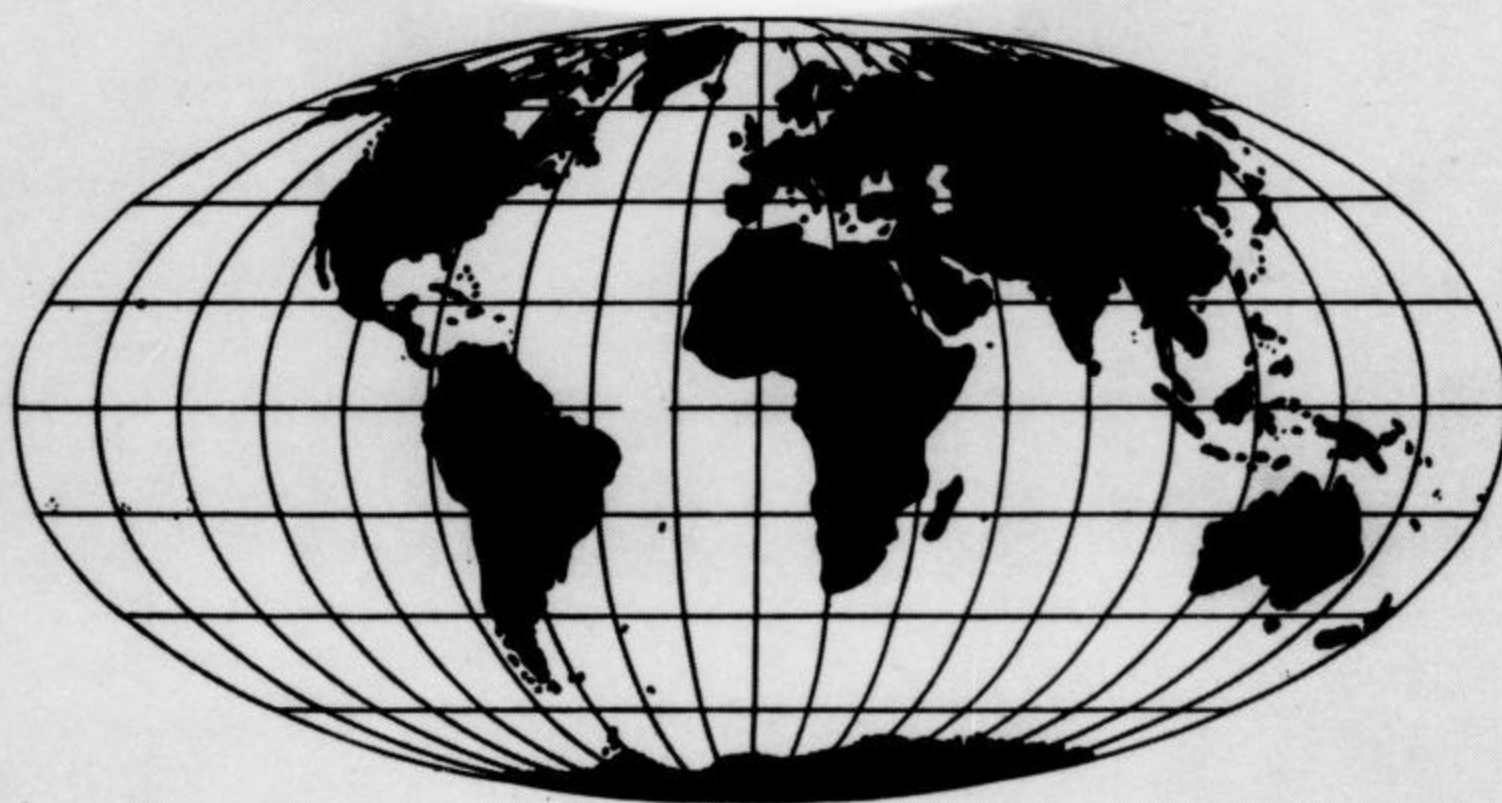


WORLD MARXIST REVIEW



Problems of Peace and Socialism

In This Issue:

Revisionism Must Be Fought

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Memoirs of Dolores Ibarruri

*We Salute the Intrepid Explorers
of Outer Space!*

THE IMAGINATION of the whole world has been stirred by the space flights of Valentina Tereshkova and Valery Bykovsky to hitherto uncharted frontiers of science and human progress. People everywhere acclaim the exploit of the first woman to survey the world from orbital heights — her nearly two-million-kilometer flight lasting for 71 hours was longer than the total orbiting time of all U.S. astronauts taken together. People everywhere applaud Valery Bykovsky's record-breaking flight covering a distance of more than 3,300,000 kilometers in 119 hours.

We salute the heroic cosmonauts!

We salute the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which has reared them!

We salute the Soviet people, the makers of their spaceships!

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW: Problems of Peace and Socialism

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ATTENTION!

Because of technical problems the article "The Peace Movement in Australia," by William Gollan, had to be omitted from this issue. It will appear in the August issue.

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Some Aspects of the Full-Scale Building of Socialism in the German Democratic Republic

Kurt Hager

THE nearly 14 years' existence of the German Democratic Republic is a record of hard-won achievements in laying the foundations of socialism, a record of all-round social progress.

The documents of the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party — the new Party Program, the report of Walter Ulbricht and other materials — sum up these achievements and throw light on the perspectives of socialist development in the GDR. With socialist relations of production established in the republic — and this is a key step in building socialism — the task now is, the Congress pointed out, to embark on *full-scale* building of socialism. "Socialist development in the GDR," the new Program states, "corresponds to the needs of the German nation. It accords with the vital interest of the German people and is an earnest of peace and a happy future."

I

The defeat of the Nazi regime gave the German people the opportunity to overthrow the rule of imperialism and militarism throughout Germany and thereby achieve what the nation needed — a life of peace and happiness. But the opportunity was seized only in the Soviet zone of occupation. In the Western zones the imperialist powers, in league with the German reactionaries, prevented the extirpation of the past.

The basic factors which made revolutionary reconstruction possible in the eastern part of the country was the achievement of working-class unity through the fusing of the Communist and Social Democratic parties in the Socialist Unity Party and the establishment of a durable worker-peasant alliance within the framework of the first peace-loving state in Germany's history — the German Democratic Republic.

The splitting of Germany by the imperialists in 1948-49 raised obstacles to the building of a new society but could not halt it. By the time of the Second Conference of the

Party in 1952 democratic and economic development as well as the political consciousness of the working class and most other sections of the working people had reached a level which made it possible to pose the question of building socialism in the GDR.

In the years since then, the working people, with the fraternal aid of the Soviet Union, have achieved signal success. During the first five-year plan (1951-55) industrial production increased roughly by 110 per cent compared with prewar. In 1955-61 the annual increase in gross industrial output averaged 8.5 per cent. Construction was begun of a number of big chemical plants, and a heavy-machinery industry was created. Substantial investments were made in the fuel and power industry. Today the GDR generates nearly 5,400 million kilowatt-hours of electric power more than did the entire German Reich with its population of 65 million in 1936. The GDR is one of the most highly developed industrial countries.

Building socialism, however, has not all been plain sailing. Prior to the erection of the anti-fascist wall around West Berlin and the measures taken to protect our western border, we had to carry on with this difficult work with our frontiers wide open. For years our enemies capitalized on this circumstance. They mounted a campaign of lies and slander and resorted to espionage and subversion to obstruct the building of socialism. Even according to the estimate of West German experts, the subversive activity organized from West Berlin caused the GDR losses amounting to more than DM 30,000 million. This, naturally, impeded socialist construction. As long as this state of affairs lasted the economic laws of socialism could not operate with maximum effectiveness.

On the other hand, the past years have taught the working class and other sections of the working people to administer the affairs of state.

In order to appreciate fully the progress made by the working people of the GDR

under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party it is essential soberly to assess the difficulties which they had to overcome.

II

When the GDR was established in 1949 its economic system was by no means homogeneous. Besides the nationalized sector of industry, which embraced eight per cent of all enterprises and 45 per cent of the output, and the publicly-owned estates in agriculture, which accounted for about 10 per cent of the farm output (in terms of value), there were numerous capitalist enterprises in both of these spheres. Wholesale trade was almost wholly in the hands of capitalists. Private workshops and small handicrafts enterprises were common. In agriculture small and middle peasants predominated. State planning extended only to the publicly-owned sector of the economy. Only after the adoption of the first five-year plan could it be said that the GDR had a centralized planned economy.

To lay the foundations of socialism it was essential first to expand the public, socialist property. The public sector was built up to provide the economic groundwork for the new system. And as a result of the development of the material and technological base of socialism a radical change was effected in the socio-economic relations, in the forms of property and the class balance.

The basic means of production were transferred from the hands of the capitalists to the people. In 1962 the share of the socialist enterprises in the gross industrial output was 88 per cent. In the decisive branches (power, mining, metallurgy, chemicals, engineering, etc.) the percentage was even higher. In the building industry socialist enterprises accounted for more than 85 per cent of all operations.

The Share of Socialist, Mixed and Private Industrial Enterprises (in percentages)

Year	In the gross industrial output			In the labor force		
	Socialist enterprises	Mixed enterprises	Private enterprises	Socialist enterprises	Mixed enterprises	Private enterprises
1950	76.5	—	23.5	75.7	—	24.3
1955	85.3	—	14.7	83.4	—	16.6
1958	88.8	3.2	8.0	83.3	4.7	12.0
1960	88.7	7.5	3.8	83.3	10.5	6.2
1961	88.6	8.3	3.1	83.4	11.5	5.1
1962	88.7	8.6	2.7	83.2	12.1	4.7

(Source: Data of the Central State Statistical Board.)

One of the most significant developments between the Fifth and Sixth congresses of

the Party was the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. Although the voluntary association of peasants in producer cooperatives began as far back as 1952, socialist farming embraced no more than 37.8 per cent of the arable land in 1958.

Today, however, the tenor of rural life is completely determined by socialist production relations. The socialist farms (publicly-owned estates and the producer cooperatives) cultivated 93.2 per cent of all farm land in 1962. By September 30, 1962, the GDR had 16,640 producer cooperatives (of these 10,289 were of types I and II and 6,351 of type III), uniting 974,177 members. These cooperatives cultivate an area of 5.5 million hectares.

Distribution of Arable Land (in percentages)

Year	SOCIALIST ENTERPRISES			PRIVATE FARMS
	All socialist enterprises	Publicly-owned estates	Producer cooperatives	
1950	5.7	2.7	—	94.3
1953	26.0	4.4	13.8	74.0
1955	27.3	4.4	18.6	72.7
1958	37.8	5.8	29.4	62.2
1960	92.4	6.3	84.2	7.6
1962	93.2	6.3	85.6	6.8

(Source: Data of the Central State Statistical Board.)

It should be borne in mind that when the cooperative movement began the private-property tradition was deep-seated in many parts of the countryside. Nor should it be forgotten that as the movement gained momentum the West German militarists and imperialists engaged in a smear campaign against the GDR. But things moved fast, and the socialist reconstruction of agriculture was completed without any great difficulty in the spring of 1960. Better proof of the correctness of our Party's agricultural policy could hardly be found.

Socialist relations became firmly established in trade as well. In 1962 the socialist sector accounted for more than 93 per cent of the overall wholesale trade. The share of socialist trading organizations (the publicly-owned *Handelsorganisation*, the cooperatives, etc.) in the total retail trade amounted to 78 per cent in 1962, the remaining 22 per cent being accounted for by organizations operating on a commission basis (some of them owned partly by the state), private retail traders and private eating establishments.

The Share of the Different Sectors in the Gross Social Product

	1950	1955	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
Socialist enterprises	59.4	71.9	76.8	79.9	83.7	85.0	85.0
Mixed enterprises	—	—	2.5	4.6	5.8	6.4	6.8
Private enterprises	40.6	28.1	20.7	15.5	10.5	8.6	8.2

(Source: Data of the Central State Statistical Board.)

Socialist production relations, then, have triumphed in all spheres of the economy; socialist enterprises created 85 per cent of the gross social product in 1962. The continued existence of small and medium-sized private enterprises is in no way dissonant with this, inasmuch as they, too, are closely linked with the socialist economy.

III

The triumph of the socialist production relations signifies that all the internal social and economic factors which might make it possible for capitalism to rise again have been abolished for all time. The capitalist class has gone, there are no big bourgeoisie and no landowners. The former rich peasants have joined the producer cooperatives. Many of the small and medium-sized private businesses have entered into a partnership with the state. Large numbers of handicraftsmen have formed producer cooperatives. In this way the GDR has done away with the exploitation of man by man, and has all but eliminated the class antagonism which is the scourge of societies based on exploitation. The workers, peasants and other working people dispose of the fruits of their labor themselves.

The triumph of the socialist relations of production means more than the ascendancy of socialist property relations. It influences all spheres of social life and plays the decisive role in the growth of the productive forces. Between 1950 and 1962 the average productivity of labor increased more than twofold, while the industrial output index more than trebled. As a result, the standard of living steadily rose. Real income of the people increased by 20.2 per cent in 1958-62, while trade turnover went up from DM 38,170 million to DM 47,150 million.

The triumph of socialist production relations, moreover, is a reflection of the fact that capitalist exploitation and oppression have been replaced by new social relations founded on socialist cooperation. The grow-

ing socialist consciousness of the working class, the peasant cooperators, the intellectuals and other working people is manifested in the new fraternal relations between the different classes and sections of the population, as well as in the steadily strengthening socio-political and moral unity of the people. In particular this can be seen in the spread of the emulation movement. Whereas in 1958 59.3 per cent of the total labor force of the socialist enterprises took part in this movement, in 1962 the percentage went up to 72.6. In 1961 workers submitted 563,000 rationalization suggestions, of which 63.3 per cent were realized, netting a saving of DM 853 million.

Led by the Party and united in the National Front for a Democratic Germany, the people of the GDR have created a state ensuring freedom and democracy for all who work. An expression of the genuineness of our socialist democracy is the fact that more than 600,000 citizens are taking an active part in the work of the permanent committees of the local authorities. Millions of citizens have participated in drawing up and discussing basic legislation, for instance, labor laws, submitting thousands of suggestions designed to improve the drafts.

All educational and cultural facilities have been placed at the disposal of the working people. The last one-room school with one teacher for all grades was closed in 1959, when Federal Germany still had 8,500 such schools. One of the achievements of socialist upbuilding is the introduction of the ten-year general polytechnical secondary school. By 1962, 77 per cent of all school children attended such ten-year or twelve-year polytechnical secondary schools. "Our government," the report of the Central Committee to the Sixth Congress pointed out, "spent in 1961 DM 20,700 million, or DM 1,210 per capita, on public education, culture, health care, social services and science. By way of contrast the Bonn government has been able to spare for these purposes only DM 580 per capita, because a steadily increasing part of its national income is expended on nuclear armaments, on preparations for a war of revenge."

The people of the GDR have built a state in which fascism and chauvinism and the sources of war have been extirpated, a state which is pursuing a consistent policy of peace and friendship among nations. The GDR is linked by indissoluble ties of friendship with the Soviet Union and constitutes a part of the socialist world system.

The triumph of the socialist production relations is the chief result of the development of the GDR. The Party is proud that it has carried out both the past program of the German revolutionary working-class movement and its own policy statements of June 1945 (the Appeal of the Communist Party of Germany) and of July 1952 (the decision on the building of socialism). In all this we have drawn, and shall continue to draw, on the experience of the CPSU as set forth in the new Program adopted by its Twenty-Second Congress, on the experience of the international Communist and working-class movement and on the lessons of our own history.

In elaborating the strategy and tactics of building socialism the Party has made a by no means small contribution to Marxism-Leninism. Proceeding from the principles of creative Marxism, it has applied, under the leadership of its Central Committee and its First Secretary, Comrade Ulbricht, the general laws of socialist construction to the specific conditions of Germany in general and the GDR in particular.

No other European country is divided as Germany is into two states with diametrically opposed social systems. Because of this division, the socialist construction in the GDR has a most direct bearing on the struggle to curb and overthrow German imperialism and militarism, which is the most urgent issue confronting the entire nation. It is to the credit of our Party that, in combating such a formidable adversary as German imperialism, which is backed by international imperialism, it has elaborated the correct strategy and tactics charting the way to the victory of the working class throughout Germany.

The complex conditions of the struggle against German imperialism and the importance of building up the GDR as an example for the working people of West Germany made it imperative to create a broad alliance of the working class and all other sections of the working people as well as the national-minded middle bourgeoisie. The Party worked out new ways and means of solving the problems of the transition from capitalism to socialism, such as influencing the big farmers to join the producer cooperatives, state participation in the small and medium-sized private enterprises, contract arrangements with private retail traders making them commission-agents for state trading organizations, and the establishment of handicraft cooperatives.

Of vast importance is the fact that our worker-peasant government has developed on

the basis of a multi-party system, with the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class playing the leading role. Comradely cooperation between the SUPG and the Christian Democratic, Liberal Democratic, National Democratic and Democratic Peasant parties and the mass organizations with which it is associated in a democratic bloc has made it possible to enlist all sections of the population in the building of socialism.

As a result, the SUPG has succeeded in bringing about the *peaceful* transition from capitalism to socialism.

IV

Great though our achievements are in consolidating the foundations of socialism and ensuring the triumph of the socialist production relations, the Sixth Congress of the Party nevertheless pointed out that *hard work was still needed to ensure the complete and final victory of socialism.* By putting forward this thesis of major theoretical and practical significance, the Party rejected the oversimplified concepts of the victory of socialism which previously had some currency. The substance of these erroneous notions was that the establishment of worker-peasant rule and socialist relations of production in themselves signified that socialism had achieved complete victory. Yet the victory of socialism implies something more than working-class power and the triumph of the socialist production relations. It implies, as Marx and Engels pointed out, the transformation of the entire mode of production with an attendant rapid expansion of the productive forces.

We asked ourselves: 'Was our level of economic, political and cultural development on a par with what should be expected from a socialist society, did it testify to *all-round superiority* over capitalism and was it an example capable of convincing also the working people of West Germany that they too should strive for socialism? All the achievements of the GDR notwithstanding—achievements which constitute the true "German miracle"—the Sixth Congress did not identify the triumph of socialist production relations with the complete victory of socialism. The Party program declares: "Our achievements have changed all the old yardsticks. In a few years our industrial production will equal that of the entire German Reich of 1937 (with the exception of a few branches of the coal mining and metallurgical industries) although in area the GDR is less than one-quarter of the former Reich. But this level is not enough for socialism. Our goals are higher."

In a highly industrialized country like the GDR the victory of socialism presupposes scientific and technological accomplishments second to none. To achieve this standard, large numbers of researchers and specialists in all branches of the economy and a high level of education and culture are required. And these conditions can be created only through full-scale building of socialism paving the way for gradual transition to its second and higher phase—communism.

Our point of departure is that rapid technological progress, which acquires full scope only under socialism, will change not only the character of the productive forces, but, by bringing into being new branches of industry, new methods of production, etc., also the social requirements of the working people which socialism is called upon to satisfy.

The Program designates the following as our aims in the full-scale building of socialism:

1. Further advancement of the national economy, rapid increase of output and productivity of labor based on high scientific and technological standards with a view to providing the working people with all comforts and amenities of life, satisfying their growing requirements and fully implementing the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

2. Development of the new socialist relations between working people. High civic consciousness, a conscientious approach to labor as an essential component of a full, rich life, and dedication to the interests of society become the traits of the people of socialist society.

3. Full access to education and culture for all so as to enrich their lives, provide the conditions for the all-round flowering of the human personality and equip the people with the knowledge and skill essential to get the most out of the productive forces. They will then be able to give more to society and thus create the prerequisites for receiving more to satisfy their personal requirements.

4. Building the GDR as a modern socialist state which will embody in the eyes of the world the new Germany, a state whose peace policy, prestige and power of attraction will fill its citizens with pride.

The economy is the principal sphere where socialism and communism are built. Hence it is also the main arena of the competition between socialism and imperialism, both on a world scale and on the scale of Germany. The Sixth Congress, consequently, attached the greatest importance to economic progress,

noting that solution of the tasks confronting the country is bound up with its participation in the international socialist division of labor and therefore to no small extent dependent on the further consolidation of the unity of the socialist system.

When we speak of full-scale building of socialism, we have in mind the advancement of our economy to a level with the latest achievements in science, technology and organization of production, and the gradual overcoming of the backwardness inherited from capitalism in both industry and agriculture. According to the preliminary estimates for 1964-70 announced at the Congress by Comrade Ulbricht, industrial output is to increase by 60 per cent as compared with 1963 (an average annual rate of about seven per cent) to a value of DM 136,000 million, or to six times the level of 1949, the year our republic was established. In the same period the productivity of labor in the nationalized industry is projected to increase by 65 per cent and the national income to go up by 35 per cent. In 1970 industry is scheduled to turn out 70 per cent of the gross national product. Investments are to increase by 66 per cent, from DM 16,800 million in 1963 to DM 28,000 million in 1970.

The Sixth Congress singled out a number of branches as decisive for the economic program. These are: the chemical industry, especially petrochemicals; steel rolling; the electro-technical industry, primarily electronics and branches of electrical engineering essential for accelerating mechanization and automation; the scientific instruments industry; power and transport; agriculture, which is to be made more intensive and gradually industrialized.

Rapid development of these branches, which are in the mainstream of modern scientific and technological progress and find particularly favorable conditions in the GDR, involves a substantial shift in our raw material structure primarily towards petrochemicals and other new materials, not to speak of more efficient utilization of the available supply. Rationalization, introduction of chemical processes, mechanization and automation are to be emphasized.

The Congress stressed that the further improvement of the standard of living depends on greater productivity of labor based on technological advance. The 65 per cent increase in productivity envisaged in nationalized industry requires raising the share of accumulation in the national income to 24 per cent. Otherwise the necessary rate of

technological modernization can hardly be ensured. In view of this, we assess the efficacy of our Party work too by the advance made in raising the productivity of labor, introducing new technology and reducing production costs.

In his address to the Sixth Congress of our Party, N. S. Khrushchov stressed that rapid increase of the productivity of labor was decisive in the struggle for our political and social aims within the country and on the international arena. This applies to the economic competition between the two Germanys. It is an open secret that the average labor productivity in industry in the GDR is still 25 per cent less than in West Germany. There are many reasons for this lag. Even before the Second World War the productivity of labor in the East of Germany was lower than in the West, and the gap was widened by the war and the postwar division of Germany as a result of the policies of the German and foreign imperialists, which cut our economic area off from West German heavy industry. Moreover, the conditions that prevailed immediately after the war in the present Bonn state and the GDR differed greatly. It should also be borne in mind that West Germany took every advantage of the open frontiers to pursue a policy of obstructing our economic upbuilding which, apart from everything else, limited our opportunities to accumulate funds for investment and thus retarded our technological progress. Yet we have succeeded in large measure in coping with the difficulties, ensuring a rapid growth of output and labor productivity and, in this way, considerably reducing the lag as compared with West Germany. Even our enemies have to concede these accomplishments.

But in order to overtake, and in some branches to surpass, the productivity of labor in the industrial capitalist countries, in particular West Germany, much more must be done. The Congress outlined the tasks and the ways and means of solving them. These tasks range through literally all spheres of public life and Party work—from production organization and technological progress, through intensive effort to turn science into a productive force, and radical reorganization of the educational system from top to bottom.

An important role in all this will be played by improved planning and management as well as the introduction of the vertical principle in Party and government guidance of the economy.

V

In his report to the Sixth Congress Comrade Ulbricht discussed in detail our new system of economic planning and management. The chief tasks in this sphere, he stressed, are "to make full and proper use of the economic laws of socialism in order to ensure the optimum, balanced development of the productive forces. Only in this way can the decisive advantages of our economic system be drawn upon. . . . The proper use of the economic laws implies improving planning and management so as to give full scope to the motive forces of economic development while fixing the principal proportions with scientific precision and controlling their realization."

Social labor and socialist emulation are prime levers for solving economic tasks. Moreover, social labor plays a decisive part in developing socialist relations between people, in stimulating the nation's spiritual advancement.

As before, promoting a socialist spirit of teamwork in production and research holds the center of our attention. The increase in the number of socialist labor teams and enterprises is a criterion of the political consciousness of the workers and intellectuals, for it is here that the conscious striving towards higher productivity of labor and scientific and technological progress finds concrete expression. Social labor heightens social consciousness and helps to mould the man of the socialist society.

Effort towards higher productivity of labor and better quality of output through socialist emulation is, of course, not only a matter of moral impulse. As the Sixth Congress stressed, the prime mover here is the *correct use of material incentives*. Among other things, such criteria should be worked out for judging the performance of enterprises as would make bonuses and the pay of the leading functionaries dependent on quality of work. Where the quality is not up to the mark, where new technology is not properly introduced, or where production costs are high, no bonuses should be paid.

In agriculture, too, socialist emulation is linked with a correct approach to incentives. The task here is to increase yields and provide a reliable fodder supply, primarily by drawing on the achievements of agricultural science and the experience of the best peasant cooperators.

Another driving force is the striving towards full conformity between the requirements of society and the interests of the

individual and groups of workers. Wherever such harmony is lacking, wherever shortcomings in planning and management give rise to contradictions between the public interest and individual interests, progress is retarded. Moreover, such contradictions cannot be removed merely by invoking moral standards and appealing to people's socialist consciousness. *Conscious effort to ensure complete accord between the interests of the individual members and groups of members of socialist society, on the one hand, and the interests of society as a whole, on the other, the unity of the material and moral factors, is basic to proper planning and managing of the economy.*

The guiding principle might be formulated thus: "What is good for society is good for each socialist enterprise and for each worker."

Maximum efficiency cannot be achieved by isolated measures to improve one or another aspect of the work, by "patching up" shortcomings as regards incentives and assessing the performance of enterprises; what is needed is a gradual radical reorganization of planning and management as a whole. This will bring us to a higher stage of democratic centralism harmoniously combining efficient leadership at the top with the maximum initiative and active participation of the masses in running the economy.

An important component of the system of planning and management now being elaborated in the GDR is the *transfer of responsibility for the entire process of reproduction in the various branches to the publicly-owned enterprises or to amalgamations of these enterprises*. Such amalgamations, operating on the basis of strict cost accounting, will be the nerve centers of the day-to-day management. The object is to put the conduct of the affairs of public enterprises on a strictly scientific footing and, with the Party organizations, business managers and trade unions maintaining a close link with the masses, fully to harness the initiative of the people.

The state bodies responsible for planning and management will concentrate on the big, overall issues, determining the basic proportions to be observed and seeing to it that these proportions are adhered to by the enterprises. "Our system of planning and management," Comrade Ulbricht said, "is being brought into line with the level of the productive forces and organized so as to make better use of the operation of economic laws in the full-scale building of socialism. What is in question is more concrete leadership

from above without petty tutelage, while enlisting the democratic participation of the working people."

The vertical, industrial principle, then, is to become the basic principle of economic management at all levels. By discarding the old system of guidance along territorial lines we are bringing management closer to the requirements of production. As Comrade Ulbricht said, "what is needed now is concrete, competent management. It is necessary to uproot conservatism and, by managing production along vertical lines, forge ahead in a new way, releasing the creative initiative of the working people."

Party work conducted along industrial lines will considerably enhance the leading role of the Party, not only in posing the new tasks in conformity with the changing conditions but also in charting the ways and means of carrying out these tasks, in organizing and guiding their realization. Hence it is imperative for the Party cadres steadily to improve their professional knowledge and production skills.

* * *

Although the Party Congress devoted much attention to economic questions, this does not mean that the other aspects of building socialism, in particular the development of socialist democracy and ideological work, are less important.

No longer are there obstacles to the operation of the economic and social laws of socialism in the GDR. Society can and should make full use of these laws to demonstrate the advantages of the socialist system in every area of life. All this requires conscious effort. It is impossible to build socialism unless the millions of working people think and act along socialist lines, unless constant progress is ensured in the ideological and cultural spheres. Hence, the educational work of the Party and the cultural activities of the state must be stepped up.

The Congress regarded the moulding of the man of socialist society, the shaping of a new socialist moral code, and economic endeavor as inseparable aspects of the one grand overall task and emphasized the role of education, cultural activity and art in this. *Full-scale building of socialism implies enriching the spiritual and intellectual life of society.*

Since the Congress, work has been under way to bring the educational system to a level with the new tasks and requirements. The Party pays much attention to the social scien-

ces, both instruction in them and research on problems pertaining to the development of socialist society. The aim is to link these sciences, and in particular political economy, with production, and to develop them as the scientific foundation for guiding the progress of society.

The Party conducts extensive activities among art workers, primarily to elucidate the tasks facing them in moulding the man of the socialist epoch and to help work out the ways and means of carrying out these tasks. In this as in all other spheres its ideological work is aimed at shaping this new man with his lofty moral code, high educational standards and professional skill, creative talent and ability which are afforded every opportunity for development. The moulding of the socialist man in the GDR will be a landmark in the history of the German nation.

The full-scale construction of socialism in the GDR will greatly facilitate further change

in the balance of forces in Germany in favor of peace and socialism. Its fruits, especially in the economic sphere, will be a substantial contribution to the cause of peace. At the same time our economic achievements will greatly strengthen the entire socialist camp.

Creatively applying Marxism-Leninism in the specific conditions of Germany — the arena of direct confrontation between the two diametrically opposed social systems — the SUPG is working to strengthen the alliance of the working class and the peasants and other sections of the working people, to cement the social, political and moral unity of our people. Drawing on the inexhaustible energies and initiative of the masses, it guides the all-out building of socialism in the GDR. We are confident that the program of socialism adopted by the Sixth Congress of our Party will be carried out, and that we shall take the road to communism along which the fraternal Communist Party of the Soviet Union is now forging ahead.

Revisionism Must Be Fought

(The Path of the Larsen Group)

Ib Noerlund

ONE of the basic lessons taught by the history of the Communist movement is that it can develop only if a resolute struggle is waged alike against revisionism and Right-wing opportunism, and against dogmatism and Left-wing opportunism. This thesis was underscored in the 81-Party Statement of 1960 and it remains equally valid today. Indeed, it is vitally imperative for the international Communist movement as a whole and for each of its member-parties to be guided by the principles set forth in the Statement in order to make their full contribution to the cause of peace, democracy and socialism.

This applies in the most direct sense also to the Communist Party of Denmark, whose work has been complicated by the appearance on the scene of the so-called Socialist People's Party, an organization set up by a group of renegades headed by Aksel Larsen, formerly Chairman of the Communist Party, from which he broke away in 1958. In its January 20, 1963, resolution "On Unity in the Communist Movement" condemning dog-

matist attacks against the line of the 1960 Statement, the Central Committee of the Communist Party declared that "we are determined to make our contribution, and we shall continue to work to overcome all the obstacles raised by revisionists and dogmatists alike." This is all the more urgent now that the Larsen group is trying to capitalize on the situation created by the dogmatist sallies and to use these to discredit the international Communist movement in general and the Communist Party of Denmark in particular.

The problems of our Party are, of course, largely rooted in the specific features of social development in Denmark and Scandinavia generally. Still, they no doubt are of interest also to the international Communist movement, as is our experience of the two-front struggle necessitated by the situation. Moreover, a closer examination of the experience of the class struggle in Scandinavia may throw added light on aspects of the democratic struggle which now hold the attention of many Communist parties.

Reformism and revisionism have always been the Achilles' heel of the Danish working-class movement. Owing to their influence, the large and firmly established workers' organizations for a long time presented no challenge to the class rule of the capitalists. This corroding influence has been sustained by illusions stemming from the concessions made by the bourgeoisie in the sphere of civil rights and the standard of living. The fact is that the Danish working class has already won some of the vital democratic demands which the workers of other countries are still fighting to wrest from the monopolies. True, these concessions have been won through class struggle, but the bourgeoisie has managed to make them look like gifts bestowed from the top. This circumstance and a revisionist interpretation of the democratic gains have retarded the growth of socialist consciousness among the masses; more, they have fed a smug, self-satisfied brand of nationalism directed first against the Soviet Union and then also against the other socialist countries. *In themselves* democratic reforms are a far cry from socialism. Only if the role of the masses in the democratic struggle for these reforms is correctly understood can they be made deeper and more far-reaching. An important prerequisite of clarity in this matter is struggle against the revisionists.

The Social Democratic leaders have moved farther to the Right since the war. It is they who assumed political responsibility for jettisoning the traditional policy of Danish neutrality and subordinating the country to NATO; they used the powers of government to introduce conditions which the workers had previously rejected by an overwhelming majority of votes. This tightening of the screws weakened their traditional hold on the workers' organizations and the threadbare reformist and anti-Soviet slogans no longer sufficed to prevent the spread of Left sentiment in the working class. By 1956 the influence of the Communists had grown considerably, and they had won new positions in the trade union movement.

The counter-offensive of the ruling classes took the "modernized" form of a revisionist onslaught. Seizing upon the international events of 1956 and taking advantage of the traditional petty-bourgeois prejudices and illusions in the labor movement, the enemies of the working class and the people generally began to hound the Communists in order to isolate them. Attempts were made to infiltrate the Communist Party so as to

split and paralyze it. The results of this offensive were due to the revisionist group which had formed around the Party chairman. When the group failed to divert the Party from Marxism-Leninism, they set to work, in true renegade fashion, to form their own party.

Their idea was to gain control of the Left trends in the working-class movement and, by resorting to anti-communist slander, to prevent these from developing along consistently democratic lines, from gravitating to the Communist Party. To this end the leaders of the new Socialist People's Party resorted to shameless demagoguery.

Their anti-communism won for them the support of the capitalist propaganda machine. In this way they managed to muster in the general election of 1960 a heterogeneous following sufficient to give them 11 seats in the Folketing. The Communist Party lost considerable ground at the polls and, under the electoral law, was denied parliamentary representation.

The SPP received the same number of seats as the bourgeois Radical Party, the Social Democrats' partner in the government coalition. Believing that their parliamentary strength warranted a bid for partnership with the government, the Larsen people continued their unprincipled Right-wing line in order to win its confidence.

As was stressed by the Twenty-First Congress of the Danish Communist Party in June 1962, in assessing the SPP a distinction should be drawn between the Larsen clique, which consciously pursues an anti-communist line, and its sincerely democratic and socialist following, who have been taken in by the demagogic double-talk but who by no means share their ulterior motives. That this is the correct approach is evident if only from the tenuous link between the leaders of the SPP and its constituents. Its electoral success notwithstanding, the SPP is organizationally weak and its press has no appreciable circulation; indeed, what contact the leaders have with their following is mainly through the capitalist press, television and radio. The Communists take this into account in working for unity with the SPP supporters.

The emergence of the SPP and its success at the polls have not brought about the "regeneration of Danish policy" which the renegades had prophesied. On the contrary, the Social Democrat-Radical government is ignoring the growing Left sentiment among the population and steering still farther to

the Right, intensifying the arms build-up with the help of NATO, not to speak of establishing a joint Danish-West German military command or the feverish efforts to involve Denmark in the Common Market and to introduce a turnover tax and other undemocratic economic measures.

