sharks may take fright and head away from our shores. Each day in 1962 yielded the oil monopolies seven million bolivars. This is the only reason why they are interested in our country. Consequently, so long as we have an abundance of cheap oil and governments that kowtow to the U.S. oil emperors the latter will not leave, unpleasant though it may be for them to hear the truth from us. They should be thrown out, as was done in Russia and Cuba.

It is not my intention to deny or minimize that which has been achieved. Were I to do so I would only be discrediting myself in the eyes of those who know that I have never resorted to falsehood as a weapon in the ideological struggle. The labor contract is no better for all the costly advertising designed to eulogize it. Nor would it be worse if we, criticizing the exaggerations and lies of the employers' propaganda, deprecated the provisions which are an improvement on the old. Actually there is no-

thing new in it, notwithstanding the slight improvements on previous gains — a 40- and 42-hour working week instead of 44 hours; 300 bolivars holiday pay instead of 200; eight bolivars for rent a day instead of seven; 1,500 bolivars grant instead of 500 to dependents in the event of the death of the breadwinner, and a few other improvements of a similarly limited nature or otherwise of a relative value, like the provisions for payment for work under water, at heights above normal, etc.

Once again I should like to draw attention to the points on guarantees against dismissals and the reduction of the labor force. These provisions speak for themselves; they are nothing but crude deception, for in no way do they protect workers who are not members of the government-sponsored trade unions. At best they tend to force them to join these unions in order to retain their jobs.

I do not expect all readers to take everything I say on faith. I would merely like them to compare the new agreement with the two previous ones. Or, if they prefer, with the one before; both were signed by the Fedepetrol leaders. It is not difficult to do this; I compared them myself, word for word, and found it easy enough. A careful comparison fully reveals the mendacity of the government and the employers who try to present as superior something that is no better, and sometimes worse, than what was before.

I am convinced that, in the long run, the working class will see things in the proper perspective. The working class, without being prompted by either side in this debate, will judge for itself who is right and who is wrong.

READERS' QUESTIONS ANSWERED

Who Is Revising Agreed Decisions?

Pedro Motta Lima

DURING a recent visit to Brazil I had an opportunity to see for myself that the controversy now going on in the world Communist movement has caused anxiety not only among Communists but in mass organizations and among the democratic public generally. Moreover, this concern is growing as a result of the steps which the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party have taken abroad to extend the ideological debate (they have gone so far as to interfere in the internal affairs of other parties and to violate the law in a number of socialist countries).

I attended many meetings, and on several occasions I was asked to give informal talks and answered many questions. The impression I carried away from these contacts is that the initial confusion caused by ignorance of the facts is beginning to be dispelled. And not only because our case has been correctly stated in our press and other publications and in the materials issued by the CPSU and other fraternal parties. Even the latest Chinese documents, primarily their June 14 letter, the Chinese government statements denouncing the test-ban treaty, and the articles published since September 6 by *Jenminjihpao* helped us in the matter.

Up to a point the evidence seemed contradictory to some people. Both sides declared their loyalty to the Declaration and Statement. The Chinese leaders struck the pose of innocent victims of "insinuations," complaining that views they never shared were being ascribed to them. Professing "support of the revolutionary principles" of the Declaration and

Statement, they claimed that the "modern revisionists" were distorting this platform which all the fraternal parties had approved as the general line of the world Communist and working-class movement.

Actually, however, it is the Chinese leaders who have assailed the general line defined in the documents of the Moscow meetings which their own representative approved and signed. They now admit that they "were always opposed" to the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, and explain their previous abstention from criticizing them by reluctance to damage the prestige of the CPSU. They are violently opposed to any criticism of the personality cult on the pretext that Stalin's merits eclipse all his mistakes and crimes. They reject all criticism of dogmatism and "Left" sectarianism. They substitute their own theses for those elaborated jointly by the fraternal parties as regards the character of our time, war and peace, the policy of peaceful coexistence, ideological struggle, perspectives of the peaceful way to socialism, and the unity of the world Communist movement.

And yet there are some who still ask: Who is right in the debate? Who is it that is revising agreed decisions and trying to replace them with another general line? Or perhaps the differences between the CPC and other fraternal parties do not involve a challenge to the agreed decisions but are simply a matter of differences in interpretation? And if so, how valid is the interpretation offered by the Chinese leaders? I shall try to answer these questions in this article.

A comparison of the documents adopted at the Moscow meetings with the assessments and conclusions contained in the letters of the Central Committee of the Chinese Party, statements of the government of the CPR, and the article published in *Jenminjihpao* and *Hungchi* leaves no doubt that the Chinese leaders differ with the world Communist movement on practically all basic questions of the strategy and tactics of the world socialist revolution. Their concept is probably most definitively set forth in their letter to the Central Committee of the CPSU, of June 14. Hence, I shall confine myself chiefly to this letter,

which could well be called an Anti-Declaration and Anti-Statement.

True, comparing quotations is not the best way to get at the truth. In this case, however, the Chinese leaders themselves have made it necessary to employ this method; it is their favorite device, and I shall use it to show that, contrary to their professions of loyalty to the agreed documents of the Communist movement, they have abandoned not only the spirit but also the letter of these documents. To compensate for the limitations of this method, I shall supplement it with a brief commentary on the substance of the issues at stake.

1. THE CONTENT OF OUR TIME AND THE GENERAL LINE OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Contrary to the joint documents of all the Communist parties, the authors of the Chinese letter claim that it is not the socialist world system or the international working class led by the Marxist-Leninist parties, but the national-liberation movement which is the main revolutionary force of our time. Moreover, the struggle of the working class in the developed capitalist countries for socialism is claimed "to depend in the final analysis" on the liberation struggle of the peoples of three continents. How should this be understood? The authors of the letter obviously hold that the victory of socialism in peaceful competition with capitalism has no fundamental significance for the world socialist revolution, that the working class of the developed capitalist countries has exhausted its revolutionary potential and will never live under socialism unless it is "bestowed" from without. This is the logical conclusion from the letter of the Central Committee of the Chinese Party.

In debating the question with the Chinese leaders, no one has the slightest intention of minimizing in any way the role of the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against world imperialism and domestic reaction. This movement has made an invaluable contribution to the world revolutionary process in our time, and the role it is destined to play in the future

will, unquestionably, grow in significance as the movement passes over from the solution of democratic tasks to fundamental social and economic reconstruction.

The socialist world system, the revolutionary struggle of the working class and all other actions of the working people in the developed capitalist countries, and the struggle of the oppressed people are the three great emancipation movements of our time, the three fronts of struggle against world imperialism. The strength of each depends primarily on alliance and solidarity with the others. The unity of all three is the cardinal precondition of the coming social emancipation of working men everywhere, of the triumph of communism all over the world. The socialist world system is the leading force in this alliance inasmuch as it is already carrying out the historical tasks which still confront the working class of the developed capitalist countries and the peoples of the economically backward countries, inasmuch as it is already demonstrating the advantages of the new socio-economic system destined to take the place of capitalism.

The facts show that it is the growing strength of the socialist forces that ensures the best conditions for the victory of the national-liberation struggle. The socialist world system stands guard over the sacred right of the peoples to self-determination and bars the way to the imperialist policy of colonial plunder. Suffice it to recall the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt, when the socialist countries headed by the USSR issued a solemn warning to the aggressors and compelled them to call off the adventure. Similarly, the socialist states, whose actions were supported by the working class of the capitalist countries and progressive public opinion throughout the world, prevented the imperialists from attacking Iraq, Syria, Yemen and other countries.

With the exception of a few, the former colonies have gained political independence, but for all that they are still being plundered by the imperialists in one or another way. These countries can put an end to this plunder, secure economic independence and thereby consolidate their political independence, only by building up their national economy and effecting social changes. These goals cannot be achieved by ultra-revolutionary phrasemongering.

"In our epoch world development is determined by the course and results of the competition between two diametrically opposed social systems."

Declaration

"Today it is the socialist world system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist transformation of society, that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society."

Statement

"The various types of contradictions in the contemporary world are concentrated in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America; these are the most vulnerable areas under imperialist rule and the storm-centers of world revolution dealing direct blows at imperialism."

"In a sense, therefore, the whole cause of the international proletarian revolution hinges in the final analysis on the outcome of the revolutionary struggles of the people of these areas, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the world's population."

Letter of the C.C., CPC
June 14, 1963

It is a regrettable fact that the documents of the CPC time and again substitute the geographical principle for the class principle. And not only the geographical principle pure and simple but, what is worse, the race principle, for in propounding the idea that the peoples of the three continents have a special mission to perform and share the same historical destiny, the Chinese leaders more and more often counterpose the "colored" peoples to the "white." The fact is that the Chinese representatives in some public organizations (for instance, at the Third Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in Moshi) have openly declared that "whites have no business here!" Clearly,

such views have nothing in common with proletarian internationalism.

The national-liberation movement is indeed one of the great forces of our time. The guarantee of its success lies in solidarity with the peoples that are building socialism and communism, with the revolutionary working-class movement in the capitalist countries, and with the general democratic movements. The Chinese leaders, on the contrary, tend, in effect, to counterpose the national-liberation movement to the international working class and the socialist world system. And from this all three great liberation movements can but lose, and their loss is imperialism's gain.

2. THE SOCIALIST WORLD SYSTEM

While stressing the need to make full use of the resources of each country in building socialism, the joint documents of the fraternal parties recommend all-round economic co-operation in the socialist world system. This view stems from a scientific approach to reality, an understanding of the requirements of technological progress and of modern industry in general. The productive forces of society are, increasingly, outgrowing national bounds; their continued growth presupposes international economic and technological co-operation. In our time serious economic progress is impossible without mechanization and automation of production processes, without specialized mass production.

International division of labor, then, is an objective imperative which, if observed, will greatly accelerate economic progress. To ignore this necessity, and all the more so, to resist it, means to invite economic difficulties. In the capitalist world this necessity is distorted and accompanied by the plunder of the less developed countries by the imperialist powers. Socialist world division of labor involves nothing of the kind, for, practised on a strictly voluntary footing, in accordance with the principle of proletarian internationalism, it is based not on dependence on others, but on fraternal mutual aid. As experience has shown, it makes for harmony between the interests of all socialist countries, benefiting each country and the socialist system as a whole by accelerating economic progress.

This is the common viewpoint of the Communist and Workers' parties. The Chinese leaders, however, hold that each socialist country should develop its economy by itself, in isolation from the others; in advocating this course, which in the final analysis leads

to autarchy, they are going against the agreed line of the Communist movement and, in effect, against the objective trend towards the single world socialist economy of which Lenin spoke. Consequently, their theory of "self-reliance" is not only harmful, it is a pipedream: no country can develop its economy nowadays without maintaining some kind of economic relations with other countries. If a socialist country restricts (or breaks off) such relations with other socialist countries, it will have to seek compensation in the capitalist world.

But, it may be asked, is the theory of "self-reliance" really tantamount to a striving towards economic autarchy? For the authors of the Chinese letter advance this theory with reservations (they speak of relying "mainly" on one's own efforts) and mention the expediency of economic cooperation between the socialist countries. Would we be right in assuming that by this cooperation they have in mind something more than the mere exchange of goods? Alas, no such assumption is justified, for the very next paragraph is designed to discredit the whole idea of international socialist division of labor, to make it appear as if division of labor in the socialist system were an instrument of economic pressure and political *diktat* used by the bigger countries against the smaller, by the more developed against the less developed.

According to their logic it would seem that by helping the CPR build several hundred major industrial enterprises (and this aid is still continuing), the USSR has hindered China's efforts to advance its economy "on the basis of independence"; that by sending, at the request of the government of the CPR, Soviet specialists to China it encroached on

the latter's independence and sovereignty; and that by passing on to the Chinese people, free of charge, scientific and technological experience and placing its institutes and universities at the disposal of China's young men and women, the USSR has exerted economic pressure on China. Not only does the Peking theorists' logic limp, but they seem to have lost all sense of what is fair and what is not.

It was the Chinese government that began to curtail economic contacts with the USSR and other socialist countries. The theory of "self-reliance" was then devised and a campaign mounted to discredit socialist division of labor, in order to justify this course, which hit China hardest of all. The policy of economic self-isolation was adopted after the Chinese leaders had begun to take their dissent into the world Communist movement, into international organizations and into the world arena generally.*

The basic considerations in extending international socialist division of labor are the consolidation of political independence, voluntary participation, the equality of all parties concerned and mutual benefit, as the Statement of the fraternal parties points out. This is an important and complicated matter, and no country is out to push it with undue haste. Every participant has the opportunity to weigh each step a thousand times before taking it. The smaller the country and the more limited its resources, the more it stands to gain from equal cooperation with the other socialist countries. And the lower the country's economic level, the faster will international socialist division of labor advance it, since instead of dispersing its efforts it can concentrate on the most advantageous branches.

3. PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND ECONOMIC COMPETITION BETWEEN THE TWO SYSTEMS

At first the Chinese theoreticians acknowledged the positive aspects of the policy of peaceful coexistence; now they reject it as the cornerstone of the foreign policy of the social-

*Within a brief space of time the USSR helped the CPR build nearly 200 industrial enterprises, factory departments and other installations. In 1960 the share of the enterprises built with Soviet technical aid in the total production of the CPR was as follows: pig iron 30 per cent, steel 39 per cent, rolled metal 51 per cent, trucks 80 per cent, tractors 91 per cent, synthetic ammonia 30 per cent, electric power 25 per cent, steam and hydraulic turbines 55 per cent. Moreover, the USSR supplied China with five and a half thousand sets of blueprints and numerous other specifications. Between 1950 and 1960 some 8,500 Soviet specialists worked in China.

"On a basis of complete equality, mutual benefit and comradely mutual assistance, the socialist states have established among themselves extensive economic and cultural cooperation that plays an important part in promoting the economic and political independence of each socialist country and in strengthening the socialist commonwealth as a whole."

Declaration

"The socialist countries and the socialist camp as a whole owe their achievements to the proper application of the general objective laws governing socialist construction, with due regard to the historical peculiarities of each country and to the interests of the entire socialist camp; they owe them to the efforts of the peoples of those countries, to their close fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance, and above all, to the fraternal, internationalist assistance from the Soviet Union."

"The world economic system of socialism is united by common socialist relations of production and is developing in accordance with the economic laws of socialism. Its successful development requires . . . continuous improvement of the system of international division of labor through the coordination of national economic plans, specialization and cooperation in production within the socialist world system on the basis of voluntary participation, mutual benefit and vigorous improvement of the scientific and technological standard."

Statement

"Every socialist country must rely mainly on itself for its construction."

"If, proceeding from its own partial interests, any socialist country unilaterally demands that other fraternal countries submit to its needs, and uses the pretext of opposing what they call 'going it alone' and 'nationalism' to prevent other fraternal countries from applying the principle of relying mainly on their own efforts in their construction and from developing their economies on the basis of independence, or even goes to the length of putting economic pressure on other fraternal countries—then these are pure manifestations of national egoism."

"It is absolutely necessary for socialist countries to practise mutual economic assistance and cooperation and exchange. Such economic cooperation must be based on the principles of complete equality, mutual benefit and comradely mutual assistance."

"It would be great-power chauvinism to deny these basic principles and, in the name of 'international division of labor' or 'specialization', to impose one's own will on others, infringe on the independence and sovereignty of fraternal countries or harm the interests of their people."

Letter of the C.C., CPC

ist countries. In other words, they have made a complete about turn.

Let us examine their arguments point by

point. They claim that having adopted the policy of peaceful coexistence as the general line of their foreign policy it will now be impossible for the socialist countries to handle correctly their inter-relations. But the Chinese leaders are clearly substituting one thing for another: the principle of peaceful coexistence is upheld by the world Communist movement not as the basis of relations between the socialist countries but of relations between countries of *different* social systems. As for the socialist countries their relations are built on an entirely different basis — on the basis of fraternal mutual aid which is a striking manifestation of proletarian internationalism. In what way, then, can the policy of peaceful coexistence with the capitalist countries prevent fraternal cooperation between the socialist countries? Would it not be more correct to assume the reverse, considering that relaxation of international tension, ending the arms race and promoting peace make it possible not only to devote more attention to the economic, social and cultural development of the socialist countries, but also to render more aid to each other?

The same holds true of the relations between the socialist countries and the economically backward countries. The socialist countries consider it their duty to respect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of these countries, not to interfere in their internal affairs. But this does not at all contradict or preclude the fact that the victorious working class, in fulfilment of its international duty, helps the oppressed countries with all the means at its disposal to consolidate their independence, to uphold them against the encroachments of the imperialists, to develop the national economy and culture.

Clearly the Chinese leaders either incorrectly interpret the nature of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence, or they are deliberately distorting it, for they qualify it as a compromise between socialism and imperialism, and counterpose the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in the capitalist countries to the struggle of the oppressed peoples for their national and social emancipation.

The principle of peaceful coexistence is, however, a logical outcome of the development of international relations in the present era of the transition from capitalism to socialism. In short, the transition to world socialism not being a simultaneous process, the coexistence of states with differing socio-political systems is inevitable over a more or less long period of time. They can either coexist peacefully or they wage an armed struggle which

would bring incalculable disaster in its wake.

More than once in the past, imperialism, taking advantage of its economic and military superiority, has tried by armed force to restore capitalism in the socialist countries. Now, however, the growth of the might of the Soviet Union and the consolidation of the socialist world system have **virtually ruled out** any possibility of this happening. The appearance

"The Communist and Workers' parties taking part in the meeting declare that the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of the two systems, which has been further developed and brought up to date in the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, is the sound basis of the foreign policy of the socialist countries and the dependable pillar of peace and friendship among the peoples."

Declaration

"The foreign policy of the socialist countries rests on the firm foundation of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence and economic competition between the socialist and capitalist countries."

"The course of social development proves right Lenin's prediction that the countries of victorious socialism would influence the development of world revolution chiefly by their economic construction."

"By the force of its example, the socialist world system is revolutionizing the thinking of the working people in the capitalist countries; it is inspiring them to fight against capitalism, and is greatly facilitating that fight. In the capitalist countries the forces fighting for peace and national independence and for the triumph of democracy and the victory of socialism, are gaining in numbers and strength."

Statement

"But if the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries is confined to peaceful coexistence, then it is impossible to handle correctly either the relations between socialist countries or those between the socialist countries and the oppressed peoples and nations. Therefore it is wrong to make peaceful coexistence the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries."

"The superiority of the socialist system and the achievements of the socialist countries in construction play an exemplary role and are an inspiration to the oppressed peoples and the oppressed nations."

"Certain persons have one-sidedly exaggerated the role of peaceful competition between socialist and imperialist countries in their attempt to substitute peaceful competition for the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations. According to their preaching, it would seem that imperialism will automatically collapse in the course of this peaceful competition and that the only thing the oppressed peoples and nations have to do is to wait quietly for the advent of this day. What does this have in common with Marxist-Leninist views?"

Letter of the C.C., CPC

of nuclear weapons in the arsenals makes it senseless to attempt to settle outstanding issues between the two systems through war. In our day the alternative to peaceful coexistence in international relations can only be a global holocaust which would be so destructive that mankind would be thrown back centuries. The incineration of hundreds of millions of people in a nuclear war would be too heavy a price to pay for the destruction of capitalism which in any case is doomed by history.

Peaceful coexistence is the continuation of the class struggle by other means and not a kind of socio-political status quo on the international arena. Peaceful coexistence helps the proletariat in the capitalist countries to work for the revolutionary reconstruction of an obsolescent social system, helps the peoples of the dependent countries to achieve freedom and social progress. Nobody can guarantee imperialism against social conflicts or revolutionary upheavals, and no one has the slightest intention of doing so. On the contrary, by imposing peaceful coexistence on the imperialists we are thereby foiling their designs to "export counter-revolution" and creating favorable external conditions for the liberation struggle of the working people. Take the experience of the post-war years in the course of which dozens of colonial peoples have won independence; the socialist revolution triumphed in Cuba, Indonesia liberated West Irian, the war of liberation ended in victory in Algeria, sweeping social changes are taking place in a number of other countries.

The continued success of the revolutionary movement depends in a large degree on the level of its organization, on its political and theoretical maturity, on its contact with the masses, and on the multiform aid rendered it by the socialist system. And in these, in the aggregate, we have the guarantee against "export of counter-revolution"; we have disinterested aid to the underdeveloped countries in building up their own industry

and aid in the form of arms to peoples waging an armed struggle against foreign enslavers.

What, then, are the Chinese leaders taking issue with, what are they advocating? Quite obviously "export of revolution," the "prodding" of this revolution from the outside.

All the recent documents of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China belittle Lenin's thesis that the socialist states influence the development of world revolution chiefly by their economic progress. These documents even go so far as to distort the position of the world Communist movement on this question; "certain persons" are imputed to hold the view that imperialism will in the course of peaceful economic competition "automatically collapse" without the revolutionary struggle of the working people and the oppressed peoples. But the documents jointly adopted by the fraternal Parties note that the force of the example of socialism is undermining imperialism by revolutionizing the thinking of the working people, by inspiring them to intensify the fight against the capitalist system.

This is not the first time that the world Communist movement has had to combat the fallacious concept of "prodding" the revolution from the outside. Recall, for example, Lenin's fight against the Trotskyites, the Left ultra-revolutionaries who proposed overthrowing capitalism by armed force, declaring a revolutionary war of the world proletariat against the world bourgeoisie, in short, the wild idea of a "crusade" which has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism!

The question of socialist revolution rests with the people themselves; it will be the outcome of the development of the class struggle. Just when the hour will strike depends on the revolutionary situation. To impose socialism on one or another people, let alone by armed force, would be to jeopardize it. This has always been the view of the international Communist movement since the time of its founders.

4. THE REVOLUTIONARY TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM

The documents of the world Communist movement regard the peaceful path as a *feasible possibility*, and point to the conditions making for this. The letter of the C.C. of the CPC, however, after conceding that the working class is interested in the peaceful path, tries to prove that it is unfeasible and senseless, that it is even dangerous to consider it as a possibility.

Here again the argument ascribes to all who do not share the Chinese standpoint something that has never been claimed anywhere. If we were to consider the peaceful transition to socialism as a process made possible by the exploiters relinquishing their power voluntarily then indeed we would have to abandon all hope of achieving socialism and face the fact that we are not revolutionary Marxists

but apologists of the utopians who appealed to the "conscience" and "good will" of kings and bankers.

The Chinese leaders will not get very far by trying to monopolize the idea, shared by all Communists, that the old bourgeois governments do not topple of their own accord, that as long as they are not "toppled" they will not yield power to the new, socialist governments. There is not a single Communist who will dispute this revolutionary thesis. The argument with the leaders of the CPC is not about whether bourgeois governments should be "toppled," but about how they should be "toppled" — solely by means of an armed uprising and civil war, or by various means other than an armed uprising, or at any rate civil war. In either case it is a question of *revolutionary violence* on the part of the working class and the working people generally against the ruling, exploiting classes. But, depending on the historical situation violence can take the form of political compulsion, forcing the enemy to capitulate (the peaceful path) or that of an armed clash (the non-peaceful path). And who, if not the Communist parties of the respective countries, are best equipped to decide just what path is better, more desirable and more timely.

Hence, the peaceful path has nothing in common with the reformist illusion about the gradual evolution of capitalism into socialism. It is a path of *class struggle*, in which the most diverse means are used: from strikes in individual enterprises to general strikes, from voting in parliamentary elections to launching an extra-parliamentary mass movement. Strictly speaking, the peaceful path requires that the working class and its vanguard display the same class consciousness, discipline, organization and revolutionary staunchness as does the path of the armed struggle.

Marxists-Leninists have known long before the CPC letter that the exploiting classes will stop at nothing to preserve their domination. That is why the Communist and Workers' parties point out in their documents that the degree of bitterness and the forms of the class struggle will depend not so much on the proletariat as on the resistance offered by the reactionaries to the overwhelming majority of the people, that the revolutionary people will reply to the violence of the bourgeoisie with corresponding violence, that the working people, their political vanguard, must master *all* forms of the struggle and *always* be prepared, in close contact with the masses, for any new development.

This, however, does not at all preclude the

possibility of the peaceful path. On the contrary, the operation of a number of factors increase this possibility. They are: the might of the socialist world system, the revolutionizing impact of the success of socialism on the minds of the masses, the experience of class struggle and the obvious inability of the old system to solve the pressing social problems, specifically the problems connected with the new scientific and technological revolution; the glaring contradiction between the selfish interests of the handful of monopolies and the interests of the people, the conditions thus arising for broadening class alliance of the proletariat, for uniting the different political forces in the fight for peace, democracy and socialism, and, lastly, the policy of peaceful coexistence which prevents "export of counter-revolution." These conditions will enable the revolutionary working class to isolate

"The forms of the transition to socialism may vary for different countries. The working class and its vanguard — the Marxist-Leninist Party—seek to achieve the socialist revolution by peaceful means. This would accord with the interests of the working class and the people as a whole as well as the national interests of the country.

"Today in a number of capitalist countries the working class, headed by its vanguard, has the opportunity, given a united working-class and popular front or other workable forms of agreement and political cooperation between the different parties and public organizations, to unite a majority of the people, win state power without civil war and ensure the transfer of the basic means of production to the hands of the people."

"In the event of the ruling classes resorting to violence against the people, the possibility of non-peaceful transition to socialism should be borne in mind.

Declaration

"Communists would always prefer to bring about the transition to socialism by peaceful means. But can peaceful transition be made into a new worldwide strategic principle for the international Communist movement? Absolutely not."

"The proletarian party must never base its thinking, its policies for revolution and its entire work on the assumption that the imperialists and reactionaries will accept peaceful transformation."

"It is wrong to refuse to use parliamentary and other legal forms of struggle when they can and should be used. However, if a Marxist-Leninist party falls into legalism or parliamentary cretinism, confining the struggle within the limits permitted by the bourgeoisie, this will inevitably lead to renouncing the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat."

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the reactionary forces and create a situation in which it will become crystal clear to the latter that armed resistance to revolutionary social changes is foredoomed. Indeed, the more visible the outcome of an armed class struggle the less the inclination to resort to it.

The Chinese leaders speak scathingly of the "parliamentary cretinism" of certain people who, we are told, confine the struggle "within the limits permitted by the bourgeoisie." But the tone, obviously, springs from inability to understand the dialectics of the revolutionary process. The Communists of the United States, Great Britain, Italy, France and of many other countries who rightly see as their perspective the peaceful transfer of power into the hands of the working class are working right now to create the conditions that will make this

possible. Hence the struggle to extend democracy, to nationalize the basic industries, enlarge the rights of the trade unions and workers' control at the enterprises, public control of all propaganda media, not to mention other points. This is a concrete instance of the direct connection between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism. Hence it is not these parties that are slipping into the "bog of opportunism" but the CPC leaders who, hurling groundless charges at them, are slipping into sectarianism and adventurism.

Generally speaking the Chinese comrades seem to scorn democracy whether in capitalist society or socialist society. Proof of this is their support of the ideology and practice of the personality cult.

5. SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY AND THE PERSONALITY CULT

In 1957 the Chinese comrades recognized the importance of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU which denounced the Stalin cult and laid the beginning of the work to eradicate its negative consequences in the life of the Soviet Union and in the world Communist movement. The CPC leaders made numerous statements and the Chinese press printed just as many articles showing the harmfulness of the cult and its incompatibility with the Marxist-Leninist concept of socialism. In 1960 they signed the Statement which condemned the cult. And now, in 1963, the C.C., CPC, comes to its defense, and is declaring that it is wrong to raise this question.

Hardly any arguments are adduced, simply the bare accusation is made that Leninism has been distorted. And this is understandable. After all, how can one justify the arbitrary measures and wholesale repressions, how can one justify the "necessity" for and the "usefulness" of the personality cult which bound in fetters the immense energies of socialism, how can one defend a state of affairs when the achievements of the people were ascribed to one man only? And yet the leaders of the CPC, taking upon themselves this thankless task, have openly challenged the world Communist movement and progressive public opinion on this issue.

Communists, all friends of socialism, are confident that the new social system will be able to overcome the sickness of the old world. The guarantee of this are the beneficial processes taking place in the USSR and the other socialist countries and the steady growth of socialist democracy. The guarantee of this is the creative Leninist spirit that now

prevails in the world Communist movement.

With this we conclude our comparisons, although we could make many more on other issues of the day. But it is clear as it is that the Chinese leaders have virtually broken with the general line of the Communist movement.

The letter of the C.C., CPC and other documents of the Communist Party of China contain any number of references to the works of Lenin, to the Declaration and Statement of the fraternal parties. But for the most part these are attempts to cover up, with the help of phraseology and words torn out of their context, the disruptive nature of the present

"Marxist-Leninist parties regard it as a law of their activity strictly to observe the Leninist standards of Party life in keeping with the principle of democratic centralism, and to cherish Party unity like the apple of their eye. They strictly adhere to the principle of Party democracy and collective leadership . . .

and do not allow the cult of the individual, which shackles creative thought and initiative of Communists. They vigorously promote the activity of Communists, and encourage criticism and self-criticism in their ranks."

Statement

"Over the past few years, certain persons have violated Lenin's integral teachings about the inter-relationship of leaders, party, class and masses, and raised the issue of 'combating the cult of the individual'; this is erroneous and harmful."

"To raise the question of 'combating the cult of the individual' is actually to counterpose the leaders to the masses, undermine the party's unified leadership which is based on democratic centralism, dissipate its fighting strength and disintegrate its ranks."

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political line pursued by the Chinese leaders. Few, however, are deluded by this.

Unity of the world Communist and working-class movement can be achieved only on a principled basis. And this calls for a consistent struggle on our part against dogmatism and sectarianism, against "Leftist" adventurism in politics and "inversed revisionism" in theory, and against any conciliatory attitude to this danger in our movement.

* * *

Our Party, which is working in conditions of big political developments that are taking place in the country, which is carrying on a fight for the right to be registered at elections, for extending the suffrage to all workers and peasants, for an agrarian reform among many other social reforms directed against imperialist domination, held a special meeting of its

National Directory (Central Committee) to discuss the problems arising from the differences. The Brazilian Communist Party reaffirmed its support of the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement and of the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, which opened a new stage in the development of the world Communist movement; the Party approved the activity of its delegations sent to Cuba, the USSR and the Chinese People's Republic, and called on all members to study and discuss the basic propositions of the general line at their meetings and seminars, and to be guided in this by the glorious traditions of the proletarian internationalism of our Party. And we shall spare no effort to make our contribution to the struggle for the unity of the Communist movement both in our country and throughout the world on the basis of the principles of creative Marxism-Leninism.

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

Fraternal Parties Oppose the Splitters

Scanning the Communist Press

AS reported in the review of the Communist press in our previous issue, the disruptive activities of the leaders of the Communist Party of China and their proposals for a "new general line of the international Communist movement" made in their June 14 letter have been emphatically denounced by the overwhelming majority of Communist and Workers' parties.

The Chinese leaders, persisting in their errors, are now openly attacking the agreed documents and the unity of the world Communist movement.

"Their campaign against the nuclear test ban treaty and their scurrilous attacks on the Soviet Union, as exemplified in the recent statement of the Chinese Government, cannot but occasion deep misgiving," says the statement of the Soviet government issued on September 21. "The statements made by the Chinese leaders and their line in the questions of war, peace and peaceful coexistence, the strategy and tactics of the world Communist movement, the unity of the socialist camp, and Sino-Soviet relations show that they are

departing more and more from the agreed line of the countries of the socialist community, from the program and principles of the world Communist movement."

In a comment on the situation John Gollan, General Secretary of the British Communist Party, at a meeting of the Executive Committee, said: We now face an exceptionally serious position in the international Communist movement. The Chinese comrades have brought about the suspension of the inter-Party talks. In the meantime they have gone over to a full-scale political offensive at government and Party levels. They are making an appeal for all Communist parties to do likewise. If proceeded with unchecked, this is the road of a split.

Advancing their "general line" the Chinese leaders claim that this "line" follows from the jointly agreed documents of the 1957 and 1960 meetings, and they swear by these documents. But the Communist and Workers' parties have seen that these pledges are merely a smoke-screen designed to camouflage splitting activities, that the materials published by the Chi-

nese leaders represent a crude anti-Leninist and Left-opportunist revision of the general line of international Communism.

This is the theme of articles by Tim Buck, Chairman of the Communist Party of Canada, published in the *Canadian Tribune* under the title "Misrepresenting the World Communist Line."

The Chinese leaders, Tim Buck writes, proclaim that they are dedicated to the 81-Party Statement as it is now, and that their policies are based squarely on this Statement. In Point 2 of their June 14 document they give a summary of their platform, presenting it as the general line of the world Communist movement. But this "line" is an obvious misrepresentation of the Statement.

"Everyone who has read the 81-Party Statement, or who takes the trouble to read it now," Tim Buck said, "will agree without hesitation that the words used by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China are not a summary of it — they are not even a recognizable parody of it. The C.C. of the Chinese Party has omitted any reference to the very features of the 81-Party Statement which give it its historically distinctive character."

These features are the ideas that real forces have now appeared that are capable of foiling imperialist aggression, and that war is not inevitable; that the Communist Parties regard the fight for peace as their prime task; that the struggle against the danger of war must be waged now, not when atom and hydrogen bombs begin to fall, and it must gain in strength from day to day; and that the important thing is to curb the aggressors in time, to prevent war, not to let it break out.

"But," Tim Buck continues, "there is no reference to this crucial thesis in the whole of the text which the Chinese leaders circulate all over the world with the pretence that it summarizes the 81-Party Statement. This is not the only feature of the Statement that the C.C. of the Communist Party of China ignores in its so-called summary but this omission alone makes their words not a summary but a misrepresentation of the political line agreed upon by the world Communist movement in the conferences of 1957 and 1960."

Tim Buck shows how the Chinese leaders, by selecting quotations from the 81-Party Statement, distort the thesis on the possibility of averting war to support assertions that "it can't be done."

"By the use of numerous hypothetical questions and alternatives," he writes, "the Chinese leaders succeed in avoiding a direct confrontation of the 81-Party Statement by their own

point of view on the struggle for peaceful coexistence between states with different political and economic systems and still manage to write 'with a straight face' their judgment that 'Therefore it is wrong to make peaceful coexistence the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries'.

"But the 81-Party Statement says:

" 'In a world divided into two systems, the only correct and reasonable principle of international relations is the principle of peaceful coexistence . . . '

"Obviously, the conclusion arrived at by the C.C. of the Chinese Party is in direct contradiction to the 81-Party Statement, to which the Chinese leaders claim they are dedicated."

Fraternal parties have criticized the Chinese idea that the national-liberation movement is the focal point of the world revolutionary process, a concept which is an obvious misrepresentation of the 1960 Statement which defines the epoch as an epoch of struggle between two different social systems, an epoch of socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions; the main content, trend and features of social development today, the Statement reads, are determined by the socialist world system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for reconstructing society along socialist lines.

The Chinese claim is that the "storm-center of world revolution" has shifted to Asia, Africa and Latin America, and that the cause of the international proletariat, its victory in the struggle against imperialism, hinges on the outcome of the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of these areas. While the Communist parties grant that the national-liberation movement is a highly important element of the world revolutionary process, they at the same time point out that the concept of the Chinese leaders distorts things, playing down the decisive role of the socialist camp and the international working class in the world revolutionary process.

Here is what Ernest Burnelle, Chairman of the Belgian Communist Party, said on this point at a meeting of the Party's Central Committee:

"In the decisive field of the struggle against imperialism and in the sphere of the revolution, the Chinese comrades would, evidently, like to revise the principle underlying the struggle of the entire international Communist movement. It has always been recognized that the world system of socialism and the struggle of the international working class, jointly with the liberation movement in Africa, Asia and Latin America, are the decisive force of the anti-imperialist struggle. The Chinese

comrades, evidently out of the desire to gain popularity, lay the main stress on the national-liberation movement, seeking thereby to divorce this movement from the international working class and the socialist camp.

"This is an extremely harmful thesis because it does not lead to a firm alliance of the anti-imperialist forces, to cooperation between the socialist system and the working-class movement in the capitalist countries, on the one hand, and the national-liberation movement, on the other, but brings about differences and weakens this movement. Only in the measure that working-class leadership plays its role in the national-liberation movements, will these movements acquire a genuinely socialist character and lead the emancipated nations to socialism."

The thesis that the socialist world and the international working class are the main force of the revolutionary change in our time is elementary Marxism, wrote René Valbon and René Ménil of the Martinique Communist Party. According to the formula of the Chinese leaders, the revolution stems not from class relations but from "the relations between peoples and continents." According to this formula, it is not the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and not the international working class that constitute the principal militant force vis-à-vis U.S. imperialism.

"This thesis echoes the views held by petty-bourgeois intellectuals in the Antilles who substitute the concept of an oppressed people or race for the class concept, and completely ignore the role of the socialist world, the Soviet Union and the international proletariat."

The concept of the Chinese leaders was critically analyzed in a statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Portugal. "The Chinese comrades," it says, "forget that the rapid spread of the national-liberation movement has been made possible only thanks to the victories and aid of the international working class, thanks to the emergence of the world socialist system headed by the Soviet Union. Forgetting this, the Chinese comrades belittle the significance of the proletarian revolution in the history of mankind; they forget that standing in the center of world politics as the decisive revolutionary force is the international working class and its offspring — the socialist camp."

"The Chinese comrades aim at divorcing the national-liberation movement from the socialist camp and the international working-class movement, at splitting their international organizations; they slander the USSR, the socialist countries . . . and the Communist parties of the

capitalist countries. Their attitude is a source of grave damage not only to the cause of socialism, but also to the cause of the peoples fighting for national independence."

The resolution "On the Situation in the International Communist Movement" adopted at the meeting of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party in October stressed that the Chinese leaders' underestimation of the role played by the struggle of the working class was fraught with grave consequences both for the working-class and democratic movement in the capitalist countries and for the national-liberation movement of the oppressed peoples.

The French Party, the resolution continues, has always proceeded from the idea of the existence of an objective alliance between the working people of the imperialist powers and the peoples fighting for independence. It has always given its active support to the liberation struggle of these peoples, especially at the time of the wars in Morocco, Vietnam and Algeria. Denial of the decisive role of the international working class by the Chinese leaders results in the numerous ways now opened to the oppressed peoples being lost sight of.

The Chinese leaders proclaim themselves to be the champions of the peoples fighting for socialism and national liberation. The Party statements show how hollow these claims are.

In the September 21 statement of the Soviet government, for instance, we find the following facts: at the time of the Caribbean crisis the Chinese leaders took a provocative stand, adding fuel to the smouldering fires of conflict and working, regardless of the consequences to the Cuban people, for one end only — to exploit the crisis for their factional ends; in the Sino-Indian border dispute, they did not reckon with the consequences their policy would have for the revolutionary forces in India, for the Communist Party and working class of that country, and for the entire national-liberation movement. And now, attacking the partial test-ban treaty, insisting on having nuclear weapons of their own, they by no means reckon with the consequences this may have for all peace-loving peoples.

In an article headed "Against the False and Dangerous Road" Dolores Ibarruri, Chairman of the Communist Party of Spain, writes: "The clearly hostile attitude taken by the Chinese leaders in regard to the Moscow treaty which was welcomed throughout the world as a success for the forces of peace and a step towards new agreements on the way to universal disarmament, is not simply a political blunder on the part of Peking."

"This attitude shows how far the Chinese leaders are from the feelings and aspirations of the peoples of all countries, including the people of China, and how far they have departed from socialist humanism."

Political Affairs, theoretical journal of the Communist Party of the USA, commented that the opposition of the Chinese leaders to the Moscow treaty was disturbing and shocking. Their stand on this question, it pointed out, coincided with the stand of the de Gaulle government, with that of the neo-Nazi militarist gangs in West Germany and the ultra-Right in the USA. This stand, the journal said, is "absurd" and "runs counter to the vital interests of humanity."