All this has added to the popular discontent. The SPP leaders, however, have done nothing to channel this discontent along the lines of democratic mass struggle; in a number of cases they have actually worked to prevent this from happening. As a matter of fact, the popular sentiment interests them only insofar as it has a bearing on their electoral chances and helps them to gain entry into the government coalition. With this in view, the Larsens are stepping up their anti-communist activities and edging up to the positions of the Social Democratic leadership to the extent that their Left-opposition pose allows. As a result, the Left forces of the working class and the people generally have been split and prevented from making the headway they otherwise could have made.

The top clique in the SPP subscribes to no socialist or class principles that might impel it to take a revolutionary stand in the class struggle. Bowing to the logic not of class struggle but of bourgeois parliamentarism, it is drifting down the turbid stream of opportunism, causing much harm to the democratic struggle of the people, disorganizing this struggle and seeking to divert it into the byways.

From the standpoint of combating trends of this type and carrying out the tasks of our time it will no doubt be useful to examine the ideological positions of the SPP leaders and the methods they employ against the Communists.

Anti-Communism Is One of the Chief Elements in the Activities of the SPP Leaders

The political role the SPP leaders have chosen to play has engendered contradictions that have laid their stamp on the party's ideology and activity. To win over the Left currents the SPP has been compelled to support a number of progressive demands, many of which were originally advanced by the Communist Party, to oppose Denmark's entry into the Common Market and the arms build-up, and to advocate neutrality. On the other hand, in order to retard the growth of the Left, the SPP seeks to poison them with anti-communism

and to direct their democratic aspirations along false and futile lines. For instance, it advocates strengthening EFTA as an alternative to the Common Market, and while speaking of Danish disarmament, it treats of the issue as something isolated from struggle against the arms drive, counterposing it to the popular struggle for disarmament.

To cover up its internal contradictions, the SPP has refrained from clearly defining its aims. A policy statement entitled "Principles and Aims" representing a watered variant of the original program declaration of 1959 was submitted to the Second Congress of the Party, but the internal contradictions proved too great for it to be adopted. Instead the Congress recommended that Larsen publish it as his own introduction to a pamphlet then being prepared.

The leaders of the SPP are mostly renegades from the Communist Party. This imparts to the SPP certain features setting it apart from the parties of the Social Democratic Left which have sprung up in other countries. The efforts made to cover up its contradictions, its demagoguery and its appeal to petty-bourgeois illusions can be traced to the specific revisionist brand of anti-communism represented by the SPP leaders.

These leaders have gone so far as to make the word "Communist" a term of opprobrium and to declare that they are out to destroy the Communist Party. Larsen, for example, said in an interview printed in the West German *Weltbild* on December 19, 1960, that the Danish Communist Party has "one thing left to do — to disappear." And in the Norwegian *Lofot-Posten* he declared on November 22, 1962, that the Communist Party no longer existed. And this in spite of the fact that the membership of the SPP has never come anywhere near that of the Communist Party.

Propounding the need for cooperation with the Social Democrats in Parliament or in the government in the name of "democratic socialism," Folketing deputy Morten Lange declared that "a better way can hardly be found to shut out the specter of communism" (*Politiken*, January 6-7, 1963).

In other words, the SPP leaders have chosen to play the role of a barrier against communism, a breakwater against the Left. They are doing their utmost to feed the smear campaign conducted by the reactionaries against the Communists, and to use this campaign to further their own ends.

The aim is to corrode the workers' class consciousness, to prevent the working class

from seeing the need for an organized conscious vanguard of its own — the Marxist-Leninist party.

True, in its first program statement issued in 1959 the SPP declared that it was "built on a Marxist ideological foundation" (Leninism was discarded as an "obsolete theory created in the backward conditions of Russia"). Further, the statement said that "socialism took shape at the dawn of capitalist society, but its basic theory has acquired a still greater impact today when the developed industrial countries are on the eve of a grand transition to automation in the atomic age" ("What We Want," pp. 8 and 14).

But in a statement made by Lange on behalf of the SPP Parliamentary group after the 1960 elections, we find something quite different: "Nobody can expect the theory of Marx and Engels to have any decisive significance when it comes to making a detailed assessment of the period in world history known as the atomic age" (*Folke-tingstidende*, December 9, 1960). And a program-article written in 1961 by Larsen contains only vague references to Marxism.

A prominent member of the SPP described the situation in the party as follows: "Many of the leading people in our party are not too knowledgeable, for they have never learned the art of Marxist analysis of society. In their efforts to break with the past some of them tend to go to the other extreme . . . This is due partly to their poor grounding in Marxism and partly to a lack of knowledge of the actual state of affairs. In the case of some this can be traced to slowness in grasping the facts of life, to conformity or to superficiality." (Peter Hoej, District Authority Member, in the journal *Debat*, November 1962.)

The program-documents of this Party hardly mention the class struggle, the historical mission of the working class in the struggle against capitalist society or its leading part in the fight for democracy. On the contrary, they stress that the SPP is *not* a workers' but a *people's* party. This is borne out by the predominance of petty bourgeois people in the party, especially at the top even though it was able to carry part of the working-class vote in the elections.

The SPP repudiates democratic centralism as an organizational principle; it accuses the Communists of being "undemocratic" precisely because they adhere to this principle. The SPP leaders claim that the show of liberalism towards difference of views in

their party is true democracy. Actually, however, diffuse organization gives a handful of top leaders the monopoly of making all the important decisions. The discussions conducted within the Party are pointless since they lead to no binding decisions as the case would be if the principle of democratic centralism were observed.

Nationalist Prejudices Versus Internationalism

One of the main aspects of the ideological activities of the SPP leaders is subversion of proletarian internationalism. They consciously take advantage of nationalist prejudices and the complacency attending them, as well as of ignorance of the true state of affairs.

True, they pay lip service to international cooperation, but when it comes to displaying international solidarity in action they brand it as "aping" foreign slogans (SPP program statement of 1959).

The top clique conducts an unceasing slander campaign against the socialist world. The forms in which this campaign is carried on are designed to appeal to Left sentiment; in reality, however, they constitute the foulest type of anti-communist propaganda and falsification. All this is served up under the label of "independent criticism." Particular zeal is invested in sowing distrust of the Soviet Union, the most advanced socialist country, and the German Democratic Republic, the socialist country nearest to us.

The program-statement of 1959 concedes that socialism "as an economic system is being built in countries inhabited by more than one-third of the population of the world," but not without adding that "these countries are still far from having achieved a socialist form of government which would give the peoples the full right to decide issues at all levels, from the various enterprises to the highest government bodies" ("What We Want," page 8). Larsen questions the socialist character of these countries, speaking of the "Soviet Union and other so-called socialist countries" (*SF*, February 17, 1961).

The SPP leaders counterpose the basis to the super-structure — something no Marxist would ever do — in order to discredit socialist democracy and thereby blind the people to the problems arising in the course of the class struggle, especially during transition from capitalism to socialism. "Actually the SPP does not recognize the dictatorship of the proletariat," Mogens Fog, one of the ideologists of the SPP, has frankly said.

The Larsens seize upon every mistake, and every change in the socialist countries to question the socialist and democratic nature of the achievements of their peoples. Every development or difference of views in these countries is reduced to a "struggle for power" between different "cliques." Their economic achievements, including the Soviet Union's accomplishments in space exploration, are belittled — all in order to capitalize on the preconceived notions spread by anti-communist propaganda.

In this activity so pernicious to the interests of the Danish people, the Larsen revisionists seize upon all manner of unfounded accusations against the Soviet Union and the international Communist movement made from positions close to their own. The object is to undermine confidence in the Communist movement and its line. Any instance of underestimation of international solidarity by the dogmatists is welcomed by the revisionists as something they can use to "justify" themselves.

By distorting the truth about the socialist countries, they are trying to counteract the influence exerted by socialism on the struggle of the Danish working class against monopoly rule.

Attacks on the Policy of Peace

The SPP leaders are going out of their way to deny that the socialist countries play any role in the fight for peace. They speak of the war danger emanating "from both East and West." Their military-political program characterizes the international situation as follows: "Regional military blocs have come into being with the East and the West as the principal adversaries, each of which assures the other of its peaceful intentions while arming itself with offensive weapons on a scale the world has never witnessed before" (Page 20 of the program).

This of course is not done by chance, and not only because these people do not recognize the socialist countries as the bulwark of peace. In all situations when vigorous action was needed to save peace, they joined with the entire anti-communist propaganda machine to heap accusations on the Soviet Union as the side allegedly giving rise to the war danger.

Larsen conducted a vicious campaign against the actions taken by the GDR and the Soviet Union in Berlin in August 1961, declaring that they were "fraught with disaster." He struck the same hysterical keynote when the Soviet Union, for reasons that

proved fully justified, resumed nuclear testing in 1961. On September 8, 1961, he declared that the renewed tests "may unleash nuclear war." And in October 1961 the SPP Congress sent a protest on this score to the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU.

Even after the Caribbean crisis was resolved Larsen found it possible to criticize the Soviet Union despite the fact that it was the Soviet Union's flexible policy which prevented the outbreak of nuclear war and saved the peace. "The foreign policy of the Soviet Union," Larsen wrote, "was a peace factor when the decision was taken to return the nuclear missiles home from Cuba. But the Soviet Union was not such a factor when it sent them there" (SF, January 4, 1963).

It is noteworthy that the revisionist attacks against the Soviet measures which prevented the USA from invading Cuba coincided with those levelled against the Soviet Union by the "ultra-revolutionaries." In general the Larsens seize upon the irresponsible sallies of these elements against the principles of peaceful coexistence, in order to persuade people that world peace can be jeopardized also by the socialist camp. This is their "independent" interpretation of the principle of international solidarity.

The fight for peace is reduced by the SPP leaders to demagogic juggling with the slogan of "Danish disarmament" designed to convince the people that this can be achieved independently of the general struggle of the nations for peace and even if Denmark remains in NATO. At the same time their claim that there is a danger of aggression also from the East provides additional arguments to the NATO propagandists.

The SPP Leaders' "Criticism" of Capitalism

The negative attitude of the SPP revisionists to socialism is in full accord with their conciliatory attitude to the class rule of the monopolies in Denmark. The statement "The Trade Union Movement and Democracy in Industry" issued in the name of the party's 1961 Congress describes the class struggle (mentioned, incidentally, only in this passage) in Denmark as follows: "The working class has won many victories in the class struggle in our country, and although the conditions of the struggle are now more complex than before, gains can still be made. In other words, the working-class movement has taken advantage of our democracy through strikes and demonstrations, in nego-

tations concerning working conditions and through its influence in Parliament. *We have upheld our positions by no means poorly in comparison with the most advanced countries of both the East and the West* ("What We Want," page 27. My italics—I.N.)

The entire period of monopoly capitalism in Denmark is thus described as a succession of working-class victories comparable even to the progress made in the socialist countries!

Elaborating on this thesis, Larsen writes in his "Principles and Aims" that "the capitalist economy has proved to be more enduring and effective than the Socialists of the past century expected." Further he describes modern capitalism as follows: *"The workers' share in the fruits of labor is now more than that subsistence minimum which they received in the last century. Labor power remains a commodity, sometimes a commodity in short supply, but its price has gone up. At the same time the share of payment for labor power in the cost of production diminishes as mechanization progresses. The capitalists no longer need to carry exploitation to the extreme, nor can this be done, owing to the growing strength of the organized labor movement. Exploitation must now be effected partly in a round-about way, for example, through higher rent and artificial creation of demand for commodities bringing in the biggest profits"* ("Principles and Aims," page 2. My italics—I.N.).

This embellished picture of modern capitalism is counterposed to the Marxist concept of the worsening of the position of the working class in capitalist society; its purpose is to make the working class accept things as they are, to blind it to the cause of the hardships experienced under capitalism. Capitalism is criticized not as an intolerable but merely as an "irrational" system, and the need for the socialist reorganization of society is interpreted not as a matter of historical necessity involving a revolution in social and class relations but simply as a question of more rational organization. The SPP revisionists deliberately try to confuse the issue, although full clarity is essential if the working class is to become conscious of its strength and carry out its historical mission.

It is most important for the working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries to have a clear understanding of the new methods which greatly increase the squeeze on the working people and send

profits soaring. This is a problem which has to be examined in the light of the development of capitalism "in depth," i.e., intensified exploitation of labor power of higher value, growing speed up, more intensive utilization of the home market, and the use of the state machine by the monopolies.

The Marxist approach to the new methods of exploitation reveals the causes of the growing physical and spiritual hardships tormenting people, the necessity of waging an irreconcilable struggle against monopoly rule and the need to abolish the capitalist system. The revisionists' approach to these problems, their pseudo-Marxist notions about the price of labor power (irrespective of its value) and their absolutely irrelevant references to the higher organic composition of capital serve only to justify monopoly exploitation. More, they laud the monopolies for not having carried it "to the extreme"!

It is not fortuitous that the SPP theoreticians attach no importance to the development of state-monopoly capitalism. Larsen in his "Principles and Aims" has only this to say about it: "The capitalist associations have become more cautious after their setbacks in crisis conditions and hence do not resist a measure of public regulation." From this he concludes that "it has become easier to bring the economic jungle war under the control of its participants" (page 2). Not a word about the utilization by the monopolies of the state machine as an instrument for exploiting the working people! The revisionists regard the state as the guardian of the "public interest" and hence seek to channel the political struggle of the working class along false lines on all basic issues.

When the SPP leaders refer to monopoly domination they primarily have in mind the foreign monopolies which they argue "will always present a problem for a small country poor in raw materials," i.e., a problem about which very little can be done. At the same time they minimize the power which the foreign monopolies wield in the country, claiming that their influence and intervention "will become real" only if Denmark joins the Common Market. The SPP accordingly advocates association with the EFTA and calls for strengthening this monopoly alignment.

The SPP leaders are very little concerned with the ideological aspect of the class struggle, limiting themselves to a few generalities, for example, on the role of the bourgeois press. This is fully in line with their aim ideologically to disarm the working class.

Evolution of Socialism Out of "Possible Gains"

The SPP leaders talk a great deal about reforms being "steps towards the socialist reorganization of society" and "just and reasonable distribution of social benefits." Their watchword is to move forward by means of "whatever gains it is possible to achieve." They claim to be interested in "all important means of production, all financial institutions and all land becoming in one way or another public property, not as a goal of the distant future but as an aim within the reach of a popular political movement" ("Principles and Aims"). The class prerequisites for the victory of socialism are completely ignored. The implications are the same as those contained in the Social Democratic theory of "gradual evolution towards socialism" and have exactly the same political effect.

The capitalists now realize, it is claimed, that profit "must be increasingly invested in expansion and renewal." Because of this the "social" struggle now allegedly revolves around the question of where the investments, controlled by "society," should go. Hence, "public control of investments" and "nationalization of a substantial part of Denmark's economy" are declared to be important steps towards socialism. But how this control should be effected is not specified, and the proposed nationalization is obviously not extended to the foreign monopolies, the oil interests, for instance, since it is suggested that they be subjected merely to "strict import controls by the state" ("Principles and Aims," pp. 3 and 17).

Needless to say, nationalization and diverse measures of control over investment, imports, etc., are useful and necessary levers in the democratic struggle of the working people against monopoly rule, a struggle which is inseparably linked with the struggle for socialism. The Communists put forward in the Program for the Renovation of Democracy which they adopted in 1960 such demands as conduct of all business in full view of the public, democratic control, workers' participation in the management of production, and nationalization of diverse branches of the economy as immediate demands of the anti-monopoly struggle. But they harbor no illusions that such measures in themselves will bring about socialism, that they signify the automatic transformation of capitalism into socialism. The important thing is that the class forces capable of effecting the transition to socialism will crystallize and come to the

fore in the course of the struggle for such reforms.

All the talk about nationalization and control of investments in which the SPP leaders indulge pursues completely different aims. For them democratic reform is an end in itself, for them these reforms signify socialism and they ignore the class struggle of the workers and the mass activity which alone can make state-ownership of industry a step forward in the democratic struggle against the monopolies. They try to make the struggle for socialism look like a smooth voyage in untroubled waters, thereby fostering the reformist illusions which at so many decisive moments have doomed the Danish working class movement to passivity.

This becomes all the more obvious when they speak of the political conditions of the transition to socialism. Here is the idyllic picture given in "Principles and Aims": "Who can prevent the triumph of socialism in Denmark if the majority of the people want it, if socialism, presented in clear perspective, wins so great a majority that even the Folketing, as the servant of the people, decides on measures tantamount to the transition to socialism? The forces supporting the old capitalist system can no longer prevail over the majority of the people and its government, provided, of course, that no disastrous blunders are committed" (page 5).

The reactionaries and their capitalist state machinery are thus depicted as being powerless in the face of the will of the people. Such irresponsible reasoning fosters illusions which prevent the working class from seeing the forces it will have to overcome in order to fulfill its historical mission.

"Principles and Aims" sums up the revisionist case by declaring that "all the basic elements of socialism are present in the production process which capitalism has developed," and that now it is only a matter of "setting them in motion and making them dominant."

Confusing the objective and subjective factors, the economic and political conditions and democratic and socialist tasks, the revisionist ideological platform, though containing some Marxist propositions, substitutes for the revolutionary perspective clearly outlined in the Statement of the international Communist movement the petty-bourgeois pipe-dreams leading to opportunism, passivity and defeat, and, at critical moments, to betrayal.

Narrow Parliamentarism and Sabotage of Mass Action

These ideological postulates have caused the practical policies of the SPP leaders to degenerate more and more into pure parliamentary maneuvering and backstairs deals. The interest of the SPP in independent mass working class and popular movements is steadily waning, and it plays no role in the trade unions or the workers' struggles. In the beginning its leaders were compelled to take part in the broad protest movement against the Common Market, though then, too, their main objective was to isolate the Communists—an aim which they failed to achieve. Opposing the demand for a referendum on the Common Market issue which could have united all the opponents of Denmark's entry and placing their narrow party interests above the unity of the people, they insisted on a new election, although it was clear that no such unity could be built in the electoral arena.

The internal situation in the SPP is marked by squabbling and struggle for leading positions. A good description of the policy of the party's leaders was given by one of its members in a critical letter to the editor of *SF* published on October 26, 1962:

"It is my view that the Party is steadily shifting to the Right. One must be blind not to see this. In the course of a few years we settled ourselves comfortably on the political chicken roost. Our Folketing deputies are all such fine fellows, so businesslike and so well trained, and they are making such a magnificent effort to cackle in tune with the 'birds' among whom they are perched that one is filled with nausea.

"Internally our party in no way conforms to its outward success. In the last election we got 150,000 votes and placed fourth in the country. Perhaps we shall make as good a showing in the next election, but what are we going to do about our internal situation?"

The SPP and the International Working Class Movement

While betraying the interests of international socialism, the leaders of the SPP are anxious to win international recognition. They want to organize an international alignment of revisionist "middle-of-the-road" parties, i.e., parties standing between the Social Democrats and the Communists, and they propound their "new socialism" as a "progressive front" in the socialist movement. When their initial efforts in this direction failed and the bankruptcy of some of these "middle-of-the-

road" parties became patent, the SPP leaders made overtures to a number of other parties, including the Communist Parties. The object was to cover up their drift to the Right by seeking international recognition as an "independent Danish socialist party." Needless to say, all Communist parties duly rebuffed these transparent maneuvers.

The revisionists seize upon every debate in the international Communist movement in order to justify their defection, which they euphemistically call independence. They argue that the struggle against revisionism and dogmatism is pointless, and claim that it merely covers up a "struggle between cliques" in the Communist parties.

The anti-communist nucleus of the Larsen leadership, full of hatred for the Communist Party, takes every opportunity to sow the seeds of dissension beyond the bounds of our country as well. The congresses of other Socialist parties too have been used for this purpose. Larsen's speech at the 1961 Congress of the French United Socialist Party is a case in point. He voiced the desire to establish with this party "mutual contact and close cooperation similar to the contacts and cooperation we want to establish with the Socialist parties and groups of other countries." His real purpose, however, became clear when he went on to warn against cooperation with the Communists (*SF*, April 7, 1961). The SPP delegate at the Congress of the Italian Socialist Party declared that the Communist Party of Italy was "isolating itself more and more as a reactionary party" (*Information*, March 24, 1961). Public declarations of this kind afford an idea of the spirit in which the Larsen group is conducting its more concealed maneuvers in the international arena, especially in the Scandinavian countries.

The foregoing shows where revisionism leads. The logic of factional struggle against Marxism-Leninism leads to defection from the class struggle, betrayal of the cause of the working class.

The political and ideological line followed by the SPP is a warning showing the need to be on guard against revisionism, which can seriously damage our struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

The Communist Party of Denmark is fully aware of the need to expose the pernicious ideological and political line of the SPP leadership. At the same time the Communists are working to enlist the supporters and members of this party in joint actions to help solve the tasks confronting the working class and all the people in the struggle for a better life,

for an independent policy, for peace and democracy. Despite the resistance of the SPP leaders headway has been made in this respect in many localities. It goes without saying, of course, that the Communists seek unity not only with the SPP following. The interests of the working-class movement make it imperative to establish close contact also with the Left trends among the Social Democratic workers who support the Party and in the Social Democratic Party itself.

By overcoming the rigidity and dogmatism in their own activities and by propagating more effectively their own views on the problems of the day, the Communists seek to help all those who still cherish the illusions spread by the SPP leaders to find their way to consistently socialist positions. The Communists attach prime importance to strengthening the unity of the working class and of all sincere supporters of socialism.

The Communist Party is guided by its Program for the Renovation of Democracy, which charts the perspectives of the democratic struggle of the Danish people and the ways and means of their advance to socialism. Its Marxist program shows the fallacy of the unprincipled platform of the SPP re-

visionists. Our program contains an analysis of monopoly capitalist rule in our country and of the NATO policy pursued by the monopolies. Proceeding from this analysis, we draw the attention of the working class and the people generally to the tasks confronting them, seeking to enrich their democratic traditions in the struggle against the monopolies. The Communist Party spreads the truth about the socialist countries and about the enthusiasm evoked everywhere by their achievements, stressing that in order to carry out a national and democratic policy in Denmark it is imperative to have a correct idea of the policy of the USSR, and the GDR, and the other socialist countries.

The underhanded attacks of the SPP leaders and the fact that the political situation has favored them have created additional difficulties for the Communists. But the Party is staunchly carrying on the fight on two fronts—against dogmatism and against revisionism. Its principled stand is meeting with growing understanding and respect among the masses, and it is having a telling effect on the SPP itself. It is a stand which stimulates the growth of the Left forces and enhances their influence.

New Victory for the Italian Communist Party

Giorgio Amendola

THE parliamentary elections of April 28 marked a new and important step forward in the steady advance of the Italian Communist Party since the first elections in 1946 following the fall of fascism and the victory of the national uprising in April 1945—elections which ended the monarchy and paved the way for the Republic. At that time the Party polled 4,400,000 votes, i.e., 19 per cent of the total. In the 1948 elections the Party ran together with the Socialist Party (SPI) and the Left Democrats on a National Democratic Front ticket which polled a total of 8,100,000 votes (31 per cent). Since then the Communist Party, running independently, obtained 6,100,000 (22.6 per cent) in 1953, 6,700,000 (22.7 per cent) in 1958, and this year 7,800,000 (25.3 per cent).

The Party made gains throughout the country—in the north and in the south, in town

and countryside. Thus some progress has been made toward a certain evening-up in Italian political life, i.e., overcoming the long-standing disproportions in the working-class movement which reflect the social contrasts inherited from the long and painful process of the emergence of Italian nationhood. Before fascism came to power, the working-class movement developed chiefly in the northern and central areas. In 1913 the share of the South in the vote of the Socialist Party (then the only working class party in Italy) was only 11.3 per cent.

After the fall of fascism this disproportion remained, a fact which is explained among other things by the experience gained in the North where partisan warfare continued longer than elsewhere. In 1946 the Communist Party polled 2,500,000 votes (22.4 per cent) in the North, 1,100,000 (24.7 per cent) in the

central areas, and 747,000 (10.2 per cent) in the South. The share of the South in the overall Communist vote was only 17.1 per cent.

Now, 18 years later, the political geography of Italy has radically changed. In 1963 the number of votes cast for the Communists in the South reached the figure of 2.3 million, the share of the South in the overall vote of the Communist Party rose to 29.9 per cent. In the North the Party obtained 3.5 million votes (23.4 per cent), in the central areas — 1.9 million (32 per cent) and in the South, 2.3 million (24.1 per cent).

Thus, in the course of the big political and social changes which have taken place in Italy since the fall of fascism, the policy of alliance between the working class of the North and the peasants and working population of the South, the policy charted by Gramsci, has been carried out, and the political and organizational base of the Communist Party now extends over the entire country — from the Alps to Sicily.

The Communist advance is a reflection of the slow but sure turn to the Left on the part of the electorate. In 1946 the Communist and Socialist parties together polled 9.1 million votes, or 39.7 per cent. But that was before the split in the Socialist Party which led to the formation of the Social Democratic Party. In 1963 the Communists and the Socialists obtained 12 million votes or 39.1 per cent of the total. For the first time since 1948 the two parties received more votes than the Christian Democrats. Counting the votes cast for the Social Democratic Party (for the sake of comparison with 1946) the parties to the Left of the Christian-Democrats received 13.9 million votes or 45.4 per cent. But whereas in 1946 the Communist Party polled 47.9 per cent of the votes cast for the Communists and Socialists, this time it received 55.8 per cent of the votes cast for the Left parties. This means that the Communist Party has consolidated and extended its leading position in the working-class movement.

The fact that the increase in the Communist vote was accompanied by a general swing to the Left indicates that this gain was made chiefly at the expense of the Christian Democratic Party. Actually the Party's gain coincides almost exactly with the Christian Democrat loss. A study of the voting reveals that the sections of the electorate in which the transfer of votes from the Christian Democrats to the Communists occurred

were primarily the peasants, the women and the emigrant workers.

The important thing is that the Communist gains and the shift to the Left have taken place at a time of big economic and social changes. Italy has developed from an agrarian-industrial into an industrial-agrarian country. The pace has been particularly rapid in the past five years. Since 1958 industrial production has risen by 55.6 per cent, exports by 81 per cent, investments by 76.5 per cent. The percentage of the labor force engaged in industry rose from 36.9 to 40.7. At the same time the share of workers in agriculture dropped from 33.8 to 27.7 per cent. This has meant a large influx from the rural and highland areas into the cities. The agrarian crisis has forced millions to move to the growing industrial areas or to emigrate. Two million Italian workers emigrated to West European countries in this period; two million left the South; 600,000 of these are concentrated in the Milan area, 400,000 in the Turin area, 400,000 in the Rome district. These developments have upset the old social and political pattern. Politically active workers, young people, Communists for the most part, have been obliged to leave their native places to look for work in regions where they would be free of persecution and anti-communist discrimination. The departure of many functionaries has disrupted the organizational life of the parties in the abandoned areas.

In view of these facts and the political situation caused by the formation of a Center-Left majority, including the socialists and Christian Democrats, our opponents anticipated a setback for the Communist Party. The apologists of neo-capitalism, and especially the Saragat Social Democrats, fondly imagined that the rapid industrial expansion and Italy's entry into the Common Market would lead to the decline of the Communist Party, to the end of the cooperation between the Communists and Socialists. The Communist Party, argued the Social Democrat and Left Catholic theoreticians of neo-capitalism, had been able to win strong positions by fighting against an economically immature and primitive capitalism whose political expression was the fascist dictatorship. After fascism had been defeated, the Communist Party organized popular action against the remnants of economic and social backwardness, poverty and unemployment. But, with the development of modern capitalism and more flexible political forms, and through the influence of the Christian Democrats and

the Social Democrats, the masses, it was argued, would reject the Communists and identify themselves with the existing order after the model of European Social Democracy. All united action between Communists and Socialists on national issues as well as in the trade unions and town councils would cease, thus offering conclusive proof of the change in the balance of forces, the isolation of the Communists and the broadening of the mass base of reformism, Catholic and Social Democrats.

The results of the April 28 elections struck a shattering blow at these calculations. It is generally admitted that the biggest surprise was the success registered by the Communist Party among those sections of the population most affected by the deep-going social changes, namely, among the new contingents of workers, the migrants, the women and the youth, and in the big urban centers. In Turin the Communist Party received 61,000 more votes than in 1958; in Milan the increase was 50,000; in Genoa, 39,500; in Rome, 86,900. At the same time, the Party made significant headway in areas hit by agrarian crisis, in the central regions where the voters favor a united leadership in the town councils (in Emilia, Tuscany, Umbria and le Marche, the Communists polled 40.6 per cent, 38.5 per cent, 39.8 per cent and 30 per cent of the votes respectively), and in the most depressed areas in the South. In Lucania (which has been abandoned by one-quarter of its population) the Communist vote increased by 3.1 per cent.

The Communist Party, which its opponents as well as some Right-wing Socialists had depicted as a Party detached from the new reality, as an archaic survival of a situation long since past — though it was grudgingly admitted that it had played a certain role in the anti-fascist struggle — that Party has shown itself to be in command of the new situation brought about by the economic expansion of the monopolies.

These were the first fruits of the intensive work in the sphere of political and organizational renewal carried out by our Party since 1956, influenced among other things by the impact of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU on the world Communist movement. Overcoming the obstacles and at the risk of committing the mistakes inevitable in any attempt to blaze new trails, the Party asserted itself as a national, democratic party capable of leading Italy to socialism in the new situation, and directing it along a path in keeping with the concrete conditions aris-

ing from the national history, and made possible by the experience gained in the anti-fascist struggles. In order to win such a position in the political and social battles waged since 1960 against monopoly domination — a position which our Party has held firmly since 1940 in the struggle against fascism and its disastrous war policy — and in the face of Christian Democratic Party efforts to eliminate us from the scene it was essential above all clearly to discern the nature of the changes taking place in the country. It was necessary, by a correct analysis of the socio-economic process to understand the tangled web of contradictions, old and new, characteristic of the situation; to see that the new contradictions engendered by the economic expansion of the monopolies are aggravated by and intertwined with the old contradictions (the villages, the South) caused by the belated and distorted process of capitalist development. The Communist Party has been able to evolve a national line of policy corresponding at once to the needs of the areas of economic expansion and to those of the regions of the most dramatic and abysmal backwardness.

A correct analysis of the process of monopoly expansion served as the basis for drafting a program which highlighted the problems demanding urgent solution and focussed public attention on them as the subject for political debate. It was necessary, however, that this program should coincide with united actions fought out — although not always on an adequate scale — on the major issues of peace and freedom, and also on the problems associated with the so-called "economic miracle"; democratic programming, regional autonomy, nationalization of the power industry, emigration, the problem of the South, the crisis of the countryside, and also schools, health, transport and housing. An analysis of the Italian scene, a program of structural reform, active united action on key issues, the democratic and socialist perspective — these are all components of the political line which the Communist Party has been pursuing and which led to its victory on April 28.

At the same time the upsurge of the working class struggle for broader trade union rights in collective bargaining was a militant and united expression of the workers' attitude to the "economic miracle" and their refusal to identify themselves with the existing system. In a broader sense, the intensification of the working-class struggle gave

an impetus to democracy, since the Communists, injecting the general movement for mass demands with their own initiative and fighting spirit, swept aside the trade unionist illusions which limit working class struggle to the enterprises, and, stressing the link between the economic and political struggle, affirmed the general perspective of a democratic advance towards socialism. Thus, the working class is asserting its leading national role, combining under its leadership the struggle for stronger positions in the enterprises with the general struggle of the workers for the solution of national problems. This explains why the Party was able to take up with such confidence the ill-advised challenge addressed to it by the Naples Congress of the Christian Democratic Party, a confidence which enabled it to foil the "transformist" maneuvers of Moro, Secretary of the Christian Democratic Party, to expose the duality and contradiction of the "Center-Left" in the course of united working class action and thereby achieve a genuine shift to the Left.

The Party entered the lists against the Christian Democrats fully prepared by its painstaking efforts to streamline its policy and organization. This enabled the Party to cope with the new tasks posed by the revolutionary struggle in the context of the universal struggle for peaceful coexistence. It was essential to avoid a negative-sectarian and maximalist approach which would have helped the Christian Democrats to isolate us, and the latter always believed this to be an indispensable condition of success for their "transformist" maneuvers. Another thing to avoid was reformist opportunism, for this would have opened the doors to Social Democracy. The Christian Democrats may possibly have miscalculated our ability to respond to their challenge and counted on our reacting in a way that would facilitate their design of splitting the working-class movement. But what Moro called the "flexible" (i.e., the unitarian) initiative of the Communists took the upper hand.

Now the Party is reaping the fruits of its steadfast fight against those who cherished the illusion of being able to defeat the Communists merely by boosting their own program. As vague and indefinite as it is, that program nevertheless signified recognition of the problems posed by the Communists and the working-class movement, and it could not be realized without deep-going changes in the political situation, without a crisis of the "inter-class" policy of the Christian De-

mocrats and the formation of a new democratic bloc based on an alliance between the working class and the middle sections in the anti-monopoly struggle.

In the April 28 voting the working people showed their determination to uphold the unity of the working-class movement. Although in 1956 the Socialist Party unilaterally broke the agreement on unity with the Communist Party, which was a cardinal condition of working-class leadership in the struggle against fascism and in the partisan war, in practice the firm bond of unity formed over the many years of joint actions has withstood the many attempts made in the course of these years to disrupt it. Communists and Socialists cooperate closely in the mass movements, in the trade unions, peasants' associations, cooperatives, in the leadership of many provincial councils and in nearly 2,000 town councils. The fact that the Christian Democrats, in an effort to isolate the Communists, openly demanded the disruption of these ties as a condition for their possible cooperation with the Socialist Party in the new legislative bodies, and that this demand was not rejected forthwith by the Right-wing of the Socialist Party, was largely instrumental in determining the shift of the electors toward the Communist Party. By voting for the latter they reaffirmed the need for unity of the working-class movement, that unity which the Communist Party advanced as a guarantee and a condition for our advance towards democracy and socialism. In this sense the transfer of part of the vote from the Socialists to the Communists, particularly in the central areas where the joint leadership of Communists and Socialists is traditional, signified a condemnation of any attempt to submit to the blackmail of the Christian Democrats and an earnest of firm working class and popular unity.

The strengthening of the Communist Party is a political defeat for anti-communism, it means that the voters reject any attempt to isolate this, the largest working class and popular force. This is the real significance of the April 28 voting. It marks a big stride forward in the direction of a new political course, a shift to the left which can be ensured only by the united working class movement with the participation of the Communist Party. Realization of the program of peace and economic and social progress, as Comrade Togliatti has said, requires the presence in the government camp of forces from the Communist Party.