* * *

The Chinese leaders, who pose as champions of unity, are, as is stressed by fraternal parties, in fact undermining the unity of the socialist camp, weakening it and sapping the unity of the international Communist and working-class movement. The Party press points out that the Chinese leaders have now extended their differences with the fraternal parties to inter-state relations with the socialist countries.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Paraguay pointed to the harm done by the Chinese leaders' theory of building socialism by relying exclusively on one's own forces and by their practice of undermining economic relations with the USSR and other socialist countries.

"Most disturbing," said the statement issued by the Paraguayan Party, "is that the leadership of the Communist Party of China behind the screen of anti-Marxist theorizing has deliberately curtailed economic cooperation with the socialist countries and instead has boosted relations with Britain, West Germany, Japan and other capitalist countries. The result is that the Chinese People's Republic now depends for one-half of its imports and exports on the capitalist camp. To fraternal cooperation with the socialist community the Chinese leaders prefer dealing with capitalists.

"In fact, they have stepped up their struggle against the Soviet Union and the socialist camp, and rely more and more on capitalism in their economic relations.

"To the united struggle of the socialist world system against imperialism, the Chinese comrades counterpose a bourgeois-nationalist theory according to which each socialist country should build a closed economy.

"Experience has shown that advocacy of 'independence' of the socialist world system is a smoke-screen designed to preserve freedom of

action in relations with the capitalist system."

The leaders of the CPC pursue a policy of splitting the other Communist and Workers' parties which do not agree with their "general line." They are trying to discredit leaders of the international Communist movement who are opposed to their concepts. This has been trenchantly denounced by many of the fraternal parties.

A resolution adopted by the national conference of the Swiss Party of Labor on this question said: "Our Party rejects the claims of the leaders of the Communist Party of China to hegemony in the world Communist movement, rejects their unjustified attacks on the Soviet Union. The results of the policy pursued by the USSR, its economic, scientific and technological progress, its social and cultural achievements, the results of its policy of peace, the settlement of the Caribbean crisis and the signing of the Moscow Treaty — these things, far from being objectionable as the Chinese leaders would have us believe, favor man's advance to socialism."

In an article in *Marxism Today*, Palme Dutt writes: "... We must, in all humility, warn our Chinese comrades, at the same time as we honor their revolutionary achievement and pledge our unswerving solidarity and support to them against every attack of imperialism, that language of wild and irresponsible slander of the Soviet Union as betraying socialism, or of veteran honored working-class fighters like Maurice Thorez as a robot jumping at the command of the marshal's baton on orders from Moscow — language hitherto only found in the lowest gutter anti-communist press — will not assist the presentation of their case, but will only close the ranks of the entire international Communist movement like a rock against such a presentation, and against any attempt at factionalism based on such a presentation."

The press of the fraternal parties has pointed out that the Chinese disruptive activities are becoming increasingly hostile. They openly align themselves in the struggle against the CPSU, and the entire world Communist movement with renegades and opportunists expelled from the Communist parties and laud them as "representatives" of fraternal parties or of national democratic organizations, or give them space in the Chinese press to slander the CPSU and other fraternal parties.

"The Chinese splitters," writes Jose Cardona Hoyos, Central Committee member of the Communist Party of Colombia, "find understanding only among those who have nothing in common with the Communists. These are all sorts of ideological renegades, 'ultra-Left' extremists,

political gamblers and people expelled from the Communist parties, in a word, people who have already discredited themselves as splitters.

"By way of example I shall mention a certain Pedro Abel, who was expelled from our Party for breach of Party discipline and adventurism. This man has done nothing during the past 14 years except to attack the line of our Party. And all of a sudden this anarchist has qualified for moral support from Peking; salvaged by the CPC leaders from the political garbage-bins he is now used by them for subversion."

A little while back the Rome *Il Messaggero* contained the following advert: "The Association of Friends of People's China needs people willing to distribute the full texts of documents; apply to: Rome, Giogliotti Str., 305, Piachentini, Tel. 719337."

Commenting on this advertisement, the Italian Communist paper *Unita* wrote: "For some time anti-communist propaganda has been finding new supporters and heralds — those belonging to groups and groupings whose specialty it is to attack our Party 'from the Left'. They evidently cherish an illusion that myths of childish extremism can yield some results. This explains why they distribute masses of pamphlets and booklets, bulletins and newspapers, practically always anonymously, but at times with reference to the numerous transparent 'friendship with China' associations. In these publications advocacy of pseudo-revolutionary policy is lavishly furnished with the most vulgar and despicable slander of the Italian Communist Party, its policies and its leaders . . .

"The fact that these intriguers are forced to hire distributors of their wares seems to indicate that they are unable to find volunteers among honest workers who can always distinguish between revolutionary spirit and provocation."

To the Ninth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs in Hiroshima the Chinese representatives took with them a bunch of agents whom they advertised as "delegates" from the Afro-Asian countries. These agents, who issued provocative calls for nuclear armament, included a "delegate" from the Sudan, one Ahmed Heir, who had been expelled long ago from the Sudan Communist Party and who now resides in Peking, and Meraji M. Ali, a "delegate" allegedly representing peace supporters in Zanzibar.

Among the "militant group of international personalities" taken by the Chinese representatives to international gatherings is a Mrs. Gunawardhana. At the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organi-

zation in Nicosia, where Mrs. Gunawardhana was presented as a "delegate" from Ceylon, she thundered against the test-ban treaty. But facts show that the attitude of the people of Ceylon has nothing in common with such provocative statements. The will of the Ceylonese people is expressed in the signing of the treaty by their government. It is expressed in the resolution of the Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party which welcomes this treaty as a step in the direction of banning nuclear weapons.

The statement issued by the Ceylon Party says: ". . . The Central Committee of the Communist Party considers that the stand taken by our Chinese comrades on the vital questions of war and peace is both erroneous and dangerous. The image created in the minds of the masses that communism and the fight for peace are inseparable is tarnished by them and they hinder the rallying of the masses to prevent a third world war . . .

"The attitude adopted by our Chinese comrades to the Test Ban Treaty is both amazing and shocking. This treaty was the outcome of years of resolute struggle by the peoples of the world to stop nuclear testing, ban nuclear weapons and achieve disarmament. This explains why the peoples of the world welcomed this treaty . . . But the reaction of our Chinese comrades has been to call the treaty a 'fraud' and a 'betrayal' of the interests of the people.

"The Central Committee of the Ceylon Communist Party rejects these views of our Chinese comrades."

The stand taken by the leaders of the Communist Party of China, wrote *Humanité*, has encouraged those expelled from the French Party to re-invigorate their activities. They are trying, in particular, to get the opposition groups, into which they have for years tried and failed to infuse life, to become vocal and to be heard. The attitude of the Chinese leaders makes things easier for those sects divorced from life and from political reality which hope to gain as much as possible from splitting activities.

Humanité reported animation among the Trotskyite riff-raff associated with the journal *Communiste* and the group of renegades around the magazine *Voie Communiste*.

The latter has suggested that the Chinese leaders should form a "France-China Association" which would "distribute the documents published in Peking since the beginning of 1960."

Lauding opportunists, adventurers and traitors to the cause of the working class, the Chinese, and especially the Albanian, press calls on these people to combine and form factional

groups in the Communist and Workers' parties. The imperialists, naturally, are delighted with these splitting activities of the Chinese leaders. Their press eagerly publishes the statements of the Chinese leaders aimed at wrecking the unity of the international Communist movement.

In this respect the points made by *Freies Volk*, organ of the Communist Party of Germany, in its September issue are instructive. According to this newspaper, one of the Bonn Government agencies is financing the distribution of the Chinese materials. Import of the materials printed by the Communist Party of China — directed against the Soviet Union, the general line of the Communist and Workers' parties and hence against the policy of the Communist Party of Germany — has been licensed.

These and other instances of subversive activity fully bear out the point made in the September 21 statement of the Soviet government to the effect that "... the leaders of the CPC have gone beyond the bounds of comradely, Party discussion and are now engaged in a political fight against the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties, for special aims of their own. Increasingly, the impression is that the Chinese leaders regard those Marxist-Leninist parties which do not agree with them, and their leaders, as political enemies."

* * *

In view of a possible further aggravation of the differences in the international Communist and working-class movement, the Communist parties are seeking ways of averting this danger, of rallying the Communists in all countries and safeguarding the unity of all Marxist-Leninist forces. This unity, the parties say, can rest only on fidelity to Marxism-Leninism, to the line jointly agreed at the 1957 and 1960 meetings of the fraternal parties, on principled and consistent struggle against those who betray this teaching and turn against the general line. As the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Paraguay put it "there can be no justification for any vacillation or hesitation

in this principled struggle, for any 'neutralist' or wait-and-see position . . .

"The attitude of 'maintaining good relations with all', even when motivated by the sound striving for unity and fraternity, is not conducive to upholding the unity of the Communist movement. On the contrary, it can but weaken collective defense of unity.

"The Central Committee of the Paraguayan Party, like all Communists, is anxious that the differences between the CPC and the international movement be resolved as speedily as possible through frank, firm and friendly mutual understanding on the basis of the 1960 Statement."

The fraternal parties have suggested practical steps to overcome the differences, for joint measures to strengthen unity. The Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain has suggested that all the Communist parties should consider the question of holding a world conference. As to the conditions needed for the successful preparation of such a conference, the resolution adopted by the Executive said that "the approach of each party should be the restoration of our unity on the basis of the 1960 Statement."

The Portuguese Communist Party has expressed the view that "it is desirable to convene, in the near future, a meeting of all Communist and Workers' parties to discuss, in addition to ideological matters, also the standards regulating the relations between the fraternal parties."

Speaking at the meeting of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party held in October, Maurice Thorez said: "... We are all for convening an international conference which would reaffirm the principled policy of the Communist movement. It is our desire that the Chinese comrades should think again, return to the correct positions and again make their contribution to the common efforts aimed at reinforcing the unity of our international movement and the efficacy of our struggle."

The fraternal parties stress their readiness to take all the necessary steps and to use every opportunity to overcome the differences and strengthen Communist unity.

The Communist Party of Indonesia and the National Capitalists

Explaining the attitude of the Communists to the national capitalists, the Program of our Party said:

"The main stress in the Indonesian economy should be laid on the state sector. However, the industry and trade run by the national capitalists should not be neglected. At the same time imperialist and feudal economy should be consistently combated. It is necessary to support and assist the national industrialists but in such a way as not to enable them to run the state and to command the life of the people. The individual economy of the working people should also be given every assistance."

There are people who are not only surprised but worried about the policy of our Party in regard to the national capitalists. They wonder why the CPI — a party of the working class, a party that takes a resolute stand against imperialism — does not enter the lists against national capitalism. Is not imperialism also capitalism, and does not capitalism, even if it is national, exploit workers? They are apprehensive that national capitalism, which is still weak, may grow into monopoly capitalism and cause suffering to the people unless it is combated and restricted now. These people, however, close their eyes to the fact that the national capitalists, like other sections, themselves suffer at the hands of the imperialists, compradore and bureaucratic capitalists.

Comrade Aidit had this to say on the subject:

"At the present stage the Indonesian Communists do not regard national capitalism as dangerous. Far from combating it, we insist that each government assist and protect national capitalists and traders against the competition of the big foreign capitalists. The plight of the people of Indonesia is caused by not the existence of an excessive number of national capitalists but, on the contrary, along with other reasons, by a shortage of national capitalists and the dominance of foreign imperialists. We agree that some people should make advances in industry and trade as a result of their personal efforts, and not because they have become compradores, agents of foreign monopoly capital, people who have been corrupted and who practice bureaucratic methods. The compradores, the extortioners and the bureaucratic capitalists — these are the anti-national elements against whom the entire

people, including the national capitalists, should fight.

"Communists have no fear that the genuinely national capitalists may subsequently develop into monopoly capitalists. There are, possibly, among them people who dream of doing so. But even if there are, their dreams will remain dreams, because the sun has risen so high that dreams of this nature will never come true. The correlation of forces both inside and outside the country increasingly favors the progressive forces, creating conditions under which national monopoly capitalists can no longer emerge. Any effort in this direction will be decisively resisted."

At the Central Committee meeting in February, Comrade Lukman, first deputy Chairman of the Party, spoke about the Party's work among the industrialists.

The policy of the Communist Party is clear, he said, it is a policy of aid and support for the national employers with a view to building and developing a national industry and trade as a foundation for a free national economy.

There are three outstanding groups among the national capitalists: industrialists, exporters and importers. We pay very close attention to the national industrialists, i.e., people directly engaged in industry. As compared with the exporters and importers, for example, this group is imbued with a high sense of patriotism and can do more than anyone else to develop the national economy.

If we are to break the colonial economy and build an independent national economy, we should first of all put an end to the colonialist policy of stifling any initiative in the sphere of national industry, and replace it with a policy of supporting and promoting the national industry in both the public and the private sectors.

Redoubling the efforts of the national industrialists means obtaining more manufactured goods and raw materials which can be processed into finished products inside the country. This, on the one hand, will make it possible to cut down the import of unessential goods and, on the other hand, to reduce the export of raw materials which it is more profitable to process inside the country both for home consumption and for export in the shape of finished products. Furthermore, greater ac-

tivity by the national industrialists would also provide more jobs for the workers. And inasmuch as work in industry requires technical know-how and skill, any industrial advance is bound to enhance the technological level of the people.

This is one of the reasons why the Communist Party renders aid and support primarily to the national industrialists.

It may be asked: does not the Communist Party, aiding and supporting the activities of the national capitalists, ignore the interests of the workers?

By no means. If democratic rights are preserved, the working class will be in a position to protect itself in case the national industrialists resort to excessive exploitation. Hence it follows that in the struggle to abolish the colonial economy and build a national industry and trade, the Communist Party of Indonesia prosecutes a policy which helps both sides—the national industrialists and the workers.

While supporting the national industrialists, the CPI gives the national capitalists no support in their desire to boost imports. In the sphere of imports the national employers have no perspectives. We also take account of the fact that the importers who are associated with foreign capital are not infrequently the vehicles of its reactionary policies in our country. The Communist Party proposes that essential goods, such as plant and equipment for industry as well as consumer goods, should be imported through government channels.

As for the role played by the national employers in the sphere of export, their activity, while not so commendable as that of the national industrialists, is not as vicious as that of the importers. The Communist Party proposes that export trade and the purchase of goods for export should be carried out by the government export agency. But the exporters, too, should have a definite share in this trade. Even when, with the further growth of the national industry, the raw materials now usually exported are processed inside the country, the national exporters will, in all probability, still be needed, for example, to find foreign markets for the goods manufactured by the national industry.

In our work we still do not pay adequate attention to the national industrialists. Nor do we fully visualize the difference between the conditions of Party work among the national capitalists and among other sections of the people such as the workers, peasants, women, youth, intellectuals, etc.

In order to improve the work of the Party among the workers, it is essential, for example, to have enough members from their midst. The same condition, i.e., the existence in the Party of representatives of the corresponding section, is also needed in order to improve Party work among the peasants, women, youth and intellectuals. In order to be able to fulfil this condition, it is necessary, besides everything else, to have people who would work to build the Party membership in each of these sections.

This condition, however, does not apply to the work carried out by the Party among the national capitalists. It would be strange indeed if the Party were to recruit members from among national employers, national capitalists. This does not mean, however, that admission of the latter is generally ruled out.

There are several ways of improving our work among the national capitalists.

First, the Party committees and functionaries at all levels strive to pay more attention to the position of national capitalists in general, and of industrialists in particular.

Secondly, the Party organizations give every support and assistance to those organizations of national capitalists which truly represent the interests of the national capitalists generally, and of industrialists in particular.

In order to improve the work of the Party among national capitalists we must know more about their conditions and have a better idea of their just demands.

Our Party gets its knowledge of the conditions of each of the toiling sections through its members—representatives of these sections. As for the class of national capitalists, things are different. In order to get to know the conditions and the just demands of national capitalists the Party committees and functionaries maintain contact with them and study their economic problems. But in order to speak to them about their problems, one does not have to become a national capitalist himself.

Communist intellectuals render no small assistance in this work. It is common knowledge that, as a rule, it is easier for intellectuals to become leaders of national employers. Therefore, the more representatives of the progressive intelligentsia work among the national capitalists and, in effect, lead their organizations, the greater will be their assistance in the work to combine the movement of the national capitalists with the struggle to implement the Political Manifesto, with the struggle of the revolutionary masses.

We know that there are problems which re-

tard the activity of the national capitalists in general and of the national industrialists in particular. For instance, we know of the restrictions and difficulties caused by the large numbers of government regulations, often contradictory, and also by the intricate bureaucratic rules involved in obtaining the necessary permission. We also know of the restrictions and difficulties caused by the operation of the regulations introduced in their day by the Dutch colonial authorities with the purpose of protecting their enterprises against Japanese capital which started to penetrate into Indonesia at that time.

With government-run bodies for guidance of the various branches of the economy, the position of the national capitalists has not improved. Moreover, they were saddled with an additional burden, the goods designed for their enterprises became the object of new machinations, and bureaucratic capitalists appeared.

The system of bonuses for those who investigate economic offences as well as for tax-collectors enables them to obtain "additional" income, which also makes things more difficult for the national capitalists.

The enterprises of the national capitalists often go bankrupt not because the workers insist on better conditions and higher wages but because of the shortage of the needed imports, raw materials and spare parts. The difficulties they encounter as a result of the price and financial policies of the government are also great.

There are many other difficulties suffered by the national capitalists generally and the industrialists in particular.

In the main we know the vital demands that have to be met if the national capitalists are to do their bit in developing national industry and trade.

1. It is necessary to have a patriotic apparatus of the economy and finance, patriotically-minded workers who could be relied upon in running the economy both from the center and in the localities.

2. There must be a greater freedom of action for the national capitalists in medium-sized and small industry and in internal trade; the capitalists should enjoy government support in these fields of endeavor.

3. A reserve of the basic as well as the auxiliary means of production must be established.

4. The extra taxes and duties introduced (for example, the joint-stock company tax), which besides increasing the difficulties of the national capitalists also affect consumers, should be abolished.

In order to fulfil these demands, it is essential to carry out far-reaching and correctly-orientated changes, which should include the forming of a coalition government on the basis of the Nasakom principle, calling for co-operation between nationalists, Communists and religious groups.

All this stresses the need for changes. But these changes will not come of their own, they must be fought for.

The intensification of our work among the national capitalists is essential both for reinforcing the national front and for overcoming the economic crisis. It is imperative for our struggle against imperialism and feudalism.

S.L.

New Tasks Necessitate New Forms of Party Work

THE SIXTH CONGRESS of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany held last January, proceeding from the predominance of socialist production relations in the Republic, adopted a program for the full-scale building of socialism. Social progress and a rising standard of living now depend mainly on how the Party, the Government and the people use the potential of socialism to ensure planned and proportionate development of the economy, a steady rise in productivity of labor, distribution according to performance, and utilization of the law of value.

This signifies that the Party has now reached a higher stage in its development, a stage which makes big demands on all its members and organizations.

In keeping with the decisions of the Congress, Party work at all levels is now organized along production lines. The Political Bureau has formed a special bureau for industry and construction, another for agriculture, an ideological commission and a commission for the day-to-day propaganda. The commissions, while responsible to the Political Bureau, have wide powers and considerable latitude

in deciding questions pertaining to their respective spheres.

The same pattern has been followed in the regional Party committees, which now have similar bureaus with similar powers and independence.

In the predominantly industrial centers district committee bureaus will guide Party work in industry, and in agricultural areas, special bureaus will do the same for agriculture. In places where there are both industry and agriculture both types of bureaus will function. The districts also have their ideological commissions to coordinate efforts in this sphere. Local Party organizations functioning in industry or agriculture are subordinated to a corresponding bureau; others come under the secretariat of the district committee. The ideological commissions are responsible for political work in residential areas. They will help the Party branches to play a leading role in the activities of the local branches of the National Front.

Party activity along production lines is designed to ensure more efficient work in tackling economic problems. In industry, on construction sites and in agriculture the respective bureaus are responsible also for educational work as a factor contributing to fulfilment of plans, while the ideological commissions will help when it comes to questions of principle.