In advancing this demand, the leadership

of the Party outlined in its resolution of May 10 the main points of the program for peace and democratic development: 1) non-participation by our country in atomic rearmament; the independent and positive initiative of Italy in the policy of disarmament and international detente; 2) immediate endorsement of the necessary laws for the practical implementation of regional autonomy; 3) an agrarian reform aimed primarily at abolishing sharecropping and other agrarian contracts, revision of the policy of capital investments, and the setting up of development centers in all areas; 4) abolition of the monopoly of the Federconsorzi* and the organization on democratic lines of peasant cooperatives; 5) drafting and implementing a plan for the democratic development of the economy; 6) a national conference to outline measures essential to solve the problem of migration from the South, and to draw up a policy of economic development and full employment in the southern areas; 7) general reform of the public health system and social insurance, guaranteeing all citizens medical, sanitary, hospital and pharmaceutical service, which presupposes nationalization of the production of the basic medicines; decent old age and invalid pensions; 8) a law on urban development to ensure a more rational town planning and put an end to the speculation in real estate; 9) full freedom and autonomy for the trade unions;

defense and extension by legislative means of trade union rights in the enterprises; 10) recognition and extension of initiative and control by parliament; immediate restoration of parliamentary committees to investigate the activities of the monopolies and the Mafia.

The Communist Party is working for joint action to counteract the resistance of the big bourgeoisie to draw the obvious conclusions from the voting of April 28. Although the Christian Democratic Party has less room for maneuvering, it is trying hard to evade the consequences of April 28, to avoid changing the political course of the country, indeed to make any change impossible. To this end it is seeking to persuade the Socialist Party to back down on the program conditions which it reaffirmed at its recent Central Committee meeting as essential for a repetition of the "Center-Left" experiment. But this time too, much will depend on the Socialist Party's attitude to the Christian Democrat plan to impose — after the election and despite its implications — anti-communist discrimination calculated to prevent the formation of a new democratic majority. Relying on the unanimous will of the country, the Communist Party is combating the tortuous maneuvers of the Christian Democrats; it is fighting to uphold the results of the April 28 general election, for a genuine shift to the left, through united popular action, and for a program of peace and democratic development.

*See *World Marxist Review*, No. 4, 1962.

The Shah's Sham Agrarian Reform

Zaman Maziar

IRAN is a semi-feudal, semi-colonial country ruled by autocrat Shah. Imperialist domination, combined with feudal-landlord relationships, has retarded the development of the productive forces and doomed the toilers to an appallingly low living standard. For many years the working people, in common with all the patriotic forces in Iran, headed by the working class and its vanguard, the People's Party of Iran (Tudeh), have been fighting to put an end to the feudal-landlord system and the domination of imperialism. But the Shah, aided and abetted by the British and U.S. imperialists, has crushed the national-democratic movement with an iron hand.

In recent years the Shah's pro-imperialist policy has plunged the economy into a profound crisis. Agriculture, hampered by the feudal relations, is on the decline, and the country is obliged to import the wheat and rice which it formerly exported. Unemployment, hunger and poverty are rife.

The plight of the peasants, who make up three-quarters of the population (16 million), is particularly grievous. Over 80 per cent of the arable land belongs to the landlords who live by ruthless exploitation of the peasants. Their vast possessions embrace up to 300 and more villages. The Shah is one of the biggest landowners. Prime Minister Alam is another.

As for the peasants, over 60 per cent own no land at all, 23 per cent have less than a hectare, 10 per cent from one to three hectares and one per cent over 20 hectares. As a rule, from 50 to 70 per cent of the peasant's crop goes to the landlord in payment for the use of the land. The peasant is burdened, moreover, by diverse duties and levies. In debt to landlord, usurer and middleman, he is deprived of elementary political and social rights. It is not surprising that the peasants are leaving the villages en masse to search for a livelihood in the cities, where they swell the ranks of the unemployed. Minister of Agriculture Arsanjani has admitted that "40 per cent of the population suffer from hunger and another 40 per cent are on the verge of starvation. The average annual income of a peasant is 400 tumans (U.S. \$50)."

This state of affairs has led to an aggravation of the contradictions between the Shah's

regime, representing the interests of imperialism and the internal reaction, and the Iranian people. The strides made by the socialist countries, the building of communist society in the Soviet Union and the victory of the national-liberation movement are exerting a strong influence on the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle in Iran. Factory workers, the petty bourgeoisie in the towns, intellectuals and students, as well as the national bourgeoisie, are coming out more and more resolutely against the Shah. Peasant action against the landlords, too, has increased.

The growth of the popular movement has forced the Shah to maneuver in an effort to bolster up his position. One maneuver is his vaunted land reform.

The purpose of the land reform law adopted by the government and approved by the Shah on January 9, 1962, when the Mejlis had been dissolved, is, firstly, to create a class of prosperous peasants as a reliable mainstay of the Shah's regime in the countryside; secondly, to divert the people from the struggle for radical social reforms, to forestall any alliance between the working class and the peasantry and thereby avert the danger of a revolution from below. The Minister of Agriculture, addressing himself to the landlords, put it this way: "We were faced with the choice of a white revolution or a red one. If we do not succeed in carrying out reforms peacefully, a future explosion is inevitable."

The purpose of the reform—to broaden the base of support for the Shah—was strikingly manifested at the congress of peasant cooperators held in January in Teheran on the initiative of the Ministry of Agriculture.

The sponsors succeeded in inserting a clause in the resolution stressing the need to uphold the monarchy. The Shah, however, had another object in carrying out the reform, namely, to strengthen his position with his American bosses who have their own reasons for favoring a reform from above. It should be noted that this land reform was drawn up with the aid of American experts and was hailed by Washington.

Lenin, speaking of the Stolypin agrarian reform in Russia, described it as "agrarian bonapartism." "Bonapartism," Lenin wrote, "is a maneuver by the monarchy which has

lost its old basis, patriarchal or feudal, simple or comprehensive — a monarchy which is forced to balance on a tight-rope, to make overtures in order to rule, to bribe in order to please, to fraternize with the dregs of society, with downright thieves and scoundrels in order to retain its hold not only at the point of the bayonet."

The Shah's latest move is a form of this "agrarian bonapartism." Its ultimate purpose is the gradual replacement of the feudal-landlord relations in the countryside by capitalist relations at the expense of the millions of peasants. However, even after the reform has been carried out, the landlords will dominate in the countryside and will continue to exploit the peasantry.

The reform was widely advertised both in Iran and in the West, especially in the United States, where it was acclaimed as a "magnanimous gesture on the part of the Shah," aimed allegedly at "abolishing feudalism" in Iran and "establishing social justice." In reality it is the indirect result of the revolutionary movement of the people who after long efforts have succeeded in imposing their will on the Shah and his imperialist backers and wresting certain concessions from them.

Although objectively the reform is not without its positive aspects, from the economic and historical standpoint, it is a half-way, superficial measure and cannot ensure the full development of the productive forces. Nor can it satisfy the basic interests of millions of peasants who want a revolutionary solution of the agrarian question, i.e., confiscation of the big estates with the land turned over to the landless and land-poor peasants free of charge. The reform was conceived by the Shah and is being carried out with his interests in view, with the object of stabilizing his regime.

The reform law only partly limits the landlord's rights to the land. It sets the maximum land-holding per person at "one whole village," i.e., "six dangs,"* without stipulating the exact area. This enables the landowner to retain possession of hundreds of hectares. He can, moreover, decide which of the villages in his possession he wishes to keep, which means that persons owning several dangs (but fewer than six) in different villages can choose the six dangs allowed them from among their numerous possessions scattered over various areas. The landowner who

has, say, one dang in six villages comprising hundreds of hectares can keep the lot. Moreover, he can keep all the land cultivated by machinery, his orchards, tea plantations and nurseries, as well as the land and buildings adjoining his estate, including his share of the water facilities.

The procedure for the purchase of the land by the government and its resale to the peasants is as follows: the government buys the land from the landlord at a price, fixed by a special commission, to be paid over a period of 10 years, and sells it to the peasant at cost price plus 10 per cent payable in 15 years. If the landowner does not agree with the evaluation of his property he can file a complaint with the Ministry of Agriculture, which will be considered by a committee consisting of the Prime Minister, the ministers of Agriculture, Justice and Finance and three agricultural experts. The law, however, does not give the peasant the right to complain at having to pay too high a price for the land.

The purpose of the new law is to create a rural bourgeoisie in Iran. It divides the peasants into four categories: *zare* or tiller, the *gavbend*, lessee who leases land to tenants, the *barzegar* (poor peasant who works for others), and the *kargare keshavarzi* (the agricultural laborer). The first to receive allotments are the tillers, then come the poor peasants and agricultural workers and, lastly, all others who wish to engage in agriculture. However, Article 16 stipulates that land will be given only to those who join the village cooperatives. To become a member of the cooperative, the peasant must pay an entry fee, and since only the rich farmers and a few of the middle peasants can afford the fee, it is they and not the agricultural laborers who qualify for land.

The farmer can be deprived of his plot by decision of the cooperative if he fails to meet his obligations or if he defaults three times in succession on his annual instalment payments. While forbidding any bartering of the land that could lead to splitting up the allotments, the law permits the peasant to sell his share. "Every tiller," it states, "can buy allotments up to twice the minimum area for the given village."

Thus, if some poor peasant does manage to obtain a plot and join the cooperative, he may soon, for one reason or another, be forced to relinquish his plot to a more prosperous peasant.

As for the peasants who remain on the landlord's estate, apart from a minor reduc-

*A dang is one-sixth of a unit of real estate of indefinite size. For example, a mansion or a cottage consisting of one or two rooms can comprise six dangs. Or a village of a thousand hectares and a village of a dozen hectares can also equal six dangs.

tion in the share of the crop due the landlord (by five per cent for irrigated land and by 10 per cent for non-irrigated) the law does little to alleviate their position. The relations between landlord and tenant farmer remain unchanged. The latter are still in bondage to the landlord, the only difference being that this relationship is now reaffirmed by law.

Disputes between landlord and tenant are arbitrated by a commission set up in each district and consisting of the district chief, a representative of the local court and one from the Ministry of Agriculture. It is obvious that the decisions of this commission, which are final, are more likely to uphold the interests of the landowners than those of the peasants.

In his statement on the implementation of the new law, the Minister of Agriculture said: "There are 50,000 villages in Iran. The land in 15,000 villages belongs to small landowners, the land in 7,000 villages belongs to those owning from one to five villages, and that in 10,000 villages, to those owning over five villages.* Our law will cover these 10,000 villages primarily. We have not included those landlords who own one village, and have endeavored to be just and fair." Thus, even if the law is fully carried out, little more than a third of the 50,000 villages will be affected by it. Some 70 per cent of the villages will remain the property of the landlords.

In order to "avoid temporary economic difficulties" it was decided to begin the reform in one district for the time being. The district chosen was Maragha in Iranian Azerbaijan. The choice was not fortuitous. For Iranian Azerbaijan, one of the "trouble spots," has been the scene of frequent peasant uprisings. Moreover the Azerbaijanian peasants have not forgotten the period of autonomy in 1945-46 when the landlords' estates were confiscated and turned over to the poor peasants without compensation. After the autonomy was abolished, the old order was restored and the landlords took back the land. The choice of this particular district was prompted by the desire to neutralize the revolutionary influence which the proximity of Soviet Azerbaijan just across the border exerts on the Iranian peasants.

Cooperatives were organized in Maragha district before the land was distributed.

Each peasant joining a cooperative had to pay an initiation fee of at least 50 tumans (equivalent to one-eighth of his average an-

nual income). These cooperatives are of the consumer-marketing type: they buy the peasants' surplus products and sell him goods on credit to an amount not exceeding his annual income and decide all questions pertaining to the economy of the given village. The cooperatives do not get financial aid from the government, and loans received through the Agricultural Bank are repaid with interest.

To increase the capital of the cooperatives the Ministry of Agriculture has ordered them to cut down on loans advanced to the peasants. During the visit of the Minister of Agriculture to one of the districts of Kazvin province where the land had been divided up, the peasants requested financial aid for their water supply. "If you want water," the Minister replied, "you must collect the money and give it to your cooperative." When the peasants objected that they had no money, the Minister said: "Sell your clothes, don't have any wedding feasts, don't entertain guests and turn over the money you save to your cooperative."

The cooperative is managed by a committee whose members are elected at a general meeting of the members. The chairman of the cooperative, whose say is decisive, is appointed by the Ministry of Agriculture. Most members of the committee are rich farmers. The committee controls the entire life of the village and virtually administers local affairs.

The land reform in Maragha district, according to the Ministry of Agriculture, was completed in October 1962. A total of 257,669 hectares was distributed in 750 of the 1,200 villages in this area; some 23,794 peasant farmsteads, numbering with their families a total of 132,318 persons, received allotments. The remaining 450 villages were left to the landowners in accordance with the law on the minimum landholdings.

Colossal sums will be required to pay compensation to the landowners under the new law. The Ministry of Agriculture sets the figure at approximately 2,000 million rials annually. But since the State Treasury is empty, the Shah and his government found a "solution" in the simple expedient of turning over the state-owned factories to the landlords in lieu of payment. The procedure will be as follows: state-owned enterprises (sugar refineries, textile mills, chemical plants, building materials, silk winding mills and cotton ginneries) are to be turned into shareholding companies. The shares will be held by the Agricultural Bank which will turn them over to the landlords. The Agricultural Bank un-

*The remaining villages belong to the Shah and the state and are not subject to distribution under the new law.

dertakes within five years to pay the shareholders not less than six per cent interest annually. The bank collects the instalments paid by the peasants for the land and transfers the money to the Ministry of Industry to cover the cost of the state-owned enterprises.

The land reform does not affect the vast tracts owned by the Shah and his family. The Shah has repeatedly proclaimed, to the accompaniment of a propaganda fanfare, that he has distributed his lands to the peasants. In reality, however, only a negligible part of the Pahlevi possessions has been disposed of—517 villages, which have been sold chiefly to their former owners from whom they were confiscated by the father of the present Shah.

Meager as they are, the concessions which the Shah and a certain section of the ruling classes have made to the well-to-do peasants in order to stabilize their shaky positions have aroused indignation and resentment among other sections of the ruling groups. Although criticism of the reform in these quarters differs on some points, the substance is much the same: they object to any measure restricting the "sacred" right of private property. They, too, want the existing order in the countryside changed and agricultural production increased through capitalist farming, but they believe that these changes should be effected by the landowners themselves. The government should merely encourage investments in agriculture by rendering the landlords material assistance for the purchase of modern farm machinery.

The attitude of the national bourgeoisie to the land reform was formulated in the statement issued by the National Front* which sets forth a number of proposals aimed at abolishing the big estates and the feudal-landlord relations. The reason given by the National Front for its opposition to the Shah's measures, including the land reform, is that it is opposed to colonialism and the autocracy of the Shah who is using these measures to consolidate his position.

The People's Party (Tudeh), the party of the working class, takes an altogether different stand on this question. In tackling the agrarian problem, which is one of the key issues in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution, the Tudeh Party proceeds from the need, firstly, to strengthen the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, and secondly, to give free rein to the development of the productive forces in agriculture

and industry. The Party therefore stands for a radical agrarian reform, which would, on the one hand, completely destroy the feudal landlord relations and, on the other, turn the land over to the poor and landless peasants free of charge. At the same time, the Party maintains that in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country like Iran, the struggle for the abolition of feudal relations is closely linked with the struggle to uproot the domination of imperialism. Without combining the anti-feudal and the anti-imperialist struggle it will be impossible to break down all the barriers to the full development of the productive forces. Partial reforms, and especially partial land reform are, as we know, used by neo-colonialism to prevent the peoples of colonial and dependent countries from winning full political and economic independence and to consolidate its own positions in these areas. Hence in defining its attitude to the Shah's land reform the Tudeh Party takes cognizance not only of its positive sides, but of the extent to which it is linked with the struggle against imperialism. While fighting for its own program, the Party supports any reform carried out by the ruling class which serves to weaken the position of imperialism and facilitates the struggle of the people for political and economic independence.

The Tudeh Party, bearing in mind the half-way character of the Shah's land reform, is well aware of its negative aspects. The Party knows that this reform, far from being linked with the struggle against imperialism, on the contrary, fortifies the positions of imperialism and creates more favorable conditions for the expansion of the foreign monopolies and for the exploitation of the Iranian people.

In implementing his reform the Shah is pinning his hopes on the support of the imperialists. In his reply to Kennedy's message of congratulations on the success of the referendum, he wrote: "... We are convinced that in carrying out our social and economic projects we can be confident of the good intentions of our American friends."

The tactical line of our Party with regard to the land reform is as follows: on the one hand the Party strongly opposes that part of the ruling class which stands for private ownership of the land, and on the other hand, it consistently exposes the partial character of the reform and is exerting every effort to direct the revolutionary energy and initiative of the working peasants toward united action to compel the Shah to retreat still farther.

On February 20, 1963 the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party published its "Theses

*The National front is a political organization of the national bourgeoisie. Its ideological leader is Dr. Mossadeqh.

on the Recent Changes in the Country" which, besides analyzing the agrarian reform, outlined the Party's tactics with regard to it. The theses stress that in assessing the reform "two mistakes should be avoided: first, failure to see its objective content, its scope and its influence, in other words, failure to take a realistic view of the situation; and, second, failure to understand the subjective aims of the reformers, to perceive the direction of the changes, and thereby being led astray." The theses point out that "notwithstanding the recent social maneuvering of the Shah, our Party regards his regime as the chief obstacle to any radical change in Iranian society. To promote the development of the productive forces, which is hampered not only by feudalism but also by imperialism and the autocratic regime, it is essential to implement a radical agrarian reform and abolish imperialist domination; to pursue a foreign policy of neutrality and peace, and equal, friendly relations with all countries; to win democratic rights and freedom for the Iranian people; to renationalize the oil industry and build a heavy industry; to provide the conditions for raising the standard of living and to conduct the economy in the interests of the majority of the nation. . . . None of these goals can be achieved so long as the present regime exists. Hence our Party stands for the overthrow of the Shah's regime and the establishment of a national-democratic government."

The main task of the Party was formulated by the Central Committee as follows:

"To arouse the peasants and extend their struggle the Party should step up its propaganda and its organizing work. To this end everything must be done to induce the peasants to unite and take the initiative in implementing the land reform. They should be shown all the negative aspects of the Shah's reform, and urged to refuse to pay their annual instalment for the land and their rents to the landlords; to demand the distribution of the lands still in the possession of the Shah and other landowners; to secure the abolition of the big estates whether run on capitalist lines or not. The peasants should take over the management of the cooperatives in order to turn them into democratic bodies in the villages, to secure just prices for agricultural produce enabling them to acquire implements; demand an end to the tyranny of the gendarmes, middlemen and usurers. The peasants should be told that their struggle has already forced the government to make major concessions. This strug-

gle should be continued until radical changes are effected in the countryside, until the feudal-landlord relations are completely abolished, until all the poor and landless peasants have received land free of charge.

The Shah's reform does not answer the urgent needs of social and economic progress. It cannot accelerate the development of the productive forces or put an end to the poverty of the peasants. In addition to their annual instalments for the land, the peasants now have to pay the land tax formerly paid by the landowner, besides other charges for water, fertilizers, implements, pesticides, etc.

The Shah's reform aggravates rather than removes the contradictions in the countryside; moreover it engenders new contradictions — between the landowners whose estates have not been distributed and the peasants who live on these estates; between the agricultural laborers, the poor and middle peasants who have not received land, on the one hand, and the rich peasants who have. And lastly, the reform gives rise to contradictions within the cooperatives.

The hopes cherished by the Shah and his overseas mentors that the reform would isolate the working class from its chief ally, the peasantry, are being dashed. The peasants are refusing to pay rent to the landlords. In many places clashes have occurred between landowners and peasants. The government has ordered its gendarmes to go to the aid of the landlords. Thirty people were arrested on government orders in a village in Hamadan province after a clash between the local landlord and the peasants. The landlord had refused water to the peasants, and when the villagers came to him in a body to protest, he opened fire on them, killing one man and wounding two others. The infuriated peasants retaliated by attacking and killing the landlord.

The spread of the peasant movement has forced the government to make more concessions. On February 7, 1963, a number of Addenda to the Land Reform Law were adopted in which the maximum acreage is stipulated in place of the vague term "whole village." Moreover the maximum varies according to district. Point 39 of the Addenda, however, states that implementation of these measures will be postponed until the distribution of the land belonging to persons owning more than one "whole village" has been completed. And this is proceeding at an extremely slow rate: the land in only 1,988 villages out of approximately 15,000 villages had been distributed by mid-March 1963.

The Shah's reform will not save his tottering regime. The political and organizational work of our Party is imparting a conscious character to the peasant struggle, helping to cement and consolidate the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. The struggle to overthrow the present regime is gradually spreading from the towns to the countryside; the soil for the revolutionary struggle of the peasant masses under working

class leadership is being prepared. "Only the unity of the working class," the theses of our Central Committee emphasized, "the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, the united action of all democratic and patriotic forces, a vigilant and indefatigable struggle can foil the plans for 'stabilization' fostered by the Shah and imperialism, and direct the country onto the highroad of radical reform."

WMR INTERVIEW

Genuine Independence for Sudan!

The following is the transcript of an interview given by a group of members of the leadership of the Sudanese Communist Party during a visit to our offices. Since the Party is compelled to function underground, their names are withheld.

AFTER achieving political independence early in 1956, the national bourgeoisie which came to power regarded political independence as an end in itself, declaring that we had realized our aim.

Our Party, while agreeing that political independence was a big gain for the national-liberation movement, saw it also as an important factor paving the way to economic independence and social progress.

At its Third Congress early in 1956, our Party adopted its program headed "Sudan's Way to Reinforce Independence, Democracy and Peace." The program pointed out that our independence can be safeguarded *firstly*, by economic independence achieved by liquidating foreign capital domination and the semi-feudal form of our economy, by a democratic agrarian reform, and by industrialization, aided in this respect by the socialist countries; *secondly*, by extending democracy to enable the masses to participate actively in building a national anti-imperialist, democratic and peace-loving state; *thirdly*, by carrying out a cultural revolution.

The program also showed that these tasks can be fulfilled if solid unity of the national-democratic forces is achieved. The working class united with its ally—the peasants—can rally around it those national forces which are opposed to imperialism and the feudal survivals and want a democratic state.

This program has become a real driving force for the mass political activities; until its appearance none of the parties had a new

program or a clear-cut plan for the future, for the further development of the country after achieving independence.

The workers, peasants and all the sound national forces launched a broad campaign for a democratic public life, for a national policy in keeping with the economic and social development of the country and which would rid Sudan of the old economic dependence and colonial yoke.

The years 1957-58 witnessed an unprecedented struggle not only against the old imperialist forms but also against the new forms, *namely Eisenhower's "vacuum" thesis*, and the so-called U.S. "aid". The call for a national democratic front and for a democratic government which would take the country along the road of democratic development was received with acclaim.

National Democratic Front committees were formed everywhere. Mass action was taken against the pro-imperialist policy of the government. In particular, the trade union federation held a general political strike in October 1958. The strike had the backing of all the progressive forces. Peasants in the cotton-growing area of Gezira took action against the monopoly on cotton prices. The events showed that the government was experiencing a deep crisis and that conditions were maturing for its overthrow.

Fearing a complete collapse, the Anglo-American imperialists engineered on November 17, 1958, a reactionary military coup and installed a military dictatorship under General Aboud.

Subsequently, conditions were created for the expansion of foreign capital domination in our country. The new government cleared the way for a new form of colonialism. More foreign monopolies were granted privileges. The volume of their investments and exports grew. There is no legal restriction on the amount of profits pumped out of the country by the monopolies. Foreign monopolies have now the upper hand in the economy, while national capital occupies only an insignificant place.

Previously Sudan was a market and a sphere of investment for British monopolies. The government has now opened the doors to the monopolies of other Western countries, primarily those of the United States and Federal Germany. These monopolies have penetrated into the country in the guise of "aid" and "loans." The government has allocated vital spheres of the economy to Western monopolies. The Krupp firm, for example, has been given prospecting rights. The Julius Berger A.G. company has been given the order for the Khashm-El Girba dam. The U.S. General Exploration Co. is prospecting for oil in the area of the Red Sea, while the California Co. is prospecting for other minerals. The U.S. firm of Brown has qualified for the order to enlarge and reconstruct Port Sudan and build new docks.

This exposes the nature of the "loans" and the economic "aid." This aid and the loans are the new form of colonialism. In addition to being the source of huge profits they open up new spheres of exploitation for the monopolies.

The regime has received loan after loan from the International Reconstruction and Development Bank and from the USA, West Germany and Italy. Loans granted to the Sudan Government by the latter countries and the International Bank up to November 1961 amounted to £88 million. In 1962 this figure doubled.

Where do these loans go? How are they used? Intent on preserving Sudan as a source of cheap raw materials and a market for their manufactured goods, the imperialist countries, while granting the loans, insist on having a say in how they should be used.

As a result, 40 per cent of the loans goes to expand the production of agricultural raw materials, 45 per cent to road construction and transport, and only four per cent to industry. This is hardly the way to build up a national industry.

As to the "aid," it is largely spent on importing goods from the imperialist countries supplying it. Thus, Sudan and the United States agreed that all the credit obtained from the

latter shall be used to buy American goods exclusively.

The imperialist loans serve above all the interests of the imperialist powers. As to the national interests of Sudan, these loans are an additional burden. The Sudan has to pay about £S.26 million in the next five years as interest on the loans obtained during 1959-61, that is, more than half the national income. The debt of every Sudanese to the International Reconstruction and Development Bank and to the imperialist countries is about £10.

The foreign-trade policy of the government also benefits the imperialists. Trade with the United States, Britain and the Common Market countries accounts for 51 per cent of the total exports, and 52 per cent of the total imports. Just as was the case 40 years ago the Sudan still exports agricultural produce and raw materials. Export prices are declining continuously. For instance, the price of arabic gum (Sudan is famous for this product and exports 90 per cent of the total world production) dropped from £S.134 per ton to £S.119 in 1961. The price paid for beans, another of our cash crops, has likewise fallen.

But the sharp decline in cotton exports—the principal source of currency accumulation, providing 80 per cent of the currency reserves—has adversely affected the balance of payments. In 1961 about 35 per cent of the cotton crop could not be sold owing to the fall in prices. In 1956-57, for example, a ton of cotton, bought chiefly by the Western countries, fetched £530, by 1961-62 the price had slumped to £291.

For imports, mostly consumer goods, the prices charged are very high. The distorted colonial nature of the economy can be seen from the fact that despite the need for industrial plant the share of consumer goods in the overall imports, valued at £S.81.5 million, is as high as 70 per cent.

Because of the government's ties with foreign imperialists and because of the influence of the foreign monopolies on our national economy the government had little room for trade with the socialist countries, although even the reactionary press in Sudan has noted the mutual benefit that could derive from equal relations between the young independent states and the socialist countries. Our trade with the socialist countries is only 12.2 per cent of the total export, and 7.4 per cent of the total imports. Under the pressure of the imperialists, the government has repeatedly declined the offers of the socialist countries to help finance industrial and agricultural projects. And this despite the fact that Sudan could

pay back with traditional export items, not in hard currency as is the case with the imperialist powers.

This dependence on the imperialist powers has shaped the foreign policy of the country. True, the Aboud government hypocritically declares its adherence to positive neutrality, and in words recognizes the need to fight against colonialism. But the policy of a government is judged not by the words and professions of its head or ministers, but by its deeds. And the stand taken by our government on many important international issues shows that Sudan is following in the footsteps of the Western imperialists. A recent example of this was the clearly pro-imperialist attitude taken by the government in relation to the events in the Congo and during the Caribbean crisis.

The Anti-National Government and the Mass Struggle

THE question arises:

1. What is the class character of the present regime in the Sudan? What is its social base? What forces are opposed to it?

Government policy is so unpopular that practically all sections of society are ranged against the regime. True, the degree of opposition varies. The workers and the peasants are the most consistent opponents of the reactionary policy of the ruling clique. Even the most politically backward sections of the working class have seen through the reactionary essence of the government which places imperialist interests above the national interests. This is because the workers and peasants were the first to experience the "blessings" of the neo-colonialist policy. The low standard of living declined further and exploitation increased. Wages were either frozen or reduced. At the same time prices continued to go up. Compared with 1958 the price of a kilogram of veal rose from eight to 16 piasras in 1961; a kilogram of mutton, from 18 to 26; a pound of vegetable oil from 4.5 to six; a pound of butter from 12 to 14, and a pound of tea, from 14 to 30 piasras. The daily wage of a worker in the Khartoum area is 18 piasras, while the spending on daily necessities is fixed at 23 piasras.

By outlawing the trade unions the government dealt a heavy blow to the working class, which, from the very beginning of the reactionary regime had waged a struggle against the government in the shape of numerous strikes. The strike of the railwaymen was one of the biggest at that time.

The mass actions of peasants in Gezira and Khashm El Girba were striking proof of the

struggle against the economic policy of the government.

This pro-imperialist policy adversely affects also the interests of big landowners who annually lose large sums because of the fall in cotton exports and the reduced price paid by the foreign monopolies for their cotton and other produce. The result is that Al-Umma, the party of the big landowners, has joined the opposition.

Also in opposition to the government are the two parties of the national bourgeoisie — the National Unionist Party, and its Right-wing section, the National Democratic Party.

True, among the big landowners and the national bourgeoisie there are those who stand to gain from the government policy. Their number would include, for example, those whose names are used to impart a national coloring to foreign investments. But on the whole their interests suffer in view of their subordinate position compared with the foreign monopolies.

In addition to construction and prospecting nearly the whole of industry is at the mercy of the foreign monopolies which finance it and, naturally, extract huge profits from it. As an example we can cite a new American-owned textile factory in Northern Khartoum which is considered to be one of the biggest in the Middle East. It has an annual output of 75,000,000 square meters of fabrics. The owners enjoy big concessions in the sense that they dictate their own conditions to the government in the matter of raw material prices and in the matter of government protection for their products.

Most of the raw materials used in the nationally-owned industry are imported at very high prices. The total paid for raw material imports in 1960-61 was £6 million, while money invested in these industries is only £4 million. For instance, nail-making workshops import everything—even hammers and files. It would be truer to say that the "industries" owned by Sudanese nationals are more like assembly workshops. These "industries" are hardly spheres for investing national capital. The biggest national capital investment does not exceed £50,000.

The capital of Sudan's biggest soap company Mustafa Satti is about £50,000, whereas the British Boxhall company has a capital of £423,000 in the same branch. The capital invested by the Abu Al Ila Company into the glass industry amounts to £45,000, whereas a British glass-making company has capital of £1,910,000.

The government declares now and then that it is carrying out industrialization. By this it

means small enterprises using local raw materials, employing local labor and turning out products in demand locally. Even in the event of this plan being completed it will hardly satisfy the interests of the national bourgeoisie and reconcile it to the regime.

The army cannot be regarded as supporting the regime for it, too, evinces a strong national trend.

To sum up we can say that the regime enjoys the support mainly of foreign imperialism, that its economic base is mainly foreign-monopoly capital. Its rule depends on the bureaucrats in the administration, on the police, on the corrupt top-ranking officers in the army and also on some of the tribal leaders and big contractors who have become agents of foreign capital.

Finding itself isolated the Aboud government resorted to the tried methods of all dictators anxious to cling to power with the help of force — it trampled underfoot the democratic rights and freedoms, started repressions and established a police rule. Parliament was dissolved; the Constitution was flouted, and all political parties and the organizations of the working class were outlawed.

The absence of political parties, i.e., their legal absence, has greatly detracted from the possibility of creating the national unity essential to the struggle for economic independence and social progress. The absence of a Constitution and Parliament has made it impossible for the people to express their will on home and foreign policy. There is no free press to expose the designs of the imperialists against our country. The absence of democracy has made it impossible for the progressive and national forces to help the other countries struggling either against direct colonial rule or against neo-colonialism.

The absence of democracy has isolated our country from all progressive movements in Africa. Our people cannot send their representatives to the numerous conferences and congresses organized in Africa to discuss the different questions of economic independence, and the other problems left to Africa by colonialism.

Absence of democracy has made it impossible for our people to send their representatives to such a big and important conference as the Congress for General Disarmament and Peace held in Moscow last year.

But the onslaught of the reactionaries has not checked the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle of the people. The working class and its vanguard — the Communist Party — have showed themselves to be the most con-

sistent and steadfast fighters against the treacherous policy of the anti-national government. The workers held strikes, organized demonstrations and demanded that the government adopt an independent home and foreign policy, drive the neo-colonialists out of the country, restore democratic rights and freedoms, the right to organize and the release of their leaders.

The workers, thanks to their struggle and international solidarity, regained the right to organize according to the new labor legislation. This was, of course, a big victory for the working class, although the law contains many unacceptable provisions. For instance, it deprives the workers of the right to form a general federation, and the right to strike is all but nullified by the long procedures that must be adhered to before the workers can declare a strike (the Prime Minister has the last word in this and can declare the strike illegal).

Our Party is working to build a national democratic front that could head the struggle for the tasks of the national-democratic revolution. As a first step in this direction the Communist Party set up front committees which have helped to unite the workers. Similar committees have been formed among students and peasants. The latter are less stable and less active. Still, they have been formed and we are now paying more attention to strengthening them and to linking them up with the committees of workers. In this way we believe that a broad national democratic front can be built. Nor do we exclude the national bourgeoisie from joining this front.

The prospects for the mass movement in our country are good. The role of the working class is growing, the unity of the democratic forces is becoming stronger. The mass movement is advancing to a higher level — from general opposition to exposing the regime and isolating it politically, to the battles to overthrow it.

The issue of a general political strike is regarded as being decisive against the regime. True, a strike of this kind necessitates wide political, ideological and organizational preparation among the masses, among the democratic and revolutionary forces. The separate struggles were the practical preparation for a big, united, organized struggle leading ultimately to a general political strike. If successful, this strike will paralyze the state apparatus completely and bring the mass movement into the final battle against the regime and replace it with a national democratic regime capable of leading the country along the way of economic and democratic progress.

The Task of the National Democratic Movement

Faced with mass actions for a constitutional form of government the Aboud government was forced to make some concessions. A so-called constitution committee was set up which drafted a new law on the Constitution envisaging the establishment of a central assembly elected from representatives of the municipal councils.

The new law divides the Sudan into three areas: South, Center and North. In the South, one-third of the deputies will be elected and two-thirds nominated by the government. In the Center one half will be elected and half nominated, and in the North two-thirds will be elected and one-third nominated.

We are against this law in principle because it falsifies the demands of the people for a true and sound parliamentary life. It does not give the people the right freely to elect deputies, freely to decide the destiny of the country. The law empowers the government in the person of the Supreme Council of the armed forces to annul the results of an election whenever this is deemed necessary, and even to dissolve the elected municipal councils without giving any reasons for doing so.

At the same time we know that even this law was a retreat forced on the government by the popular forces. We decided to make maximum use of this retreat, that is, to take advantage of the slight opening to take part in electioneering, hold meetings, issue manifestos, and to explain the program of the National Democratic Front. This makes for closer contact with the people, promotes their struggle for democratic rights and trade union liberties, for closing the doors of the country to neo-colonialism and winning genuine economic and political independence.

Our participation in the elections is not to be interpreted as cooperation with the regime. On the contrary, it means using the election campaign in order to expose the government and its reactionary policy, and to strengthen the mass movement.