"The task is to deepen socialist consciousness, to imbue people with respect for labor and the community of man in our socialist country," Walter Ulbricht said at a recent economic conference. Ulbricht also pointed out that public discussion of urgent political and economic questions, of every important measure, was an essential of Marxist-Leninist methods of leadership and one of the distinguishing features of our socialist democracy.

Guidance to Party organizations in enterprises under the jurisdiction of the central administrative bodies will now come not from the district committees, but directly from the industrial and construction bureaus of the regional committees. These bureaus will supervise fulfilment of plans, political mass work and Party education, and will be responsible for factory bulletins and radio broadcasts. This transfer of functions was decided upon because the district committees did not have people with sufficient political and economic grounding to direct Party work in the larger enterprises. The district bureaus for industry and construction remain in charge of branches at enterprises of local significance.

For Amalgamations of Nationalized Enter-

prises, whose rights and duties have greatly increased, the Central Committee appoints organizers responsible to the Bureau for Industry and Construction under the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. It is the duty of these organizers to render every help to the branches in the enterprises belonging to the given amalgamation in order to ensure fulfilment of plans in the particular industry.

In conformity with the new set-up, meetings of activists will now be differentiated according to branches of industry and agriculture. This, too, helps to make Party work more concrete and to link it directly with production.

In the building industry there will now be one Party branch on each site. In the past the plurality of branches on a single site complicated Party work.

Training and correct allocation of cadres is of prime importance. We are now arranging for political education for comrades with specialized professional skills so as to enable them to carry on Party work as well. Those experienced in Party work but lacking specialized professional knowledge are given technical training so as to enable them to pull their full weight in the decisive sectors.

Work in residential areas is a special problem. The way the district committees worked in the past and the breaking up of residential areas into tiny subdivisions tended to weaken the political work in the areas. While it is important to conduct educational work in the enterprises, it should not be forgotten that all people spend a very large part of their time at home. Moreover, questions pertaining to family relationships, child upbringing, housing, recreation and social life are largely neighborhood matters. The new plans foresee urban subdivisions of about 12,000 residents in which there will be joint centers for the activities of the Party, the National Front and other organizations. The schools, for example, will handle extra-curricular training of young people through the Young Pioneer and youth organizations. These measures are aimed at radically improving work among the public, with emphasis on individual and closer contact with the population at large.

The full-scale building of socialism calls for all-round ideological work as well as organizational effort. The people, as the masters, should think in terms of running the country in keeping with the economic laws of socialism, should realize that the all-out construction of socialism in the first German state of the workers and peasants signifies a solid foundation for working-class leadership

throughout Germany, for the removal of the monopoly capitalists from the saddle in West Germany, and for solving the national question in the spirit of peace and social progress.

Thanks to the selfless efforts of the workers, engineers and industrial executives, the lag caused by the rigorous winter of 1962-63 was largely made good in the first half of 1963, and conditions were created for attaining the basic targets of the plan during the second half of the year. The workers in the Marzan Tool Works in Berlin have advanced the slogan "Let us work for society and for each individual by ensuring high quality, low production costs and up-to-date technology." This slogan, which was put forward in the factory's report to the Central Committee, has been taken up by the workers in all the enterprises as their slogan in the socialist emulation movement in the second half of 1963.

In agriculture, the peasant cooperators have prepared the way for further progress. Since the middle of the year the producers' cooperatives and state farms have been engaged in socialist competition for greater efficiency.

The activity displayed by the masses in working towards the planned targets in industry and agriculture is proof of their socialist consciousness, of their new attitude to labor and their preparedness to exert every effort to strengthen our worker-peasant state. This activity is a kind of plebiscite through labor in support of our state and its policy of peace and socialism.

The new forms of Party work, now proving their worth, will enable us to enlist more people in it and to make it more varied and effective. And this paves the way to drawing all the working people of the GDR into conscious public activity.

Otto SCHOEN

United Front Victory in Hérault Department, France

A POLITICAL event of an importance unequalled even during the period of the People's Front in 1935 occurred in the Hérault Department during the June elections to the National Assembly. The Communist candidate Paul Balmigère, nominated jointly by the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Radical Socialist Party and the United Socialist Party, emerged victor in the first round.

This result was a fitting reply to the unlawful action of the authorities in depriving Balmigère of the seat in Parliament which he won in the general election of November 1962 when, thanks to the electoral agreement between the Socialists and Communists, he defeated the three government candidates.

At that time there were those who maintained that Balmigère's election was merely a flash in the pan, a temporary arrangement which could have no lasting effect. The Communist Federation, on the other hand, considered it to be a thing of promise, the logical outcome of the struggle against one-man rule, waged by the workers, peasants, intellectuals and democrats of all trends under the slogan "March together and strike together."

The Hérault Department is one of those which suffer most from de Gaulle's policy. The monopolies, now nearer to power than ever, have literally killed the basic industries in our

area. Since 1958 the capitalist concentration of production (especially as a result of the Common Market) has steadily increased. For example, the number of workers engaged in the coal mines in the north of the department has dropped from 2,000 to 600, and where the pits are still working it is thanks only to the mass protests organized by the populace. Several small and medium-sized enterprises have been closed in the town of Béziers. In the iron and steel center of Fougères which used to employ more than 2,000 workers, only 300 workers have remained. Dozens of other enterprises have been similarly affected. More than 5,000 workers have been laid off. Agriculture, which in this area consists mainly of vine-growing, has also suffered as a result of the Gaullist monopoly policy which is aimed at eliminating nearly a million small and middle farmsteads considered to be unprofitable or out-of-date.

The Hérault Department has thus been placed in conditions which objectively cause the working people to experience the disastrous consequences of the regime established as a result of the May 13, 1958, putsch.

On the other hand the population of this southern department has a long history of struggle against oppression. The workers and peasants in the towns and villages have long

had their political organizations, and the Communist Party here, ever since its inception, has been a force with which the authorities have had to reckon. The Communist Federation has been publishing its weekly magazine *Le Travailleur du Languedoc* (Languedoc Worker) ever since 1925, and since the liberation it has been putting out a weekly information bulletin besides.

After de Gaulle came to power, the Hérault Communists, following the counsel of the Central Committee and Maurice Thorez, did not allow themselves to be led onto the path of sectarianism. They had no intention of turning their backs on the Socialist workers and other democratic people blinded by de Gaullist illusions; they worked perseveringly to win their confidence and ensure unity, and their efforts were rewarded. Before long, a struggle was launched against the liquidation of the coal industry and the closing down of factories in Beziers; there was action by the vine-growers, action in defense of secular education, and for peace in Algeria.

Besides exposing the true nature of the monopoly rule, this struggle provided an opportunity for popularizing the constructive proposals elaborated by the 15th and 16th congresses of the Communist Party for revitalizing national life by restoring genuine democracy through an alliance of all the social forces affected by the monopoly rule.

Thanks to this, and to the fact that with the development of the struggle waged alike by the Communists, Socialists, Radicals and other democrats, light was shed on the true nature of the Gaullist regime, de Gaulle's popularity declined; in the 1962 referendum he polled only 48 per cent of the votes compared with 72 per cent in the first referendum held in 1958.

At the same time mutual understanding among the working people has steadily grown. Anti-communism has lost ground, and sectarian tendencies in our ranks are disappearing. Communists, Socialists and other democrats work together in the intra-trade union committees, in committees for the defense of industry, for the defense of secular education, in peace and civil liberties committees and in peasant organizations.

Thus the political accord reached in November 1962 between the federations of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party was not an artificial thing. The conditions were ripe for it. Nevertheless it could not have happened had the Communist Party policy not been boldly carried out.

After the first ballot last November, three

seats remained to be contested. The Communist Party clearly held the lead in the three electoral areas. The other parties could not have defeated the candidate put forward by the government and the reactionaries had they not formed a bloc for a single candidate in each case. In the second ballot, the Communist Federation proposed a single candidate for each electoral area: one Communist, one Socialist and one Radical. The Socialist Federation adopted the proposal but insisted that its own candidate, Jules Moch, should run in the Sète electoral district where in the first round the Communist Party candidate Raoul Calas had polled the biggest vote.

This demand posed problems for the Communist Federation, but after some discussion the matter was settled amicably. Recognition of Jules Moch as the common candidate for the republican alliance was appreciated by the Socialist workers in the department and won us their sympathy and support.

The two federations decided to campaign together, and three common candidates were nominated: Paul Balmigère, the Socialist Jules Moch and the Radical Etienne Ponselle. The news of the election bloc had an important psychological impact. There were some heated political debates in the ranks of the Socialist and Radical parties, and among the Communists as well, but the united front spirit prevailed. The joint electoral campaign was launched with unusual enthusiasm. The Socialist and Communist leaders jointly sponsored a number of public meetings, published joint articles and statements, and set up election committees.

Election day was marked by a triple victory for the republican alliance: all three candidates were elected to the National Assembly. All the Communists voted for Jules Moch, all the Socialists for Balmigère, and the joint action of the Socialists and Communists ensured the victory of the Radical Ponselle.

The triple victory was celebrated in an atmosphere of general rejoicing by the working people in towns and villages. A signal advance had been made.

Analyzing the results at the meeting of the Central Committee in December 1962, Maurice Thorez said that "the Socialist Party and its members will never be quite the same again. This election campaign, this campaign on behalf of the alliance, has laid a definite stamp on the Socialist Party, its members and militants. Their sentiment can be summed up briefly: 'Now we know who are our real friends'."

A few days previously, Jules Moch in his

turn, speaking in Sète, declared: "There still are profound differences of opinion between the Communists and Socialists, but we agree on the basic issue, namely, the need to defend the republic. Our mutual concessions during the elections and the revival of contacts between us will help both sides to know one another better, and this in its turn will help to achieve other agreements in the future..."

The Communist Federation was now faced with the task of consolidating its gains. The United Front had to work along new lines in keeping with the new situation.

In place of the old method of open letters and public proposals, the Communist Federation has established personal contact with the leaders of the Socialist Federation. Their meetings have become more frequent, more friendly and warm. In this way the leaders of the two federations are coming to understand each other better, to exchange views on a host of problems. The change in the relations between Socialists and Communists extends to the militants in the branch organizations and in the enterprises. Oral agreement is reached both at top level and below, and this makes it possible to wage other struggles jointly and with success. The Anti-Fascist Days held in memory of February 1934 and 1962, the campaign of solidarity with the national miners' strike and in support of their struggle against de Gaulle's compulsory mobilization decree, the anti-Franco demonstrations at the time of the murder of Julian Grimau—all were organized jointly and conducted under the banner of unity. The municipal by-elections to town councils under Socialist leadership offered an opportunity to advance a single list of candidates consisting of three Communists, three Socialists and one Radical. In the cantonal elections, the Communists voluntarily withdrew their candidate in favor of the Socialist candidate thus enabling him to defeat the reactionary candidate.

A similar rapprochement has taken place between the trade union organizations all the way up to the department leadership of the General Confederation of Labor, the "Force Ouvrière," the Christian unions and others. They acted in a united front on the question of the control of social insurance funds, during the miners' strike, in the struggle against anti-strike bills, etc.

New trends can be observed also in the enterprises where the idea of forming *united trade unions and inter-union committees* and putting forward single joint lists of candidates in trade union elections is steadily gaining ground.

These joint actions are not necessarily preceded by the signing of an agreement or a joint appeal by the leadership of the federations. The public statements issued, actions carried out and results achieved are the best guarantees of success inasmuch as all this is done with the support of the masses and provides a new basis for further united action.

The Gaullist authorities are by no means blind to the political significance of the events in the Hérault Department. They have attempted to hinder the development of the united action, the success of which has had repercussions beyond the area. That is why the results of the first elections which ended in victory for Paul Balmigère, who polled 51.72 per cent of the votes, were declared invalid on the unprecedented pretext of "abuse of propaganda."

The authorities hoped that the new election would lead to a clash between the republican parties, but they were disappointed. The annulment of Balmigère's election aroused a storm of protest in the constituency, both on the part of the Socialists and Radicals, militants as well as their federation leaders and representatives in parliament. It was then that the idea of nominating Paul Balmigère as the single candidate for all the republican parties was advanced and unanimously approved.

Balmigère was officially nominated jointly by the Communist, Socialist and Radical Federations, all Socialist and Radical MPs and all general councillors in the constituency as the *anti-Gaullist candidate of the republican alliance*. This was the people's reply to the annulment of the results of the previous election. The election campaign showed that there are many points on which the republican parties are agreed, a fact which makes it possible to outline a joint program of action.

The election campaign was conducted in an atmosphere of enthusiasm. Election committees were set up with the participation of active members of the three parties who presided at joint meetings, distributed literature and organized the voting arrangements. A series of big public meetings attended by the leaders and parliamentary representatives of all three parties were held.

Both the Communist and the Socialist speakers at the election meetings censured the Gaullist government and its policy. They criticized its anti-social trend, its agricultural policy and its encroachment on civil liberties; they denounced the plans to create an "atomic strike force" and the militarist foreign policy, as well as the agreements concluded with Franco. They pointed to the prospects that would

open up for France if an alliance such as that achieved in Hérault Department could be formed at government level.

The Gaullist candidate resorted to the most shameless demagoguery and exhausted his entire arsenal of anti-communist and anti-socialist spleen. But nothing helped. Balmigère swept the polls. The percentage of votes cast for him rose from 51.72 to 61.03 as compared with the previous result, and his advantage over his opponents in number of votes rose from 1,500 to 8,365. The Gaullist vote declined by 5,500. These figures show that anti-communism has sustained a substantial defeat and that a new anti-Gaullist force has emerged.

In some places the percentage of the vote cast for Balmigère rose by 70 and even 80 per cent. It was not only the Communists, Socialists and Radicals who voted for him, but also those who in the past cast their ballots for the People's Republican Movement (MRP) and the reactionary "independents" party, i.e., the middle class and to some extent even bourgeois voters.

The traditional pattern of alignment of the Left has changed. One result of the elections is that the atmosphere of mutual trust and alliance has improved. The Socialists, Communists, Radicals and democrats of all trends in Hérault feel more closely linked than ever before, and this is very promising. A leading article in *Le Monde* commented that "the Communists and those of the Left who stand for alliance of all without exception are gaining ground. . . . This success shows that whenever the Opposition unites it scores a victory."

Another conclusion can be drawn from the

Hérault events; the fact that the anti-Gaullist alliance backed the Communist candidate shows that the masses by no means regard the Communist Party merely as an "additional force."

The policy thus elaborated not only proves that a united front of Socialists and Communists and of their two parties as organizations is a tangible possibility; it shows also that the present united front means far more than simply a reanimation and stimulation of traditional forms of unity among the Left, that it is drawing the middle sections, too, into the anti-monopoly struggle. This policy is the answer to the problem posed by Maurice Thorez. "The question as to who will win over the middle classes, the working class or big monopoly capital, is one of the most urgent problems to be solved both as regards the distant as well as the immediate future."

The fact that such a broad anti-monopoly alliance was formed on June 9 around the Communist candidate, a candidate member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, is a sign of the times. This in itself signifies a defeat for anti-communism. It accords with the general progress of the forces and ideas of socialism, with the new attitude of the Socialists and democrats generally to the Communists and their party.

For the Communists of Hérault their victory highlights the need to preserve unswerving loyalty to the basic principles of the Party and the world Communist movement.

*Secretariat, Communist Federation
of the Hérault Department*

Communications and Comment

They Are Their Own Masters

How Workers Participate in Production Management in People's Poland

(From our own correspondent)

KATOWICE region is often called the "industrial heart" of the Polish People's Republic. And this definition happens to be a rather accurate one. For the area produces nearly all of Poland's coal and a substantial part of its metal, machines and chemical products.

But it is not only the country's industrial heart. It is an old working-class area with much to show in the way of the new socialist democracy and new methods of promoting socialist emulation and initiative.

Six Thousand Managers

The Dzerzhinsky works in Dabrowa Gornicza is one of the country's biggest iron and steel mills. Although it has been undergoing reconstruction for more than a year now, it has not fallen behind its output plans. Neither the rigorous winter of 1962-63 nor the unusually hot summer that followed prevented the workers from carrying out their production program. The secret of their success lies basically in the active part played by the entire personnel in running the enterprise.

"Our guiding principle is collective responsibility for the operation of the enterprise," Roman Kozera, secretary of the factory committee of the Party, told me. "One way of implementing this principle is the workers' participation in production management through what we call workers' self-management bodies."

How does workers' self-management operate? Its highest body in the Dzerzhinsky works, as in all other factories, is the Self-Management Conference, which comprises the members of the Party and trade union committees, the Workers' Council, the Committee of the Youth League, and the Executive of the Scientific and Technological Society uniting the engineers and technicians. Total membership of the Conference is 98.

The Conference meets five or six times a year (the minimum stipulated in the law of 1958 is four meetings a year). Between ses-

sions all work is conducted by the Workers' Council, which is elected by secret ballot for a two-year term by all the workers of the enterprise. The Party secretary and the chairman of the trade union committee are ex officio members of the Council, and the manager of the works is required to attend its meetings. This Council is linked with the various departments through shop councils, also elected by the workers. The shop councils, of which there are 11 in the plant, hold monthly production conferences in their respective departments.

The functioning of the workers' self-management bodies and the powers vested in them were described by Stanislaw Nowara, chairman of the Workers' Council of the plant, and Zygmunt Sziwala, his predecessor at the post until the last elections held in March 1963 and now the plant's business manager.

The functioning of the self-management system is regulated by a law adopted by the Sejm on December 20, 1958. Under this law, which was sponsored by a group of trade union deputies, the personnel of enterprises are empowered to decide basic questions pertaining to the operation of their plants and to supervise their functioning. The Dzerzhinsky steel workers make good use of these rights.

Nowara produced a stack of thick folders with reports, minutes of meetings and plans. The first contained the proceedings of a meeting of the Workers' Self-Management Conference held in February 1963. The agenda: the production plan for the coming months and measures for making good the aftermath of the severe winter. The resolution was a fairly long document.

"How did you manage to go into all that detail?" I asked.

"The workers had thoroughly gone over it all even before the conference met," I was told. "First the draft resolution was discussed in the shops, then in the shop workers' councils and finally in the Workers' Council for

the plant. And each time there were debates, criticism and suggestions."

"What kind of suggestions?" I asked.

"At first sight many of the suggestions," plant manager Petrszyk said, "might seem trivial. But that would be an erroneous impression. Among the seemingly minor suggestions there were many which only people with a *thorough* knowledge of the production process could submit. Most of them made for an increase in efficiency."

"The point is not only the economic effect," Nowara added. "The very fact that suggestions made by rank-and-file workers are discussed and put into effect stimulates the workers and helps them to realize that they are the masters of their plant."

Nowara showed me the minutes of a meeting of the Workers' Council in the power shop. Practically all the workers present had suggestions to make. One pointed to the need to replace wooden scaffolding with metal, and submitted calculations showing the advantages of such a change-over. Another suggested a way to increase the efficiency of the boilers. This proposal, too, was substantiated by experience and computations. A third proposed improving the valves used, and a fourth submitted a time-saving scheme for delivery of parts from the stores.

All the suggestions made in the shop workers' council and at production conferences are summed up and submitted to the Workers' Self-Management Conference. This was done in the given instance too. The Conference heard reports from the manager and from the Workers' Council and discussed them in detail.

"I should like to stress the part played at the meetings by workers from the factory floor," Sziwala said. "At the last meeting in December 1962, most of the speakers were workers at the bench. But you would never think so merely by reading the stenograms of their speeches. Since the self-management bodies were first organized, our working class has made big strides, and the approach of the average lathe hand to production organization differs very little from that of the engineer."

The resolution of the February 1963 Conference contains recommendations affecting all aspects of the production process. The object of these recommendations was not only to make up for the lag caused by the severe winter but to exceed the output targets. After the Conference the recommendations were formalized by the management and made obligatory for all. Following this, the self-management bodies set to work to ensure

fulfilment of the decisions and to check up on their realization.

"Our people are at once workers, managers and inspectors," Party secretary Kozera said. "That is why we often say that we have six thousand workers and as many managers."

How the self-management bodies carry out their managerial and control functions can best be seen from the quarterly plans adopted by the Workers' Council of the enterprise. Here is a typical example — the plan for the third quarter of 1963:

*July 3 — meeting of the Council Presidium.**

Agenda: report by the chairman of the Supplies Committee; current business.

July 17 — meeting of the Council Presidium.

Agenda: capital repairs; functioning of the Investment Department (in connection with the reconstruction); awards to winners in the output competition during the first half of the year.

August 7 — meeting of the Workers' Council of the plant. Agenda: manager's report on performance during the second quarter; preparations for convening the Workers' Self-Management Conference.

August 14 — Workers' Self-Management Conference. Agenda: plan fulfilment during the second quarter; fulfilment of the decisions of the Conference of February 20, 1963 (i.e., the recommendations mentioned above).

September 4 — meeting of the Council Presidium. Agenda: training in economics (a number of seminars on economics sponsored by the Workers' Council and the Party Committee have been held regularly in the plant since April 1963); safety measures and industrial hygiene (report on work done during the previous six months and the plan for the second half of the year); current business.

September 18 — meeting of the Council Presidium. Agenda: plan for the fourth quarter; economy of steel; current business.

"It is very important," Sziwala said, "that the self-management bodies should not withdraw into their own shell. The questions discussed are brought to the attention of all workers in advance (all materials of the Conference and council are displayed on bulletin boards in the shops). The meetings of the workers' councils and the Self-Management Conference are open to the public. Besides,

*At large enterprises with big workers' councils the latter elect a presidium consisting of the chairman and the secretary of the Workers' Council, the chairman of the shop councils, the secretary of the Party branch and the chairman of the trade union committee.

all our decisions are immediately made known to all."

Another important thing is that the self-management bodies work in close contact with other public organizations, primarily with the Party and the trade union. As mentioned above, these bodies include the leading functionaries and activists of the Party and trade union organizations. The secretary of the Party Committee presides at meetings of the Workers' Self-Management Conference. Without losing sight of any of their specific functions as stipulated in the Party Rules, the Party branches take an active part in the self-management bodies, ensuring them proper guidance. Indeed, the latter could hardly work efficiently without the participation of the Party.

The trade unions, too, while carrying out their own duties, actively assist the workers' self-management bodies, whose work is guided and coordinated on the scale of the various industries and the country as a whole by the Central Trade Union Council and the executives of the various unions.

Provision has been made this year for the Workers' Self-Management Conference in each enterprise to have a full-time secretary.

As we see, the self-management bodies have wide powers, which they exercise actively, though, as the local comrades say, not as fully as they might. In this connection it may be asked: how does workers' self-management dovetail with state interests, with the interests and rights of society as a whole?

"This question," Kozera said, "came up time and again when the self-management bodies were first established. And it must be admitted that the search for the proper organizational set-up took some time, and even now not all the details have been ironed out. On the whole, though, the system now operating corresponds to the interests of building socialism."

Workers' self-management is an integral part of socialist economic management based on democratic centralism. By releasing initiative and by rallying people for the fulfilment of plans, the self-management bodies have played no small role in the achievements of People's Poland. The fact that in every enterprise the workers discuss and approve their plans only puts the overall state plan on a more solid footing and heightens respect for it among the public generally. The worker knows that his effort, too, has gone into the development programs.

At the Katowice Regional Committee of the Party I was told that it happens that in the discussions on plans differences arise between the Workers' Self-Management Conference in

one or another plant and organizations under whose jurisdiction the given enterprise functions. The procedure in such cases is stipulated by law: the disputed questions are submitted to arbitration by a committee half of whose members are appointed by the Ministry concerned and the other half by the Executive of the particular trade union. The findings of the arbitrators are final.

Workers' self-management has proved a success. What is most important, the workers everywhere are displaying a high degree of activity. This, of course, was not achieved at once; to stimulate interest a great deal of effort was required. The main thing was properly to combine educational work and material incentives. An auxiliary stimulus appealing to the entire personnel of the enterprise is the so-called Factory Fund.

These funds, established by government decision in 1956-1960, are made up of a specified percentage of the income of the enterprises. The total depends wholly on the way the production plan is fulfilled. The funds are administered by the workers' self-management conferences. How do they exercise this right?

The records of the Workers' Council at the Dzerzhinsky plant supply the answer. In 1962 the Factory Fund here amounted to 7,762,000 zlotys net (receipts for 1961). How the Workers' Self-Management Conference used this sum can be seen from the following:

<i>1. Social needs</i>	
Housing	1,940,000 zlotys
School building	1,300,000 "
Expenditure on cultural needs	270,000 "
Municipal improvement (aid to Town Council)	118,000 "
Allocations to public organizations	81,000 "
International Women's Day celebration	60,000 "
Christmas parties for children	30,000 "
<i>2. Bonuses and premiums to participants in the output competition</i>	
	300,000 "
<i>3. Fund of the Council Presidium</i>	
	62,500 "
<i>4. Sum distributed among the workers</i>	
	3,600,000 "

From this it can be seen that just under half the fund was allocated for direct distribution among the personnel. The workers know that as distinct from bonuses for over-fulfilment of individual plans and higher indi-

vidual productivity of labor and other incentives, bonus payments from the Factory Fund depend on the performance of the *entire* enterprise. And this acts as an incentive to each to do better, while stimulating the activity of the workers in general in the self-management bodies, in managing production as a whole.

This year the situation is somewhat different. Owing to the difficulties caused by the rigorous winter, the plant could not afford to channel anything to the Factory Fund. Under the circumstances, as is provided for by the law, the Ministry of Heavy Industry granted a subsidy of 3,500,000 zlotys, half of which the Workers' Self-Management Conference could have distributed among the personnel. The Conference, however, responding to the sentiment of the workers in general, assigned most of the subsidy for housing and other public needs, while 1,200,000 zlotys were earmarked for premiums to the winners of the output competition in 1963.

"This decision," director Petrszyk said, "reflects the growing public-mindedness of our workers. This, which is highly gratifying, is unquestionably one of the fruits of the self-management system. I am certain that only a few years ago the workers generally would have wanted the money divided among the personnel. Today people give more thought to their plant, understand its requirements better, and have a clearer idea of where their own interest lies."

The Rebirth of Sosnowiec

Sixty years ago the town of Sosnowiec was a chaotic huddle of villages and factory settlements. Now it is a major industrial center with a population of 140,000. But only a bare four years ago it differed little as far as the amenities of life were concerned from what it was when it first came into being.

In 1959 the City Committee of the Party tackled the job of reconstruction.

The first step was effected by forming neighborhood committees which began to renovate houses, improve gardens, etc. Impetus was given to the work in 1959 by establishing 49 territorial Party groups with a total membership of 1,271. These groups coordinated the efforts of the townsfolk, and through them factory workers were enlisted in the work. The results showed the people what they could accomplish by concentrating on definite aims.

During the municipal election campaign of 1960 the Party City Committee went to voters'

meetings with suggestions concerning the future of the town. The committee's plans were fully supported by the public. In particular, the idea of setting up permanent municipal improvement groups on a voluntary basis was welcomed. These groups came to be called Public Initiative Groups.

The first of these groups was formed in April 1960. The occasion was marked by a gala event, during which an agreement with the City Council was signed setting forth the obligations undertaken by the group. The whole town talked about it, but new groups were slow in coming into being.

"The children and young people gave us much help in those days," Stefan Skrzydlo, the mayor of Sosnowiec, said. "And no wonder, for we are a young town — more than half of our residents are under 18. School pupils and students responded to the Party's call and enthusiastically set to to lay out school gardens and sports grounds, besides tackling some of the simpler jobs at building sites. But their biggest contribution was perhaps the work they did to popularize the idea of improving the town. There is no doubt that our boys and girls did a better job among the members of their families than the most active canvassers."

More and more public initiative groups sprang up around the Party branches in factories and offices and in the residential areas. A particularly important role was played by a conference of Party activists held in May 1961 which urged all members to work in these groups.

As the number of the groups grew, their activity made itself increasingly felt. More and more people wanted to join, but far from all applicants were accepted. Although the groups are completely voluntary, each applicant is expected to carry out in the course of the year whatever work he is assigned. Indeed, it is considered an honor to be a member, for only those who enjoy the respect of their fellow citizens are admitted. Each member strives to be an example for the people around him, and the names of the best are known to everybody in the town. The very best—those who not only work well but also learn new skills or make valuable rationalization suggestions—are given honor certificates.

In 1961 Sosnowiec had 117 such groups, and in 1962, 332 with nearly 16,000 members. They had accomplished a great deal, giving an entirely new look to many neighborhoods. But the City Committee looked forward to something more.

"We fully realized," Edward Marszalek, another secretary of the Committee, said, "that the efforts of the initiative groups were still of a haphazard nature. They concentrated on their own streets and, at best, on the block. It was necessary to coordinate their activities, to *work according to an overall plan*. On the initiative of the City Committee an overall Municipal Improvement Committee was set up."

At first it seemed that this was all that was needed, but soon it became clear that it was not enough. The committee could not coordinate the activities of groups working in widely divergent conditions. It was found necessary to set up also district committees, also functioning on a voluntary basis. There now are seven of these committees, one for each district.

For the efforts of the town and district improvement committees to produce results more efficient ways of working were needed. The Party Committee turned to professional people who gave their full support. In their spare time local architects drew up a reconstruction plan for the town in general and its districts in particular. Engineers worked out specifications and drew up plans and blueprints for projects beginning with public squares and ending with the sewage and street lighting systems. Today the authors of these projects are working on building sites as superintendents, instructors or members of public inspection brigades.

Since 1962 the work has been proceeding smoothly, with all local enterprises participating. The Town Council coordinates the effort, helping the voluntary committees.

The initial results are substantial. Nearly all residential areas have had a refurbishing. The town now has 470 hectares of parks and gardens as against 32 in 1958. Three open-air theatres and nine swimming pools (formerly there were none) have been built and children's playgrounds (of which the town had only two) have been laid out in each area. Work has been started on a municipal park, and greenery is being planted on the slag heaps at the mines. I visited Sosnowiec in the spring of 1962 and in the spring and summer of 1963 and each time I was struck by the progress.

"We haven't done too badly," said Lubas, Secretary of the City Committee. "The town has been transformed. The initiative groups and the municipal improvement committees have accelerated the rate of improvement. For example, in 1962 we did *16 times* more road building than had been originally planned.

"Besides, the initiative groups have produced an important 'non-material' result — there has been a substantial growth of civic consciousness among the townspeople. The sense of responsibility for the town and its future is steadily increasing. The people feel that it is their town, and with the growing sense of proprietorship public discipline, too, is improving. For example, formerly saplings were damaged or flowers picked from public gardens out of sheer indifference. Now this rarely happens. Without having to be told to do so, the people look after the public gardens, the greenery and the fountains. We practically need no full-time watchmen any longer."

The Public Initiative Groups and Municipal Improvement Committee are, then, a form of active participation by the people in running the town. Improvement plans are discussed at public meetings and the plans of each group and committee are first drawn up by their members. Then the citizens join in carrying out the plans, verifying their realization and adjusting them as the progress of work requires. Public initiative is in evidence everywhere. And in this new atmosphere the Town Council and other municipal bodies function more efficiently. It was not fortuitous that following the establishment of the initiative groups other matters began to be tackled by the public. For instance, citizens committees supervising the work of the trading organizations have been set up, the people have begun to check up on the progress made by children at school and to take a hand in solving problems in the sphere of health care and sanitation, etc.

Inspired by their achievements, the townsfolk of Sosnowiec are becoming more active. In connection with the approach of the 20th anniversary of People's Poland which will be marked next year, the Party Committee has suggested that every resident, every district and every factory make *20 new contributions* to improving the town. The factories and districts are making concrete preparations. An idea of their nature may be gained from the plan elaborated by the miners of the Milowice pit, whose 20 commitments include the following: construction of new blocks of flats totalling 164 apartments; landscaping the surroundings of the pit; construction of greenhouses and planting fruit trees; setting up a shopping center in the neighborhood; extension of the street lighting system in the area, and the construction of a sports stadium.

Similar plans have been drawn up by the workers in all the enterprises in Sosnowiec. Besides, the Party Committee has two thick

files of computations, drawings and time schedules submitted by volunteer workers which make up a municipal improvement plan up to 1980. What will Sosnowiec be like 15 or 20 years hence? To give a detailed description is still rather difficult, but what is already clear is that it will be a modern town in the full sense of the word. And this, it should be borne in mind, will be largely achieved through public initiative.

* * *

Extensive participation of the working people in running the country has long been a feature of People's Poland, as it is of the other socialist countries. The forms this takes are numerous and their number is growing from day to day. One is the participation of vast numbers of people in the work of the elected bodies and the courts. Then there are the diverse public supervisory bodies. Still others are implicit in the ways in which the working people take part in organizing and managing production.

The latter are particularly significant. "It is necessary to widen again and again the participation of the working people themselves in running the economy and building the new industry," Lenin said. "Unless we solve this task . . . we shall not be able to carry the cause of communism to completion." In other writings Lenin pointed to the need to work towards *workers' management of industry*, to achieve a situation when *all workers*, and not only the leaders and the best workers, feel that it is they, the workers, who are building socialism. Only on this condition, Lenin said, will socialism take shape and become firmly established.

The two examples of mass participation in

economic management in Poland described above stem from the specific conditions of the country, or, rather, from the conditions existing in the 'two districts.' But for all that they are of broader interest, for they fully confirm the importance of *workers' management of industry*.

In both cases the working people's participation in economic management (in the first case on the scale of a factory, and in the second, on that of a municipality), the development of public initiative, has produced, first of all, tangible *material* results. Rapid progress, efficiency, higher productivity of labor, excellent work — all are the fruit of workers' management.

Moreover, in both instances, far from retarding, it has greatly facilitated socialist planning and better economic management. Properly organized workers' management means effective fulfilment and verification of the nationwide plans, which, under socialism are the fruit of the creative genius of the masses.

As they play their part in the workers' management bodies, people become more aware of their responsibility for the job entrusted to them, for the overall state of industry, for the factory in which they work and for the community in which they live. And this is the most direct way to that voluntary and conscious discipline which is the *foundation* of the communist organization of social labor. The secret of success in fostering this new outlook is a high degree of creative activity and initiative on the part of the Party organizations in line with the immortal teaching of Marxism concerning the decisive role of the masses in building the new socialist society.

V. ZAGLADIN

The Struggle of the Indian Communists

EVER since November 1962, Communists in India have been working under extremely difficult conditions created by the unnecessary border conflict with China, which helped the Right-wing reactionary forces inside the country to work up history's worst anti-communist hysteria.

During the past year the struggles of Indian Communists were mainly directed against the menacing growth of the reactionary forces who secured significant success in their immediate aim of enforcing changes in the policies and composition of the government of India.

In these circumstances, preservation of the non-aligned foreign policy of the Nehru govern-

ment and its relations of friendship with the Soviet Union, defeating the maneuvers of imperialist and Indian reaction to stampede India into aggressive war blocs, halting the government from shifting economic burdens to the shoulders of the masses in the name of national defense and the protection of the civil liberties of the people under conditions of a national emergency by which the government cracked down on the fundamental rights of citizens became the paramount task of the revolutionary forces and the democratic movement headed by the working class inside the country.

The Communist Party has gained significant

successes in rallying the masses in the struggles simultaneously waged against Right reaction, imperialist maneuvers and reactionary policies of the government.

On September 13, 1963, the residents of the Indian capital saw the results of the efforts of the Communists to rally the masses for the fight against poverty. Never in the history of free India had the country seen such a massive demonstration as the capital witnessed on that day. It was a demonstration in support of a Peoples' Petition to Parliament voicing the demands, formulated by the Communist Party, of all sections of the people.

Some 200,000 people from Kashmir to Cape Comorin responded to the call of the Communist Party and joined the great march that presented the Peoples' Petition signed or thumb-printed by over 10 million Indians. The Indian and foreign press, commenting on this *"show of strength of Indian Communists,"* described it as the *"biggest demonstration organized by any political party since independence"* 16 years ago. Newspapers of the monopolies and of the reactionaries which had studiously ignored the Petition campaign or sneered at it, had to concede that it was a great success.

On that historic day the multitude filling Parliament Square and adjoining streets listened to Comrade Dange, chairman of the Communist Party and outstanding leader of the Indian working class. Dange's words were a sharp warning to the forces of the Right.

The petition demonstration dwarfed the counter-demonstration of the Rights and also the counter-demonstration of the ruling Congress Party; both could hardly mobilize 10,000 people a few weeks before the march organized by the Communist Party.

The campaign to collect signatures to the Great Petition began early in June on the initiative of the Communists to protest against the worsening of the people's conditions. The Secretariat of the Communist Party which met in June to define the task of the campaign, as well as its forms, declared in its decision: this campaign should be a nationwide protest and plebiscite of the people, "the organized voice against their suffering, a demand for essential reforms. . . . The Petition to Parliament and the march to New Delhi should be a movement, not a formal affair. It must educate and agitate, and make millions of peasants in the villages and millions in the towns conscious of what is really happening to us and what is the way out. It is not a revolution we are promising them. It is some vital reforms, some relief that we are asking

them to seek and fight for. If all of us can achieve even this much the people and the country will have taken a step forward."

The primary demands of the petition included a substantial reduction in prices, especially on prime necessities, and a lowering of direct and indirect taxes and levies. These demands reflected the most pressing problems facing the people. Yielding to pressure from big capital, the Indian government has for many years tried to solve the problems of increasing state revenue and financing economic development chiefly through higher direct and indirect taxation of the population and currency inflation which has sent the prices and cost of living soaring.

The situation deteriorated further in the present fiscal year. The aggravation of the Sino-Indian border conflict led to a sharp increase in defense expenditure. To meet this, Mr. Morarjee Dessai, Minister of Finance, now deposed, the man who is the American substitute for Nehru, proposed further increases and direct taxation of the population. As a result, an additional burden of 2,750 million rupees was imposed on the people. Another measure introduced by Mr. Dessai was the so-called "Compulsory Deposit Scheme" which obliged every person earning 125 rupees (\$25) or more a month to loan the state a certain percentage of his earnings. The object was to extract from the people 600 million rupees a year. The poorer sections of the population, workers, peasants, middle-class employees, handicraftsmen, teachers, etc., were the hardest hit.

These measures were put through at a time when chauvinist and nationalist sentiments were still running high owing to the frontier conflict with China. While the people paid for the swollen military expenditure through a sharp rise in the cost of living, the speculators and swindlers under this slogan continued with impunity to fill their pockets. The state of emergency was a godsend for the exploiters. They are using it to strengthen their position and attack the working class.

War hysteria then whipped up by the extreme Right drowned out the protest of the more conscious sections of the population led by the working class. But subsequent developments brought the realities home to the people.

The August 20 general strike in Bombay in which 1,200,000 took part showed that the advanced section of Indian working people had grasped the real meaning of the events and were prepared to fight for their rights.

Suffice it to enumerate some of the events that followed the proclamation of the state of

emergency to understand their impact: the arrest of Communists and trade union leaders, witch hunts against progressives employed by the government and private enterprises dubbed as "*enemy Fifth Column*," removal from the government of Krishna Menon and Malavia, cabinet ministers known for their patriotic and anti-imperialist sentiments, the vicious attacks against the principle of non-alignment launched by the Right-wing parties and the demand in the government to join SEATO to 'defend' India, and finally the move to form a Right-wing coalition government.

The parties of the Right wanted to capitalize on the popular discontent and to use it to promote their reactionary ends—primarily to overthrow the Nehru government and install a fascist dictatorship. The reactionaries counted on seizing the initiative from the Communists, forcing the Communist Party into the background, isolating it from the people and then eliminating it as a political opponent.

But they miscalculated. The people continued to regard the Communist Party as their own party, a party consistently upholding their vital interests. The Communist Party censured the government for taking the step of virtually accepting the American trap of air protection against "attacks" from the north and for agreeing to joint air maneuvers with imperialist air forces, for entering into agreements permitting broadcasting of the Voice of America from Indian soil, all of which added up to violation of India's basic policy of non-alignment. The Party censured the government also on the grounds of a number of internal economic and political measures not in the interest of the people.