Some leaders of the bourgeois parties think that the national forces should boycott the election. This could be done if the national forces were better organized, and if an effective boycott could be launched. When the leaders of the bourgeois parties say that they are for a boycott of the elections, they do not advance any measures to ensure a complete and really effective boycott. In our discussion with them we try to get them to agree to plans which could lead either to an effective boycott—demonstrations, strikes, etc.—or to effective

use of the elections for political exposure and for rallying the masses around the National Democratic Front Program. The bourgeois parties, reluctant to take a positive stand, decided on a passive boycott. The progressives shouldered the responsibility of educating the masses through the election campaign.*

The Party is continuing its struggle for national unity, to complete the tasks of the national-democratic revolution and to create conditions for radical changes and reforms which would pave the way to socialist changes. We know how difficult it is to carry on work in a country where there are no democratic liberties; still, imbued with faith in the revolutionary spirit of the working class and of our people, we are anything but pessimistic, and we shall prosecute our struggle. Today we can see some of the fruits of our struggle.

The role of the Party and its influence is growing. Its membership has grown considerably and it carries more weight among the masses than ever before despite the fact that it has suffered much under this regime; thousands of our members are in prisons and concentration camps.

The history of our Party, its struggle and its program show that it is the most steadfast champion of the working class and all the people, the champion of national liberation, democracy and socialism.

Despite its illegality the Party puts out its newspapers and magazines which circulate among the public. The printed organs are of great help to the members, moulding their Marxist-Leninist outlook and training them in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, patriotism and proletarian internationalism. In the conditions of illegality, the Party press is the basic and most effective link with the masses. Difficulties notwithstanding, our publications have improved and their circulation has increased considerably.

In two years of underground work we printed and circulated two million leaflets. We have four national papers—one a weekly, the other three monthlies. We put out 14 local papers and bulletins.

The Party is working hard to popularize its program. We think it essential to speak about some of the points contained in it, concerning the national-democratic movement. First—the unity of the country, and especially the question of the population in the South. The colo-

*Since this interview was given the first round of the elections has been held—the election of the municipal councils, whose representatives will make up the central assembly. In the municipal voting several progressive candidates defeated the government supporters opposing them. Since political parties are banned, all candidates ran as independents.

nialists left our brothers in the South with an even lower standard of living and a more pronounced economic and social backwardness. For long they implanted in them animosity towards the people of the North, and exploited racial and language differences.

The old bourgeois governments had no positive solution to offer. The present reactionary regime, with its policy of oppression, has made things worse. The imperialist and colonialist propagandists who have the run of the Southern provinces in the guise of "missionaries" are exploiting the present government policy, telling the people there that the Arabs of Northern Sudan are hostile to them. The fact is that all Sudanese, in South and North, suffer in equal measure from the present regime.

The national democratic movement headed by the working class and its Communist Party insists that in the South special attention should be paid to overcoming the economic backwardness, to improving education, to helping the Southerners to use their own language and develop their culture, freely to choose their religious beliefs, and also to help to form a self-government within the Republic of Sudan. The Communist Party calls for the closest unity of the masses in the North and South in the National Democratic Front in order to overthrow the dictatorship and replace it with a national democratic government that would guarantee freedom and prosperity for our people.

Second—the agrarian question. We think that in the Sudan there are very favorable conditions for its solution because of the specific character of our agriculture. At the moment the state is favorably placed in agriculture because it owns the irrigation systems and much of the land. This situation, which is now exploited against the peasants, could in the future be a very helpful factor for solving the agricultural problems.

Third—the significance of industrialization. Any national government must in the first place curb foreign capital, restrict its privileges and in this way create favorable conditions for the state sector in order to carry out democratic reforms. We should also take into consideration the specific character of our economy.

The building of the national industry, we think, cannot be accomplished without the help of the socialist countries. It is worth mentioning that in our country this issue has been posed by the mass movement and a long struggle has been waged to secure its imple-

mentation. The existing—though limited—trade with the socialist countries can only be understood in the light of these facts.

When speaking about industrialization we should think in terms of having our own engineers and technicians, who would be loyal to the cause of social and economic development of the country. In the past decades the imperialists have trained people who are now working for them, and the new colonialists (especially the American) are training their own people among our intellectuals. This can be seen in the provision of scholarships to the United States, West Germany and other capitalist countries. Sometimes they take the students not so much in order to train them as to instil anti-communism.

The Party therefore calls for a broad system of education, and for an extensive system of technical education. In this respect we could rely on the help of the socialist countries.

We also know that national economic and social regeneration presupposes a cultural revolution. We think that our new culture should in the first place fight against the domination of imperialist and semi-feudal culture in the country. We must create a new, national, and progressive culture which would really serve the purpose of our democratic and progressive regeneration.

Such, in broad outline, is the program of action of our Party. That it is a *national* program is seen best of all in the fact that it is gaining growing support among all sections of the people.

* * *

The masses are beginning to realize that real independence cannot be achieved without the overthrow of the dictatorship, which has brought the country to the brink of disaster. The seven years that have passed since independence have seen at the helm of state the party of the big landowners, the party of the national bourgeoisie and the present reactionary dictatorship; none of these class groupings have solved the problems facing the nation. Experience shows that the only regime capable of leading the country along the road of political independence and independent economic development is a regime based on the unity of the national democratic forces with the working class and peasantry playing the leading role.

The time is ripe for the overthrow of the dictatorial regime, for its replacement by a national-democratic system. This is borne out by the political isolation of the present military

regime and by its profound crisis, on the one hand, and by the increased role of the working

class and the influence of the Communist Party among the people, on the other.

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

United Action Is the Pledge of the Workers' Victory

THE mass political movement in Finland is divided. Tanner, Leskinen, Pitsinki, Lindblom and other Right-wing leaders of the Social Democratic Party make no secret of their anti-communism. The policy of the leaders of the Social Democratic Union on wages and economic issues generally is inconsistent. At present cooperation with the Social Democratic Party leaders is impossible. On the other hand, united action by workers in industry and in the mass organizations in defense of their common interests is fairly common. This was seen, for example, in the strikes that took place early this year. Our efforts to build unity of action have clearly not been in vain.

This unity is expressed also in joint deputations to factory managements, to trade union leaders and to the Government. It is the task of our Party organizations to suggest and flexibly work out together with the masses the most suitable form of action in each given instance. This work is being conducted particularly intensively in the trade unions, municipal bodies, and sports organizations.

Actions Based on Trade Union Cooperation

Trade union organization based on the enterprise is the ideal way to unite all workers. Our aim is to put an end to the division in the trade unions and to build up a united movement around the Central Federation of Trade Unions.

The district in which I live is predominantly industrial and has fairly strong union organizations. The trust which the workers repose in the Communists is reflected in the fact that many of our members are elected for years on end as trade union functionaries. Most of the workers' representatives on the production committees are members of our Party. This is a tribute to the Communists, whose selfless work in the unions has increased their militancy.

One of our aims is to get as many workers as possible to join the unions and to become active in them. We do this despite the fact that some of the unions are dominated by Social Democrats who pay scant attention to trade union democracy and who often ignore the will of the rank and file on such issues as wages and working conditions.

In Pori, the main town of our region, we were able to hold a joint May Day demonstration last year despite the opposition of the Social Democratic leaders. The local trade union council sponsored the demonstration and arranged a conference to work out the details. Communists, members of the People's Democratic movement, Social Democrats, trade unionists, representatives of the workers' sports organizations and factory delegates reached agreement on all issues, and although some of the branches of the Social Democratic Party refused to take part, the demonstration helped to strengthen the striving for unity among the workers.

Trade union unity can best of all be built in the course of the everyday struggle of the workers for economic, social and political demands. With the employers steadily intensifying speed-up and forcing down wage rates, the workers' class and economic interests impel them towards joint action to counter these encroachments. And the realization of the need to stand together and resist the capitalist offensive is the first manifestation of awakening class consciousness. It gives the workers additional strength and influences their outlook.

Despite all their efforts the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders have failed to split the local unions. The noisy propaganda campaign conducted by Tanner and Leskinen to achieve this did not produce any substantial results in our district. The anticipated exodus of Social Democrats and their supporters from the trade unions affiliated to the Central Federation of Trade Unions did not materialize.

Unity of Action in Municipal Bodies

Although the powers of the municipal bodies in Finland have been reduced somewhat by the reactionaries, their functions, naturally, bear on many aspects of local life. Rates, social security and unemployment are all concerns of the local council and its sub-committees, as are public education, the health service, electricity and water supply, childrens' homes, recreation facilities, etc. It is here that the interests and the viewpoints of the propertied class and the workers collide, the issues being usually decided by the united action of the working people for their common interests.

Our work in the communal bodies has its weaknesses. The dominant bourgeois parties and the Right-wing Social Democrats tell the people to leave municipal matters to them. This propaganda is not without effect, and we have not been able effectively to counteract it. Consequently, workers often take very little direct interest in the functioning of the local authorities although it affects their day-to-day life. As a rule interest in municipal matters is confined to electioneering or some extraordinary circumstances. The necessary pressure is not exerted often enough when the decisions are in the making, largely because the bourgeoisie and its agents do their best to conceal the inner workings of the municipal machinery from the people.

But here, too, things have changed in the postwar — the Communists and the People's Democrats began actively to share in the work of the communal bodies.

Our biggest success in this area was our fight against rate increases. About the middle of last year the bourgeois and Right-wing Social Democratic leaders in Pori began to campaign for higher local taxes. A rise in the rates, they argued, would pay for more benefits to the people; it would be possible, they said, to build more schools, hospitals and homes for old-age pensioners. The increase from 12 to 13 penni on the mark which they sought meant an additional burden on the workers who account for 72 per cent of the local tax.

The Communists and the People's Democrats campaigned on this issue. The matter was discussed at meetings at factories, in trade union branches and in other organizations which flooded the town council with letters demanding a reduction in rates. Numerous deputations visited the town council protesting against the proposed increase.

Although the Social Democratic workers agreed with the Communists on the rates

issue, only a few of them took part in the joint actions. But even this small measure of unity forced the local big-wigs to beat a retreat. The success showed the value of mass action and, naturally, gave the workers added confidence in their strength.

Last winter unemployment became widespread in both the industrial centers and the rural areas of our region. With unemployment benefits as low as they are, prolonged lack of work means hunger for the workers' families. Even the bourgeois and the Right-wing Social Democrat politicians on the communal bodies cannot but see this. Consequently, they have discussed the question, promising to take measures to provide more jobs and higher unemployment benefits. But their promises are never fulfilled. At the same time taxes on big industrialists are being cut, and land is granted to them gratuitously.

These circumstances have made unity of action by all workers imperative. And we can say that on the issue of unemployment and the standard of living the people have exerted powerful pressure on the local councils and the central government bodies. Meetings have been held and many deputations sent to the government, demanding urgent measures to provide jobs. Now the local authority is allocating more funds for relief. Also important is the fact that when they find themselves out of work the workers and small farmers supporting the Social Democrats and the Agrarians come to see for themselves that in the conditions of capitalism it is they alone who, by joint action, can uphold their interests. Our Party is working unflaggingly to bring this home to the masses.

We must get rid of the shortcomings in our municipal work. When the people begin to see they can get things done they will join in greater unity and compel the communal bodies to pay more attention to their interests.

Unity in the Workers' Sports Societies

In our district the workers' sports movement, which includes workers of different political views and has been associated with the general labor movement throughout its history, is of long standing. Attempts by the Right-wing Social Democrats to disrupt it have proved abortive. The various societies have splendid successes to their credit. In the events conducted under their auspices thousands of young men and women take part. The Workers' Sports Association which unites them also conducts extensive educational and cultural work. As a rule, young workers and students make their first acquaintance with

the working-class movement through the Association, and many activists of this movement have received their initial training in its ranks.

Notwithstanding the splitting activities of our opponents, the Workers' Sports Association is a growing and thriving body. The reason for this is the spirit of cooperation which is a feature of its ranks. In the sphere of sport, members of the Social Democratic Union and the Social Democratic Party, People's Democrats, Communists, and people not affiliated with any party, act in unison. The Right-wing Social Democratic leaders agitate for the incorporation of the Association into the bourgeois sports organization. But this demand meets with only a lukewarm response from the majority of Social Democratic athletes.

In our region the activities of the Association are on the upgrade. New branches have been established and the movement is spread-

ing further afield. Athletic performance too has improved.

I would say, that we Communists have added to our influence by standing four-square for an independent workers' sports society. Working together, the members see for themselves that the Communists are people who can be relied upon, that they champion the unity of the workers' sports movement earnestly and steadfastly.

* * *

Experience shows that differences in political views are no obstacle to joint struggle for common aims. Prejudices against the Communists disappear in the course of the common struggle. What is essential is that the work should be conducted in the open and be based on firm belief in the strength of the working class. The policy of united action is class struggle. The fight against big capital and for better conditions for the workers is its most typical feature.

Leo MARMIO.

Experience of the Communists of Costa Rica

COSTA Rica is the arena of a tense struggle between the U.S. imperialist agents in the country and their Creole allies, on the one hand, and the Communists and other democratic and progressive forces, on the other. The former want to abolish all rights and freedoms and are spurring on the government to arbitrary action against the Left-wing parties and the revolutionary labor movement; the latter are waging a struggle to defend and extend their rights. Political life in our country in the last three years could be described as a process of gradual curtailment of bourgeois-democratic freedoms, with pro-fascist organizations coming into being and imperialist domination and penetration gaining new footholds.

Costa Rica has deep-rooted democratic traditions reflecting the specific conditions in which our small nation arose and took shape. The Costa Rican citizen is proud that his country has more teachers than soldiers, he abhors militarism; he is a peace-loving, law-abiding citizen, a supporter of constitutional government and an ardent champion of his civic rights.

The Communist Party, founded in 1931, wields considerable influence and maintains close contact with the masses. From the very outset it took steps to create the militant trade unions which later on united into the

powerful Federation of Costa Rican Workers. In its early years it organized and headed numerous strike actions. Mention should be made here of the big strike on the banana plantations in 1934, an action which helped develop the anti-imperialist sentiment of the Costa Rican proletariat.

Our Party, denied the right to contest elections as a Communist Party, fought in elections under different names such as: the Worker-Peasant Bloc, the People's Vanguard, a name officially adopted by our Party at one of its Congresses and which it bears to this day. Individual Communists were elected to the local government bodies and to the National Congress. During the Second World War the Party carried out widespread activity and strengthened its contact with the masses. Its prestige grew.

After a two-year struggle against the Calderon Guardia government (1940-44), which had the backing of the imperialist monopolies, our Party worked to effect a rupture between Calderon Guardia and the big bourgeoisie; at first it established contact with Calderon Guardia and then concluded an official election alliance with the National Republican Party.

At that time we set ourselves the task of amending the Constitution and including in it articles on social guarantees. Constitutional

amendments, however, require a two-thirds majority in the National Congress for two terms running. Reactionary propaganda asserted that the people would be let down by the National Republican Party whose deputies would not vote for the reform during the second term. We, however, held that much would depend on us, that everything depended on our ability to make the demand for the social guarantees the vital demand of the people. And true enough, under the pressure of the national oligarchy and U.S. imperialism and upholding their own class interests, the National Republican deputies refused during the second term of the legislature to honor their promises. Our Party, however, was able to rouse the workers and peasants to the fight for the reform. Big demonstrations were held in the capital and in other towns. Ultimately the pressure brought to bear on the National Congress forced it to endorse the reform. Approval by Parliament of the Labor Code was secured in the same way.

Thus, the people won the right to organize and the right to strike. They secured a yearly minimum wage, obligatory advance notice of dismissal, a 15-day paid holiday and payment for days off; the employers were forced by law to stop unwarranted dismissals. A social security scheme was adopted, its funds coming from contributions by employers, the state and employees. Special courts were set up to handle labor disputes. Simultaneously a profit tax was introduced and the tax on landed property increased with an eye to making the rich pay more; rents were frozen and easier credit terms provided for small landowners; a law defending the interests of the poor peasants was enforced. The first round of land distribution without compensation was effected, and the first houses for the workers built. Besides, our Party took advantage of its alliance with the National Republican Party to prevent, until 1948, the disgraceful granting of concessions to U.S. oil companies.

In the battle for these reforms new unions were formed and the old ones became stronger, achieving a considerable measure of success. The Federation of Banana Workers on the Pacific Coast forced United Fruit to recognize the trade union organization; to review the system of labor and improve medical services and living conditions; to provide sports facilities and build good homes for the banana workers.

In the six-year period of our alliance with the National Republican Party, which generally speaking were years of revolutionary upsurge, we were not free from gross mistakes.

As an example we cite three of them. First, while conducting vigorous propaganda, organizing large numbers of workers and leading many strikes, we did not pay sufficient attention to the theoretical training of the membership, to training new cadres and were unable to ensure a high ideological standard and firm discipline in our Party. In a word, we paid too much attention to the alliance and neglected our own Party problems. Secondly, we did not use the opportunity offered (especially during the 1944-48 Teodoro Picado government) openly to criticize the mistakes and failings of our allies, because we were afraid that this would afford support to the efforts of the imperialists and the Creole bourgeoisie who wanted to overthrow the government of the irresolute Picado. True, we tried to influence Picado. But the people knew nothing about this. And lastly, in our endeavor to bring Calderon Guardia closer to the people we tended to conceal the role of the People's Vanguard Party in the struggle for the social guarantees and the Labor Code. We so inflated the role of Guardia that he became the idol of the masses who followed him fanatically, despite his many mistakes which caused much harm to our country and to our people.

The mistaken policy of Calderon Guardia whom, after some hesitation, we began to support, consisted in his annulling, with our help, the results of the elections held in February 1948. This facilitated and accelerated the unleashing of the civil war begun by Jose Figueres and his accomplices Betancourt, Arévalo and Prio Socarras at the instigation of the U.S. imperialists who stood to profit from it.

A few words about this black page in the history of Costa Rica. Abandoned by its allies, betrayed by the military and isolated and attacked by U.S. imperialists, our Party trained its own commanders and formed workers' battalions, which, although practically without arms, fought hard battles for a period of two months. Gradually our force grew to 3,000 well-armed men. But President Picado resigned and the U.S. imperialists sent the Nicaraguan national guard into our country, and threatened it also with invasion from Panama. We had to lay down arms and sign an agreement with José Figueres. The agreement contained guarantees for our fighters, for the gains won by the working class and promised freedom of action for all the parties in the country. However, pressed by the U.S. imperialists, Figueres violated the agreement. He broke off relations with the Soviet Union and outlawed the People's Vanguard Party and

the Federation of the Costa Rican Workers. He granted long-coveted concessions to U.S. oil companies. His aim was to crush us and the reprisals were entrusted to the military attaché of the U.S. Embassy. Hundreds of workers — Communists and trade unionists — were deported, and hundreds more were thrown into prison. Some of the leaders were killed; Party and trade union premises were raided and destroyed; we lost our radio station, and our paper was suppressed. The General Secretary of our Party was exiled. The General Secretary of the Trade Union Federation managed to escape to Mexico. The rest of the national leaders of our Party remained in the country. Despite the brutal reprisals, they began to rebuild the Party and the trade unions. These activities, the democratic traditions of our people and the response of the working class prevented the reactionaries from destroying our Party. Step by step, it strengthened its ranks and found ways and means for conducting legal activity. Practically all the gains won by the workers were preserved. This explains why the standard of living in Costa Rica is higher than in the other Central American countries. A powerful strike action on the Pacific coast banana plantations resulted in the formation of the United Federation of Pacific Coast Workers. The United

Fruit Co. had to concede payment for "the 13th month," or a Christmas bonus, as our people call it. Other democratic movements arose: women's, youth, peasants' and the movement of the friends of the Cuban revolution.

But U.S. imperialism and its Creole henchmen redoubled their attacks on our Party and on the other democratic organizations. As a result, the publication of progressive papers and other periodicals was stopped. Still, our Party found other possibilities to make its voice heard among the masses.

Our members are devoting all their energies to defense of the Cuban revolution. To counter the big lie of imperialist propaganda we bring the truth about Cuba to the most remote corners of our country. Hundreds of Costa Ricans have visited Cuba and our teachers have worked there to help with the campaign to abolish illiteracy. Many Costa Rican Communists, young and old, men and women, were arrested during the demonstrations in support of Cuba. We know that hard times lie ahead of us in view of the imperialist maneuvers to integrate Central American countries economically, politically and militarily. But, with trust in our people, we are confident of victory.

Francisco ESPINOZA.

Educational Work in a Factory

ONLY 15 years ago Roznov pod Radhostem was a sleepy township in Northern Moravia with no industry and a poverty-stricken population very much under the influence of the Catholic Church. In Socialist Czechoslovakia, however, the town has been reborn. Under the plan for the more even distribution of industry, Roznov was chosen as the site for the Tesla vacuum tube and transistor factory. Needless to say, it was not a simple matter to set up a modern plant in the Roznov conditions; countless obstacles had to be overcome, from inadequate educational qualifications to prejudices inherited from the past.

But together with the plant the people, too, advanced. Thousands of young men and women became skilled workers and technicians. They mastered the complex technology and set to work with enthusiasm. Testimony to their performance can be seen in the award of the Order of Labor to the factory, and of decorations and the Klement Gottwald State Prize to its workers. All this is the result of the educational work conducted by the Party branch.

During a recent visit to the factory we asked comrades who for years have been engaged in this educational work to give us the background to their achievements. Among these comrades were Josef Gaja, Jaroslav Hora, Joseph Maler and Vaclav Navratil, all members of the ideological committee of the Party organization.

The workers had little professional skill and political grounding when the factory opened. Their main object was to earn a decent wage and to live better than their parents had lived in the past. There were conflicts and family tragedies too, for in the eyes of many of the older, deeply religious people, the factory, a product of socialism, was the "temptation of the devil." The Party branch had but few members at first and had to begin its educational work in complex conditions. But from the very beginning its efforts were facilitated by what the workers had experienced not long before. The fight against Hitler, the resistance movement, and the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army — all had left an indelible imprint, making it easier for the

people to accept the idea that life had to be built anew. This paved the way for the spread of socialist ideas. When some years later the Soviet sputniks soared into outer space, the workers, now acquainted with elementary electrotechnics, saw in them new convincing proof of the superiority of socialism over capitalism.

Of no little significance, of course, was the material incentive. The good wages and good conditions, naturally, attracted the youth. They realized, too, that the wages would go up together with their skills.

But while the new world of the factory impelled them to study, their home environment pulled them in the opposite way. People were reluctant openly to associate themselves with the new society; they did not care to be mentioned as good workers or to be publicly rewarded for excellence on the job. For a long time they were divided against themselves.

The transition from the old thinking to interest in things political was part of the development of the factory as a whole and of the work of the Party. At first the Communists concentrated on organizing the workers as a production team, and this was followed by a period when the main attention was focused in getting to know the ins and outs of the machines. Not always was there time for educational work. The turning point came with the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, which ushered in far-reaching changes in the work of the branch. Educational work now became the main task.

It should be admitted that the Communists themselves did not at once see the connection between the economic and political factors, did not fully realize that the new interest in politics would help to raise the productivity of labor, and that higher skills and higher wages would in turn further socialist thinking.

The Party branch worked to bring home to the workers the direct link between their labor and the achievements of socialist construction. This link was most clearly revealed when the factory was awarded the State Prize and the Order of Labor for its success. Production and political activity received a new stimulus when the questions of setting up research facilities at the factory, improving the old lines of output and launching new ones became the order of the day.

Gradually the people came to take pride in their work, their attitude to the pooling of experience changed and the socialist emulation movement gained ground. Today the team spirit has become second nature to them and they are selflessly devoting their energies

to the building of socialism. All this is the result of a gradual, sometimes imperceptible, change in their way of thinking, the result of the day-to-day work of the Party branch.

Enthusiasm alone is not enough to solve the complex production tasks. For this knowledge and study are needed. With the steady advance of vacuum and transistor techniques, today's skill and knowledge may prove insufficient tomorrow. And this is appreciated as much by the workers as it is by factory executives.

In 1951 the factory began putting out midget elements. There was very little previous experience to fall back on, and this impelled the young workers to study the physical and chemical processes involved. The same year a four-year technical school was opened in the town. When the output of television viewing tubes was launched in 1952-54 a branch of the Bratislava Higher Technical School was opened in the factory. Today more and more workers feel that it is vitally essential for them to improve their professional knowledge. More than 1,000 workers are attending advanced training courses. Extensive work is being done also in the sphere of political education, with thousands of workers and technicians attending Party schools, seminars and classes.

Many more figures and facts could be cited showing how the place of the prayer book has been taken by textbooks on physics and mathematics, by works on Marxist-Leninist political economy and philosophy.

The Party organization is aware that educational work should not be limited only to professional and political knowledge but should embrace the equally important sphere of aesthetics. We still encounter cases of the "I'm all right" outlook. Some angle for bonuses and rewards they have not earned. And so the Party branch seeks to inculcate in all workers a profound understanding not only of their rights but also of their responsibilities to society, their duty to their fellow workers.

Besides the Party, the Youth Union is concerned with educational work among the young people; responsibility for sport and recreation rests mainly with the trade unions, while the local science and technology society attends to professional training. Each of these organizations contributes in its specific way to the overall educational process.

The ideological committee of the Party branch coordinates the work, directing it towards a single goal. In this way an atmosphere is created which facilitates the overcoming of shortcomings and the survivals of

the past which still assert themselves in people's thinking and behavior.

There is an unceasing quest for new and more effective forms of education. One of these is the public forum, which discusses questions of the day. In these debates the workers examine the roots of shortcomings and suggest ways and means of overcoming them. The branch has held three debates on the themes: "He who does not work neither shall he eat," "The public interest is your personal interest," "Aspects of Factory Management." The debate on managerial functions helped to improve the work of the foremen and made for better understanding between workers and technicians.

The Party committee submits questions of local, regional or national significance for discussion by all the workers. For instance, the prospects of the further development of socialist society in Czechoslovakia was subjected to such examination. The branch is as-

sisted in its educational work by the bulletin *Electron*, published weekly in an edition of 4,000.

Recent years have seen big changes in Roznov. Its population is now more than 8,000, compared with 3,200 in 1948, and most of the adults work in the Tesla factory. There is an air of prosperity in the place and the people take a keen interest in political life. More and more of them are joining the Party. An average of 100 young workers and technicians join the Party annually. This, too, is a result of the educational work of the branch, which now has more than 1,000 members.

The Twelfth Congress of our Party laid emphasis on technological progress, and especially on automation. The tasks ahead are big and important, and there is no doubt that the Roznov workers will do their share to carry them out.

Miroslav LAB

The Syrian Communist Party and Arab Unity

THE Lebanon newspaper *Al Akhbar* has published the text of a statement circulated in Syria by the Syrian Communist Party concerning the situation in that country and the projected federation of the UAR, Syria and Iraq.

The statement refutes the reactionary propaganda to the effect that the struggle against imperialism and reaction waged by the Syrian Communists, other progressives and democratic Arab nationalists is directed against Arab unity.

"Genuine and lasting Arab unity can be achieved only by extending and intensifying the struggle against imperialism, for democracy in all Arab countries and for freedom for the people . . .

"The people of Syria know full well that the Syrian Communists have never opposed Arab unity. They have always worked for unity based on democracy, equality and brotherhood of the Arab countries. For only such unity can be enduring. Prior to the unification of Syria and Egypt in 1958 the Syrian Communists said that the ground for unity should be thoroughly prepared and that it should be based on federation. Following the union of the two countries, they issued at the end of 1958, a 13-point program urging that the union be placed on a democratic footing, which would bring the two countries closer instead of giving rise to dissension. When the

union broke up in September 1961, the Communists declared that what had collapsed was not the idea of Arab unity but the undemocratic policy of dictatorship and terror.

"The charges persistently levelled, contrary to the facts, against the Arab Communists and democratic Arab nationalists that they are opposed to Arab unity and nationalism are designed to justify the dictatorship and the persecution of national-democratic forces opposed to the imperialists and the reactionaries.

"Unfurling the black flag of struggle to suppress communism and democracy as the banner of the movement for Arab unity is a grave danger to Syria and the entire Arab liberation movement. This is just what the U.S. imperialists want, hoping that by the very logic of things they will be able to lay hands on Arab oil and to use the strategic location of the Arab countries for action against the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp. This would mean restoring imperialist rule in a new way, renouncing the policy of neutrality and non-alignment, and exposing the Arab world to the danger of destruction.

"Haste on the part of the rulers in embarking on amalgamation or federation with a view to confronting the people with a fait accompli is also fraught with danger to Syria and the cause of Arab liberation. Arab unity is a noble cause which must not be made a pawn in a political game and sacrificed to extraneous considerations."

Further, the statement declares: "To achieve a genuine and enduring Arab unity the people must above all be ensured democratic rights; choice of the form of government should be made through free parliamentary elections which would enable the representatives of the people freely to voice their views on the principles and form of federal unity. In this way a democratic union of emancipation could be established on a solid foundation that would guarantee its durability."

Summing up its stand on Arab unity, the Central Committee declares:

"Under all circumstances a Federal Arab union should be based first, on complete equality of the member countries, second, on democracy, and, third, it should wage a ceaseless struggle against imperialism.

"The Communist Party of Syria, nourished by the national soil, and having fought for years against imperialism and reaction, for the rights of the workers, peasants and all other sections of the people, calls upon all progressives, on all democratic Arab nationalists and on all true patriots to stand on guard against the conspiracies plotted by U.S. and British imperialism against Arab Syria and the other Arab countries.

"We urge unity in the struggle for freedom

of opinion, press, assembly and the right to organize and for other democratic freedoms; for a democratic consultative regime which would really reflect the will of the people; for an agrarian reform; for more rights for the workers; unity in the struggle to promote the national economy and expand the state sector; to support non-monopoly private enterprise; to protect our oil resources and ensure their utilization by Syrians in the interests of the people; for democratic Arab unity and genuine positive neutrality; for Arab solidarity in combating colonialism and backwardness, and for strengthening friendship and cooperation with the socialist camp and its vanguard — the Soviet Union.

"We Communists are firmly convinced that this policy corresponds to the aspirations of all sincere Syrian Arab patriots, to the present and future needs of the country. The Communists hold that it is the duty of every patriot and democrat, regardless of social status, whether civilian or member of the services, to work for this policy. There is no other guarantee that the gains of the Syrian Arab people will be preserved, no other guarantee of freedom, democracy and progress along the path of socialism and genuine Arab unity."

Conference of the Communists of New Zealand

THE National Conference of the Communist Party of New Zealand, held last April, endorsed the Report of the National Committee submitted by Comrade Wilcox and adopted resolutions on the tasks of the Party.

In this stage of society's development, a conference resolution states, we come closer to vast new perspectives for human advancement on an unprecedented scale, while, at the same time, we must meet challenges which threaten not only that future, but the lives and material and cultural achievements of millions of people in all lands. We see the need to intensify the struggle for peace in the broadest possible manner and at every level as being the vital task in our work today.

The economic and political crisis of capitalism is threatening the accustomed living standards of the New Zealand people in a way which can only be met by new policies. None of the major political parties show either the willingness or the capacity to meet this challenge, requiring our Party to campaign ever more vigorously to develop support among the working class, all working people and working farmers to demand from

whichever party is in the Government new policies set on new horizons for peace and improved political relationships with the socialist countries.

This is in line with the immediate needs of New Zealand and the future of all opposed to monopoly. Monopoly has developed on the basis of its own narrow class interests in the drive for maximum profit. The struggle against monopoly demands an intensification of the class struggle of the working class. Victory over monopoly can only be achieved on the basis of the united front of the working class as the basis of the alliance of all sections of the people exploited by monopoly.

The struggle against monopoly is not only an economic struggle, but a political struggle as well, uniting within its framework the basic needs of jobs, wages, working conditions, peace, trade with the socialist countries and an independent foreign policy for New Zealand.

The ideological campaign must also be stepped up to prevent the minds of our people being corrupted by influences which prevent them from seeing the correct course to solv-

ing their problems. To this end, all activity of districts, branches and individual members should be increased in day to day work and particularly this year in the widest election activity to return Communist candidates and defeat the National Party Government.

The role of Party branches in going out to the people is fundamental in the application of Party policy. This must be the starting point in all district and branch executive work.

Our major weapon to this end is the *People's Voice* newspaper which must be strengthened by winning new sales and new contributors to help realize the building of a stronger Communist Party to carry out this challenging program.

The Conference reaffirmed its previous endorsement of the international documents, the Statement and Declaration of 1957 and 1960, arising from the world meetings of the Workers' and Communist Parties held in Moscow. In conformity with these decisions the Conference endorsed the approach of the National Committee in its proposals for the handling of the dispute between the world parties since February 1962. This approach is based on the section of the 1960 Statement dealing with the settlement of disputes between parties.

Further, the Conference, in the interests of

international unity, called for a meeting of the Communist parties of the world, this meeting to be preceded by bilateral talks between the parties who are openly and directly in dispute, adequate preparation in organizing committees and an end to open polemical discussion.

It welcomed the exchange of letters between the C.C. of the CPSU and the C.C. of the CPC on such meetings and expressed the hope that they would lead to frank and comradely discussions on an equal and fraternal basis.

The Conference affirmed that the Statement and Declaration are the only documents extant covering the general policy and relationships between the Communist Parties. Thus, any differences arising between the Communist Parties can be settled, the resolution states, only on the basis of a world meeting of parties where contentious sections of the international documents can then be endorsed, amended or deleted.

Representatives of a number of fraternal parties welcomed the Conference and were, in turn, warmly welcomed by the delegates.

The Conference elected the National Committee with Comrade M. Williams as National President and Comrade V. G. Wilcox as General Secretary.

Meetings of Central Committees

THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

A MEETING of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party held in May heard a report on the meeting between representatives of the French Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and discussed problems of the unity of the international Communist movement.

The report submitted by Waldeck Rochet, Deputy General Secretary, on the activity of the delegation headed by him which visited Moscow in April this year, was approved.

A resolution expressed satisfaction at the fraternal atmosphere of the negotiations between the fraternal parties which confirmed the identity of views of both parties on all the problems discussed. The talks, it was pointed out, had strengthened the bonds of friendship that have always existed between the two parties and contributed to the preparation of a conference of all Communist and Workers' parties. In full accord with the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement the French

Communists consider that the fight for peace is the principal task. They emphatically denounce those who criticize the Soviet Union which during the Caribbean crisis, concluded a compromise with the USA thus preventing a thermonuclear conflict. "We cannot speak of imperialism," said Comrade Maurice Thorez, "as of some kind of powerless booby. This would weaken the vigilance and activity of the masses in the struggle for peace, especially in the era of the atomic weapon."

The Central Committee drew attention to certain erroneous views on peaceful coexistence. It would be wrong to say that peaceful coexistence implies that the colonial peoples should renounce their struggle for independence or that the proletarians in the capitalist countries and the peoples of the socialist camp should refuse to support that struggle. "The example of Cuba, Algeria, and of other peoples who have won freedom," said Maurice Thorez, "speaks against this point of view."

It would be wrong to say that peaceful coexistence impedes the struggle of the masses for their demands, for freedom and for socialism. The general upsurge of the movement of the workers in France seen in the recent miners' strike and throughout Western Europe refutes this.