Unlike the Right parties, the Communist Party did not confine itself to mere negative criticism of the government, it advanced a positive program of struggle to improve the conditions of the working people. It showed real alternatives, showed how the unjust taxes and levies could be abolished, without damaging national defense and economic development. The Communists proposed nationalization of banks, foreign trade and the oil industry, i.e., branches controlled by the big Indian capitalists and foreign monopolies, and using the profits now pocketed by the private sector to further the interests of the country and the people. The slogan of nationalization was included in the Peoples' Petition which won wide support since this is something in which all the main sections of the population are interested.

Side by side with the campaign to end the misery of the people, the Communists also

campaigns for the release of political prisoners, for civil rights and an end to the state of emergency. Under the Defense of India Act, which is a word for word repetition of the old wartime British law, some 1,500 Communists, trade unionists, peasant leaders and intellectuals have been arrested. Nine hundred have been detained without trial. The government, yielding to the pressure of imperialist powers and international reaction, struck first at the Communist Party to paralyze the struggle of the masses.

The reactionaries, including those in the government, have frankly admitted that the reason for the persecution of the Communists was to appease the U.S. imperialists with an eye to obtaining military aid from Washington. Soon after the countrywide arrests of Communists, the Communist Party leadership headed a deputation to the government and the Prime Minister demanding the release of all Communists, trade unionists and other democrats; the Party moved the High Courts of different states to get legal redress and instructed the Party branches and all members to launch a campaign for the immediate release of all political prisoners.

Many public leaders and jurists who stand by the Constitution have openly criticized the government for throwing people into prison without trial and for postponing repeal of the state of emergency, especially when normalcy returned to all spheres of life following the cease-fire. In July the High Court of Alahabad declared the Defense of India Act to be unconstitutional, describing it as a hang-over from the old British colonial tyranny. The Bombay High Court followed suit. The Courts released all the petitioners who sought freedom from illegal detention. It is extremely reprehensible that a number of detainees who had been released by order of the High Courts were immediately re-arrested under the Preventive Detention Act. Former Attorney General of India M. C. Setalwad argued in the Supreme Court that the Defense of India Act is illegal. He was joined by prominent jurists and former Supreme Court judges in defense of fundamental rights and civil liberties guaranteed by the Constitution, a step which placed the government of India in an extremely embarrassing position. These pronouncements on interpretation of the Constitution have instilled new hope and confidence in the working people fighting for civil liberties and release of Communist prisoners.

Under the pressure of public opinion, thanks to the initiative of the Communist Party, a

large number of political prisoners have been released in Kerala, Madras, Andhra, Mysore, Orisa, Rajastan and Delhi. However, despite the government's repeated promises to reconsider all the cases, more than 400 Communists, including some leading Party members and elected deputies, are still behind the bars, especially in Bengal, Maharashtra, Punjab, U.P., Bihar, Madhyapredesh, Assam, Tripura, Manipur and Himachalpredesh. Their release has become a crucial issue of national importance for the struggle to uphold democracy in India.

Thus the Petition and the release of political prisoners campaign became a platform for uniting wide sections of the people. The reactionaries did everything in their power to prevent this unity.

The Swatandra, Jansangh and other parties of the Right, the PSP, and also leaders of trade unions under their influence circulated in their local organizations special strictures against any participation in the signature and release campaigns. Some Congress leaders also aligned themselves with the reactionary parties. The leadership of the Indian National Trade Union Congress, which is under the influence of the ruling party, adopted a particularly blatant anti-communist line. On the eve of the Peoples' March to Delhi they called on their followers to boycott it.

But neither the diversive maneuvers of the Right parties nor the bans of the reactionaries could prevent the working people from uniting. The 10,200,000 signatures to the Petition and the millions who attended the release campaign meetings all over the country are much more than the total membership of all the political parties and all trade unions taken together, and their unattached mass following. This is eloquent testimony to the strength of the democratic movement.

In the villages and towns, Communists who canvassed for signatures and for the release of their comrades are welcomed as the spokesmen of the people. The people housed and fed them and helped them in a multitude of ways to carry out their mission. Often the Communists were followed on the platform by local leaders of other parties to urge their own members to support the Communist initiative.

The success of the campaign was ensured by the vast work done by the Communists. The movement spread like wildfire in districts and villages of all 16 states. The best propagandists of the Party and the trade unions and Kisam sabha (peasant organization) took part in the campaign. Party leaders in the center and in the states toured many areas

of the country. The Communist canvassers worked with selfless devotion, defying the torrential rains, floods and heat; these groups of enthusiasts carrying red flags went from house to house, block to block, village to village, adding new scores, hundreds and thousands of signatures to the Petition as they went.

The "three tons of dissent," as the foreign press has described the signature list of the Petition, have already had and will continue to have, an impact on political developments in India. When the Right was assailing the principle of non-involvement in military blocs, the working people's meetings served also to rally public opinion to the defense of this fundamental principle of the country's foreign policy. At these meetings the people exposed the maneuvers of the imperialists and their accomplices at home, advancing demands upholding democratic freedom.

The countrywide meetings criticized the reactionary ministers of the Central Government, especially Dessai and Patil and their colleagues in the states whom the press openly called the "Western lobby" and whose policy was inimical to the people. The fact that in the recent Cabinet reshuffle made by Nehru these ministers were dropped, though camouflaged as a Congress party organizational measure, is a direct result of the popular pressure.

After T. T. Krishnamachari became Minister of Finance, the loathed system of "compulsory deposit" was abolished in the main as was the legislation regulating trade in gold which damaged the interests of tens of thousands of craftsmen jewellers. All these are tangible results of the popular struggle, of the people's unity which its enemies were unable to disrupt. "The compulsory deposit system has gone and gold control is half gone. Two fascist-like measures and two fascist-like ministers have fallen. Not a bad harvest, after all," commented Comrade Dange, analyzing the results of the Peoples' Petition.

The successes of the two great campaigns described above show that the attempts of the reactionaries to use the Himalayan conflict to isolate the Communist Party politically have met with failure. The campaign cemented the link between the Party and the people. It returned the initiative to the Party. The Central Executive Committee of the Party pointed out in its decision of September 17 that the Party had no intention of resting on its achievements. It will carry on, launching more and more campaigns to improve the conditions of the working people.

In Bombay a working women's conference

recently decided to send a Petition to Maharashtra Legislative Assembly signed by 100,000 women for bonus schemes and job security.

In Calcutta a big campaign is on for the release of prisoners of that state and for a change in the government's food policy.

In Kerala a big campaign for the defense of agrarian relations legislation brought in by the Communist government has unleashed a powerful agitation of peasants in which even Catholic masses are brought to the United Front.

The recent events in India have fully confirmed the correctness of the Political Resolution of the Sixth Congress of the CPI in 1961 which stated that a broad alliance of democratic forces of all parties is needed not only to modify the policies of the government but also properly to implement them in the interest of the people. The tactics outlined by this Congress that independent mass activity by the Party combined with fraternal and genuine united front approach to mobilize maximum support is today, too, the principal tactics of the Indian Communists.

The main obstacle in the way of a National Democratic Front is the anti-communist prejudice of a number of influential leaders, especially of the National Congress. These prejudices are hampering the completion of India's national regeneration.

Recent experiences in India further strengthen the confidence of Indian Communists that *a broad National Democratic Front would be able to paralyze the reactionary forces inside and outside the ruling party and the government.* Such a movement can channel the actions of all progressive forces into a single stream of struggle having a common program of democratic reconstruction which would ultimately lead to the completion of the national democratic tasks as outlined in the political resolution of the Party in 1961.

Today as in the period of struggle for independence, India most of all needs unity of its progressive forces. The Communist Party is relentlessly struggling to achieve this unity.

Kunhanandan NAIR

The Amsterdam Congress of the Socialist International

THE Eighth Congress of the Socialist International met in Amsterdam from September 9 to 12. Among the items discussed were "The International Situation and the Struggle for Peace and Disarmament," which was opened by Harold Wilson, M.P., leader of the British Labor Party; "European Economic Cooperation," introduced by Guy Mollet, leader of the French Socialist Party; "The Challenge of the 1960's — The Equitable Use of the World's Resources," introduced by Halvard Lange, Foreign Minister of Norway, which not only developed into the usual theme of hate against communism and the need to send aid to the underdeveloped countries in order to prevent them from turning to communism, but also provided a "theoretical" platform for neo-colonialism. Finally, Mr. Eki Sone, M.P., member of the Foreign Policy Committee of the Right-wing Democratic Party of Japan, introduced a resolution on "The Tasks in Asia." This was discussed in public, but a report on work in Africa was taken in secret session.

What was the main concern of Congress during the discussion which took place during the four days of Congress? By and large it

was fear and hatred of the USSR and fear and hatred of communism. This was the specter which haunted the Minerva Hall in Amsterdam.

Ninety-nine delegates from 20 countries attended. There were 24 consultative delegates, and five "fraternal" delegates, of whom one was Omer Becu, General Secretary of the American-dominated International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. This was of some significance, since the ICFTU, which for long has sought to subvert the unions of the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries in order to bring them under the control of Washington and to build them up into anti-communist "bastions," has until now kept itself strictly apart from such political bodies as the Socialist International. This new approach also had to do with the situation in Africa and Latin America. The ICFTU is losing influence and Washington is not too happy.

The list of delegates looked imposing at a first glance, but a closer study revealed that despite two years work in the Afro-Asian countries, the Socialist International had failed

to bring more countries within its organization and sphere of influence.

This year there was, apart from Israel, not a single delegate from the Middle East. (There had been one delegate from Iran in Rome in 1961). There were, however, more observers and guests from Latin American countries, some of them representing bourgeois-democratic parties which have nothing in common with socialism.

The Socialist International is so anxious to extend its influence in these countries that at this congress it had broadened its statutes and created a special class of associate membership for non-socialist "popular" parties which share the same objectives as the Socialist International.

There were several delegates from Japan, Malaya, South Korea and India. Professor Park Moon Bok, who managed to slip out of South Korea to attend the Congress, told the assembly of the things which were being done to his people under the American-backed military dictatorship. Other delegates from Asia told similar stories not only of hunger and poverty, but of the arbitrary arrests, the imprisonments without trial and the shootings which were taking place in their countries. Military and civil dictatorships were ravaging the land, using the vast American "aid" funds not only for terror against the people but also to build up private fortunes. Yet only the left-wing Japanese delegates actually named and openly protested at the activities of the United States in Asia. The European delegates did not seem to be concerned.

"This is a European Congress," said a delegate from Asia in a private conversation, "not the Congress of an International which is supposed to embrace the world." And he added bitterly, "look how calmly they take the news that the French are to explode another bomb in Asia. Do you know why? Because it is taking place in Asia and not in Europe."

A delegate from the Socialist Party of Japan shocked the Congress by referring to the United States as an "alien power" in Asia, which had occupied Japanese territory and had turned Okinawa into a nuclear base against the will of its people. "How is it possible," he asked, "to have these weapons there against the will of our people?" And he went on to say, "it was unthinkable that a sovereign state—Japan—had no voice on her own territory, especially regarding nuclear weapons."

Congress did not deign to reply to the Japanese delegate, but actually he had been answered a few days earlier by Mr. G. Brown,

M.P., deputy leader of the British Labor Party. At a meeting of the representatives of the Socialist parties of the NATO powers, Mr. Brown openly hinted that the Pentagon more or less conferred an honor upon those countries it selected to use as bases for nuclear weapons. Mr. Brown saw the acceptance of such bases as "neither unworthy, unpatriotic . . . nor a second-class thing to do." It had to be done, if the other powers were to keep America "interested in defense."

The consultative delegate from Malaya, Americk Singh, Assistant General Secretary of the Malaya Labor Party, had one or two sharp things to say about British imperialism and about Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman. He attacked the concept of Malaysia which, he said, enabled British imperialism to retain a base in his country. Unlike Mr. George Brown, this delegate felt it a slur on the honor of his country to have a foreign base imposed on its territory.

Speaking on the resolution on political prisoners, Americk Singh said that he would be failing in his duty if he did not inform Congress that the leader of the Socialist Party of Malaya had been arrested by Rahman. "We in Malaya," he declared, "are called Communists if we come out against the British-supported Malaysia. How can we expect democratic socialism to develop in Malaya if the Socialist International does not demand the release of the political prisoners, or at least try to get them a fair trial?"

Apparently the draft resolution on South Africa came under strong fire from the two South African observers. Although a number of delegates supported the demand for economic sanctions to be inserted in the resolution, the British delegation opposed it. Ultimately, and in the interests of "unity," it was agreed that the demand for economic sanctions could best be met by an overall umbrella formulation which tied nobody to anything.

This came as a great relief to Mr. Harold Wilson, who, it is expected, will head the next Labor government and would have been acutely embarrassed if he was faced with the task of imposing economic sanctions on South Africa. But if Mr. Wilson felt relieved at the outcome, Mr. F. S. McEwan, General Secretary of the National Convention of Nigerian Citizens, was not. Seizing his opportunity when Mr. Wilson was acting as chairman to Congress, Mr. McEwan said to him: "Socialists cannot hedge; go backwards and forwards. They must face the truth and damn the consequences. We are not asking for a war, but we regret that not all Socialists are willing

to support both an arms embargo and economic sanctions on South Africa."

Thus the delegates and guests from the Afro-Asian countries found little value at the Congress. And what must they have felt when they read the following formulation in the resolution on Developing Areas, which was passed unanimously:

"In most countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, balanced economic growth is possible only when productivity in agriculture shows a steady increase. Assistance in the agricultural field deserves, therefore, a high degree of priority. In many countries agrarian reform is still urgently necessary. Strong support must be given to the experimental Food Program of FAO, which is seeking ways to use surplus food supplies to promote economic development in developing countries."

It is true that lip service is paid to economic development, etc., but the whole aim of the resolution appears to be to maintain the present forms of economy.

Much more to the point was the speech by Mr. Tom Driberg, M.P., and member of the Executive Committee of the British Labor Party.

If aid is to be given to these countries, he said, then it must be given for reasons of humanity, to help them forward, not for the purpose of combating communism. To give aid with such strings attached degrades both the giver and the receiver.

"Our motive for working for independence and economic and technical assistance for the colonial and ex-colonial territories should not be the negative motive of 'saving' them from communism."

Both Mr. Harold Wilson and Mr. Spaak referred to the necessity of seizing the opportunities offered by the Test-Ban Treaty for further negotiation with the USSR.

The resolution on disarmament clearly reflected the pressure of world public opinion; it favored an international détente, approved the partial test-ban treaty and spoke, though vaguely, about the possibility of other steps towards disarmament.

Recalling its previous Congress resolutions denouncing the racial policy of the Verwoerd government in South Africa, the Socialist International condemned the repressive legislation against progressives in that country; it urged the member parties to "exert maximum influence on their respective governments to bring about the immediate ending of all arms supplies to South Africa."

Solidarity was expressed for the Spanish workers who in the Asturias and Leon had

been on strike for two months despite the risks that such action involved under the Franco dictatorship; the people of Spain were assured "that when Spain has a democratic regime the Socialist International will do everything in its power to support the admission of Spain to all the international organizations."

As Congress proceeded it became obvious that it was determined to put up a show of complete unity. The European delegates, in particular, were especially anxious to smooth out all differences. They were anxious to paper over all splits and divisions. In order to further this picture of unity, both the British and the German delegations made mutual concessions. They even pretended that their strongly held differences were merely figments of the imagination.

In order to "help" the SPD, Mr. Wilson carefully explained that when he had advocated support for the Rapacki Plan for Central Europe, he had never intended it to be understood that he had advocated a rapid withdrawal from the Continent which would leave a dangerous vacuum in the center of Europe. Neither had he wanted to lessen "our" ability to defend "ourselves" in case of trouble, "and by 'us'", he said, "I naturally included those most involved — the Germans."

After that gesture, Herr Brandt, who had quarrelled so bitterly with the late Mr. Hugh Gaitskell over precisely this same policy, magnanimously announced that the German delegation was quite prepared to support the draft resolution which advocated a carefully controlled balanced reduction of arms and armed forces in chosen regions of the globe, including Europe, provided the balance of power was maintained.

It was the same when M. Mollet introduced the resolution on the Common Market. It was Mr. Brown, a supporter of the Common Market, who went to the rostrum to explain the position of the British delegation, not Mr. Wilson, who is well known for his somewhat half-hearted approach towards it.

In his 30 minutes, Mr. Brown managed to convey to, if not convince, the French and German delegations that Labor wanted nothing more than to join the Common Market. They would be delighted to join if only the members of the Common Market would accept the terms laid down at the 1962 Brighton Conference, terms which had been accepted much to Mr. Brown's chagrin and over his protests. In the interests of this new-found unity, neither the Germans nor the French bothered to inquire just exactly what these terms were.

The reason for this pose of unity is simple enough. Herr Ollenhauer had delicately hinted at it earlier in the proceedings. General elections are in the offing in Britain and in Germany. With the prize of power within reach, why endanger it by advertising their differences? Why not show that if the European Tories are split from head to foot, both internationally and nationally, the "democratic socialist" parties are at one, all united within the Socialist International?

Moreover, Mr. Kennedy had inferred that Europe was turning to the left and he had more or less openly admitted that he would just as soon deal with "Socialist" governments headed by Wilson in Britain and Brandt in Germany as he would with Macmillan, Adenauer and de Gaulle.

Because of this perspective, the two bright young men became almost inseparable at Amsterdam. They walked together, talked together, rode together and dined together.

It was in this way that "unity" was forged at the 1963 Amsterdam Congress of the Socialist International.

* * *

Soon after the previous Rome Congress, Mr. Richard Crossman, M.P., who had been a member of the British delegation, spoke at a meeting.

At this meeting, Mr. Crossman suggested that the Socialist International, for the sake of its future, must learn how to contain the "new wine" of the emergent peoples in the "old bottles" of the Socialist International. Otherwise it would be facing a serious crisis, even extinction.

These were shrewd comments, and had Mr. Crossman attended the Amsterdam Congress he might have seen that there were added reasons for his pessimistic attitude towards the future of the Socialist International. "The tired old men" not only applied to the European Tories. The Socialist International also has its quota. The Congress showed neither life nor vigor. There was the same support for capitalism, the "free West,"

the same adulation of the United States—there were almost cries of protest when Canadian and American delegates, with many apologies, began to criticize what they called reactionary American capitalism. When the American delegate said "there are 42 million people living in utter poverty in the United States," a shudder went round Congress. This was blasphemy.

It may be that with Washington's acceptance of Democratic Socialism as its new ally in the fight against Communism in the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries, more financial support might be available. But this, in all likelihood, will but accelerate its disintegration.

Thus a hard road lies ahead for the Socialist International. Maybe that is why it was so eager to broaden its statutes so that it could bring non-Socialist organizations into its ranks.

Maybe it will be more successful in Latin America. Hitherto contact had only been with the small Socialist parties. By linking up with bourgeois-democratic parties, it might be able to exert more influence and show better results, but then it will no longer be a "Socialist" International, no matter what it might call itself. Above all, will this broadening of its basis make it more acceptable to reactionaries in Washington? It might.

It is interesting to note that for the first time one of the leaders of the Socialist International, Dr. Pitterman, Vice-Chancellor of Austria, spoke of approaching the USSR and the New Democracies. Making a proposal for an economic commission to be set up, he suggested it could devote a large part of its work to exchanges with socialist countries. Evolution towards economic coexistence, he considered, must be accompanied by a greater tolerance towards their ideological adversaries in Eastern Europe.

Not even the chill perspective of future dissolution could make Congress show any signs of enthusiasm towards this suggestion. The deathly hush which followed showed that such direct contacts are most unlikely, at least whilst the present leadership is in control of the Socialist International.

H. FAGAN

Italian and Swiss Reactionaries in Collusion

POLICE persecution and deportation from Switzerland of a large number of Italian emigrant workers and some Communist M.P.s have shocked public opinion in both Italy and Switzerland.

The Swiss police are trying to justify this action by saying that many Italian workers

are active members of the Italian Communist Party, that they engaged in propaganda for their Party among emigrant workers at the time of the general election in Italy.