It would be wrong to say that the international Communist movement is on the wane. In this connection, the Central Committee noted the election successes of the French and Italian Communist parties.

Generally, the idea of peaceful coexistence is gaining more and more support throughout the world. In his report Waldeck Rochet stressed that Pope John XXIII in his Encyclical *Pacem in Terris* had opposed those who, like de Gaulle, sought to justify the arms race in the name of the equilibrium of the armed forces.

The Central Committee denounced those who claim that the Communists in working for peaceful coexistence are ready to bargain with the class enemy, that they are refusing to wage an ideological and political struggle.

"We, on our part," Maurice Thorez said, "devote the utmost attention to these matters. Proof of this is the success of the Week of Marxist Thought. This is also borne out by the contribution made by the writers, artists, philosophers and scientists who are members of our party to the common struggle for peace and disarmament and to the ideological struggle aimed at winning to our side the hearts and minds of the people."

"The Party concerns itself with the general direction of that struggle. It does not fix rigid rules for each to follow; in particular, it holds that it is essential that the writer and artist be given every opportunity to develop his talent in his own way."

The Central Committee reaffirmed its previous analysis as regards the aggravation of the inter-imperialist contradictions and as regards the de Gaulle policy. It opposed all tendencies suggesting that the Atlantic alliance is about to collapse because of de Gaulle. In point of fact, Waldeck Rochet stressed, de Gaulle himself keeps on declaring that France should not weaken its bonds with the Atlantic coalition; in Europe de Gaulle is steering a political course of closer union with the militarists and revanchists in West Germany. In this context, while giving an exact assessment of the different inter-imperialist contradictions and taking advantage of them, we should never forget that "the policy so far conducted by de Gaulle is an anti-Soviet policy, a policy of the arms drive which runs

counter to the real interests of France and peace."

That there exists an essential affinity between de Gaulle's foreign policy and the autocratic and neo-Bonapartist structure of his regime is obvious.

The meeting stressed that the Common Market is an offspring of the policy of financial oligarchy and state-monopoly capital. It has sharpened the economic and political conflicts in the capitalist world. The United States, seeing in it an economic threat to itself, "aims at capturing important positions in the economies of its partners. Thus, U.S. investment in Europe increased fivefold in recent years, while in France it has doubled since the establishment of the de Gaulle rule . . ."

Waldeck Rochet had this to say about it: "We do not confine ourselves to declaring that we are against the Common Market. We pronounce in favor of the working class struggle in each country and in all the Six countries against the harmful implications of the Common Market. I can say that in 1956 when the French Parliament was about to elect deputies to the European institutions and to the leading bodies of the Common Market, our Party nominated candidates who, if elected, would have made the voice of the working class heard."

Maurice Thorez summed up the attitudes of the French Communist Party to the unity of the international Communist movement. "Our view," he said, "is that unity must be based on the unity of Marxist-Leninist principles and on the unity of our parties in the practical struggle. We adhere to the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement which summarized the rich experience of all the parties and, above all, the invaluable contribution made by the Twentieth and Twenty-First congresses of the CPSU."

"We believe that the struggle on two fronts is just as essential today as it was yesterday. To carry on an effective and victorious struggle against sectarianism and dogmatism, it is necessary to wage a relentless fight against the Rightwing opportunist views which find expression here and there and which provide ground for attacks by the Left deviationists, and vice versa. Today the Left deviation is no less dangerous than revisionism and Rightwing opportunism. One could say that at the international level it is the main danger."

"In this our point of view fully coincides with that of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which is working vigorously for

the unity of the international Communist movement on the jointly elaborated principles and which is sparing no effort to prevent the aggravation of the situation . . .

"Stronger unity of the Communist movement is a guarantee of future success. What is most essential here, as the 1960 Statement emphasized, is the strongest possible accord among the countries which have liberated themselves from capitalism and now form the socialist camp."

The French Party believes that the conditions of the socialist revolution and the tactics of the Communist parties in the capitalist countries are the basic issues facing the international Communist movement. In this connection the speaker emphasized the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism.

The forces contributing to the socialist revolution, he continued, are now more numerous and better grounded theoretically because of Soviet experience and the experience of the entire socialist camp, and the ruling classes in the capitalist states have now fewer opportunities to export counter-revolution. Comrade Thorez spoke about the concept of the proletarian dictatorship in present-day conditions and the variety of its forms.

"It would be a mistake to identify socialist revolution and violence," he said, "the main thing about the dictatorship of the proletariat is that it is the broadest democracy for all working people." Stressing the necessity of this temporary dictatorship in whatever form, Maurice Thorez pointed out that "there is no third way" and "the socialist revolution is inevitable."

The task of the Party is to strengthen the unity of the working class and to unite all the democratic forces in order to establish genuine democracy in France instead of one-man rule. Politically, this kind of democracy presupposes the sovereignty of the people represented by Parliament which appoints and controls the executive authority; economically it means nationalization of the monopolies;

in the cultural sphere it presupposes a democratic reform of education.

In its qualitative aspects the socialist revolution, the C.C. said, is in all circumstances a leap from one system to another, leaving no room for the opportunist and reformist idea about a gradual, imperceptible, and "painless" transition from capitalism to socialism.

"Some people," Waldeck Rochet stressed in his report, "describe as 'structural reforms' the economic and social reforms, including nationalization, effected under capitalism and claim that socialism can be achieved gradually through the steady piling up of reforms."

Expressing the view of the Central Committee on this, Waldeck Rochet said: "We French Communists have long been fighting for these economic and social reforms, including nationalization, but, wholly in keeping with the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, we consider that since we are living under the capitalist regime, with political power in the hands of the bourgeoisie, reforms of this kind bear a democratic, not socialist character."

"We hold that for our times these reforms are of great significance, they are paving the way to socialism and create the conditions for uniting the working class and the working people, all who are opposed to the monopolies in a victorious struggle for socialism."

"But the winning of socialism is not dependent on the greater or lesser number of reforms carried out under capitalism and the capitalist state. The socialist revolution, which certainly is a leap, is the result of the working class and its allies winning political power."

The meeting also discussed the report submitted by Raymond Guyot on the work of the Party in the struggle for peace and disarmament. Roland Leroy, C.C. Secretary, reported on the Union of Communist Students, and the meeting resolved to step up the ideological and political work among the students.

P. HENTGES.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF JAPAN

THE sixth plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan, held on May 15-17, heard a report by the Party Presidium on the results of the local elections and the next tasks of the Party. The meeting adopted a resolution entitled "Forward together with the entire people on the basis of the gains in the local elections."

In more than 30 localities, including the

prefectures of Tokyo, Osaka, Fukuoka and Iwato and the city of Yokohama, the democratic forces nominated agreed candidates for the posts of governor and mayor. In Iwato and Fukuoka the democratic candidates for governor were elected, as were the joint democratic candidates for mayor or council elder in more than 15 towns, including Osaka and Yokahama, and in a number of villages.

Before the elections the Communist Party had 893 councillors in 746 councils. Now it has 1,140 councillors in 897 municipalities. In the elections to the district councils in Tokyo, 59 of the 66 Communists nominated were elected.

The Socialist Party gained nearly 100 seats in the prefecture councils and improved its positions in the urban district and rural councils.

The Democratic Socialist Party suffered a setback, while the Komei Seiji Remmei (League for Honest Politics, a political organization based on the Soka Gakkai religious society) made considerable gains.

The Liberal Democrats lost more than 100 seats in the prefecture councils.

The local elections, which took place in a situation marked by a sharp struggle between the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries and the people of Japan, resulted, then, in further gains for our Party and the democratic forces generally. The results are indicative of the political advance made by the people and of the weakening of the positions of the forces of war and reaction.

In a resolution analyzing the election campaign the Central Committee noted that the Party, guided by its program and basing itself on its success in the period preceding the elections, widely popularized its "five basic principles"* and its local policies, elucidating the political issues at stake in the struggle between the Japanese-U.S. reactionaries and the Japanese people.

The resolution stresses that the support for the Party among the democratic forces and people generally made the municipal elections an arena of political struggle for national independence and democracy, in defense of peace and security, for a higher standard of living and for popular rights. This line played a paramount role in bringing the democratic forces together in a united front.

The fact that the democratic forces were victorious wherever they were united showed, the Central Committee pointed out, that unity based on the solidarity of the Communist and Socialist parties is the guarantee of the de-

feat of the Liberal Democrats. This is highly important for further strengthening the united front.

The resolution also draws attention to the gains of the Komei Seiji Remmei in the municipalities. Capitalizing on the growing contradictions between the democratic forces and the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries, this organization made headway and won the support of part of the masses for the reactionaries. The election likewise highlighted the need to intensify the struggle against Siodziro Kasuga and other anti-Party elements.

A number of useful lessons can be drawn from the elections: the Party owed its success to the fact that its members, cooperating with sympathizers, concentrated all their energies on the campaign; guided by its program and organizing a profound discussion of the political issues involved, primarily the "five basic political principles," the Party rallied its entire membership for the campaign; it made headway wherever it conducted a comprehensive political struggle, advancing local demands corresponding to the needs of the localities; the systematic mass propagation of its policy reached bigger audiences than before; the factors underlying the Party's success were the growth of its membership, its work in building and consolidating the mass organizations, its active participation in the day-to-day local struggles and its leadership of these struggles.

While noting these positive results, the resolution also pointed to shortcomings. These include a lag in Party building in the rural areas, insufficient attention to concretizing the Party's political line in some localities, weaknesses in building the united front, and insufficient contact with the people.

The meeting drew attention to the deep-seated tendency to deprecate work in the municipalities, a tendency connected with underestimation of the importance of parliamentary struggle.

The meeting pointed to the need further to expand and strengthen the Party's ranks. "In order to win at all stages of the electoral struggle, the membership of the Party and the circulation of the Party press must be increased, mass organizations built up and the Party's political forces and activities strengthened."

In the present favorable conditions, it was emphasized, when the Party's influence and contacts with the masses are growing, it is essential, in addition to recruiting members, to pay close attention to ideological and educational work and to raise the ideological and

*These principles, formulated by the Party in March for the election campaign, are aimed at securing a democratic reform of municipal and prefectural government. They are: (1) resistance to the setting up of military installations in towns and villages; (2) opposition to the "development area" policy which sacrifices the interests of the people to those of U.S. and Japanese monopoly capitalist; measures to ensure calm and peaceful conditions of life in the towns and villages; (3) prevention of abuse of office, combating corruption and graft and stopping the officials, monopolists and reactionary party functionaries from feathering their nests at the expense of the municipalities; upholding the rights of the people and raising the standard of living; (4) safeguarding the rights of local government and civil rights against encroachments; democratic reform of the local authorities; (5) democratic education, more and better schools.

political level of the Party. The most important immediate task is to win new members in Tokyo and in six other cities which are of particular political, economic and military significance, to strengthen the Party organizations in the most important enterprises, and strengthen its influence in the trade unions.

Much attention was paid to style of work, improving the methods of activity and leadership. Tasks were outlined with a view to improving the work of the Communist municipal councillors.

It was the vital task of the people, the Central Committee stressed, to fight for independence and peace, and the central issue now was to prevent U.S. nuclear submarines from entering Japanese ports and the H-bomb-car-

rying U.S. F105 bombers from being based in Japan. Organizing the mass struggle in defense of democracy and for raising the standard of living is an urgent task.

On the question of the unity of the international Communist movement, the Central Committee reaffirmed the resolve of the Party firmly to adhere to the stand set forth by the previous plenary session in its resolution entitled "For lasting unity of the Communist and Workers' parties of the world."

In view of the fact that all efforts will have to be concentrated on preparations for the forthcoming general election it was decided to postpone the next congress of the Party until after the election.

S. TANAKA.

WMR COMMENTARIES

Freedom Battle of American Negroes

FOR WEEKS past the news from Alabama and other places in the United States sounded like reports from battlefronts of a civil war. The events that took place, especially those in Birmingham, are a turning point in the Negro emancipation movement and a milestone in the struggle of all progressive Americans for genuine freedom and democracy.

Alabama is one of the states in the Union where total segregation still prevails. Birmingham, the state capital, is the main industrial center of the South. Of a population of 342,000, forty per cent are Negroes. It is, perhaps, the most segregated of all cities in the United States. For that reason it has become the center of the struggle against segregation, its dramatic symbol.

From Alabama the fight for freedom spread to other Southern States and, subsequently, to the North. Negro demonstrations took place in such towns as Jackson (Mississippi), Nashville (Tennessee), Greensboro (North Carolina), as well as in Louisiana, Georgia, Oklahoma, Florida, Maryland, New Jersey and other states. Meetings and demonstrations by both whites and Negroes swept Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, New York and other cities and towns.

The events have shown that the 20 million Negro people are no longer prepared to tolerate racist outrages. "Birmingham's Negroes," commented the U.S. magazine *Time* on the events in Alabama, "had always seemed a docile lot . . . But last week they smashed that

image forever." *The present stage of the Negro freedom movement can be characterized by its active, truly revolutionary nature.* American Negro people, now fighting for an immediate end to the shameful practice of segregation, are resolved to end the humiliations and degradations they have suffered so long.

Their demands are modest indeed. They are fighting for the full right to vote, for the right to work, for the right to eat at the restaurant and lunch counter of their choice, for the right to attend the school of their choice together with other Americans whose skin is white; they are fighting for the right to ride on a bus and sit where they please, for the right to sit on a park bench of their choice, for the right to be hired as clerks in stores and offices instead of being forced forever to scrub floors and wash the white man's dirt. They are fighting for equal pay when doing the same work as the white man. In a word, they are insisting on being treated as human beings. In reply to these elementary demands they were met with violence, police dogs, bombs and mass arrests. And all this is taking place in the second half of the 20th century in the "home of the free and the land of the brave," in the country which claims leadership in the "free world."

On the initiative of Birmingham businessmen, who saw that the Negroes' resistance could not be crushed negotiations were begun with Negro leaders and a compromise agreement was reached. It included the following:

(1) Desegregation within 90 days of lunch counters, rest rooms and the like in large downtown stores. (2) Non-discriminatory hiring and promotion, including specifically the hiring of Negroes as clerks and sales people in stores within 60 days and the appointment of a fair employment committee. (3) Release of all arrested Negroes on bond. (The Negroes had demanded the dismissal of all charges.) (4) The creation of a bi-racial committee to maintain a "channel of communication" between the races.

Even this modest, partial agreement was later repudiated by the State and local authorities. The racists replied to this agreement with bombs and more terror. They bombed a motel that had been used as a headquarters for Dr. Martin Luther King, the Negro leader, and the home of Dr. A. D. King, his brother.

The bomb attacks stirred the Negro population to new action. Their slogan is "Free by '63", that is, on the anniversary of the signing of President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation in 1863. A hundred years ago the Negro slaves were formally freed in America, but they have not yet won their freedom. The Negro reading about the Civil War which is claimed to have resulted in the "preservation of the Union and the abolition of slavery" is not impressed. For him the war against slavery has yet to be won. In the words of Dr. M. L. King segregation is nothing but a *refined form of slavery*.

The American Negroes' struggle for complete freedom has now entered its decisive stage. They do not want a "gradual" or "symbolic" desegregation. With the active support of all progressives they are determined to win the unfinished war of a hundred years ago, for freedom.

The militancy and the scale of the present Negro movement are due to several reasons. First, the Negro struggle for equality is part of the world-wide struggle of the colored people against colonialism, for national liberation. The liberation movements in Asia, Latin America and especially Africa are inspiring American Negroes in their struggle for social equality and equal citizenship in their homeland. Mr. Sulzberger, a leading writer on foreign affairs, noted this three years ago. Discussing the effect of the independence movement in Africa, he wrote "... one perceptible result (of these movements) has been an immense acceleration of our Negroes' demand for complete equality."

President Kennedy sent a telegram to the Conference of the Heads of African States

meeting in Addis Ababa wishing them success. The good wishes could not have come at a worse time, because at the very moment racialists and their police were brutally attacking defenceless Negro men, women and children in the streets of Birmingham. This caused concern among all the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist nations.

The new nations of Africa are shocked by the racist outrages in the USA. In an open letter to President Kennedy the Prime Minister of Uganda, Milton Obote, wrote: "We in Africa who have borne the white man's burden for decades and centuries, who have fought for and attained the selfsame rights that the American Negroes are now striving for, feel that our own freedom and independence would be a mere sham if our black brethren elsewhere in Africa and in the United States still remain in political, social and economic bondage."

The rise of the Negro movement in the so-called Black Belt where the majority of American Negro people—inactive until recently—live is due to deep-going economic and social changes in the South. Industrial growth in the Southern States has proceeded at an exceptionally rapid pace in recent years. Workshops are virtually "running away" from the North to the South and to the West. Accordingly, the Negro population is moving from farming areas to industrial centers. A Negro working class has come into being and the national and class consciousness of the Negro workers has grown. Hence the broadening out of the social base of the Negro movement and, consequently, of its demands and forms of struggle.

The capitalist press admits that no U.S. President in the past hundred years has encountered such sharp racial conflict as Kennedy. Alarmed by the scale of the conflict and by the catastrophic fall in U.S. prestige abroad (especially in Afro-Asian countries) the Kennedy Administration took a number of steps—although indecisive and half-hearted—to ease the tension and gain time. Federal troops were moved to Alabama on May 13.

The Alabama Supreme Court ruled that the recently elected Council constitutes the legal government of Birmingham which in effect ousts the Mayor and the chief of police of Birmingham who were responsible for the terror against the peaceful Negro demonstrators. On May 20, the Supreme Court recognized as unconstitutional the persecution of Negroes for violating the segregation rules. It also ruled that the Southern States speed up desegrega-

tion in schools and begin desegregating public parks, libraries and museums.

This, undoubtedly, is a big victory for the Negro movement. Still, the Negroes know that rulings of that kind are not enough, that racist authorities can well ignore them. Nine years have gone by since the Supreme Court ruled that education be integrated, but this has not yet been implemented. The Municipal Council of Greenville (South Carolina) annulled the segregation rules at the insistence of court authorities but introduced the so-called regulations on "the breaches of ownership rights" which entitle owners of cafeterias, hotels, etc., to refuse service to any person and even to evict him. That ruling exemplifies the close connection between racialism and capitalist ownership and the easy way in which American supremacists evade federal laws and rulings to go on with their segregationist practices.

We recall the case of James H. Meredith. The Federal government sent in troops forcing the University of Mississippi to admit Meredith for study last fall. A year later, the army still needs to stand by to guarantee his enrolment for the next term. It is no solution for a Negro student to be kept in a school with Federal troops standing guard, the rest of his school life. Such actions may solve an individual case temporarily but cannot solve the overall problem of Negro rights. The Negro people want the Federal government to enforce the laws of the land and put an end to the segregation and discrimination. They demand that all the possibilities be provided for them to enjoy all the civil rights.

President Kennedy finds himself in a dilemma: on the one hand he is committed to support of the Negro aspirations and, on the other, he is anxious to retain segregationist backing for the Democratic Party. He is trying to worship two gods simultaneously. But the Negro people refuse to be a political football. They are demanding that the Federal government carry out its obligations to them. When pressed to take decisive action the Kennedy Administration pleads, lamely, lack of authority. The people fighting for Negro rights are aware that the Federal government never pleads lack of authority when it curtails rights and persecutes champions of peace and democracy, Communists and non-Communists. The Kennedy Administration possesses ample authority to act decisively against the segregationists, but it hesitates to do so because of the pressure of the ultra-Rights.

Although very critical of the Administration's hesitancy the Negro leaders differentiate be-

tween Kennedy and the racialists. They know that, to the extent Negro and White Americans press their demands, the Administration can be forced to act.

Negro militancy is growing. Negro and white unity is being cemented. All the signs are that the battle for freedom will be won.

The struggle is producing its heroes, both Negro and White, some known, and many more unknown. Americans were shocked when they learned about the murder of William Moore, the 35-year-old white Baltimore postman, who courageously set out on a lone "Freedom march" through the Southern states. Some capitalist press hacks described Moore as a Don Quixote. But most Americans, filled with admiration of this martyr who gave his life for freedom for his black brothers, agree with the appraisal given by Gus Hall, an outstanding Communist Party leader, who referred to Moore as the John Brown of our times.

Early this year the U.S. Communist Party in a statement headed "A Road for American Labor," declared that labor in the white skin cannot be free as long as labor in the black skin is branded. "What is now called for," the statement runs, "is a Crusade for Democracy in which the trade union movement and the Negro liberation movement will play a leading role—a Crusade to bring democracy to the South, and the South fully into the United States. . . . Such a Crusade could create the most powerful alliance for democracy that our country has ever seen."

Recent events, which have confirmed this assessment, are paving the way towards this broad alliance. The million-strong Union of Automobile Workers has declared its support for the Negro movement. The 750,000 strong AFL-CIO in Michigan has denounced the repressions and has urged the Federal authorities to take prompt measures. American labor is coming to realize that the Negro struggle is in line with the common interests of all workers. The feature of the present battle is the growing Negro-White unity.

Speaking on the lessons of the Birmingham battle, Gus Hall emphasized its significance for the future of the country. The remnants of slavery, he said, have poisoned the life-stream of our nation for more than a century. The struggle of Birmingham to rid our land of the shackles on freedom is revitalizing and giving an injection of new strength to all our democratic institutions. These struggles are purifying and cleansing the political and social atmosphere in our land. This struggle is unifying our working class. It opens up the South for unionization and makes it possible

to eliminate the wage differential. This struggle will bring better living standards, higher wages and greater job security to all workers. The movement for complete equality for the Negroes is a powerful blow at the monopolies, financial oligarchy, anti-labor and anti-demo-

cratic forces, at the ultra-reactionary coalition of Republicans and Dixiecrats in the Congress. "We," he said, "hail this great victory in Birmingham for all that it means to the future of our country."

Norman FREED

Exchange of Views

The Communists and Democracy

Justas Paleckis (USSR)

Socialist Democracy in Action: Its Achievements and Perspectives

THERE probably is not a politician in the world today who does not claim to be a democrat—even Ngo Dinh Diem and Salazar say that the word is applicable to their regimes. Is it, then, completely meaningless? No, it is not. It is sufficient to recall the original meaning of this ancient word, so dear to the hearts of men, for everything to fall into place. Democracy is a system under which the state and the government fully express the aspirations of the people and guarantee the vital rights of citizens.

When we speak of Soviet democracy, we have in mind not only the electoral system established by law or the Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia, but primarily the *tangible conditions of life enjoyed by all*, conditions which our young generation takes for granted, as something natural, as natural as the sun at noon. Take, for instance, the right to work. As one who has lived a good part of his life in a so-called "democratic" country of the Western type and who has seen dozens of other countries, I can bear witness that only socialist democracy can do away with a scourge like unemployment. The most unscrupulous critics of our system would hardly deny that under socialism the right to work is a reality. Or the right to education; in our country, where one out of every five attends school and every other adult has a secondary or higher education, this is equally unquestionable and real.

It is not by chance that I began with these elementary things. *They are the crux of the matter.* Perhaps just because of this the apologists of bourgeois democracy try so hard to

reduce the meaning of democracy to the electoral system alone, to the number of candidates contesting a seat, and sometimes, even to a matter of the premises where Parliament sits. I once listened to the amusing contention that a circular chamber is a sign of genuine democracy and the triumph of equality. I do not know the shape of the chamber where the Spanish Cortes sits, for all I know it may be circular, but you will hardly find democracy in it. In other words, the basic consideration is this: all talk about democracy, of representative government, of the freedom of the individual, and so on, is *pointless if the end result is ignored, if what the working man gets out of it is not taken into account.*

While noting the superiority of socialist democracy, our main attention today is focused on its perspectives. This brings us to the cardinal problems of both today and tomorrow. And as we think of these things we recall the tragic lessons of the personality cult and are confirmed in our resolve to do everything in our power to prevent any repetition of it.

We Communists soberly and realistically assess the Stalin cult. Under the impact of the facts associated with it—tragic, bitter facts of trampling on democracy—some people (our friends among them) are beginning to speak of the complete absence of democracy in Soviet society at that time. Yet the Stalin cult could not alter the profoundly democratic essence of our socialist system.

Socialism, as a system based on public property, *objectively presupposes, both as its necessary precondition and its inevitable result, that the masses play a fundamentally new role in the life of society.* Socialist society is

Conclusion. For previous installments see Nos. 4-6 for this year.

built by the conscious endeavors of the millions and creates a ramified system of social and political conditions facilitating this activity.

Our discussion will not be fruitful if we contrast socialist and bourgeois democracy merely in order uncritically to praise the former and denigrate the latter. But at the same time it must be said most emphatically that the personality cult could not prevent socialism as a whole, as it affected the millions of working people, from ensuring a democratic progress without precedent in history.

For the first time in history socialism gave to the people and guaranteed

a) *all social rights*—the right to work, education, rest and leisure, and to social security;

b) full, unrestricted *suffrage*;

c) the opportunity to take a *direct part in the management of production*;

d) the radical solution of the *women's question* (although there still remains much to be done in this field);

e) the conditions for genuinely solving the *national question* and ensuring the rapid development (economic, cultural, etc.), of all peoples and nations.

Even in the period of the personality cult, then, Soviet society had achievements to show in the sphere of democratic development, in ensuring the people the basic conditions for material and spiritual advance—achievements the significance of which should in no way be minimized.

On the other hand, we must clearly see the *serious inroads which the Stalin cult made on socialist democracy*. Its pernicious effect made itself felt primarily in the political organization of society, the practical organization of government by the people—the participation of the masses in administering the affairs of state and in public life generally.

But there too it cannot be said that Stalin caused a qualitative dissolution of the inherently democratic nature of the political system of our society. That this was not so is evident from what is happening now. Once the Party had defeated the ideology and policy of the personality cult the situation changed and the very same political institutions and forms which in Stalin's lifetime were dormant or showed few signs of life were *revitalized* and, in spite of difficulties of both an objective and subjective order, *began developing in depth and breadth*. This applies to the Soviets, to the diverse public organizations, and to the forms of organization of public control. The personality cult did not change the nature of these institutions, even if it did distort it

and create conditions that doomed these institutions to inactivity.

Indeed, Stalin, flouting Lenin's behests, minimized the role of the Soviets as popular representative bodies and narrowed their activities while building up the executive (including the punitive) branch, and this, together with reducing popular control to nought, led to flagrant violations of socialist legality and the resurgence of bureaucracy with all its attributes.

All this should be borne in mind when we speak of socialist democracy today, of the realization of the decisions of the Twentieth, Twenty-First and Twenty-Second Congresses of our Party which restored and enriched the Leninist principles and standards in public life and in governmental activity.

As regards political institutions, the point now is, first, to *utilize the old forms* of activity (rejected or shelved during the Stalin cult), *to draw on all their potentialities* which until recently were neglected; second, *to improve these forms* in conformity with the changed conditions; finally, *to develop and verify the new forms and institutions* brought into being mainly by the development of state administration into public communist self-government.

In all this activity the Party is guided by the Leninist precept which N. S. Khrushchov put in these words in the report to the Twenty-Second Congress: "*Every Soviet man and woman must become an active participant in administering the affairs of society—this is our slogan and our task.*"

As we know, the people of the USSR run their country mainly through the Soviets. Hence the process of deepening socialist democracy now under way affects primarily these bodies of popular representation. Above all, the question is one of improving the functioning of the Soviets so as to make them the *working corporations* of which Marx and Lenin spoke.

One of the central tasks on which the Party and society generally are engaged today is that of restoring a normal balance between the representative and executive bodies in full conformity with the principles of socialist democracy.

Of prime importance in ensuring genuine government by the people is the activity of the elected deputies. All our efforts to improve the methods of work are aimed at strengthening the link between the Soviets and the masses, at enlisting the masses in the actual administration of the affairs of society. The Soviets, Lenin said, are a form of government functioning in the open, in full view of the masses, accessible to the masses and deriving

their powers directly from them. In conformity with this, public opinion is now taken fully into account. Every important draft law is discussed by the entire people, and all their amendments and suggestions are carefully considered before the law is adopted. This was done, for instance, in the case of the pension law and the law on reorganizing the educational system.

The decisions of the November 1962 meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU on establishing a unified Party and state control system which revives the Leninist principles of popular inspection with the participation of literally millions, are of particularly great importance. Public control, when properly organized, is an effective means of improving the state apparatus, doing away with bureaucracy and guaranteeing against arbitrary methods of administration and violations of legality.

The socialist political system, Lenin pointed out, makes it "possible to combine the advantages of the parliamentary system with the advantages of direct democracy." In recent years democracy in its direct form has found striking expression in the growing activity of the public organizations—the trade unions, Communist Youth League, etc. They have the right to propose legislation, and some functions hitherto performed by state agencies have been transferred to them. Throughout the country such new manifestations of popular initiative are springing up as voluntary public order squads, comradesly courts, public control of trading and catering establishments, parents' committees at schools, etc.

These bodies bring millions of people into civic activity. At the same time they are the germ of the Communist self-government of the future. Already now they perform many of the functions which only yesterday belonged to the state.

The deepening of political democracy in the USSR is only one aspect of the broader process of democratic development in all spheres of life. We have already mentioned some of the things involved. But above all we must bear in mind the restoration and development of the Leninist principles of inner Party life in the CPSU—the guiding force of Soviet society. The Communist Party is the brain and nerve center of the nation. Hence correct Party policy is one of the most reliable guarantees of democracy.

When we speak of the perspectives of socialist democracy we should keep in mind the powerful impetus which will be given by the adoption of the new Constitution of the Soviet Union. This basic law will reflect, as Comrade

Khrushchov has said, the new stage in the development of Soviet society and the Soviet state, the further advance of socialist democracy. It will provide still more effective guarantees of democratic rights and freedoms and the strict observance of socialist legality, paving the way to Communist public self-administration.

* * *

Discussing the points raised by J. Paleckis, W. Janiurek (Poland), A. Wirt (Hungary) and others pointed out that

DEMOCRACY IS A NECESSARY ATTRIBUTE OF SOCIALISM. IT BECOMES THE PREROGATIVE OF THE MASSES WITH THE ADVENT TO POWER OF THE WORKING CLASS, AND DEVELOPS TO THE FULL IN THE COURSE OF BUILDING THE NEW SOCIETY.

W. Janiurek

For Marxist-Leninists the basic issue in any revolution is that of power. The type of state and the forms of its organization depend on who owns the means of production, which social class wields power. Of course, the balance of class forces and other factors exert a material influence on the forms and functions of the system of government. Even under socialism the sphere of democratic freedoms at certain times becomes broader or narrower depending on many factors, both objective and subjective. But this does not alter the fact that socialist democracy is immeasurably superior to bourgeois democracy. It has now been demonstrated not only in theory but in practice that the working-class state by its very nature cannot be undemocratic, inasmuch as public ownership of the means of production presupposes public management of the national economy, because the very task of building socialism can be accomplished only with the participation of the popular masses in administering public affairs, with the growth of their political consciousness.

That is why we have every grounds for saying that under socialism, *democracy is the only possible method of government*. In the capitalist world, on the other hand, parliamentary democracy is *not the only possible system*. There the alternative to democracy is autocracy, and beyond that—fascism. Of course, the qualitative difference between parliamentary democracy and fascism should by no means be under-estimated; for the Communist movement this is a matter of strategic significance. But neither should we forget how easily the

monopoly bourgeoisie switches from the parliamentary system to the fascist dictatorship when they deem it is necessary and possible.

A. Wirt

Socialist democracy flourishes not merely as a result of the subjective desire of individuals, but owing to such objective conditions as the structure of society, the character of class distinctions and the balance of class forces. This process may be roughly described as follows: in the first place, in the transitional period capitalism is still capable of offering resistance, anti-socialist tendencies and the influence exerted by the counter-revolutionary forces still make themselves felt and must be eliminated. Naturally, the suppression of hostile forces and tendencies also implies a certain restriction of democracy: democracy and dictatorship supplement each other at this stage of the development of the socialist state.

Secondly, in the transitional period small-scale commodity production and a numerous class of small proprietors still exist. The socialist reorganization of the small commodity sector and the switching of the small property owners onto socialist lines presuppose leadership of the state by the working class, i.e., a socialist state of a proletarian type. This, of course, is not a question of class suppression; on the contrary, the workers' government from the very outset is founded politically on the alliance with all other working people, primarily the peasantry.

In Hungary, as is noted in the decisions of the Eighth Congress of the Socialist Workers' Party, the foundations of socialism have been laid, the people have embarked on full-scale construction of the socialist society. The alliance of the working classes is developing into a socialist national unity. Our experience also shows that there is no sharp distinction between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the state of the whole people, between the first and the second stages of socialist democracy. A feature of the present situation in Hungary is that, on the one hand, proletarian dictatorship has not yet fulfilled its historic mission, on the other hand, this dictatorship is in the process of developing into a state of the whole people. Suppression of class enemies today occupies a far less prominent place in the functions of the state, and with the continued isolation and ultimate disappearance of these hostile forces will, in time, be dispensed with altogether.

Socialist democracy, the speaker stressed, *combines state power with a broad network*

of public organizations under the leadership of the Party.

The question of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party as one of the principles of socialist democracy was touched upon by many speakers. K. Wlad (Rumania), E. Daskalova (Bulgaria) and S. Dernberg (German Democratic Republic) showed that

LEADERSHIP BY THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES IS AN EARNEST OF SUCCESS IN BUILDING SOCIALISM, AND SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY CAN DEVELOP GIVEN BOTH A SINGLE-PARTY AND A MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM.

K. Wlad

Rumania's experience, said K. Wlad, refutes the claims of bourgeois propaganda that democracy and the single-party system are incompatible. The working people of our country have learned from their own experience that the only Party which represents their interests is the Workers' Party.

Party leadership is a guarantee of socialist democracy, inasmuch as the Party, which is deeply rooted in the people, unites the most advanced section of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia and is bound by a thousand threads to the masses. More than a million Communists are marching in the vanguard of the fight to complete the building of socialism and gradually to achieve communism.

The Party maps out a clear line of action for the people, it encourages the activity and initiative of the masses. Of course, for the people to be able effectively to exercise their rights and democratic liberties it is not enough merely to proclaim these rights and freedoms; the working people must be taught how to run the state, how to direct the economic and cultural life of the country. The Workers' Party accordingly conducts extensive political and educational work aimed at heightening the socialist consciousness of the masses.

S. Daskalova

In discussing the problems of socialist democracy, said S. Daskalova, the question of the allies of the working class and its Communist Party is of prime importance. As the chairman has already told you, she said, I am a representative of the Bulgarian People's Agricultural Union (BPAU), a political organization which unites part of the working peasants. Our Party fought alongside and under the leadership of

the Communist Party in the long struggle against fascism and capitalism, and today it is contributing to the building of socialism, and particularly to the socialist reorganization of the countryside.

The Agricultural Union is one of the oldest peasants' progressive organizations in Europe, having a record of more than sixty years of struggle behind it. For several years after the First World War the BPAU formed the government, headed by its founder and leader Alexander Stambolisky. On June 9, 1923, this peasants' government was overthrown by a fascist coup; more than three thousand BPAU members, including Alexander Stambolisky and his closest associates, were foully murdered.

The members of our organization learned by their own bitter experience how false is the illusion that a peasant government can exist without an alliance with the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party. We believe that this is an historic lesson not only for our own organization but for all progressive peasant movements. The sanguinary monarcho-fascist coup taught the organized peasants a lesson which might be summed up in the words: *never apart from the workers, always with them*. That is why a few months after the upheaval, the members of our Union took part in the anti-fascist uprising (September 1923) led by the Communist Party with Georgi Dimitrov and Vasily Kolarov at its head.

The alliance between the Communists and the peasants has been cemented by the more than 20 years of struggle against fascism and capitalism and as solid fraternal unity has developed between them. All the working people and all democratic-minded sections of the population rallied around this alliance which formed the basis of the Fatherland Front and which ensured the success of the popular uprising in 1944. After the victory of the people's democratic revolution, the worker-peasant alliance became the backbone of the people's government, a powerful factor in bringing about the profound political, economic and social changes which have turned our once backward country into an industrial-agrarian state.

Ever since 1944 the Union has participated in the government. At the present time the Secretary of our Party, Comrade Georgi Traikov, first Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, is Chairman of the Agricultural Council which includes all the ministers and chairmen of the state committees dealing with agriculture. The Union has 80 seats in the People's Assembly (nearly one-quarter of the

total) and several of its deputies are Vice-Chairmen of the Presidium of the Assembly. Thousands of our members are local councilors. In the government, in the People's Assembly and in the people's councils representatives of the Union participate together with Communists and non-Communists in running the country, building socialism and in exercising socialist democracy.

S. Dernberg

The German Democratic Republic has accumulated much experience in forming class alliances, in drawing the middle sections of the population into socialist construction and in the functioning of the multi-party system. Acquired in what was an imperialist country in the past this experience is of considerable interest for the progressive forces of the highly developed capitalist countries, where there is a certain similarity in the development of the productive forces, class structure, standard of living, the ideological influence of imperialism on the various classes and strata of the population, and especially on the working class (the long influence of reformism, strong Social-Democratic traditions, the split in the working class movement, etc.).

Let me recall briefly how the multi-party system emerged in our country. Besides the Socialist Unity Party we have four political parties in the GDR. The Christian Democratic Union, a party of Christians fighting for peace and progress, was founded in June 1945. Its main objective was to win support of the Christians among the middle classes and intelligentsia for active participation in building socialism.

The Liberal Democratic Party, also founded in the summer of 1945, united bourgeois-democratic politicians and democratically-minded employers, small proprietors, merchants and intellectuals.

In 1948 peasants who had opposed fascism formed the Democratic Peasants' Party which rapidly became an important social force. The same year saw the founding of the National Democratic Party, whose members, besides shopkeepers and intellectuals included former Wehrmacht officers and former members of the Nazi Party who had joined the "Free Germany" movement in the Soviet Union, who had committed no crimes and wished to help in building a democratic Germany. To this category the National Democratic Party afforded an opportunity to participate in political life and a chance to show that they had learned from their mistakes.

All these parties have branches in the villages and towns of the GDR. They publish daily newspapers, put out party magazines and have their own party schools. Their members occupy leading posts in the People's Chamber, in the State Council and the government and also in local government bodies.

The bloc of the anti-fascist and democratic parties was formed on the initiative of the Communist Party of Germany in July 1945. All questions of domestic and foreign policy, all economic, social and cultural measures are discussed by the bloc before any final decision is taken by the government body concerned. The conferences of the bloc, which are held on a republican scale and also on area and district level, are attended by the leaders of the parties and organizations. The agreements reached at these conferences form the basis of the mass political work carried out by the National Front.

It would be wrong to conceal the fact that at times the sectarian behavior, mistrust and bureaucracy of some members of the Socialist Unity Party damage the relations between our party and its partners in the alliance. For example, we do not always realize the need for repeated discussion with bloc partners of problems which in our own party have already been solved and no longer arouse any doubts. The new program of the Socialist Unity Party states that the Party does not and will not tolerate a narrow-minded attitude to handicraftsmen, small shopkeepers and private employers.

Cooperation with other parties does not of course proceed entirely without conflict, for life is constantly presenting new problems, and not all the parties see eye to eye on all questions. But these differences are not basically antagonistic and can be settled by debate and in joint struggle for the new.

In all probability, as the class structure of our society changes, the functions of the democratic parties, too, will change. Until now these parties have concerned themselves chiefly with the specific problems affecting the middle classes a section of whom they represent. Nowadays they are orienting more and more on active participation in all the political and economic issues.

Experience clearly shows that socialism alone can provide a consistently democratic solution for one of the most complex issues of the life of society—the national question. The contribution submitted by Comrades J. Pasiak and S. Matousek (Czechoslovakia) noted that the struggle of the Communists for the solution of the national question is a compo-

nent part of their struggle for democracy and socialism, that in the process of building socialism the equality and fraternal cooperation of nations is ensured.

Facts and figures were cited showing the rapid progress made by Slovakia, and how formerly backward areas of Czechoslovakia had been brought up to the level of the most advanced. Like the data on the economic and cultural development of the Bulgarian countryside cited by S. Daskalova, and similar information contained in the contributions of other representatives of the socialist countries, these facts are eloquent testimony to the superiority of socialist democracy as compared with bourgeois democracy. Under capitalism democracy at best provides the workers with more favorable conditions in which to fight for their vital interests. *Under socialism the development of democracy finds concrete expression in such real values as social and cultural progress.*

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY, THANKS TO WHICH MAN'S SOCIAL RIGHTS ARE EMBODIED IN HIS CONDITIONS OF LIFE AND WORK, IS STRIKINGLY MANIFESTED IN THE DIRECT PARTICIPATION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE IN MANAGING THE ENTERPRISES.

Industrial democracy is one of the forms of democracy which most directly affects the interests of the broad masses. For while people do not decide major political issues every day of the week and few take part personally in drafting government decrees, everyone daily encounters a host of problems at his or her place of work—problems ranging from increasing production, improving working conditions, improving one's skill and increasing earnings, to housing, public services, etc. It is here in the everyday life of the factory that the level of democracy can be measured. It is here primarily that the difference in principle between democracy in a society where the means of production belong to the capitalists, and socialist democracy based on public ownership of the means of production is revealed.

A. Galaichuk

One could theorize endlessly on this score, said A. Galaichuk (USSR). However, it might be interesting also to examine some concrete examples. I am an assembly mechanic by trade. At present I am chairman of the factory trade union committee at the Kiev Electrical Precision Instruments Plant (Tochelektropribor), and I should like to tell you how democ-

racy works at our plant, about our problems and how we cope with them.

The factory committee represents all the workers employed in the plant. It is elected at a general trade union conference attended by the workers and consists of 19 persons, 13 of whom are machine operators. In 1962 the factory committee met 35 times to decide important matters concerning the life of our enterprise. All its decisions are binding on the management; according to Soviet law the factory director is accountable to the factory committee, but not vice versa, since the factory committee is a collective body. The trade union organization controls the work of the administration through its commissions and other bodies formed on the initiative and by decisions of the factory committee.

In the past few years the CPSU has introduced a system of measures aimed at developing democracy in the enterprises. The role and influence of the unions have grown. One of the most effective forms of workers' participation in the management of production is the permanently functioning production conference. The decisions of the conference are submitted to the manager who gives the concrete assignment for the fulfillment of the workers' proposals and sets definite time limits. The conference chairman is a worker. In the bigger shops we have eight shop production conferences which handle questions directly related to their own department.

On the initiative of the factory committee and with the participation of the management we arrange regular monthly checkups of the different departments. In 1962, for example, the factory committee verified the handling of rationalization proposals and inventions, safety first, labor protection and industrial hygiene. A two-month checkup of the inner reserves available for increasing productivity of labor was also held. Thousands of workers took part in these measures.

From what I have said you will see what an important part the workers play in managing the enterprises. This applies also to the distribution of social funds formed from the plant's profits obtained as a result of over-fulfillment of plans. There the public organizations, the workers themselves, have the final say. This of course, does not mean that there are no disagreements.

Here is an example. Our plant does quite a lot of house building. In the past two years 460 families have moved into two and three-room flats, while another 120 single workers or workers with small families received rooms

in communal flats. True, our housing problem is as yet far from being settled.

The important thing, however, is that the distribution of the housing is handled exclusively by the workers themselves. Each shop draws up a list of those in need of living quarters and the candidacies are then discussed and approved at a general meeting. As soon as a new house is ready for occupancy the flats are distributed in accordance with the order on the list.

Naturally the management has some say in the matter. For example, they can insist on housing being provided for some particularly valuable worker. This is quite legitimate. But on the whole we keep strictly to the order established and do not allow the wishes of the collective to be over-ruled. Without the permission of the factory committee, however, the director cannot give a flat to anyone.

The same procedure is followed in fixing output rates or changing the old ones. The management cannot decide these questions without the knowledge and consent of the factory and shop trade union committees.

Questions relating to payments from the social insurance fund, allocation of places in sanatoria and rest homes are decided by the factory's social insurance committee consisting of 28 workers representing all the main departments of the plant.

Our plant is doing very well and therefore each year we have at our disposal the special plant fund from above-plan profit. The management has no right to spend a kopek of this fund without the knowledge and consent of the factory committee. The estimate of expenditure is compiled jointly by the management and the factory committee but is subject to final approval by the factory committee.

A few words about the procedure for dismissal of workers. No one employed by the plant, with the exception of persons prosecuted by law or who leave of their own accord, can be dismissed without the consent of the committee. For the whole of the year 1962 we gave our consent to the dismissal of only two workers who were guilty of flagrant violation of labor discipline. In all the other cases we refused to uphold the management, and our decision in these matters is final.

I do not know, Galaichuk added, whether the system of management by the workers operates in exactly the same way in all enterprises. One sometimes hears or reads about abnormal situations at some enterprises where

some highhanded manager will flout the wishes of the collective, dismiss workers who are not to his liking, hand out living quarters as he sees fit, and so on. It seems to me that such things are possible only in enterprises where the workers do not form a closely-knit collective and where the public organizations are inactive. The laws of our country and the very climate of public life provide every opportunity for nipping managerial bureaucracy in the bud. Everything here depends on the workers themselves, who, if they wish, can put the manager in his place and even have him removed if need be.

W. Janiurek

Poland's experience in the sphere of democracy in the enterprises was described by W. Janiurek. Observing that the initiative of the workers, combined with the organizational ability of the Party, has produced many new forms of workers' participation in management, he said that in his opinion the *chief form is the conference of worker's self-management* now functioning in most industrial enterprises in Poland.

Workers' self-management, which consists of a works council, the trade union and the Party committee, is now the most widespread form of direct participation by the workers in managing production. Established by law, it is a school of socialism which teaches the worker to take a proprietary interest in promoting production, increasing output targets and satisfying the everyday needs and cultural requirements of the collective.

Experience has shown that workers' self-management is an effective instrument of workers' control which, without violating the principles of individual leadership, provides a basis for comradely cooperation between workers and technical personnel and management.

Another new departure in democracy in the enterprises is the comradely court. The purpose of these courts, established recently in a number of enterprises, is to investigate petty offences, to protect public property and develop social relations based on the spirit of collectivism. These courts have proved to be a valuable instrument of public self-education. The stress here is laid less on punishment than on the effect on the "accused" of having judgment passed upon him publicly by his comrades and workmates.

I. Ceterky

One important index of genuine democracy is *the participation of the workers in economic planning and in checking fulfillment of plans*. This aspect was examined by I. Ceterky of Rumania.

An effective form of factory democracy in Rumania, he said, is the regular discussion of the annual state plans and collective agreements with the workers, who voice their ideas concerning the economic plan, the organization of production, and the performance of the plant as a whole. Some 133,000 workers, engineers and technicians spoke at meetings held to discuss the 1963 production program, and over 86,000 suggestions were submitted.

The principal medium for organized discussion by the workers of the operation of their plant and their participation in its management is the production conference organized by the trade union and held as a rule once a month in the shops and labor teams and once every three months on the scale of the plant as a whole. The workers' collective in this way exercises constant and effective control over the activity of the management, the principle of individual management being harmoniously combined with encouragement of workers' initiative.

In recent years, the speaker continued, the ideologists of capitalism have been at pains to create at least a semblance of workers' participation in the management of some capitalist enterprises. The champions of paternalistic theories, of the "human relations" doctrine, recognizing the contradictions between the working conditions in the capitalist enterprises and what the workers are striving for, recommend influencing the worker's thinking by various means in order to "de-proletarianize" his mind and create an atmosphere of "democratic community" between management and workers. Writing about the policy of French employers, a bourgeois sociologist Henri V. Heman states: "Even if the capitalist enterprise is an achievement from the technical standpoint, from the standpoint of the human being it is a failure. . . . The worker should be induced to discard his proletarian outlook and to acquire a new attitude to his labor and to his status in the enterprise." Thus the "solution" offered by the bourgeois sociologist is to deceive the worker without actually changing his position.

That the democratic principles of the socialist state are striking deeper roots is evidenced by the measures for the reorganization of agricultural management adopted by

the Rumanian Workers' Party in the spring of 1962. The new system which emerged with the completion of collectivization may be said to combine the leading role of the state with mass participation of the farmers in the management, to affirm the social principle in the functioning of the state.

S. Daskalova

The democratic nature of socialist farming was demonstrated by S. Daskalova who pointed out that cooperative democracy is expressed, firstly, in the voluntary principle on which the cooperative farm is established; secondly, in the method of administration, in the organizational forms which give all the members of the cooperative a voice in deciding its affairs. The sole master of the cooperative is the general meeting of the membership. The cooperators themselves decide what is to be done to develop their cooperative: general meetings approve annual and long-term plans in keeping with local conditions, allocate funds for diverse purposes, organize labor and methods of payment, and agree on the distribution of the income among the members.

The rural cooperatives in Bulgaria also elect a control council which periodically audits the accounts and reports back to the membership. In order to draw as many cooperators as possible into active participation in management, commissions are elected to deal with the basic questions affecting the farm—planning, rates of payment and diverse public services.

Much attention was devoted in the course of the exchange to a study of the *state and legal institutions of socialist democracy and the conditions for realizing social rights and civil liberties*. It was emphasized that while paying full tribute to the historic achievements of socialist democracy, the violations that occurred during the period of the Stalin cult should not be passed over in silence.

The cult contradicted the very essence of socialist democracy, it sometimes even replaced the normal function of that democracy by dictatorial methods reducing many aspects of socialist democracy to a mere formality and virtually abolishing others. Unless this circumstance is taken into account, it was noted, we shall be unable correctly to appreciate and understand either the measures toward strengthening democracy undertaken in the socialist countries in the past ten years or the perspectives for the future.

J. Gibbons

When in 1917 the peoples of Russia ushered in for the first time in history a world without exploitation, said John Gibbons (Great Britain) this was the beginning of the great challenge of socialism to the capitalist world. The eyes of the whole world were then turned to the Soviet Union. And I can remember, and perhaps some of the older comrades here will remember too, how enthused we were in the twenties with the new humanism which came out of the October Revolution. Take, for example, what the Soviet authorities in 1920 did to re-educate the thousands of homeless children then roaming the countryside in Russia. Who can forget the impression made by the famous film *The Road to Life* showing with what skill and humanity this difficult problem was tackled.

One could cite thousands of examples of the genuine humanism of the new socialist society, the humanism that raised the prestige of this society far above the level ever attained by capitalism. Unfortunately the violation of human rights which occurred in the years of the Stalin cult weakened the power of attraction of socialism for the working people of other countries and played into the hands of our ideological opponents, who eagerly seized on it as evidence of what they called "totalitarian socialism," comparing it with the "blessings" of the capitalist world.

Now, thanks to the resolute action taken by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the bourgeoisie has been deprived of this weapon in the battle for the minds of men.

I am convinced that the socialist world, which for the first time in history ushered in the era of genuine human rights, will never permit the crimes and the intolerance of the period of the cult to be repeated.

CONSISTENT STRUGGLE AGAINST ANY MANIFESTATION OF THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE CULT OF THE INDIVIDUAL IS A CONDITION FOR THE SUCCESSFUL FUNCTIONING AND DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY.

F. Burlatsky

This was the keynote of the contributions made by many who took part in the exchange of opinions, F. Burlatsky, (USSR) among them. Our Party, he said, has set itself the task not only of rectifying in practice those distortions which were introduced under the influence of Stalin but also in repudiating the

theoretical "substantiation" for those distortions.

If one makes a careful study of Stalin's pronouncements on the question of the state, and especially at the Eighteenth Congress of the CPSU, it will not be hard to note that he clearly had one definite political aim — to find theoretical substantiation for intensifying the methods of coercion in the period of the transition to Communism, to justify the practice of mass repressions and the gross violation of socialist legality. In bringing up the question of the state at the Eighteenth Congress of the Party, Stalin was prompted not by the consideration that socialism had been built in the Soviet Union and that hence the task now was to perfect the political system, but by the alleged existence of a tendency to "underestimate" the role and importance of the socialist state and its security organs. This of course was standing the whole question on its head. What the country needed at that junction was to develop socialist democracy, but instead Stalin laid the accent on the need to step up the mass repressions and to extend the functions of the organs of coercion.

Stalin's reasoning was essentially based on the assumption that, as the saying goes: "When one lives with wolves, one must howl like a wolf." He believed that the socialist state, being encircled by imperialist states, had to use the methods used by those states. We all know to what tragic consequences this led. This experience has convinced us that a socialist country, despite the difficulties presented by the struggle against imperialism, cannot under any circumstances either in domestic or foreign policy resort to the methods of the imperialist states. Both the ends and the means of the fight for socialism and communism are illumined by the ideals of proletarian humanism, genuine humanity and democracy.

Of course, all Marxist-Leninists fully appreciate the necessity for the use of force against exploiting classes when the latter resist the will of the people. But it would be a mistake if coercion and force were to be extended beyond the bounds of necessity. This would produce effects the very opposite of those intended.

We know what success the Soviet Union scored in the building of socialism, in promoting its economy and culture even at the time when Stalin stood at the helm. However *these successes were achieved not because of the abuses; on the contrary, these abuses retarded our progress. The successes were achieved in*

spite of the cult of the individual, in spite of the mass repressions and other methods of violence not justified by necessity.

A. Wirt

Legislative guarantees of civil rights, including the rights of the individual, are an integral part of socialist democracy, said A. Wirt. And in this connection we must speak frankly about the harmful consequences and the pernicious effects of the personality cult. The grave violations of our democracy that accompanied it dealt incalculable harm to the cause of socialism.

In Hungary after 1956 the Socialist Workers' Party restored socialist legality, rehabilitated the victims of the cult, and since then has watchfully guarded against any repetition of these violations.

The harmful effects of the cult were evident in the fact that in the social sciences, and particularly law, insufficient attention was paid to questions relating to socialist theory of civil rights and duties, this problem was not properly reflected in our laws. This was due in some measure to the incorrect interpretation of the idea expressed by Lenin on this score. Speaking of civil rights, Lenin, contrary to the bourgeois approach, laid the accent on providing the material, political and cultural conditions for the practical realization of these rights. This, however, does not rule out the need for legislative regulation.

In the socialist state the content of civil rights is radically changed: it is extended to include the economic, social and cultural rights of working people (the right to work and to receive adequate remuneration, the right to rest, to health protection, education, etc.); political rights are placed on a new plane (the right to vote, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, the right to organize, etc.), and also such rights as inviolability of the person, freedom for worship, inviolability of the home and privacy of correspondence.

Of course, legislation alone is not sufficient to ensure the exercise of these rights; the conditions for their realization must be provided by the overall social and economic relations and, primarily, through the adoption of economic, social and cultural measures by the state. But these measures, too, assume legislative form, their realization depends largely on the observance of socialist legality. Hence this aspect must not be neglected, either as regards theory or practice. It is gratifying to note that in recent years good progress has been made both in socialist legislation and in judicial theory.

The Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, the congresses of the Communist and Workers' parties of Bulgaria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia held at the end of 1962 showed the firm resolve of the Communists to eliminate every remnant of the pernicious theory and practice of the personality cult, to create effective guarantees against a repetition of such practices. And of course this is not merely a question of legal guarantees. V. Zagladin (*Problems of Peace and Socialism*) stressed the importance of the *social guarantees* expressed in the development of the system of mass participation on the broadest scale in the administration of the country at all levels, from top to bottom; it is expressed also in educating the masses in a spirit of profound democracy, creating a psychological and political climate of intolerance with regard to each and every violation of democracy.

An important role in this is assigned to the press. Socialist democracy cannot thrive, nor can the masses be imbued with the spirit of intolerance toward all infringements of democracy unless the people are properly and accurately informed of all that is taking place in the country. If the people are not informed they, naturally, will not be able to participate in administering the country's affairs.

Of course, the political education of the masses, providing conditions for their participation in governing the country, is not only a guarantee against the revival of the personality cult. As is emphasized in the program documents of the Communist and Workers' parties, these processes constitute the core and essence of the deepening of socialist democracy, its development into Communist popular self-government. This question was examined at some length in the discussion. It was noted, among other things, that

IN ADDITION TO THE DIVERSE FORMS OF THE REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEM EVOLVED BY THE MASSES IN THE LONG STRUGGLE FOR PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT, SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY GUARANTEES DIRECT PARTICIPATION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE IN ORDERING THE LIFE OF SOCIETY.

K. Wlad

Socialism makes it possible for the first time in history harmoniously to combine the representative and direct forms of democracy. A fundamental principle of government in our country is the nationwide discussion of key issues of home and foreign policy. For exam-

ple, some ten million people took part in the public discussion of the draft Constitution, submitting a total of 18,836 suggestions and amendments which were examined and taken into account by the legislative committee of the National Assembly.

Our Party and government regularly arrange *republican and regional conferences* of workers engaged in one or another sphere of economic or social endeavor for the purpose of jointly working out the best means of coping with problems as they arise.

Constant improvement of the work of the representative bodies—the People's Councils and the National Assembly—is another important means of deepening socialist democracy. Our deputies are men and women who have been advanced from the ranks of the working people, who work side by side with those who elected them and who express the will and aspirations of the masses. The following figures show this: 335 of the 465 deputies elected to the National Assembly in 1961 are workers and peasants; 78 per cent of the 140,925 members of the People's Councils are workers and peasants, 13 per cent are intellectuals.

The numerous, flexible and comprehensive organizational forms by which large numbers of citizens are drawn into the work of the People's Councils ensure a broad base for local government. In a word, in our conditions *the masses have the decisive say in the exercise of power.*

V. Zagladin

Lenin always said that socialist democracy would develop along two main lines: first, Soviet democratic representative government, i.e., the development of the Soviets with a view to turning them into working corporations combining legislative and executive powers, and second, direct democracy, i.e., direct participation of the masses in running the country.

The representative and direct forms of democracy have their advantages and disadvantages. *Representative democracy*, which consists in the election of a definite number of persons who are entrusted with legislative and administrative functions *on behalf of* all the people has the advantages of being the most consistent type of centralism, the advantages of a strict organization of society. The weakness of this form is that, without adequate control by the masses, it could become a source of bureaucracy and formalism. *Direct democracy*, i.e., the direct participation of citizens in legislative and administrative activity has the unquestionable advantage of ensuring the full

participation of the masses in governing the country, facilitating the most harmonious fusion of the interests of society as a whole with the interests of each member, and creating the most favorable conditions for the activity and independent initiative of all who take part in public life. At the same time, with direct democracy it is difficult to create that efficient centralized social organization which modern production makes necessary.

Considering all aspects of the question, Lenin said that we should not oppose one form to the other but should seek to *combine the advantages of proletarian parliamentarism with the advantages of direct democracy*. The new Program of the CPSU, proceeding from this Leninist principle, envisages the ultimate establishment of a communist public self-administration as a *synthesis* of the different forms of representative and direct democracy.

The comrades from the socialist countries taking part in the discussion drew a broad picture of the many democratic forms that have made their appearance in recent years in their countries. Despite the differences and specific local features, many of these forms could with success be applied to all. In this connection it was pointed out that timely and more thorough mutual information and the constant exchange of experience could be extremely valuable in improving the institutions of socialist democracy.

At the same time the speakers noted that
THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IS NOT ALL PLAIN SAILING, BUT A CONSTANT STRUGGLE AGAINST THE OLD AND THE HIDE-BOUND.

W. Janiurek

This is evident from the experience of the past few years in Poland, said W. Janiurek. Democracy in our society can strike root only if it is closely linked with the principled ideological struggle of the Party to curb and eject from our life all that runs counter to socialism, and to secure the steady and rapid growth of socialist consciousness and socialist convictions among the broad sections of the working population. The United Workers' Party has defeated all the anti-socialist concepts held by the revisionists as well as the futile sectarian resistance offered by the dogmatists who have learned nothing from the lessons of life.

New tasks mean new troubles. We need increasing numbers of well-educated, well-informed people, devoted to the socialist cause and experts in their particular field. Without

them there would be little sense in transferring extensive authority from the higher to the lower echelons, from the central institutions to the localities. Extremely important, therefore, is the educational work being carried on with production and administrative executives in order to avoid the danger of particularism, parochialism, and ensure that the justified concern of production executives for local needs should not blind them to a proper appreciation of the needs and requirements of the state as a whole.

Difficulties in developing socialist democracy are caused among other things by the fact that habits and traditions formed during the personality cult still persist.

Z. Jicinsky

P. Levit

The need for a resolute struggle to overcome these and, above all, the habit of formalism, was stressed in the joint contribution by P. Levit and Z. Jicinsky (Czechoslovakia). A formal approach to the interpretation of democratic principles is a serious obstacle to the development of socialist democracy, they said.

Formalism detaches democratic forms and methods from their real content, from the actual political, economic and cultural conditions in which they are realized and which determine their existence and their function in society. The formal approach is limited to recognition of certain democratic institutions, to the mere registration of such facts as the number of meetings held, the number of persons who attended, etc. The actual democratic effect of meetings, of the activity of the participants, free critical discussion and its influence on rectifying shortcomings, on improving work, etc., are too often overlooked. Yet the realization of democratic principles depends on how these principles are carried out in practice by state, Party and public organizations.

Democratic forms and institutions which prove ineffectual in practice lose the respect and interest of the people and turn them away from political activity and this, in turn, has an adverse influence on the work of these institutions.

In general, the prestige and activity of democratic bodies are weakened by any contradiction between theory and practice, between the principles set forth in the laws and decisions and their actual realization. Democratic bodies should openly discuss problems with the working people, frankly pinpoint the difficulties and shortcomings which must be eliminated if we

are to strengthen the confidence of the workers and win them for active participation in deciding vital and urgent problems, in overcoming the difficulties attendant on socialist development.

A. Wirt

Besides the further development of democracy, we are faced at present with higher demands in the sphere of social organization, planned guidance of the social processes, and *centralized leadership*. This must be taken into account in any steps aimed at promoting socialist democracy.

Democracy can be deepened, for example, by extending the powers of the local bodies and by enhancing the role of collective leadership in state administration. In both spheres there is plenty of room for expanding democracy and we are searching for practical means of utilizing these opportunities. At the same time, one frequently meets with a one-sided approach to these questions—a striving toward a decentralization which in practice would lead to the abolition of centralized leadership, or on the other hand, the tendency to place too much emphasis on collective leadership which would do away with personal responsibility and substitute for swift decisions on practical questions endless conferences leading to red tape and irresponsibility. During the years of the personality cult we witnessed violations of the principles of socialist democracy, excessive centralization and bureaucratic distortions of central leadership. However, the past mistakes cannot be rectified by weakening centralism,

Speaking of the practical problems facing socialist democracy, the participants urged *the need for a profound examination of its perspectives*. Of particular interest in this connection, it was generally recognized, is the conclusion drawn by the CPSU concerning the

DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT INTO THE STATE OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR BUILDING COMMUNISM, A FORM OF TRANSITION TO POPULAR COMMUNIST SELF-GOVERNMENT AND THE WITHERING AWAY OF THE STATE IN ANY FORM.

Wherein does the state of the whole people differ from the dictatorship of the proletariat? Replying to the question F. Burlatsky warned against two extremes—failure to grasp the continuity between the state of the whole people and the dictatorship of the proletariat,

or underestimation of the fact that the emergence of the state of the whole people necessitates new forms of political life and methods of administration.

There is, undoubtedly, a profound continuity between the state of the whole people and the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a state of the socialist type. There is no sharp dividing line between them. The dictatorship of the proletariat from the moment of its inception bears within it the seeds of a state of the whole people inasmuch as it expresses the will and the interests of the working class but also of the working peasantry and intelligentsia. From the very outset its task is to remake society and lay the foundations for the transition to communism. It is distinguished by broad democracy, and by the development of the political institutions and representative organs of the socialist system.

At the same time the state of the whole people possesses certain features which distinguish it from the dictatorship of the proletariat.

First: the establishment of the state of the whole people fundamentally alters the *social nature* of the state, its base is infinitely broader. The state of the working class becomes a state of the whole people, an organ of class unity, an instrument of the whole of society.

Second: *the tasks and functions of the state change*. The dictatorship of the proletariat accomplished the task of building socialism, the state of the whole people has as its goal the building of communism and the transition to non-state forms—to public self-government.

Third: *the methods of state activity change*. The dictatorship of the proletariat was a weapon of class struggle within society and, hence, besides methods of persuasion and education, it employed methods of class coercion with regard to the resisting exploiting classes. The state of the whole people, on the other hand, bases its activity on democratic methods of education, on persuasion and on independent initiative by the masses. The state machine of coercion still exists, but it is used not against one or another social group but only against persons who commit crimes or misdemeanors contrary to the wishes of the people, and generally speaking, it is used to maintain order.

And fourth: the state of the whole people is distinguished by *new political institutions and bodies*. To effect the transition to this state from the dictatorship of the proletariat the existing forms of political life must be perfected and new forms evolved in keeping with

the tasks of the transition to popular communist self-government.

Enumerating the measures to be taken to perfect legislative institutions, the speaker stressed that the development of socialist democracy is of tremendous international significance; it completely rejects the "theories" expounded by the "free world" apologists, and convincingly shows that socialism alone can ensure genuine popular government and individual freedom.

M. Soukup

F. Janacek

The same problem was examined by the Czechoslovak representatives M. Soukup and F. Janacek, whose joint contribution dealt with *the influence of the world socialist system on the solution of the democratic tasks in the capitalist countries*.

A new and significant element in the world scene that has emerged since the Second World War is that now the bourgeoisie is obliged to solve the internal contradictions rending the capitalist world in a situation marked by the growing influence of the world socialist system. While it is true that the processes at work in the capitalist world spring primarily from *internal causes*, the fact remains that the might of world socialism has created a *new historical background* for the struggle of the socialist, democratic forces in the capitalist countries, and that the impact of the socialist world on the processes is an *external* revolutionizing factor.

We should like to draw attention to some simplifications encountered in treating this phenomenon. The reformists and the latter-day revisionists ignore it altogether. The Right-

wing Social Democrats gloss over it or distort it completely. The views of the Left sectarians, paradoxical as it may seem, echo the concepts of the Right. They simplify the problem believing that the socialist camp by strengthening its might *automatically and unequivocally* strengthens the democratic forces. They admit, albeit reluctantly, that the socialist countries by pursuing an incorrect policy might in some circumstances *weaken* the democratic forces. Thus, the *subjective* factor—a flexible independent, active policy, in other words, a Leninist policy pursued by the governments of the socialist countries, the political ability of the parties in power—is underestimated.

The progress made by socialist democracy in connection with the eradication of the consequences of the personality cult and the further advance toward communism are of inestimable revolutionary significance. As this process develops, the working people in the capitalist countries will become more and more convinced that Communism means not only abundance of material benefits, but also the fullest development of all the political and moral values of human society. Glancing backward to the source of the working-class movement we see a direct connection between the slogan advanced by the Communist Manifesto: "Workers of all Lands, Unite!" and one of the central ideas contained in the Program of the CPSU: "Communism . . . means Peace, Labor, Freedom, Equality, Fraternity, and Happiness for all peoples on earth." Today the working class is proclaiming and realizing in practice the unity of the ideals to which it aspires as a class and as a member of the family of man.

* * *

The concluding address was delivered by A. Rumyantsev.

**A. Rumyantsev (Chief Editor,
Problems of Peace and Socialism)**

Capitalism and Socialism • Problems of Democracy

THE problems of democracy which we have been discussing can be correctly understood only if we examine them in the overall social and political context of the world today, in the light of the balance of class forces in the international arena.

Despite the considerable changes that have taken place in the economic and political structure of capitalist society, now in the third stage of its general crisis, Lenin's analysis of bourgeois democracy in the period of imperial-

ism fully retains its validity. Although the most progressive of all forms of capitalist rule, bourgeois democracy always has been, and remains, limited and formal inasmuch as the principles of individual freedom, equality and government by the people which it proclaims are in crying contradiction with the private ownership of the means of production and the exploitation of labor. Now, however, the monopoly bourgeoisie, which is pursuing a reactionary policy all along the line, is out to

abolish even this formal democracy and to establish patently pro-fascist or openly fascist tyrannical regimes.

At the same time the influence of the socialist world system and the powerful upsurge of the working people's struggle for social emancipation compel the monopoly capitalists to make some concessions. The monopolists, however, try to credit capitalism with these forced concessions. Using their vast propaganda media, they try to persuade the masses that capitalism is a world of freedom and democracy, while under socialism freedom and democracy are flouted. To nail this lie is one of the important tasks of the Communist movement.

To the bourgeois ideologists who laud the democratic rights in a number of capitalist countries and argue that democracy is imminent in competition, we must say this: no, gentlemen, it is not the bourgeoisie which bestowed freedoms upon the people, just as in the past it was not the monarchs who handed down the constitutions. The working people have had to fight for their rights, and they won them in bitter struggle.

Moreover, the proletariat and the working masses generally have to fight today not only to win democratic freedoms but also to retain those already won; in unflagging, day-to-day struggle they have to defend their rights against encroachments by the monopolists, the most reactionary section of the bourgeoisie. And what could be a better and more effective way of preserving the democratic institutions than *struggle to develop them further?*

As they concentrate their efforts on this task, the Communist parties in the capitalist countries, naturally, link it with the perspectives of socialism.

The direct link between struggle for democracy and struggle for socialism, which has been clearly delineated in the documents of the international Communist movement, is becoming increasingly patent in the course of the theoretical and practical labors of the Communists in the various countries. It was reflected also in our exchange of views.

For instance, we discussed here various issues connected with the experience of certain parties in working for structural reforms. These questions, which acquire particular significance now that the opportunities for peaceful transition to socialism are, clearly, becoming better, require thorough examination. But even without this examination it seems obvious that struggle for structural reforms cannot be said to be tantamount to reformism.