The Swiss authorities, evidently, seek to prevent these workers from tackling the political problems of their country, to prevent

those who are Communists from carrying out political work among their colleagues. These facts give an idea of the conditions created in "democratic" Switzerland for foreign workers, and, on the other hand, they throw light on the true class motives that impelled the Swiss authorities to launch another anti-communist "crusade" against Italian workers.

Exploitation of the emigrant workers who are deprived of the opportunity to defend their political rights by virtue of the fact that they are excluded from the political and public life of the country, is one of the historical factors that conditioned the development of capitalism in Switzerland. In view of the present boom in West European countries immigration is at an all-time high. In Switzerland, population 5.5 million, there are about 800,000 foreign workers, mostly Italians. The latter comprise more than 25 per cent of the industrial working class in the country. As a rule, they perform the most arduous labor and are the lowest paid. And although formally foreign workers enjoy the same status as Swiss workers so far as terms of contract are concerned, in reality the employers discriminate against them: in fixing wage rates and in grading skills. Moreover, the wages of the Italian workers are affected by the fact that the Swiss welfare system is much more backward compared with social welfare in Italy. Most of the Italian workers do not qualify for sick benefit for members of their families who have remained in their country. And only some of them receive family allowances in keeping with the legislation in some Swiss cantons. To this should be added the extremely bad housing conditions (most of them live in barracks) and manifestations of chauvinism expressed, in particular, in the formation of an anti-Italian party in Zuerich.

But the Italian workers in Switzerland, who are distinguished for their class consciousness and militancy, have no intention of putting up with the conditions of colonial exploitation in which they find themselves. They follow with keen interest the development of political, economic and social struggles in their country. For example, during the general election in Italy in April last year, about 260,000 emigrant workers went home to vote for the parties of the Left, chiefly for the Communist Party. The Italian workers have established fraternal relations with their Swiss fellow workers and with workers of other nationalities—Spaniards, Germans, Austrians, Greeks, Turks, etc. Not all the Italian workers, however, are active enough in the Association of Swiss Trade Unions, which is headed by the Social Demo-

crats. They have, of course, their own democratic organizations, and in the past two years they have, through various forms of the class struggle, forced the employers as well as the Swiss and Italian authorities to examine some of their demands, including the demand for family allowances and for sick benefit for members of the family residing at home.

The witch-hunt, persecution, arrests and deportations practised by the Swiss federal police reveal the intention of the Swiss authorities to weaken and, if possible, to break the militancy of the Italian workers. For practically all those persecuted or deported have occupied, or still occupy, responsible posts in the factory commissions, in the trade unions and in the emigrant organizations.

These facts have aroused profound indignation among the working people in Italy. The Communist members in the Chamber of Deputies and in the Senate have submitted interpellations, insisting that the government take steps to secure discontinuation of persecution and police sanctions. Socialist deputies and deputies of other parties have made similar motions. The General Confederation of Labor and the Confederation of Free Trade Unions have requested a meeting with the Prime Minister and with the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Labor to discuss the position of the Italian workers in Switzerland. Resolutions calling for an end to the persecution and in defense of the democratic rights of the emigrants have been passed by the Regional Assembly of Sicily, the regional councils of Sardinia and Valle d'Aosta and by many provincial and communal councils in the South and other parts of the country.

In Switzerland the persecutions have been denounced by all the trade unions in the Geneva canton, by the Italian Socialist Federation, while the Socialist Youth in Tessin have submitted a resolution to the Congress of the Swiss Social Democratic Party denouncing the action of the Berne government. *Voix Ouvrière*, organ of the Swiss Party of Labor, has launched a vigorous campaign in defense of the civil and political rights of the Italian workers. Even bourgeois newspapers such as the *Gazette de Lausanne*, *La Suisse* and *Journal de Genève* have criticized, though with some reservations, the deportation of the Italian workers and Communist M.P.s.

It is, however, the Italian government which is mostly to blame for this unsavory business, because it was from them that the signal came to the Swiss authorities to take action against the Communist activists for their participation in the election campaign. The Italian

consular authorities and the Swiss federal police joined hands in order to disclose the more active members of the Communist Party among the Italian workers. This is yet another proof of the moral baseness of anti-communism. The rulers of our country should be made to answer for these facts, for the plight

of the Italian workers forced to emigrate to Switzerland and other West European countries. And they should answer not only to Parliament but also to the emigrant workers, their families and to all the people of our country.

Alvo FONTANI

The Tasks of the People of Japan and the Intellectual's Duty

THE people of Japan are facing tasks which can be summarized as follows: peace and independence, democracy and economic stabilization. So that our intellectuals *could* do their bit in solving these tasks, their ideas, theoretical and practical activities should be directly linked with the demands of the working class and subordinated to these demands. There are, however, not a few intellectuals who are captives of bourgeois ideology and who advocate "truth for truth's sake" and "art for art's sake." Believing this attitude to be correct and impartial, hoping against hope that truth can be developed in a vacuum, they separate theory from reality, from politics.

By their status in capitalist society the intelligentsia of my country stand close to the petty bourgeoisie. While it is true that monopoly growth in postwar Japan has caused a certain proletarianization of the intelligentsia, a petty-bourgeois mentality is still pronounced. And this means that many of them prefer personal well-being to the working-class struggle, and therefore accommodate themselves to the regime. The "supreme interest" of people of this kind boils down to a desire to get into capitalist newspapers and journals, to speak over the radio and television, and win popularity. This attitude does not mean that they are satisfied with the policy of the ruling circles or that they have undivided faith in it. Anxiety and indignation in regard to the imperialist policy of war and its concomitant—fascization of the state apparatus—are increasingly felt also among petty-bourgeois people. Hence they can be won over as allies of the working class in the united front. But should this really take place, they will be guided more by the fear of a worsening of their conditions than by the desire to overthrow capitalism. At times they appear to be progressive, but at all times they are extremely sensitive to anything that affects their personal interests.

We would not be objective if we said nothing about those intellectuals who are indignant over the fact that for the first time in its history Japan in the postwar has lost its independence and kowtows to U.S. imperialism. Unfortunately for Japan, however, the number of these people is small.

Needless to say, these intellectuals who see only their personal interests cannot assist in socialist revolutionary practice. Some of them have fenced themselves off from the people, confining themselves to their studies in the universities and research institutes, while for others there is no greater joy than to act in the field of capitalist propaganda. Research is carried out by them among their own, petty-bourgeois following and has nothing in common either with the outstanding social tasks of our time or with the sufferings of our people. Scientists of this kind take refuge in the logic of concepts which have no historical and practical significance, and avoid the pressing problems confronting the people.

However, the crisis which Japan is experiencing today is too serious for playing around with "extra-historical" categories and "supra-class" problems. Modern capitalism is fraught with the danger of a third world war which threatens to wipe out mankind. Imperialism, which is exerting very great pressure on the people of Japan, profanes our national sentiment, tramples on our independence, plunges us into an arms race, deprives the people of their rights and endangers their very existence. And unless the people, faced with the monstrous inhuman violence on the part of the ruling classes, combat these classes in the most determined way, catastrophe is inevitable.

Instead of indulging in "pure science" for the sake of personal interests, intellectuals should merge with the working class, help it to realize its hopes and aspirations, should find and solve problems of theory in practical activities, in struggle. For only in this case will

they be able to fulfil their historical mission of introducing materialist philosophy and the ideas of scientific socialism into the minds of the people. And only then will their ideas and theories reflect the needs of the working class and its emancipation, only then will they correspond both to the national and general humanist tasks and become a guide to action for the proletariat. That idealism is incapable of assisting the revolutionary transformation of society is doubtless. But if materialist intellectuals want to serve mankind, they can no longer confine themselves to a complacent pride in their ideology. *They must pass over to action.*

Lenin's life is, for every intellectual, a great example of serving the people. Of all the men who ever lived, no one loved humanity more dearly and served it more selflessly than Lenin.

History knows of no few great men and the talented theories of human happiness evolved by them. But it was only Lenin who did not confine himself to theory but led the peoples along the road to happiness. I have satisfied

myself of this this year during my third visit to the Soviet Union. I hold Lenin in profound esteem primarily because he was not only the greatest of theoreticians, but also because he was an efficient theoretician, a practical leader of the masses, enjoying their boundless trust and support.

Recently I re-read Lenin's biography. I read his works every day, for I feel the need always to be in contact with Lenin. After reading his early works, I recalled what I myself had been at his age, and wished the earth would open beneath my feet, so ashamed was I. Reading Lenin reinforces my moral stamina and helps me in the work which, after becoming a Marxist, I have conducted in the difficult conditions of present-day Japan for the sake of enlightening the working class. The intellectuals of Japan, and not of Japan alone, should learn from Lenin if they really want to be useful to their people, if they want to help the progress of their motherland.

Kenjuro YANAGIDA

Against the Persecution of Democrats

LIVES OF PATRIOTS IN DANGER!

FREE Sisulu!" "Release the Political Prisoners!" These and similar slogans are appearing with increasing frequency on the walls of Germiston, Johannesburg and other towns and industrial centers in the South African Republic as the campaign for liberation of the thousands of freedom fighters now languishing in Verwoerd's jails, and against the foul policy of apartheid gains momentum on the African continent and throughout the world.

World opinion is particularly concerned for the fate of Walter Sisulu, former General Secretary of the banned African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, Dennis Goldberg and eight other fighters for freedom, against the policy of violence and apartheid. On October 9 they were put on trial on charges of conspiracy to overthrow the government. The hue and cry raised by the government press and the statements made by top-ranking reactionary officials seem to indicate that savage reprisals are about to be taken against Walter Sisulu and his fellow prisoners and that the threat of the death sentence hangs over them.

"Only one thing can avert this ghastly tragedy and save these fine South Africans —

true sons of our people — from judicial murder," says a statement issued by the South African Communist Party. "And that is a mighty tide of solidarity and determination throughout the world of all who value justice and human rights."

At the moment when the United Nations General Assembly is debating measures against apartheid in the South African Republic, against the terror, Verwoerd has staged a "show trial" with the purpose of undermining the growing movement against his hateful dictatorship and of bludgeoning the people into submission.

During the past two years the Verwoerd regime has armed itself with an array of draconic laws which have abolished the last vestiges of democratic rights and liberties; South Africa, by virtue of these laws, is now a full-fledged police state in which any possibility of a fair trial is utterly excluded.

The General Laws Amendment Act of 1963 elevates lawlessness and violence to the status of government policy. Under this Act "any commissioned officer may without warrant arrest or cause to be arrested any person whom he suspects of intending to commit any of

fence under the Suppression of Communism Act or . . . who in his opinion is in possession of any information . . . and detain him at any place he may think fit . . ."

And further: "no person shall have access to any person detained," and "no court shall have jurisdiction to order the release from custody of any person so detained . . ."

These excerpts from the Act bear eloquent testimony to the reign of terror in South Africa. In the past six months alone more than five thousand people have been thrown into prison for political "offences"; many of them are denied the right to communicate with anyone, including their lawyers.

During the current year, 66 trials have been held in South Africa. Over 800 people were haled into court charged with "subversion" and of being members of banned organizations.

Of these, 36 were sentenced to death and six to life imprisonment. Over 500 of the accused were sentenced to varying terms totaling 3,365 years!

The trials as well as information that has leaked out from the prisons reveal that Verwoerd's police use mediaeval methods of torture in their efforts to extort "confessions" or force their victims to turn informers.

It has been learned, for instance, that Dennis Goldberg, imprisoned in Pretoria, was kept night and day in heavy chains. It is also known that another champion of African freedom, Look-smart Solwandle, detained in the same prison, died under torture; the police version is that their victim committed suicide.

These Gestapo methods of torture have been noted by authoritative international bodies. A report on the policy of apartheid submitted by a special United Nations commission studying race relationships stated that "the police frequently subject the prisoners to torture to extort confessions or evidence needed to convict others."

The latest Verwoerd legislation deprives the six million Africans residing in the "white" areas of even those limited rights they enjoyed hitherto. Among other things, the new laws forbid Africans who work in towns to live with their families, and deny them the right to perform skilled work.

The monstrous oppression under which 11 million Africans live can be gauged by the fact that in the year 1962 a total of 384,497 persons were prosecuted under the "registration" law and the law restricting the movement of Africans. Among the "crimes" listed are the following: not having night passes, visiting urban areas, looking for work without special permission, failing to produce receipts showing

payment of taxes and — most heinous — performing forbidden dances!

The notorious 90-day No Trial Law is being more and more widely applied to persons charged with political offences. This law has been castigated by the International Committee of Jurists who pointed out that in cases arising from political charges the authorities deliberately deprive certain persons of the customary basic guarantees and take upon themselves the function of the judiciary bodies. As for the term of detention itself, the "90-days" clause has no meaning since at the end of the 90 days the detained person can simply be re-arrested for a further 90 days, and so on *ad infinitum*.

World opinion has been likewise outraged by the inhuman "house arrest" law under which anyone charged with political activity may be sentenced to up to five years domiciliary arrest. These South African prison-homes have become a symbol of the whole fascist regime in the Republic.

Responsibility for the terror and savagery against democratic leaders and patriots generally, White and African, lies not only with Verwoerd's fascist regime, but also with his imperialist patrons, including those in the City of London who give the South African dictator every support. Nor is this fortuitous if it is remembered that Britain's investments in South Africa, according to official data, are three times its investments in India.

In flagrant violation of the Security Council resolution placing an embargo on the delivery of arms to the South African Republic, the British government continues to supply Verwoerd with the means of suppressing the people. The South African police of 30,000 men is armed with revolvers, machine-guns and armored cars of British make.

The action of the British authorities in handing over to Vorster's Gestapo South African patriots who flee police persecution in South Africa have aroused the indignation of world public opinion.

The racist government, taking advantage of the support of the imperialist powers, is stepping up repressions in order to intimidate the people and to crush their will to resist.

One example is the establishment of a secret terrorist organization for the purpose of getting rid of political opponents. Aided and abetted by the police, gangs of terrorists and fascist organizations carry out with impunity acts of violence against people opposed to the regime.

Like Hitler in Germany, Verwoerd sees a threat to his regime not only in people but

in books. To date more than 8,000 books have been banned, and the latest list of forbidden literature includes a volume of "African songs." According to law, anyone found in possession of a banned book is liable to a fine of £1,000 or five years' imprisonment, or both.

But no matter how savage and inhuman its methods, the Verwoerd dictatorship will never succeed in crushing the national-liberation struggle.

In answer to the governments' boast that with the arrest of Walter Sisulu and his comrades it has smashed the underground activity of the African National Congress, and broken

the back of the national movements, the African National Congress, in a leaflet secretly circulated in Johannesburg and other cities, declares: "The African National Congress will never die. Our underground organization is functioning. Some of our leaders have been arrested. But although these heroes are undergoing the ordeal of Vorsters' jails, the people will not give way to despair.

"They will always have leaders. We have replacements ready, a new contingent of militant young men."

D. SCHEFFERS

REPRISALS IN SPAIN

(Letter from Asturias)

ONCE again the attention of the Spanish people and of world public opinion is focused on our long-suffering Asturias and the valiant struggle waged by our miners against the Franco dictatorship. This time the uneven battle lasted for more than two months and was a striking manifestation of the determination of the working class to get rid of the hated fascist regime.

The miners fought not only for higher wages, for a month's holiday with pay and bigger pensions. They fought also for the return of their comrades who had been exiled after the April and May strikes of 1962, for independent democratic trade unions and for the right to strike. Hence the tremendous importance which we Spaniards attach to this new action. The strike of the Asturian miners was a political strike, for they were fighting for the interests of all workers, for the future of the Spanish people.

This is undoubtedly an important step toward a general political strike; it is an example which is bound to have a decisive influence on the development of the struggle of all the Spanish working people.

Franco and his government have had ample evidence of the determination and resolve of the Spanish working class. Hence their fear that the workers in other parts of Spain may follow the example of the Asturian miners. Every success registered by the Asturian miners sent Franco's bloodhounds into a frenzy of rage. The whole machinery of suppression — Civil Guard, police, agents of the "social-political" brigade — was set in motion.

Determined to break the strike at all costs, the authorities staged man-hunts over the en-

tire area. In the dead of night miners were dragged out of their beds and driven to the mines at gunpoint. Those who resisted were shot on the spot. Over 500 miners were arrested and sent out of Asturias or thrown into jail. The barracks of the Civil Guard and police, the city and provincial prisons, became scenes of mediaeval torture.

The reprisals were most savage in Sama de Langreo (Nalon coal field). The operations were led by a Civil Guard captain named Fernando who had been brought to Asturias from North Africa; his assistants were such notorious cut-throats as Corporals Perez, Sevilano and Ramos. Fernando and other sadists tortured all who fell into their hands, men and women alike.

In Gijon they beat 36-year-old Rafael Gonzalez to death. Shouting: "One Communist less!" they beat up a pregnant woman, the wife of a miner. Maria del Rosario, a woman of 55, also from Gijon, was maltreated for giving shelter to a miner relative. Cases have been reported of miners being castrated and being driven insane by the torture. Two miners were subjected to a particularly refined form of torture: night after night they were beaten up and each day at dawn, in a state of collapse, they were led out to face a firing squad.

Wholesale arrests were carried out throughout the strike area. The first to be taken were the youngest miners on the assumption that they would break down more easily under questioning and reveal the names of the men who had led the action. But despite the torture, the police were unable to force a single one of these young patriots to betray the names of the strike leaders. Nor were they any more suc-

cessful with the other miners they arrested. In a frenzy of rage, the torturers transferred fifty of the prisoners to Madrid where they are held in the Carabanchel prison to await trial by a military tribunal on a charge of participating in "armed insurrection."

Among the crimes perpetrated during the strike there is one which has aroused the anger of the entire population of Asturias. I refer to the arrest of two miners' wives in Langreo — one, the wife of Victor Bayon, presently in prison, the other is the wife of Alfonso Brana, who was arrested in 1960 and who was only recently released from Burgos jail. The only charge that can be laid against these women is that they are the wives of miners. The aforementioned Captain Fernando and his torturers stripped the women naked and beat them unmercifully. And to make their humiliation complete, the two women had their heads shaven. At the time of writing Mrs. Brana was in jail in Oviedo. Mrs. Bayon in Gijon.

These crimes, let it be said, are the crimes of a government which has affixed its signature to the Declaration of Human Rights. It should be stressed that the strike was conducted in a peaceful way, there was no violence on the

part of the miners. The population of the mining area displayed real working-class solidarity with their victimized comrades, giving moral and material support to those who managed to escape the clutches of the police.

We in Asturias were gratified to learn of the call addressed by the trade union opposition in Spain to all international trade union federations to intensify the campaign of solidarity with our miners. Through *World Marxist Review* we call upon all men and women of good will, on progressive people everywhere, on all true democrats, to strengthen their solidarity and to support the just struggle of the Spanish people.

Those who expressed their support for the Asturian and Leon miners during the struggle, the innumerable friends of democratic Spain and enemies of the Franco dictatorship can rest assured that the Asturian miners, and the entire working class of Spain, will not disappoint them; the Spanish workers will justify this confidence and assistance by stepping up their struggle for trade union freedoms, for the right to strike and other democratic rights, and to put an end to Franco's fascist regime.

B. FERNANDEZ

FREE ANTOINE GIZENGA!

THE stormclouds are gathering again on the political horizon of the long-suffering Congo. The imperialists and their agents who murdered Lumumba are plotting another foul crime. The life of Antoine Gizenga is in danger. On February 3, 1962, Gizenga was seized on the orders of the Minister of the Interior and imprisoned on the desert island of Bulabemba. Fearing the reaction of their own people and of world public opinion, the lackeys of neo-colonialism did not take the risk of meting out to him the same fate as Lumumba; instead they conceived the plan of removing him quietly from the political scene.

This design, however, did not produce the desired results. Gizenga did not disappear from the political scene in the Congo; on the contrary, he has become the banner for all true patriots fighting against imperialism and its puppets. The illegal incarceration of Gizenga evoked demonstrations of protest which have continued for nearly two years now. This crude violation of elementary legality by the Congolese reactionaries who are out to destroy their political opponent has aroused the indignation of all who hold democracy and justice dear. Every honest Congolese, whatever his party affiliation, feels it his duty to take part in the struggle to free Gizenga.

Thanks to the pressure of the masses, the struggle waged by the Congo National Movement and the African Solidarity party, thanks to the resolute actions of the workers united in the General Confederation of Labor, and to the protests voiced by world public opinion, a motion demanding the immediate release of Antoine Gizenga was adopted by Parliament last May. However, the representative delegation selected by Parliament has not yet been allowed to go to Bulabemba Island to see Gizenga. In the meantime the health of this patriot is giving cause for alarm. His condition took a sharp turn for the worse in September when he went on a hunger strike against the gross violation by the authorities of the standards and principles of humanity.

A new wave of demonstrations has swept the country. The people are determined to prevent Antoine Gizenga from being done to death and to secure his release from custody. Mass rallies have been held in Gizenga's birthplace in Kuilu. On September 25, a demonstration was held in Leopoldville on the initiative of the progressive organizations. Police and Mobutu's paratroopers retaliated by taking reprisals against democrats. Following the banning of the Congo National Movement and the African Solidarity Party and the arrest of

two of their leaders, President Kasawuba dissolved Parliament which had again called for the immediate release of Gizenga.

The obdurate refusal of the imperialists and their accomplices to respond to the wishes of the populace has aroused the justified alarm of progressive people everywhere for the life

of Antoine Gizenga. All who are concerned for the future of the people of Congo are demanding an end to the lawlessness and tyranny and immediate freedom for the national hero, Antoine Gizenga.

Mamadou DIENNE

"CHAMPIONS OF DEMOCRACY" IN ECUADOR

THE military coup in Ecuador on July 11 showed once again that the seizure of power in the Latin American countries on the pretext of "defending democracy" against communism is a favourite method employed by U.S. imperialism to stamp out the shoots of democracy and crush the national-liberation movement.

The coup was preceded by a wild campaign against the Communists and other democrats unleashed by the Right for the purpose of diverting the tide of popular protest against poverty and lawlessness, against the yoke of the foreign monopolies and the local oligarchy. Moreover, here, as in other Latin American countries, the FBI had a direct hand in the campaign. As Manuel Araujo Hidalgo, former Minister of the Interior and one-time chairman of the Chamber of Deputies of the Ecuador National Congress, told newsmen some time ago, "the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation is carrying out its plan to create tension in the country and to prepare the ground psychologically for repressions against the parties, groups and individuals who do not support the policy of the United States government."

Long before the actual coup, the authorities began arresting patriots and democrats, both singly and in groups, in an effort to create an atmosphere of violence and terror conducive to a military coup (a danger of which the Communist Party had repeatedly warned). True, as a rule, they were obliged to release their victims a few days later owing to the absence of any legal grounds for their arrest. Last March, for example, Alejandro Idrovo, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, was arrested along with a large group of students. They were charged with having assaulted an employee of a cinema which was at the time showing Hollywood's anti-Soviet films. The charge was so utterly absurd that the chief of the Security Department in Guayas province had to resign when the public heard that the whole thing was a fabrication.

The reactionaries were anxious to secure "legal" grounds for their persecution of demo-

crats. They hoped to conceal the corruption of the top military and civilian bureaucracy, and its criminal, unpatriotic deals with imperialism, to hide the fact that the Alliance for Progress had failed and that the country was gripped by financial crisis, to justify the higher taxes and the rising cost of living, and to disrupt the movement in favor of declaring Latin America an atom-free zone.

But certain articles of the Constitution, as well as the democratic aspirations of the public and the opposition of some people in the Arosemena government made it difficult for the reactionaries to achieve their aim. Hence the military takeover.

The coup was engineered with the active participation of the U.S. Ambassador Bernbaum. On the eve of the coup the journal *Manana*, published in Quito, accused the U.S. Ambassador of "planning and financing a wave of terror, using for this purpose the ultra-Right and Cuban counter-revolutionaries." The purpose of this campaign, according to the journal was "to pave the way to a military dictatorship." In a manifesto circulated the day after the coup, the Communist Party declared that it had been directly organized by the United States.

The first step taken by the military junta was to ban the Communist Party and other Left organizations; all government offices and public services were placed on a military footing, strikes were banned, the government began to interfere in trade union affairs, all civil rights "sanctified by the Constitution" were abolished, and meetings and demonstrations were banned. A statement was issued warning that special laws were under consideration and that anyone who opposed the new government would be severely punished. The Constitution was virtually suspended on the grounds that under the present laws the Constitution is operative only when it does not contradict the decrees of the military junta and orders already issued or to be issued in the future. As for the trade unions, they were hypocritically instructed to fulfil their "class function," but at the same time emphasis was laid on

the need to steer clear of "ultra-Left" influences.

Hardly had the Arosemena government been removed than mass arrests began. Among those held in prison are: Pedro Saad, General Secretary of the Communist Party, Enrique Gil Gilbert, well-known writer and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Victor Zuniga, chairman of the Confederation of Working People, Jorge Reynolds, member of the national leadership of the Revolutionary Socialist Party and General Secretary of the organization of that party in Guayas province, Transito Amaguana, member of the National Federation of Indians, Professor Edmundo Rivadeneyra of Central University, Newton Moreno, poet and lawyer, Ney Barionuevo, student leader. These and many others are being held in appalling conditions, maltreated and humiliated. For example, José Solis Castro, journalist, was subjected to electric shock torture. Gustavo Reyes, trade union leader, was also brutally tortured.

The prisoners are kept in strict isolation. No charges have been preferred against them and no explanation given to their relatives. Their conditions can be judged by a report which appeared in *El Universo*, a notoriously anti-communist paper: "Large numbers of

political prisoners have been transferred to Guayaquil from the provinces. They were moved in secret and are being kept in strict isolation, for how long it is impossible to predict. . . . They are cut off from their families and are denied elementary sanitary facilities. . . ."

These are the initial "exploits" of the new "champions of democracy" in Ecuador. Reactionary regulations in the universities, banning of student demonstrations and similar measures complete the picture.

However, the hopes of the reactionaries that the military coup and the terror would enable them to break the resistance of the people have been disappointed.

The Cuban poet Nicolas Guillen recently appealed for solidarity and support for the victims of police terror in Ecuador and of the barbarous policy of U.S. imperialism in Latin America. The more unanimous this solidarity throughout the world, the easier it will be to wrest the Ecuador patriots from the clutches of the military dictatorship, and the sooner will Ecuador be able to throw off the yoke of foreign imperialism.

Ventura LORENZO

A VICTORY FOR JAPANESE WORKERS

ON SEPTEMBER 12 the Supreme Court of Japan upheld the decision of the lower courts acquitting all the defendants indicted in the "Matsukawa case."

We need not dwell on the substance of this notorious affair since it was reported in detail by this journal in previous issues (see *World Marxist Review* for September 1961 and April 1963). We merely wish to emphasize that the case of the mysterious train wreck in 1949, trumped up by the U.S. imperialists and their reactionary accomplices, having been fully exposed, has ended in utter failure for those who concocted it. The complete innocence of all the accused (Communists and trade union leaders) — both those condemned to death and those sentenced to imprisonment for life and for long terms — has now been completely established, and it is now clear that the real culprits are hiding behind the backs of the police and the prosecutor's office.

The acquittal is a big victory for the working class and people of Japan who for fourteen years waged an unremitting struggle to estab-

lish the innocence of the accused, and for democracy and justice. At the same time, it is a victory for the solidarity of the peace and democratic forces all over the world who rendered moral and material support to the accused throughout. All this encourages the working people everywhere to fight against oppression, for democratic liberties and trade union rights.

In statements issued in connection with the decision of the Supreme Court in the "Matsukawa case," the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan, the Socialist Party, the Trade Union General Council (SOHIO) and other democratic organizations recognize the importance of the victory, reaffirm the determination to carry on the fight for democracy relying on the people, and express deep gratitude to people all over the world for the support and assistance rendered in the struggle for the acquittal of the accused in the "Matsukawa case."

S. TANAKA

END THE FRATRICIDAL STRIFE!

SERIOUS incidents have taken place on the Moroccan-Algerian frontier. Moroccan and Algerian blood has been spilt. We pay homage to the memory of the victims of a conflict that should never have broken out between these neighboring countries.

The border fighting corresponds neither to the interests of Morocco nor of Algeria; it cannot further the cause of liberation or the cause of democracy and peace. Moroccans and Algerians are brothers. For centuries their histories have run the same course; they have a common language and a common culture, they share the same civilization. Together they fought against the same imperialist overlords, and today are working towards a united Maghreb. In the past no intrigues by the French colonialists could ever set one people against the other. A fratricidal war must not take place now between our two peoples.

The people of Morocco are continuing their anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle aimed at achieving complete national liberation and democracy. Under no circumstances should we be diverted from these basic tasks which

are so vital to the country's future.

The people of Algeria are bending every effort to overcome the difficulties facing them, combating the survivals of imperialist rule, and are taking the road to socialism, thereby justifying the trust and support which our people accorded them throughout the seven years of war. Hence it is impermissible that the brotherhood of the Maghreb, the future of our country and the revolutionary gains of Algeria be sacrificed to border disputes.

It is essential that mixed government commissions should begin negotiations immediately on the frontier issues with a view to reaching, without delay, an agreement on ending the conflict and the bloodshed.

The Moroccan Communists, who have a proud record of selfless work for a united anti-imperialist and democratic Arab Maghreb, again urge the people to display vigilance and to renew our close, fraternal relations with the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria.

*Ali YATA, Abdeslam BOURQIA, Abdallah LAYACHI, Hadi MESSOUAK, Aziz BELAL
Casablanca, October 11, 1963.*

Reviews

Socialist Construction in the Korean People's Democratic Republic

THE volume of selected articles and speeches by Comrade Kim Il Sung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Korean Party of Labor and Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers, which appeared in Moscow last year, deals with the various stages of the struggle and constructive endeavor of the Korean people since the liberation 18 years ago by the Soviet Army. The materials in the volume give the reader an insight into the problems with which the Party of Labor and the people have had to grapple in the process of socialist construction, in the struggle for reunification, and the various factors that made for their victories.

The struggle of the Korean people has always been associated with the world revolutionary movement. Their success in building a free socialist country is part of the process of the rise and consolidation of the socialist world system. The rebirth of North Korea, its trans-

formation from a one-time Japanese colony into a sovereign socialist state with a rapidly developing economy is striking proof of the vitality of proletarian internationalism, which welds the socialist peoples into a powerful community, facilitates their successful advance to socialism and communism, and is the guarantee of their independence and prosperity.

"In the course of their difficult struggle," said Kim Il Sung at a meeting of the Central Committee in February 1959, "the Korean people realized what the friendship and solidarity of the peoples of the socialist countries, and in the first place, the friendship and unity with the people of the Soviet Union meant to them." (P. 555.) Reporting to the Fourth Congress of the Party of Labor in September 1961 on the work of the Central Committee, Kim Il Sung said: "The Soviet people are the liberators and friend of our people. Every

time our people encountered difficulties and hardships in the struggle to uphold the freedom and independence of their country, in building the new life, the Soviet people extended a helping hand and stood by us. The Soviet Union actively supports the efforts of our people to secure the peaceful reunification of the country, is giving us every help in building socialism. Friendship and unity between the peoples of Korea and the Soviet Union, sealed in the fight for the liberation of our country, cemented by our joint dedication to the principles of the great Lenin, is unbreakable, eternal and inviolable" (pp. 883-884).

The socialist countries are building a new life not in conditions of capitalist encirclement, but within the system of friendly states. It is their duty to the world Communist movement, therefore, to make the fullest use of the advantages of the socialist world system and thereby strengthen socialism in each country and extend the influence exerted by this system on world development. But they will be able to perform their international duty only if they base their mutual relations on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, fortify the unity of the socialist community, take due account in their activities of the features of our epoch which made it possible steadily to change the balance of world forces in favor of socialism.

The true attitude of every Marxist-Leninist party guiding the work of socialist construction to its national and international duty is determined first of all by its measures to strengthen the socialist system, to build up the socialist economy. This is the only way the forces of socialism can be multiplied and its position consolidated. Pseudo-revolutionary phraseology cannot do this for it ignores the daily "humdrum" work without which the economy, policy and ideology of the new system cannot be created and which is essential in reshaping the world.

The materials in the volume show that at all stages in the country's development the Party of Labor paid close attention to reconstructing the economy on socialist lines, to the productive forces, gearing its activities accordingly. "Can we consolidate the democratic basis in the northern part of the republic and, as a consequence, successfully carry out the revolution? The answer depends largely on our economic progress," said Kim Il Sung in the report of the C.C. of the Party of Labor to its Third Congress in April 1956. "We cannot," he said, "tolerate ideological work that is divorced from economic construction, and we have no use for ideological work that is

unable to make its effective contribution to building up the national economy." (P. 274)

Economic development was a matter of the utmost revolutionary significance. The Party of Labor realized the impact it would make on the population in South Korea. Addressing the Central Committee in November 1954 Kim Il Sung said: "If we forge ahead in economic construction, improve the life of the population and turn the northern part of the country into a really happy land then the people of South Korea will support us and come out against the reactionary regime in the southern part of the country, and no force will be able to break their revolutionary spirit. Our country will be united and then we will be able easily to solve the vital problems of the South." (P. 77.)

The efforts of the working people of North Korea to develop the economy were crowned with success. Industrial production more than doubled between 1958 and 1962. Industry is now playing an ever bigger role in the national economy, new branches and types of production have made their appearance. Agriculture, too, has not been neglected.

North Korea's economic progress is linked with the expansion of the world socialist economy. The growing economic might of the fraternal countries, and especially of the USSR, enabled the republic to draw on the resources of the entire socialist community. Describing the favorable international conditions making possible this economic progress, Kim Il Sung noted: "Our country is carrying out industrialization in an entirely different international situation than was the case with the Soviet Union which had to accomplish this task single-handed, in conditions of capitalist encirclement. We have incomparably more favorable conditions for this: as a member of the powerful socialist camp our country enjoys the disinterested fraternal aid of the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and of the other countries of people's democracy. Our economic cooperation with the fraternal countries and their aid are powerful factors accelerating our socialist industrialization." (P. 132.)

The existence of the socialist world system requires that economic construction be approached in keeping with the concrete situation obtaining in the respective country, that the production efforts of the socialist countries should be pooled, thus strengthening their economic potential. The national interests of all the socialist countries, and especially of the small and economically less developed countries, make this imperative. All-inclusive coop-

eration and the international socialist division of labor enable each country to develop its economy more rationally, to accelerate the rates of growth. The volume shows that it was thanks to this cooperation that North Korea was able to overcome the disproportion in the economy inherited from the colonial past, to tackle the technological reconstruction of industry and to raise the living standard.

Thus, in 1953 and in subsequent years the Korean people received nearly 3,000 million rubles (in old currency) from the socialist countries, including 1,300 million from the Soviet Union. With Soviet aid North Korea has built 47 factories and factory shops and 14 other types of buildings. Enterprises restored or newly built with the help of the USSR include iron and steel works, power stations, machine-building and chemical plants, enterprises of light industry and food processing. The headway made shows what can be accomplished by a small country as an equal member of the socialist world system. The experience of the socialist world system shows that the greatest advance is made where the national economies cooperate and pool their efforts.

The Korean people, like the people of other socialist countries, need peace if they are to accomplish the tasks of socialist construction. Given peace and the relaxation of international tension, the socialist countries will be able to carry out their supreme international duty — that of building a society that will show the people of the world the way to a brighter future. It will also be easier for the Korean people in these circumstances to cope with their national task — the reunification of the country on democratic principles. At the Central Committee meeting in November 1954 Kim Il Sung said: "The Korean people decidedly do not want war, let alone an internecine war. Our proposals for the peaceful unification of the country voice the aspirations of all our people and that is why the people support us. . . ."

"We must actively press for the peaceful reunification of the country on the one hand, and on the other, actively participate in the world peace movement. For the more peace forces there are in the world and the more widespread the peace movement becomes internationally, the more favorable will be the conditions for reuniting our country." (P. 78) In December 1957, speaking of the fight for peace in Korea and for the peaceful reunification of the country, Kim Il Sung stressed that this was the primary revolutionary task of the Korean people at the time. (P. 342) Indeed

the fight for peace, the desire to effect revolutionary changes through peaceful means are a feature of the Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics of Communist parties. This desire springs from the true humanism of their aims and methods, from their faith in the power of progress, from their ability to assess the specific features of the epoch and, consequently, to lead the working people to the victory of socialism and communism along the least difficult path.

The documents in the volume speak highly of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, a policy based on the peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems, support the numerous peace proposals made by the Soviet government in the interests of ending the cold war. Thus, reporting to the Central Committee on the work of the Party's delegation to the Extraordinary Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU in February 1959, Kim Il Sung noted: "In his report Comrade N. S. Khrushchov set forth reasonable and concrete measures for settling outstanding international issues in a peaceful way. With a view to preserving peace in the Far East he proposed that the Soviet Union jointly with the Chinese People's Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and other peace-loving states in Asia should establish a zone of peace, and in the first place an atom-free zone, in the Far East and throughout the Pacific area.

"The Korean People's Democratic Republic, and all the people of Korea warmly support these reasonable proposals of the Soviet Union and will do everything in their power to implement them." (P. 546).

The constructive labor of the Korean people, their determination to oppose the gambles of the imperialist aggressors, rest on the might of the entire socialist community, and primarily of the Soviet Union which possesses the necessary means to protect the peoples of the socialist countries against any encroachment by the imperialists.

The laws of social development show that the more closely the socialist countries are united the more stable is their position and the more secure their sovereignty. It is therefore the duty of every Marxist-Leninist party to strengthen the unity of the socialist countries and of the world Communist movement. In the report of the Central Committee of the Party to its Fourth Congress, Kim Il Sung said: "The source of the invincible strength of the international Communist movement is first and foremost the unity of its ranks. Unity and the solidarity of the international

Communist movement are the earnest of victory in the fight for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism." (P. 839)

This unity of the socialist countries and of their Marxist-Leninist parties is not just a high-sounding slogan. Formal appeals will not bring unity. It is forged in the process of joint struggle for common aims and ideals, in the process of assessing the concrete situation and utilizing the opportunities to achieve these common aims, in the process of the further development of the theory of Marxism-Leninism. If unity is to be fortified a consistent struggle must be waged against everything that seeks to disrupt this unity: revisionism, dogmatism and sectarian nationalism.

The materials in the volume support the policy jointly elaborated by the Communist and Workers' parties to strengthen the unity of the world Communist movement; they express full solidarity with the historic documents adopted by the meetings of the fraternal parties in 1957 and 1960. The materials stress the determination of the Korean Party of Labor to uphold these principles. In a number of speeches Kim Il Sung touches on the points advanced by the Moscow meetings, which are a further development of Marxism-Leninism in present conditions—the points about the socialist world system becoming the decisive factor in the development of society, the fundamental change in the balance of forces on the international arena, which creates real possibilities for averting a new world war and strengthening peace, etc.

The Korean Communists, as the materials in the volume stress, attach particular importance to the experience of the CPSU for their

own practical work and in getting a clear perspective of social development. The Party of Labor regards the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, and the new Program drawn up by the CPSU as landmarks in the advance of the world Communist movement to a new, higher stage. Speaking of the paramount importance of the Twentieth Congress decisions, Kim Il Sung said at the Third Congress of the Party of Labor: "The historic Twentieth Congress of the CPSU adopted an impressive militant program on the basis of which the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union will lead the Soviet people to new epoch-making victories of communism; it arrived at conclusions of practical significance as a result of a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of some basic questions concerning the present international situation." (P. 159) In his report to the Fourth Congress of the Party Kim Il Sung said that the new CPSU Program "opens up bright perspectives for Communist society," "is a source of boundless inspiration for all progressives who associate their happy future with the path taken by the Soviet people." (P. 826)

The documents of the Korean Party of Labor repeatedly stress the need to uphold the principles of proletarian internationalism, to combat all manifestations of national narrow-mindedness, to support and fortify the unity of the socialist community. The experience of the Korean Party of Labor, the experience of all the people of Korea shows that adherence to these principles is the only true road leading to new victories of socialism.

K. KOST

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