First of all, it is essential clearly to distin-

guish between ordinary petty reforms and *structural reforms* which undermine the rule of monopoly capitalism. Allow me in this connection to remind you of the following passage in the Program of the CPSU: "In the new historical situation, the working class of many countries can, even before capitalism is overthrown, compel the bourgeoisie to carry out measures that transcend ordinary reforms and are of vital importance to the working class and the progress of its struggle for the victory of the revolution, for socialism, as well as to the majority of the nation. By uniting the democratic and peace-loving forces, the working class can make the ruling circles cease preparations for a new world war, renounce the idea of starting local wars, and use the economy for peaceful purposes."

The struggle for structural reforms has nothing in common with reformism also because it is not identified with the actual building of socialism but pursues the aim of *creating the preconditions for the revolutionary reorganization of society along socialist lines, because it is a means of stimulating the revolutionary activity of the masses.* This struggle can be effective only if it is based on a broad mass movement. This struggle makes it possible to rally the working people around demands in which they are vitally interested, to promote mass action, without which there can be no peaceful revolutionary transition to socialism.

Does this mean that the Communists reject the use of revolutionary coercion in relation to the exploiters? Certainly not.

The founders of Marxism-Leninism always stressed that the revolutionary working class would use force against the bourgeoisie to the extent necessitated by the resistance of the latter. So long as this resistance can be overcome within the framework of the existing democratic institutions, there is no need for more radical measures; indeed, it would be harmful to resort to such measures. Marx, it will be remembered, envisaged the possibility of "buying out the bourgeoisie" as a way of transferring the means of production to public ownership.

All revolutions involve compulsion against social forces departing from the arena of history. The revolutionary class has to overcome the resistance of these forces in all spheres of life, in the economy, in politics, culture, etc., not only in the course of the break-up of the old forms but also in a process of building the new relations. The Marxists, then, regard revolutionary coercion not only

as a matter of armed action pure and simple, not only as physical violence.

In brief, the essence of the revolutionary process consists in compelling the exploiters to bow to the will of the proletariat and other sections of the working people. This process is compounded of consistent struggle in all spheres of public life. Its apex can be seen not only in the armed insurrection in Russia in October 1917, but also in the actions of the Czechoslovak working people in 1948 when, without resort to arms, they compelled the reactionaries to retreat and took power wholly into their own hands. This process finds expression also in such mass actions as the demonstrations of the people of Paris of which the French comrades here have spoken.

A correct understanding of revolutionary coercion is of the utmost importance in guarding against mistakes of a Left-sectarian order. For such mistakes spring precisely from a simplified interpretation of revolutionary coercion as physical violence. And this initial error inevitably brings in its train a succession of blunders. Such a simplified definition of coercion essentially amounts to denying the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism. And from this follows the thesis that the end justifies the means and that revolutionaries should not stop at any sacrifice. The logical culmination of this fallacious chain of reasoning is the conclusion that victory is worth risking the annihilation of entire peoples in the holocaust of nuclear war.

The same erroneous point of departure leads to an equally questionable approach to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Like the bourgeois ideologists, sectarians identify dictatorship with violence. Yet the dictatorship of the proletariat primarily means the leadership of the proletariat in the revolution; it means the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, and, where possible, a still broader class alliance of all forces striving towards socialism; it means, lastly, the guidance of society by the proletariat through the machinery of state. Lenin said that the dictatorship of the proletariat implies not only and not so much coercion as education of the masses in the spirit of social discipline.

In the present conditions—and much has been said on this score in the course of our exchange of views—it is possible to build a broad bloc of social forces opposed to monopoly rule and striving for democracy and socialism. Hence the leadership of these forces by the proletariat, by the Marxist-Leninist parties, acquires greater importance than ever. Moreover, the broader the bloc of forces fight-

ing for socialism the greater the opportunities for the proletariat to take over power by peaceful means and the less able is the bourgeoisie to offer armed resistance. All this gives us grounds, when speaking of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to lay more emphasis on the hegemony and state leadership of the working class than on the use of force as such in the course of the revolutionary process.

The dedication of the working class in general and the Communists in particular to democracy has been proved not only by the fact that they seek in every way to eschew unnecessary violence in the course of the struggle for the victory of the revolution and to achieve their aims through persuasion and guidance of the masses. The organic link between communism and democracy is expressed in the development of socialist democracy as a democracy of a higher type. But while pointing to the qualitative difference between socialist democracy and bourgeois democracy, we in no way try to disparage the democratic rights and institutions won by the masses under capitalism. We merely wish to underscore the obvious fact that the age-old democratic ideals—freedom, equality and government by the people—have for the first time found a firm economic and social foundation in a society based on public ownership of the means of production. Socialist society is vitally interested in bringing about the fullest democracy—indeed, for socialism this democracy is an objective necessity. Violation of this necessity would mean retarding the rate of economic progress and damaging the cause of socialism.

In short, democracy essentially consists of two basic elements — *participation of the masses in administering the affairs of society, and freedom of the individual.* The perspectives opened by socialist democracy in both respects are boundless.

The mechanism of socialist democracy is shaped and consolidated as the new system becomes firmly established. Needless to say, this is a difficult and complex process. For socialist democracy cannot be realized within the limits of the democratic institutions and forms inherited from the past. It must constantly seek new forms corresponding to the new economic conditions and facilitating the gradual realization of the grand task of enlisting each individual in administering society's affairs. Like any other historical process, the formation of socialist democracy is an exceedingly complicated matter, a process that can hardly be expected to follow a straight, smooth course without zigzags and sharp corners. The

Stalin cult was one such digression not dictated by historical necessity which flagrantly distorted the socialist ideas as regards political organization of society. Analogous dangers have been encountered in one or another degree in other socialist countries.

The question of the consequences of the personality cult and overcoming them has been elucidated in the documents of our Party and the international Communist movement. It was elucidated also in the course of this exchange of views. I would like to raise two points bearing on it.

The first concerns the claim of capitalist and Right-wing Socialist propaganda that socialism objectively gives rise to the personality cult inasmuch as the socialist production relations allegedly tend to make for maximum centralization of power.

No detailed evidence need be adduced here to prove the obvious fact that the tendency towards centralization of power is characteristic of the capitalist mode of production owing to the concentration of economic power in the hands of a small group of the bourgeoisie. Having entrenched themselves in the commanding heights in the economy, these sections strive to consolidate their positions by putting their men in government. This tendency is most manifest in the epoch of imperialism when the monopolists dominate the economy as no section of the bourgeoisie ever dominated it in the past. A feature is that the placeman of a narrow segment of the bourgeoisie in government invariably poses as the spiritual leader of the nation, assuming dictatorial powers only when he has gained the support of the backward, petty-bourgeois sections. It was these sections which put Hitler in the saddle, and it is their political backwardness, their naive faith in the omnipotence of the leader and their chauvinism that provide the basis for one-man rule in one or another capitalist country.

The claim that the socialist relations of production give rise to the personality cult is completely unfounded. On the contrary, it is socialism which, by reorganizing the entire structure of social life and remoulding the consciousness of the masses to conform with the democratic economic system (public ownership of the means of production, equality in labor and distribution, freedom from exploitation), for the first time makes it possible to put an end to all forms of one-man dictatorship.

It is quite another thing that socialism was unable to overcome philistinism, to remould the petty-bourgeois mentality of considerable

sections of the population fast enough—a fact of history in which should be sought the conditions that made it possible for the personality cult to emerge at the early formative period of the socialist society. As we know, Marx, Engels and Lenin saw dangers to communism emanating not only from the camp of the bourgeois reactionaries and Right-wing opportunists, but also from a petty-bourgeois “revolutionism,” from a “regimented communism” completely distorting the aims pursued and methods employed by true communism and combating capitalist society by essentially capitalist methods. Already in the 'forties of the last century Marx wrote that this primitive, vulgar communism which invariably denies the individual is, essentially, the culmination of the abominations of private property.

Proof positive that socialism objectively does not tolerate any personality cult and presupposes genuine democracy is afforded by the development of socialist democracy in the USSR on the basis of the political line laid down by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU. This question has been exhaustively examined in our discussion.

The other point which I should like to dwell on concerns what is called the “right of opposition.” Capitalist propaganda, as the Finnish comrade pointed out here, is trying to speculate on the thesis that the multi-party system and the existence of an opposition are a guarantee of democracy which exists under capitalism and is lacking under socialism.

Needless to say, in the conditions of capitalist society the existence of strong opposition parties is an important yardstick of the democratic gains of the working people. And this is understandable, for capitalist society consists of classes with diametrically opposed interests. Moreover, the main classes of that society comprise different social strata, each with its own interests and hence its own concept of the common class interest. This is the objective basis on which different parties spring up in capitalist society. It is not the number of the capitalist parties that determines the degree of democracy. Democracy is the outcome of the struggle of the oppressed classes for their emancipation. Any opposition outside this struggle is pure fiction, a fetish designed to misrepresent the political realities.

The sophistry of capitalist propaganda consists in the mechanical projection of the relations existing in bourgeois society into a completely different environment. We are told that since we have no opposition parties we have no democracy in the socialist countries.

True enough, we have no opposition, nor

can there be an opposition for there is no need of it. Under socialism there are no exploiters or exploited, no classes or groups of the population with antagonistic interests; consequently, there is no need for political parties at loggerheads with one another. Setting up an opposition party in socialist conditions when all the means of production and political power belong to the people, to all who work, would be tantamount to demanding the abolition of this scheme of things. For the only alternative to the absence of exploitation is exploitation. If anyone were to take it into his head to build up an opposition to impose this alternative, such an opposition would be swept away instantly by the outraged people.

The question of freedom has occupied a prominent place in our discussion. If we leave aside the philosophical aspect of the problem, the crux of the matter is *which social system provides the best opportunities for the all-round development of the individual and his creative ability*. Where labor is exploited, freedom in this sense for the working people is illusory. Socialism, on the contrary, guarantees for the first time in history the social rights of the individual—the right to work, to rest and leisure, to education, etc. It delivers the working people from exploitation and provides the conditions for the full flowering and application of their talent.

Take, for example, the question of political freedom. Needless to say, any society, inasmuch as it is a community of people and not a jungle, is bound to limit the freedom of each of its members within certain bounds. Under capitalism this is done to preserve the existing system of exploitation, and mainly through the economic omnipotence of the bourgeoisie. Under socialism it is done to consolidate and develop the new social relations. The ideology of the personality cult bred the view that all methods employed in relation to the individual were justified by the nobility of the aim. But this view is utterly false and has been condemned by the Party. Indeed, one cannot justify the restriction of the freedom of thousands by the fact that there are a few irresponsible individuals among them.

Countless examples could be cited showing that, even when regarded in the abstract, freedom in the capitalist countries is fictitious for the overwhelming majority, and that socialism ensures a far greater and a more tangible freedom of the individual. But while not minimizing the importance of polemics, we prefer to concentrate on a positive analysis of the

development of freedom under socialism. The main question here is that of the criteria. There can be no two opinions as regards the fact that any propaganda and any action subverting the foundations and laws of the system must be prohibited in socialist society. This is perfectly clear when it comes to such obvious things as propaganda of war or racism, flouting of women's rights, moral transgressions, etc. The matter is more complicated when things are in question that allow of different interpretations. The lack of criteria is dangerous from all standpoints: it can lead either to unjustified restriction of freedom or to excessive liberalism which would make society powerless to deal with anti-social elements no matter how few in number they may be.

It may be said that such criteria have been established by law. But when it comes to a question like expression of opinion laws may be misinterpreted. As a matter of fact, it was on this that the entire policy of repression was based during the period of the personality cult, when the most innocent critical remarks could serve as grounds for prosecution.

A comprehensive system of *public control* can ensure the correct application of general criteria to concrete cases. Carrying out governmental functions in full view of the public and promoting diverse forms of public self-administration—these are reliable guarantees of the further extension of freedom.

This is the spirit which permeates the recommendations of the Program of the CPSU as regards the further deepening of socialist democracy. It is important to note that the state of the entire people of which the program speaks is something more than an aggregate of democratic institutions. It marks a new stage in the development of socialist democracy into communist public self-administration. Democracy as a form of the state will gradually wither away and be replaced by democracy as a form of the non-political organization of society. Public self-administration under communism will be the full embodiment of the ideals of equality and freedom.

In conclusion I should like to express the hope that our exchange of views will facilitate the elaboration of the question of democracy and the Communist attitude to it. These problems should remain in the center of the attention of the Communist and Workers' parties. The achievements of our common movement will largely depend on how these problems are solved on both the theoretical and the practical plane.

Reviews

The Memoirs of Dolores Ibarruri

THE ONLY WAY, by Dolores Ibarruri, President of the Communist Party of Spain, was published last year, first in Cuba, then in Paris, and later in Rome and Moscow. It is now being prepared for the press in Rumania, Poland, the German Democratic Republic and Great Britain.

We believe that our readers will be interested primarily to hear how Pasionaria's book has been received in Spain. It might be thought that in a country ruled by a fascist dictatorship, a country where Communists are brutally suppressed, a book by Dolores Ibarruri could hardly hope to reach the public and that its readers would at best be limited to the Communist underground.

Reports from various parts of the country, however, indicate that *The Only Way* is known to large numbers of workers and intellectuals. Copies of the book find their way into Spain by diverse means and are passed on from hand to hand. Families listen in to the extracts relayed by the underground radio station Independent Spain.

Our opponents themselves have given the book considerable publicity. The illustrated weekly *SP* published an eight-page supplement giving excerpts from the memoirs illustrated by photographs. The brief editorial introduction, though replete with the usual anti-communist slander, contains the admission that *The Only Way* is "a book of major political interest; it throws light on many aspects of the Spanish Civil War which have not yet been cleared up."

The issue with the supplement was quickly bought up. For the owners of *SP* it was good business. For the professional anti-communists it was, politically speaking, a total loss.

The popularity of Pasionaria's book is in itself a significant political fact. But it is not merely a matter of popularity. The moral and political influence of the book on the thousands of Spaniards who have read it cannot be overestimated.

2.

The value of a book is determined not so much by what critics say about it, but by its ability to influence the reader, to broaden his horizons, even to change his attitude.

Here is an incident that occurred not long ago in a town in the North of Spain.

A young couple were sitting one night in their modest working-class flat. They had just switched off the radio. The husband is a member of the underground organization of the Communist Party. His wife has often reproached him for his revolutionary activity, saying that he was endangering the family and the future of their children. Now she sat silent, lost in thought. At last she spoke:

"Don't worry," she said. "I know how you feel about things. If you are arrested I'll take care of the children. I won't let you down."

An evolution had taken place in the young woman's thinking, the evolution that causes people to become Communists. She and her husband had just been listening to an extract from Dolores Ibarruri's memoirs.

Something of the same has happened in many other working class homes in Spain....

Testimony to the response the book has evoked is furnished by the many letters which the readers contrive to send to the author.

Veterans of the revolutions, seasoned guerrilla fighters, men who have withstood many an ordeal, whom no fascist repressions have been able to break, write to Pasionaria saying that they wept when they read her account of the battles in which they had fought.

"I am a young Communist," reads a letter from a miner, "and I want to thank you for your book *The Only Way*. As I read your book my feeling of gratitude grew from page to page and I wanted to send you a thousand thanks. From the very first lines you helped me to see my people, the people of Spain. . . . Many books have been written about our war, but most of them are by foreigners or by people who betrayed the Republic. We young people need books like yours."

"We wish to thank you for supplying us with a weapon with which to carry on the fight," writes a group of young workers.

The letters show that the appearance of *The Only Way* is an event in Spanish literature. At the same time it is a valuable instrument for educating the revolutionary youth, for raising the political consciousness of the people, a fact which, considering that the Communist Party is illegal, is highly significant.

3.

The publication of Pasionaria's memoirs coincided with a powerful upsurge of the working class and democratic movement in Spain. The country is on the brink of momentous changes. Political and ideological struggle in every form has revived. Despite the repression, the dictatorship is powerless to paralyze the working-class and popular action.

The growing militancy of the masses and long years of arduous and selfless underground work by the Communist Party are bringing more and more workers, peasants, and intellectuals, especially the youth, closer to the Party. Thousands of people are searching for the revolutionary way, the way of struggle for the noble Communist ideals, that "only way" which Pasionaria indicates in her memoirs.

Her book therefore fills a very real need, a need implicit in the present situation in Spain.

This is not merely coincidence. It was undoubtedly her awareness of this need that prompted Dolores Ibarruri to complete a work parts of which had been briefly sketched earlier. It was precisely for this reason, too, that she agreed to the publication of what had originally been conceived as a book of reminiscences for her grandchildren.

4.

Although *The Only Way* deals with events that are already history (chronologically the memoirs end with 1939), it is extremely topical. Moreover, the significance of the subject matter extends far beyond the boundaries of the present and reaches out into the future. It would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that the citizens of a future socialist Spain will read this book with the same enthusiasm as it is read by those presently waging an arduous struggle against fascist tyranny.

A virtue of the book is not only the authenticity of the facts related, but its deeper and broader truth.

The characters, beginning with Dolores' childhood playmates and ending with her comrades in the struggle of a later period, are true to life. These are real, living people, drawn with such power and vividness that we feel that we, too, knew them well. Some of them, thanks to this lifelike portrayal, make an indelible impression. They are true heroes. The author shows us the heroism not only of the military and political leaders of the Communist Party, but also of the rank-and-file Communists, of the men and women who were not Communists, but whose magnificent cour-

age and devotion helped the Communists in their difficult revolutionary struggle.

Few people knew of the Martinez family to whom Pasionaria devotes a whole chapter. But who will ever forget that family after reading about them? And how many women, how many men are there of all ages who will find in the tragic but inspiring story of this Spanish family a reflection of their own!

5.

The veracity of this book is, perhaps, most apparent in the presentation of the personality of the author herself.

The life of Dolores Ibarruri, beginning with her childhood in a miner's family at the beginning of the century and up to her activity as leader of the Communist Party during the war of 1936-39, is depicted in all its human complexity. Both the difficult and the painful are faithfully recorded, without the slightest embellishment. We follow the evolution of the deeply religious young girl who, when faced with the reality of capitalist exploitation, becomes a Socialist.

The October Revolution in Russia made her a Communist. We read of the pressures to which she was subjected to force her to abandon the revolutionary road, the hardship she and her family suffered as the price of devotion to her Communist convictions. We share with her the tragedy of a mother who could not afford to give her hungry children the nourishment they needed.

Together with the author we enter the prisons of the bourgeois Republic of 1931, we are acquainted with the activity of the woman deputy who refused to leave the Oviedo prison until the anti-fascists were liberated; the woman who in the Cortes denounced those who were plotting a crime against Spain—the insurrection of 1936.

6.

Many readers speak of Ibarruri's book as a "novel." And indeed, although it is a true story in every respect it reads like a fascinating novel.

Yet this is a historical book of inestimable value. Anyone who seriously wishes to learn something about the history of Spain in the first half of this century will find in Pasionaria's memoirs a mine of information. For through the dramatic events of her life there emerges an impressive picture of the battles fought by the Spanish proletariat in those years. She writes of the enthusiasm evoked by the revolution in Russia, of the birth of the Communist Party, its growth—slow and

painful at first, but later swift and turbulent—the struggle for the unity of the working class and all democratic forces, the mistakes made by the rulers of the Republic in 1931-33, the uprising in the Asturias in 1934 and the victory of the People's Front in 1936.

The third part of the book is devoted to the national-revolutionary war of 1936-39. Here the author, understandably, is reticent about her own part in these events (an omission many readers will regret). She describes the activities of the Communists, the battles waged by the people's army, and analyzes the behavior of the various political forces in the face of the problems presented by the anti-fascist war.

While paying tribute to the contribution made by the Communist Party, to the correctness of its political line and its devotion to the cause of the working people, Dolores Ibarruri with unswerving fidelity to historical truth does not hide the errors that were committed in certain spheres.

This is the truth, free of all exaggeration or embellishment however well-intentioned; the truth which presents life as it is, and historical events as they actually occurred.

7.

Truthful and objective, *The Only Way* is at the same time a negation of objectivism.

Charged with emotion, it is a passionate piece of writing appealing not only to the mind but to the heart.

And here mention should be made of that aspect of Dolores Ibarruri's personality of which she herself does not speak but which, nevertheless, permeates her book; that remark-

able ability to fathom the innermost sentiment of the masses, to feel as they feel, to communicate with them and stir them to the very depths of their being.

One might say that she combines the extraordinary gifts of a Communist leader with the subtlety and sensitivity of an artist. And this is reflected in all her political activity.

Anyone who has had the good fortune to see and hear Dolores Ibarruri at a public meeting will understand what I mean.

This artistic flair so manifest in her oratory we encounter again in the pages of *The Only Way*. The simplest facts, the most ordinary everyday happenings, acquire a force and intensity that are deeply moving.

At times this essentially tragic book—for it is the tragic story of the life of Dolores Ibarruri, the story of the Spanish working class in those years—rings with laughter, the gay and healthy laughter of one who was able to see the humorous side of things even at the darkest moments. But above all it is the laughter that comes from a firm faith in the future, from the knowledge that one is fighting for a just cause and hence feels stronger than one's enemies.

A life associated with some of the most significant revolutionary events of our age, a keen Marxist outlook on history and human problems, and at the same time the artist's ability to compel the reader not only to *understand* but to *feel*—these are qualities which earn *The Only Way* a place of distinction among contemporary writing.

M. AZCARATE

The Communists and the National Front

THE articles and speeches included in the one-volume edition of the selected works of D. N. Aidit, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia, cover an important period in the history of that Party (from 1951-61). They reflect the many aspects of the Party's activity in establishing a united anti-imperialist front in Indonesia and making the Communist Party a mass party capable of effectively fulfilling the tasks of the socialist revolution in Indonesia. They show the important political, ideological and organizational role played by the Party in developing the revolutionary movement of the peoples of the former colonial countries and consolidating the united international front of the Communist and workers' movement.

In the conditions prevailing in Indonesia, an economically underdeveloped country with many survivals of colonial oppression, feudalism and imperialist domination, the Communist Party concentrated its efforts primarily on completing the national and democratic revolution by uniting the progressive forces around the working class. Regarding the democratic objectives as a component of the struggle for socialism and applying the Marxist-Leninist theory to the concrete conditions of Indonesia, the Party formulated and consistently carried out a program aimed at establishing a united national anti-imperialist front as a means of solving the social and political tasks confronting the country. This would make it possible to develop the productive

forces, reach accord with the intermediary forces and isolate the reactionaries in the process of transforming Indonesia into a free, democratic, progressive country.

These are the key issues examined by D. N. Aidit in the writings collected in the present volume. Speaking of the various social forces in his country, Aidit classifies them as follows: "*First, the reactionary forces, i.e., the feudal lords and compradores who are hand-in-glove with foreign imperialism . . . Second, the progressive forces, i.e., the workers, peasants, the petty urban bourgeoisie and the revolutionary intelligentsia . . . Thirdly, the intermediary forces, that is, the national bourgeoisie and all other patriotic and anti-colonial elements, including the landowners of leftist tendencies (relatively progressive).*" In seeking accord with the intermediary forces, he continues, the Party is adopting the tactics of alliance and struggle. "Together with the intermediary forces," he writes, "the Party is waging a struggle against imperialism and feudalism; but should these forces seek to restrict the freedom of the Party and the working people, the Party will fight against them."

The motive force of this broad national anti-imperialist and anti-feudal front, whose ultimate objective is the state of people's democracy, should be an alliance between the working class and the anti-feudal peasantry, under working class leadership. "In a country like Indonesia," writes Aidit, "where peasants make up 60-70 per cent of the population, the Party will be unable to accomplish anything unless it wins their support. The national front will not be really strong and consistently anti-imperialist until it rests on the unity of the working class and the anti-feudal peasantry."

A prominent place in Aidit's writings is devoted to the question of the forms of transition to socialism, and especially the peaceful way of revolution.

Discussing the whole range of associated problems, he writes: "In connection with the thesis contained in the report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU with regard to the possibility of the transition to socialism by parliamentary means, we Communists are frequently asked: is the peaceful transition to socialism through Parliament possible in Indonesia? . . . To begin with it should be pointed out that there is no question of an immediate transition to socialism in Indonesia at present. The problem facing Indonesia is that of switching from the present status to a system of people's democratic government, a system of government that would consistently implement the

demands of the August Revolution of 1945, put an end to the power of imperialism and feudalism, and carry out democratic reforms. Can this transition be carried out peacefully, through Parliament? To this question the Communists reply: yes, it can, and we must do all in our power to achieve this. Thus, as far as the Communists are concerned, the best, the most ideal form of transition to a democratic, people's system of government as a stepping stone to socialism, is the peaceful parliamentary form. Hence if it depends on the Communists alone they will choose the peaceful way, because they naturally do not want bloodshed. Now the question arises, will the other groups and parties agree to this peaceful parliamentary transition to people's government? This is a question the other parties should answer before levelling absurd accusations against the Communists. The Communists cannot know what plans the reactionaries may be harboring, and hence they must be ever vigilant and must constantly warn the people to be on their guard against the nefarious schemes of the reactionaries."

The Communists, however, believe that the peaceful way does not merely mean parliamentary activity; it presupposes activity among the masses, activity aimed at changing the balance of class forces, "between imperialism, the landlords and the compradore bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the popular masses on the other, by rallying and organizing the masses."

The Party can fulfill its leading role only if it is guided by a correct theory. Hence it devotes particular attention to strengthening the Marxist-Leninist ideological unity of its ranks and raising its own Marxist-Leninist level.

The Marxist-Leninist ideological unity of the Party, Aidit stresses, is particularly essential in view of the need to combat the rather strong influence of petty-bourgeois ideology. "The petty bourgeoisie was the social soil from which sprang the two varieties of bourgeois subjectivism manifested in our party—dogmatism and empiricism. Both served as the ideological basis for those who were at one time condemned for Right and "Left" opportunistic deviations in our Party. Dogmatism and empiricism cancel each other out. Both are extremely onesided in character. The dogmatists base all their reasoning on books and theories, ignoring the fact that life moves forward, that things change and develop. By divorcing theory from practice, from the masses, they emasculate it. The empiricists, on the other hand, toil like dray-horses without knowing the whys and wherefores of what they are

doing, unclear as to the purpose of their efforts and the proper way to achieve their objectives. . . . The struggle against subjectivism, i.e., against dogmatism and empiricism, is of vast importance for our Party. Both these varieties of subjectivism are equally dangerous for the Party. But subjectivism becomes even more dangerous when it is not combated."

Analyzing the international situation in the period under review in his report to the 4th Meeting of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Party in 1956 Aidit pointed out that "the report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the Twentieth Congress of the Party helped us greatly to understand what is happening in the world today. It clarified some basic propositions relating to the international situation, revealed the trend of world events today and the prospects for the future. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, their consistent Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems, the firm and unanimous conviction of the peoples of the socialist camp and all peaceloving nations on earth that war can be averted at the present stage, the awakening of the peoples of the newly-independent countries and of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples are all factors which exert a powerful influence in the present day world."

In 1951 the reactionary government launched an offensive against the Communist Party. During the repressions and fascist attacks that followed, a number of weaknesses were revealed in the work of the Party. In one of his articles D. N. Aidit examines these shortcomings, traces their sources and shows how they can be remedied. One of the shortcomings he mentions is the passivity displayed by a certain section of the membership. "This passivity or 'submissiveness'," he writes, "is the result of a deliberate policy carried out under the colonial rule; and these tendencies have yet to be uprooted. . . . Moreover the Party itself still suffers from the lingering survivals of a past period when anarchist elements wielded some power in our Party." This has brought about a situation where "some cadre members of the Party are not resolute enough in repelling the attacks of the reactionaries." Another shortcoming Aidit scores is the predilection on the part of some Party members to deal in generalities and abstractions, unrelated to one another and having no bearing on the concrete situation, and he goes on to observe that serious and profound discussion "could help us to give a definite answer to all questions confronting the people; in this way we could undertake concrete measures corresponding to

the people's interests." A third weak link in Party work, Aidit notes, is the manifestation of liberalism among the activists in a number of Party organizations, which apart from everything else, leads to a situation where it becomes impossible "properly to control to what extent the Party decisions adopted in the course of discussion are being carried out. . . ." which in turn means that "work is not done properly, discipline is weak, experience is accumulated too slowly, and the leadership does not perform the function assigned to it." Aidit speaks, further, of the incorrect attitude toward Party cadres who, "while possessing some admirable traits, nevertheless still suffer from weaknesses due both to their colonial training and to the past mistakes of the Party." "Therefore, during periods of intensified reaction we ought not to be too severe in our attitude to new members who may momentarily lose their bearings; we should display patience and forbearance and thus help them to regain their fighting spirit."

Another shortcoming in the work of the Party cited by Aidit is a tendency by some Party members "to lack faith in their own strength, faith in the Party and in our coming victory. They are not yet fully convinced that our ultimate victory is assured; at times they are apt to waver, conceding the possibility of our cause being defeated and bourgeois rule being preserved." Some of these members, he continues, ". . . make statements which on the face of it appear to be rational and constructive, viz.: 'We lost too many of our leading members during the Madwin provocation. Now it would be wiser to keep silent, to refrain from propaganda or criticism of the government's excesses; we must preserve our forces and when the third world war starts the army of People's China will liberate us'. Others reason thus: 'Inasmuch as Indonesia is undoubtedly dominated by the American imperialists we can do nothing, and even if we could do something it would not help matters much. Hence we should wait for the third world war, which will give us greater possibilities for action'. Or: 'It is useless to collect signatures to peace appeals, for in this way the people lose their militancy; the only way to defeat world capitalism is through a third world war', etc., etc." Criticizing these "Left" adventurist concepts born of passivity and lack of faith in the forces of the revolution Aidit wrote: "Statements of this kind are *extremely dangerous!* All the more so since they come from members of the Communist Party. This makes them more dangerous than the war propaganda of Truman and his agents in Indo-

nesia or in any other part of the world. The above 'Left' utterances are the result of false notions, and if these notions are not exposed at once, they can paralyze and injure our work for the achievement of broad national unity and for the development of the peace movement, as the most effective means of ridding mankind of the horrors of another world war for which the United States is actively preparing; such notions help the imperialists and their agents in their slanderous attacks on the Communist Party of Indonesia and the whole popular movement. They play into the hands of the reactionaries who are constantly seeking to provoke the people by alleging that 'national freedom' is threatened because the Communists are out to achieve their political objectives with the aid of foreign forces; that it is, allegedly, the Communists who want a world war in order to fish in muddy waters. Is it not clear that statements of this kind, whether intentionally or unintentionally so, are essentially anti-Communist? Such 'Left' arguments in practice lead to the isolation of the Party from the people."

The program of the Indonesian Communist Party, Aidit emphasizes, not only makes no mention of Indonesian independence being dependent on the arrival of a foreign army or that a third world war is anticipated; what it says concretely is that the task of the Communist Party in *internal policy* is to "organize and unite the workers, peasants and intellectuals, small proprietors, national proprietors and all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal forces, as well as national minority groups." At the same time, in the sphere of *foreign policy* the Party proposes to work "for an alliance with the international proletariat, with all the oppressed peoples, colonial peoples and nations who treat us as equals and who respect national independence, with countries of people's democracy and the forces of peace the world over."

In his speech on the occasion of the 32nd anniversary of the Indonesian Communist Party, Aidit, referring to the position of the Party on world peace, explained that owing to the uneven development of imperialism the simultaneous victory of socialism in all countries was impossible and that hence it was

possible and necessary for countries with different socio-economic and political systems to exist peacefully side by side. Stressing that "Communists have no need of war," Aidit went on: "Communists all over the world, including the Indonesian Communists, need peace, inasmuch as only in conditions of peace is it possible to build socialism and communism." "The Indonesian Communists are convinced that peace can be preserved and strengthened through the efforts of the masses. . . ." "The Communist Party is certain that the struggle of the peoples for stable peace will triumph over the military preparations of the American imperialists."

Substantiating this conclusion, he wrote elsewhere: "It is undoubtedly correct that so long as imperialism exists the economic basis for the outbreak of war will remain. We do not deny this. And hence so long as imperialism exists the struggle for peace must not be relaxed for a moment. . . . However, imperialism is no longer an all-embracing world system. Today socialism has become a world system possessing the moral and material means to prevent aggression. At the same time many countries outside the socialist camp, countries with populations numbering hundreds of millions, as well as the working class and popular movement for peace in the capitalist countries, are actively fighting to avert war. All this indicates that today the social and political conditions exist for preventing the imperialists from unleashing war. These factors indicate that war in our time can be prevented."

The leitmotif of all the articles and speeches in this collection are best summarized by the author himself in his preface to the Russian edition: "The Communist Party of Indonesia and the revolutionary movement of the Indonesian people," he writes, "are an integral part of the international movement which is fighting to build a new world, a world of justice and prosperity for all men. The Statement and the Peace Manifesto signed by the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties at the Moscow Meeting in November 1960 are an effective guide for the Indonesian Communist Party."

J. MARR

Communications and Comment

What Is Happening in Pakistan

(*Letter from Dacca*)

IN March this year shots rang out again in the streets of Karachi, tear gas bombs exploded and the air was filled with the cries and groans of the wounded when a peaceful demonstration of workers was fired upon by the police and troops.

The marchers were workers from textile, tobacco and other factories who had been on strike for over a month for higher wages, better conditions and medical aid. The strike leaders and many of the marchers were thrown into jail.

This act of violence occurred after martial law had been lifted and a new Constitution adopted promising democratic rights and liberties. The shooting in Karachi showed that the "democracy" proclaimed by the new Constitution and lauded by the rulers is nothing but a sham.

A number of considerations impelled Ayub-khan to end the martial law and adopt a new Constitution — the mounting struggle for democratic rights, the influence of world public opinion which had protested against the terror and violence in Pakistan, and the fact that the positions of Ayub-khan's political opponents had become stronger.

Seeing that they could no longer rule by open dictatorship, the leaders of the military regime were compelled to use other methods. They drew up a *Manifesto* setting forth the "aims and needs of Pakistan" and proclaiming the desire "to achieve unity, equality, brotherhood, social and economic justice." Government spokesmen and the bourgeois press were lavish in their praise of the promised "democracy."

It must be said, however, that the lofty aim of the *Manifesto* has little in common with the policy pursued by the Pakistan government and with the actual state of affairs in the country. Fearing that the new Constitution and the ending of martial law would undermine the dictatorship, the authorities took precautionary measures. A wholesale purge of municipal government has been carried out and a stringent control imposed on the press, on the trade unions and other public organ-

izations. Men prominent in public life have been forbidden by special tribunals to take part in political life for a period of five years.

In addition, the 1962 Constitution itself restricts democratic rights, including freedom of speech, assembly and organization by a number of reservations. Other provisions, such as that granting "people of different districts and classes the opportunity to participate in all forms of national activity," are of a purely demagogic nature. That the Constitution suffers from "shortcomings" has been admitted by government officials, ministers and by the President himself. The explanation given is that the people of Pakistan lack "the adequate political maturity, the sense of public responsibility and the necessary educational level" for a "broader democracy."

The Constitution has not shaken the foundations of the anti-democratic regime. But it has heightened the political awareness of the population.

A few days after its adoption a campaign for the revival of the political parties and for a really democratic political life was launched on the initiative of a number of public leaders and a group of lawyers. A series of demands advanced by members of the National Assembly from East Pakistan for restoration and guarantees of the basic democratic rights, for release of all political prisoners and public trials, for restoration of the workers' right to organize and to strike won the support of the general public.

In June 1962 the government was forced to pass a law permitting the former parties to resume their activities. True, this was merely a formal gesture since the law reserved for the government the right to ban any party whose activities are found "to run counter to the ideology of Islam and the interests of the country."

In January a new law went into force forbidding certain political leaders to join any political party or to take part in political life. The penalty for violating this law is imprisonment for a term of up to two years.

The situation in Pakistan at present is marked by internal political strife.

This is evidenced primarily by the adoption at the Congress of the National Democratic Front in Karachi of a resolution condemning the foreign and domestic policy of the government. Another indication is the growing demand for a democratic public life contained in the public speeches of members of the National and provincial assemblies.

The establishment of the National Democratic Front, which unites all the opposition groups, all the former political leaders removed by Ayub-khan from leading positions in political life, shows that the social base of the present rulers has become narrower and their positions weaker.

Hussein Suhrawardy, leader of the National Democratic Front, former Prime Minister and leader of the dissolved Awami League party, declared that "the principal aim of the movement is to rally the people and establish democracy" by which is meant "universal and direct elections to the legislative organs of the country and the replacement of presidential forms of government by parliamentary."

It should be borne in mind that the National Democratic Front is an extremely heterogeneous organization and its leader a typical bourgeois leader of far from progressive views. Nevertheless, the activity of this opposition organization helps to expose the reactionary character of the present regime and to further the struggle for democracy. It is not by chance that a number of political leaders, belonging to the various groups in the National Democratic Front, were arrested and brought before a tribunal in Multan (Western Pakistan) on a charge of incitement to rebellion. The government also announced its intention of preferring the same charge against 38 leaders who took part in the National Democratic Congress in Karachi.

But while the authorities limit themselves mainly to threats and other methods of intimidation with regard to the politicians who oppose the government and who are often no less reactionary than the ministers themselves, the entire government machine of repression is brought to bear against the workers' and the student movements. The working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, despite heavy losses sustained during the years of the military dictatorship, are still a formidable force.

The wave of strikes which swept the country in recent times, and primarily the strike of jute workers in East Pakistan, the courageous struggle of the railway and postal workers in East Pakistan and other actions, indicate that notwithstanding the repressions, the work-

ing class is carrying on the fight for democratic rights and freedom, for a higher living standard, and an independent home and foreign policy for Pakistan.

The student movement, which carried on the fight even in the worst years of the dictatorship, is likewise a considerable force. This, too, is not by chance. The bulk of the students come from the most democratically-minded sections of Pakistan society. Well-organized, they take an active part in the struggle for democracy, for everything progressive and advanced.

The Pakistan government-controlled press and the capitalist press abroad deliberately distort the facts, depicting the struggle of the Pakistan students as being evoked solely by defects in the educational system. In reality they are fighting for political demands. The moment martial law was abolished the students, especially in East Pakistan* protested against the sham democracy, demanding genuine democracy in public life.

Noteworthy were the events that occurred on September 17 last year in Dacca, the administrative center of the province, when a Students' Demands day was held. Despite the fact that the university and colleges were surrounded by a strong force of police, the students staged a powerful demonstration. The police opened fire, killing two and wounding over a hundred others. The enraged demonstrators retaliated by laying siege to government buildings. The workers supported the youth. In a panic the government called out troops. The demonstration was dispersed and mass arrests were carried out.

Student demonstrations were held at the same time in many places in East Pakistan. According to official figures (obviously minimized), 263 persons were injured and several were killed in clashes with the police in the cities of East Pakistan on September 17.

Students' actions occurred also in Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar, Hyderabad and other large towns.

On October 4, mass meetings and demonstrations were held in Karachi in support of the demands advanced by 17 students who had declared a hunger strike in protest against the expulsion from the city of 12 student leaders and against the special order giving college and university authorities the right to expel students suspected of Left views. A pitched battle was fought between students and police on the streets of the capital. As-

*Owing to the location of Eastern Pakistan and the strong dissatisfaction there with the central authority, the students' struggle in that province has always been more militant and democratic than that in West Pakistan.

sisted by the townspeople, the students built barricades. Some two hundred people were hurt in the clash.

The struggle of the youth in the autumn of 1962 thus assumed a national character.

Nor is it showing any signs of subsiding at the present time despite the repressions and the harsh decree issued by the President threatening with imprisonment anyone "inciting the students to engage in political activity of any kind." It is symptomatic that more and more people are supporting the just demands of the students. Many public personalities and M.P.s have condemned the government's actions.

Questions of foreign policy, too, have of late been claiming the attention of the public. It is generally felt that the root of the country's trouble lies in the policy pursued at the dictate of the United States. This was evident

during the budget debate in the National Assembly; more than half of the expenditure goes for military purposes.

Anti-American sentiment is growing even among top people, some of whom are beginning to speak about the need to revise foreign policy. Experience has convinced the people and many political leaders as well that military alliance with the United States, far from offering Pakistan any advantage, is, on the contrary, creating more hardships. The demand is voiced for withdrawing from SEATO and CENTO, for friendly relations with all countries and in particular with the socialist countries.

Stricken by fear in the face of this demand, the rulers of Pakistan are stopping at nothing in their efforts to preserve their power at all costs.

Rahman JAFFARI.

Peace Marches

(Letter from West Germany)

BAN-THE-BOMB Easter marches are now traditional in West Germany. This year they were held for the fourth time and served as a sort of culminating point in the struggle of the forces of peace and democracy in Federal Germany. Moreover this year such constructive demands as international control of disarmament, and an atom-free zone in Central Europe figured prominently, and the organizing committee of the marches has resolved to extend its activity and carry on the fight for disarmament and peace not only during Easter but throughout the year.

Twice as many people took part in this year's marches. In all, 21 columns marched from different parts of West Germany and converged in eight cities for the final demonstrations. About a hundred demonstrations were held with the participation of some 80,000 people. The demands of the movement were carried to hundreds of thousands of people in talks and interviews.

An account of only one of the marches will give an idea of the scale and mounting strength of the movement and show how valuable the marches are in bringing burning political issues to the attention of large numbers of people.

... The market square in Oberhausen has rarely witnessed such a lively and colorful scene as that on Saturday, April 13, when the "West" column marchers whose route lay

through the Ruhr province paused there for a brief rest. Members of the Friends of Nature society, who had their camping equipment with them, exhibited their culinary skill by preparing an appetizing meal. Crowds gathered around the musicians and athletes from the young workers' organization. There was much dancing, laughter and singing. Here and there one caught glimpses of mothers with their children, carrying posters with the inscription: "Our Children Must Live! No Nuclear Weapons for Federal Germany!"

Similar scenes took place in Essen, Bohum and other towns in the Ruhr.

It was a colorful procession whose participants came from all sections of society and represented a wide range of political views. Marching in the column were priests and members of factory production councils, Social Democrats and Communists, trade unionists and intellectuals, members of Social Democratic youth organizations, of the Friends of Nature society and young socialists. All had rallied to the call of the organizing committee signed by more than two thousand people, among them nearly 400 members of production councils and trade unionists, 600 priests and theologians, over 400 scientists, teachers, doctors, engineers and several hundred members of the art world.

The march council included such personalities as Dr. Martin Niemoeller, President of the

World Council of Churches, Erich Kuby, the writer, Herbert Faller, leader of the Friends of Nature Society and Erich Kaestner, writer.

Preparations for this year's march were supported by individuals and by entire organizations, the Friends of Nature society, for example. The Sixth Federal Youth Conference of the Metalworkers' Trade Union appealed to the workers to support the movement and to cooperate with it, and motions in favor of participating in the marches were introduced at a district youth conference in Frankfurt and at trade union youth conferences in Duesseldorf and Munich. In defiance of the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders, the regional conferences of the Falcon youth organization in Bielefeld, Bremen and Stuttgart, urged its members to join the march. Notwithstanding the objections raised by Ollenhauer, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party, more members and supporters of that party marched this year than last year. For example, one of the groups marching from Bielefeld to Dortmund included 50 members of the Falcon organization, five of them secretaries of regional branches of the organization.

Reports of the successful progress of the marches in other areas evoked enthusiasm. There was indignation, however, when it was learned that the West German police in Duesseldorf had detained at the airport fifty-five British peace supporters who had flown in from Britain for the purpose of taking part in the march. On orders from the Bonn Ministry of Home Affairs they had been refused entry as "undesirable aliens."

"It's a funny thing," remarked my neighbor in the column, a member of a trade union youth organization, "when the SS or other militarist organizations hold their rallies in Federal Germany the government gives them carte blanche. But for us they invent all sorts of obstacles."

On the way we also learned that 50 anti-nuclear marchers had been arrested the previous day in Duesseldorf, among them Pastor Guenneberg, the leader of the "West" column, for protesting against the detention of the British delegation. This incident gave many of the churchgoers among the marchers something to think about.

"Why don't they hold Easter marches in the GDR?" they asked. This question was answered by a young worker. "Have you ever

heard the Bonn government say a good word about our Easter march?" he asked the group that had gathered to listen. "No! But I heard over the air the messages sent by Otto Grotewohl, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR, to the council of the Easter marches; he greeted the march and supported its aims. What we are demanding, is already government policy in the GDR. That's where the proposal for disarmament and banning nuclear weapons comes from. Why should they have special demonstrations to demand a policy their government is carrying out? Would there be any need for the demonstration here if the Bonn government supported and carried out our demands?"

The marchers were accorded a hearty reception everywhere. In Solingen, Friedrich Huebsche, Secretary of the regional branch of the public utilities, transport and communications workers' union said: "The fight against nuclear weapons is especially important for the wage-earners. Armaments, and particularly nuclear weapons, consume a huge part of the national revenue and this retards social progress. No efforts toward improving the position of wage-earners can make sense until the constant threat to life and property is removed and nuclear weapons abolished for good."

One of the marchers told us that in Moerfelden, Sprendlingen and Offenbach the marchers had been greeted by the Mayors, all Social Democrats. In many parts of the country the people treated the marchers to coffee, sandwiches and fruit.

More and more people joined our column all along the route. By the time we reached the city limits of Dortmund our procession was 4,000 strong and three kilometers long. A column of 250 cars decorated with anti-bomb emblems and slogans brought up the rear. There were delegations from Britain, France, Denmark, Holland and Belgium. Our ranks included workers from Italy, Greece, Japan and the Arab countries working in the Ruhr. A group of 150 women marched with their children, pushing prams decorated with colored balloons and slogans. The banners and streamers borne by the marchers carried these inscriptions: "The bomb No, Democracy Yes!" "Change the Policy, not the Constitution!" "Safety Through Disarmament!"

Gerhard SCHREINER.

Against the Persecution of Democrats

VICTIMS OF POLICE TERROR

SALAZAR'S fascist dictatorship has turned Portugal with its nine million inhabitants into a huge prison. Between 1926, when the dictatorship was established, and 1960 more than 55,000 people were sentenced for their political convictions. Between 1937 and 1941, 4,727 sentences were passed for "crimes" against religion, state security and public order (192 for every 100,000 of the population), and from 1956 to 1960, 21,974 (477 for every 100,000). Last year more than 5,000 arrests were made, an average of 16 daily.

Most of the victims are Communists, for the Salazar government regards the Communists as its most dangerous enemies.

Manuel Rodriguez da Silva, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, and Manuel Gedez, another Communist leader, have spent 23 and 16 years respectively in the Penixe Prison. Alfredo Diniz, member of the Central Committee, Dr. Ferreira Soares, Jose Dias Coelho and many others have been murdered by the political police.

Octavio Rodriguez Pato, Pires Jorge and Antonio Lourenco, members of the secretariat of the Central Committee, Carlos Costa, Americo de Coza and Jose Magro, members of the Central Committee, the Party functionaries Julio Martins, Augusto Lindolfo and Jose Bernadino and hundreds of other Communists were held incommunicado for months, beaten for days on end and subjected to endless interrogation.

On May 25 the political police arrested another 10 Communists, among them Central Committee members Blanki Teisheira and Guillermo Costa Carvalho.

The ferocity of the drive against the Communist Party is explained by its selfless work to unite all opponents of the dictatorship in the fight for freedom. "Our basic purpose, which is shared by all the forces opposed to the fascist dictatorship, is to win democratic rights and free elections," the Central Committee of the Party declared in a statement issued in January.

Its stand in the face of fascism has won the Party the sympathy of the people.

No persecutions can break the spirit of the Communists and weaken their struggle to overthrow the Salazar dictatorship. Only three days after the May 25 arrest of 10 Communists, the Communist Party circulated thousands of leaflets in Lisbon.

Salazar is trying to prevent the seeds of freedom sown by the Communists from producing fruit by staging one trial after another, without the slightest regard even for the laws promulgated by the dictatorship, not to speak of elementary human rights.

The hearings usually take place behind closed doors and no reports on the proceedings are published. But the truth cannot be suppressed. It is revealed, for instance, in the account we have received from Portuguese patriots of the "trial" in November 1962 of Octavio Rodriguez Pato and his wife, Albina Fernandez, also a member of the Communist Party. This document is an indictment of "justice" in Salazar's Portugal, which is supported by the Western "democracies" and is considered part of the "free world."

"Justice" à la Salazar

... The courtroom where the Lisbon political tribunal sits was filled with police in plain clothes. When the indictment had been read out, the defense asked for the documentary evidence on which the charges were based. The court, however, refused on the grounds that this would be tantamount to "commending crimes against the security of the State." The evidence (underground publications of the peace movement, various democratic movements and the Communist Party) lay untouched on a table in front of the bench.

During examination Pato declared that he was proud to be a member of the Communist Party and wished to explain the circumstances that had led to his joining it. The presiding judge ordered him to give only yes or no answers. Pato refused and the examination was discontinued. The same thing happened with his wife.

Prosecution witnesses, unable to give any coherent testimony, merely reaffirmed that Pato was a member and a leader of the Party and that his wife was also a Party member.

The defense witnesses were unanimous in their appraisal of the moral qualities of the defendants but the court would not admit this testimony.

After this farce, the defense tried to present its case. Mario Soares, who appeared for Pato, was interrupted time and again and not allowed to finish his speech. The presiding

judge threatened to cite him for "lauding communism" and to commit him for trial — a device commonly used to silence defense lawyers. Some have actually been arrested during hearings. This happened to the lawyer Manuel Juan Palm Carlos.

It should be mentioned that Mario Soares himself was in prison when Pato was arrested but was released for the duration of the trial to conduct the latter's defense.

The lawyer defending Albina Fernandez was also prevented from speaking in court.

When the proceedings were resumed after recess, Pato took the stand. In reply to the judge's question whether he could add anything to what had already been said, he declared that he would make a fuller statement if allowed to say something more than "yes" or "no." When the judge refused the request, Pato said: "You are simply an appendage to PIDE."* For this he was ordered removed from the courtroom. As he was dragged out, Pato clung to the barrier and flung at his accusers that he belonged to the Party, that the Party spoke for the people, and that the judges were police puppets who had no right to try him; only the people had that right. "I am not afraid of a trial by the people," he said. "It is those who are trying us who fear

*Portuguese secret police.

the judgment of the people," he said. "The people will soon sweep them away, for the days of the Salazar regime are numbered."

Before he was forcibly taken away, Pato cried: "Down with fascism! Long live Communism!"

Albina Fernandez likewise refused to answer yes or no. When asked whether she had anything to say before being sentenced, she insisted on her right to defend herself. The judge ordered her to be removed from the courtroom. "I address myself not to this court, which has no right to try us," she said before being led out. "I address myself to the people. Down with fascism! Long live Communism!"

Half an hour later the sentence was pronounced: eight years imprisonment for Pato and three years for his wife. Actually, if Salazar has his way, they may have to spend the rest of their lives in jail, for under the "security" law the secret police can hold their victims indefinitely, even after they have served their sentences.

Octavio Pato and his wife are now behind prison bars. But this cannot prevent their voice from being heard all over the world. Below we print a slightly abridged version of the defense Pato was prevented from making in the Lisbon court.

THE SPEECH OCTAVIO RODRIGUEZ PATO WAS NOT ALLOWED TO MAKE

Salazar's Courts Trample on Human Rights

I refused to make any statements or give any explanations to the secret police concerning my political activity, although I was subjected to physical and mental torture. I likewise refused to give them any information about myself.

The very existence of a secret police is an encroachment on democratic rights, for which the people are yearning. To denigrate or renounce one's ideals is the most dishonorable thing one could do. Even to make a statement to the secret police is to help those who have made reprisals an instrument of government in order to prevent the people from voicing their opinions and exercising their will.

The charges laid against me are a violation of the civil rights inscribed in the Constitution. They run counter to the principles of the United Nations and the Declaration of Human Rights, which the Portuguese government, too, has signed. But since this is a pub-

lic trial during which, provided the law is observed, I am entitled to defend myself, I shall try to throw light on some aspects of the indictment and prove that what I have done is right.

The People Support the Communist Party

The Supreme Law of the land, the Constitution — ostensibly adopted on the strength of a plebiscite but actually imposed on the nation by the ruling minority — declares that all Portuguese citizens enjoy freedom of opinion, assembly, the press, association, etc. If these principles were honored, the Communist Party, like all other political organizations, would have the legal right to exist. But it does not have this right. Portugal, like Franco's Spain, revanchist West Germany and Greece, is among the few European countries where the Communist Party is banned by law . . .

The Rules of the Communist Party of Portugal adopted by its Congress as well as its political aims and methods are public knowledge, and the people aid and support it. Con-

sequently, it is not a "secret, subversive and unlawful organization," but a patriotic political association which carries on its work in the underground because it is compelled to do so by the tyranny of a government that systematically violates its own Constitution. The Salazar demagogues talk about a "united and indivisible nation," claiming that the colonies, too, are an integral part of Portuguese territory.

I Am Proud That I Am a Communist

The first days after my arrest were days of endless "interrogation." For 11 days and nights I was not allowed a moment's sleep. Throughout the 11 months I have been in prison I have been kept in a state of continual torment; not once have I been taken for a walk, although the law grants this right to all prisoners. My two sons — aged two and five — spent nearly a month in the prison building without my relatives or the relatives of my wife being allowed to look after them.

I am proud to belong to the Communist Party! The thousands of Communists who have been thrown into prison by the present regime, the Communists who have given their lives, among them Bento Gonçalves, my brother Carlos Pato, my old comrade Jose Dias Coelho, the sculptor, who was recently done to death, and many others have demonstrated the unbreakable spirit and patriotism of the Communists. In the difficult conditions of today, to be a member of the Communist Party is in itself proof of selfless patriotism. Despite the efforts of the secret police to wipe out the Communists, despite the fact that time and again it has been said that the Party has been crushed, it continues to exist and is becoming the main anti-fascist force of the nation. This would not be the case if the Party did not enjoy the active support of the working class and the people generally, who regard the Communists as the most devoted exponents of the national ideals and aspirations.

Democracy Must Be Restored

The immediate aim of the Communists and of all patriots is to restore freedom and democracy.

We Communists have repeatedly given proof of our patriotism. Because they subscribe to the principles of proletarian internationalism, by which we, too, are guided, workers all over the world are brothers who have no antagonistic interests. This identity of interests is the living expression of the patriotism of the Communists. Proletarian internationalism res-

pects the revolutionary, cultural and patriotic traditions of all nations. The fact that we hold the Soviet Union in high esteem, far from conflicting with our patriotism, actually confirms it. We esteem the USSR because it has paved the way to liberation for all peoples, because it is the bulwark of strength for all peoples fighting for peace and democracy.

Communism and the principles of peaceful coexistence exert an irresistible power of attraction because they accord with the interests and aspirations of the people everywhere. The future holds no fears for us Communists. The future is dreaded only by fascism and imperialism, forces which have outlived their time.

The indictment charges the Communist Party of Portugal with violating the fundamental principles of the Constitution and aiming at the violent overthrow of the government. Restoration of democratic rights and the establishment of a government of national unity are an imperative national demand, the task confronting all Portuguese. It would be most desirable to realize this task through free expression of the people's will, by peaceful means, without recourse to violence.

The Communists Speak for the People

The years of oppression have not broken the spirit of our people. Their patriotism and their hatred for reaction remain unshaken. Their militancy is growing. This applies in particular to the working class and the youth — the most consistent and militant sections of the nation who are working steadfastly to restore the rule of law, freedom and democracy and to win national independence.

But it is our sad experience that the government flouts the will of the nation, does not hearken to the voice of reason, does not observe even its own laws. The dictatorship has closed to the people every avenue to express their will peacefully. What, then, is the way out?

We have seen that under the present regime the people cannot freely exercise their will. Hence the overthrow of the dictatorship is an essential condition for the holding of elections in which the people could freely choose the form of government and elect an administration. Since the present regime rules by violence, the people are left no alternative but to reply to the force employed by the dictatorship with the force of mass action. If the people retaliate by fighting the tyranny of the ruling minority this is no crime but an expression of the nation's will.

When the Communist Party, together with

the other democratic forces, calls upon the nation to rise en masse to achieve its democratic aims, it is only giving expression to the aspirations of the nation and the political experience of the most advanced sections of the population. Most important for these aims is unity, a well-organized working class, and its alliance with the peasantry as the foundation of anti-fascist unity. How soon national liberation, which will pave the way to a free, prosperous and independent Portugal, will be achieved depends on the strengthening and consolidation of democratic united action.

The Hour of National Liberation Is Near

I have no doubt as to how this trial will end. I cherish no illusions. I shall be found guilty under the "security" decree, and in practice conviction means lifelong imprisonment for those who refuse to barter away

their conscience, their ideals and their patriotism. As long as the present regime exists, extraordinary tribunals will continue handing down sentences. I shall, of course, regain my freedom only after the present regime has been destroyed by the people of Portugal . . .

I shall be convicted because I love my people and my country, because I have fought to unite all patriots who want to see Portugal free. I am, therefore, confident that the struggle, which I joined in my youth and to which I have given the greater part of my life, is not in vain. This struggle will not cease; it will go on. Desperation is seizing those who have usurped power in our country . . .

I wish to convey my greetings to all patriots who are carrying on the struggle, and in particular to the Portuguese Communists and their tried and tested Central Committee headed by Alvaro Cunhal. I am certain that the hour of national liberation is near.

IN DEFENSE OF PARAGUAY PATRIOTS

"**A** LAND without people" is how the Paraguayans describe their country. And indeed nearly half a million people have emigrated from Paraguay in recent times — an appreciable number for a country with a population of under two million. Large colonies of Paraguayan political emigrants, including the leaders of nearly all the political parties of that country, now reside in Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay.

Paraguay is under the heel of a fascist dictatorship. Neither individuals nor political parties are safe from persecution. Wholesale arrests are the order of the day.

The country is experiencing serious economic difficulties which are aggravated by the large-scale contraband operations conducted by the ruling camarilla. Unemployment is rife, and the burden of the economic difficulties falls on the shoulders of the working people.

In violation of the Constitution, dictator Stroessner has been "elected" to the Presidency for the third time in succession.

In preparation for the 1963 elections the authorities changed the electoral law. For the first time in the history of Paraguay women were permitted to vote, and, besides the dictator himself, an "opposition" candidate was nominated for the presidency. The number of seats in parliament was increased from 40 to 60, the additional seats to be occupied by the "opposition."

The elections, however, were a farce. As

later transpired, Stroessner, prompted by the U.S. imperialists, bought over elements from the two oldest bourgeois parties, the "Colorado" and the Liberal Party, and used them for the purpose of creating a sham parliamentary opposition. Washington wanted to give its puppet dictatorship the semblance of "representative" government.

The crisis of the fascist regime in Paraguay, which can vie in brutality with its Spanish and Portuguese counterparts, is not fortuitous. It is the result of the courageous struggle of the Paraguayan people to put an end to the dictatorship. The Communist Party is working to unite all democratic forces against the tyranny. Patriots and democrats from all political parties are joining the United National Liberation Front. A revolutionary youth front has been set up.

Strikes, demonstrations and other mass actions are undermining the foundations of the dictatorship. The guerrilla action adds impact to the struggle. Even the bourgeois "Colorado" and Liberal parties which, as a result of the election swindle, were faced with disintegration, are refusing to support Stroessner. Never before have the dictator and his associates been so isolated.

Washington is gravely alarmed about the dictator and his camarilla. Anxious to continue its unlimited exploitation of Paraguay and to ensure the realization of the secret agreement providing for atomic bases in Chaco province, the United States is bolster-

ing up the dictatorship, granting Stroessner generous "loans" and military aid.

Sensing that his regime is doomed, Stroessner has stepped up his repressions against the democratic movement. Immediately after the elections the police arrested and tortured leading members of the opposition. Juan Speratti, a leader of the Febrerist Party, and five other members of that party were arrested and tortured. Colonel Jara Troche, another Febrerist leader who returned illegally to his native land, suffered the same fate.

Workers, students and service-men are equally persecuted regardless of party affiliation. The terror is designed to intimidate the people and paralyze their struggle. Moreover, as is pointed out in the statement issued by the Communist Party, the regime "refuses to raise the state of seige (introduced 20 years ago! — *M.L.*) or to release the three school teachers, Antonio Maidana, Ananias Maidana and Julio Rojas, and dozens of others who have been held incommunicado for the past five years."

One of the many women in prison is Ofelia de Peralta with her two children, one aged four years the other aged eight months. Women prisoners are forced to work under the whiplash from dawn till dusk, barefoot, and half-naked. Political prisoners in the concentration camps are subjected to torture. Even in Asuncion, the capital, there is a Gestapo-type concentration camp where political prisoners are forced to work in quarries. Many of them die in these quarries.

The people are intensifying their struggle against the dictatorial regime. In this they have the support of people in other countries. At the beginning of April a solidarity conference for the release of Paraguay political prisoners, held in Rio de Janeiro, was attended by prominent democratic leaders, members of trade unions and cultural organizations

from 11 countries, including Chile, Uruguay, Bolivia, Argentina, Brazil and Puerto Rico. Representatives from the World Peace Council and the International Students' Union were also present. Some 300 delegates took part in the conference.

The conference was presided over by General Sousa Leite, President of the Brazil association for solidarity with the people of Paraguay. In a stirring address General Sousa Mendes declared that the police hysteria in Paraguay was closely linked with the declining prestige and isolation of the Stroessner military dictatorship, which had been particularly evident since the sham Presidential "elections" in February 1963. The speaker showed how the U.S. imperialists are trying to run things in Paraguay and exposed the mechanism of the electoral swindle.

The Argentina delegate Marcos Diaz denounced the repeated violations of the law by the dictatorship. For example, the national hero Antonio Maidano, indicted on the notorious "Defense of Democracy" act (No. 294), is still being held in jail, although his term of imprisonment ended in October 1961 and the court had ordered his release.

The conference was also addressed by Eduardo Rosencrantz, member of the Argentine parliament, General Gilberto Alvim, Norberto Frontini, Ramon Arbona, Narcizo Rabel, Cesar Pelaez and Vinicius Brant.

A resolution called upon world opinion to act in order to save the lives of the political prisoners and help the people in their struggle against the dictatorship. In accordance with the conference decision solidarity committees have been set up in most Latin American countries, and, beginning with May 11, solidarity weeks featuring mass demonstrations and rallies will be held.

M. LEMI.

RACISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

THE racist South African government is pursuing its Hitler-like policy of apartheid with the ferocity of beasts at bay. A number of new racist laws have been added to those already in existence.

A glaring example is the Bantu Authorities Act according to which the 260 African reserves are to be reduced to nine "Bantustans," which, according to Dr. Verwoerd, Racist No. 1, are to be governed by the Africans themselves — under government supervision, of course.

What this really means is that 11 million Africans will be herded into the barren lands

of the reserves while the three million whites will reside on the rich fertile land and in the cities.

The Verwoerd government is implementing the pass laws with brutal persistence. These laws place the African in a position of slavery. He is deprived of freedom of movement, and is forbidden to join a trade union. Formerly applicable only to males, the pass laws have now been extended to include African women.

The forcing of Africans into the reserves means for many of them loss of livelihood and all that that implies. The present forced removal of workers from the Western Cape

Province to the reserves has caused bitter resentment.

Despite worldwide protests the Verwoerd government is clamping down on all who raise their voice against its race policy. House arrest is widely practised against progressives. The victims cannot leave their homes or receive visitors, which makes it impossible for them to hold a job and earn a living.

According to a new edict, political "suspects" can be detained for 90 days or more before being brought before a magistrate. Afterwards the prisoner is sent to a concentration camp. One of these camps is located on a small island near Capetown. Leon Levi, prominent trade union leader, arrested on May 15, is the twenty-fourth victim of this edict.

An average of 68 persons are hanged every year in South Africa for diverse crimes. The death penalty has been extended to two more categories of "criminals" — those who leave the country to prepare for "subversive activities," and those who while abroad (at the United Nations, for example), call for the overthrow of the Verwoerd regime.

An electrified fence is being erected around the frontiers to prevent people from escaping from the racists. Political refugees who seek asylum in the neighboring British protectorates face the death sentence if caught.

Opposition newspapers are muzzled. The monthly *Fighting Talk* was banned on March

1. This was followed by the closing of the newspaper *Spark*, the successor to the glorious tradition of its banned predecessors, the *Guardian*, the *Advance* and *New Age*. Brian Bunting, editor of *Spark*, is a victim of the persecution. Writers like Fred Carneson, Ruth First, W. Caudesh and Rika Hodson have been forbidden to write for the press.

The government, fearing the wrath of the people, has quadrupled military expenditures since 1960 and, as the United Nations Commission noted, "is maintaining the country in a state of war in peacetime. Current military expenditure is at a rate of £136 million a year."

Verwoerd's racist Government is getting arms from NATO countries — Britain, France, Belgium and the United States. The army is to be increased to 260,000 men. Moreover, the entire white population is being armed on a big scale. A so-called "civil guard" has been organized, and women and young people are being trained to handle weapons. These measures are aimed primarily against the African population; they constitute a threat to the peace and security of the entire African continent.

Now that the Verwoerd Government has closed practically all avenues for normal political activity, the people of South Africa, through their political organizations, have resolved on armed struggle to put an end to the white fascist rule in their country.

M. NDOBE.

THE JUST CAUSE WILL TRIUMPH

ANOTHER valiant son of Greece fell recently in the fight for peace and democracy. Dr. Grigory Lambrakis, Member of Parliament, Deputy Chairman of the Peace Committee in Greece, was murdered by the fascists.

Dr. Lambrakis embodied the finest traits of the Greek people. He was an ardent supporter of the ideals of peace, disarmament and cooperation among all nations, particularly in the Balkans, an advocate of an atom-free zone for the Balkans.

Lambrakis fearlessly exposed the clique responsible for his country's misfortunes and perils, fearlessly denounced them and their foreign patrons. He exposed their fascist-like policy of turning the country into a NATO rocket base.

Naturally, these dark forces saw in Lambrakis a serious obstacle in the way of their evil designs. Hence they decided to remove him. Lambrakis was aware of the danger. Speaking at a meeting of peace supporters in

Salonika on May 22 — the day he was murdered — he concluded his speech with these words: "In my capacity as representative of the people I say here and now that their purpose is to do away with me; I call upon the Minister of Northern Greece, the Monarch and the Public Prosecutor to protect the lives of the peace supporters gathered here and to safeguard my own life."

Although he knew of the danger, Lambrakis addressed the people and told them the truth about the situation in the country and the possible way out.

The organizers of the crime believed that by removing Lambrakis they would terrify the people and undermine the growing unity and resistance to the government. In this they miscalculated. The murder kindled the wrath of the nation and led to mass actions the political significance of which it is difficult to overestimate.

The 700,000 people who marched in the funeral procession in Athens showed that

things were coming to a head in Greece. Despite the Government's efforts to disclaim responsibility for the murder, the slogan "Down with the blood-stained Government!" resounded throughout the country.

The cause for which Lambrakis gave life it-

self will triumph. A new contingent of fighters for peace, democracy and social progress will take his place. The moving demonstration of international solidarity with the people of Greece gives them renewed strength in their hard and noble struggle.

CALL TO ACCOUNT THE MURDERERS IN IRAQ

THE savage persecution of democrats and Communists is continuing in Iraq. During the first days of the coup, thousands were killed without trial in the streets and in their homes; tens of thousands were thrown into prisons and concentration camps. The worldwide campaign of protest against these crimes had its effect in relaxing to some extent the wave of terror. But today, with military operations against the Kurds in full swing, the reactionaries have renewed the offensive against all democrats. Hundreds are dying under torture. To hide their crimes, the murderers announce afterwards the names of those assassinated, pretending that they had been tried and executed. This was the case with Salam Adil and his comrades. This also was true of the 12 patriots whose death was announced at the end of April. These patriots were accused of resisting the coup, and the government announced that they had been tried recently and executed. But all the facts indicate that they had been assassinated in the first days of the coup and without any trial. Among the martyrs was the Communist officer Mahdi Hamid who had been arrested and imprisoned by Kassem — so how could he have taken up arms against the new regime as the murderers claim?

But even the patriots who are tried come before military tribunals and are deprived of legal defense. Their sentences are determined beforehand.

A particularly brutal aspect of the persecution is the raping of women. Hundreds of girl students have stopped attending colleges and

schools because of actions of the fascist gangs of the "national guard."

In the guise of "anti-communism" thousands of factory and office workers and students have been thrown out of work or expelled from college.

Thousands of families have been made destitute because their bread-earners have either been arrested or killed or, at best, deprived of work. Hundreds of children have lost their parents. Some have been adopted by other families but many others are held in police stations as "lost children." From time to time the radio and press announce about "lost" children and give the names of their parents. But where are their parents?

People trying to escape from the terror and caught on the border are shot on the spot.

In April the Communist Party informed world public opinion about the persecution. It called on all patriot forces and on the masses to form a united front against the new regime. It called for the release of all detainees and prisoners, whose number now exceeds 100,000; for an end to the brutal assaults on women; for an end to the death sentences, the wholesale sackings and the raids by the "national guard" on private homes of citizens.

"Our people," states the C.P. appeal, "will not forgive the murderers the death of their best sons. The murderers will be made to pay for their crimes."

Intensification of the world campaign of protest against the atrocities in Iraq is a most urgent task.

Ali MOHAMED.

SHAMEFUL VERDICT

"SENEGAL is one vast ghetto of suffering," such was the accusation which Majhemut Diop, leader of the African Party of Independence (Senegal), flung at his accusers during his trial in July 1961. At that time this valiant patriot was tried on a trumped up charge of assaulting a police officer. Hundreds of people gathered outside the court demanded his release, and the judges hastily wound up the proceedings by sentencing Diop to nine

months imprisonment from the date of his arrest, which signified his release since he had spent a year awaiting trial.

The reactionaries, however, did not let the matter drop. A few months later the court of appeal in Dakar again issued a warrant for Diop's arrest. But this time they did not succeed in capturing him. Since then Diop has been forced to live in exile and to direct the activities of the party from abroad.

On December 17, 1962, the Mamadou Dia government, which had earned itself an unsavory reputation by its persecution of democrats, was forced to resign. President Senghor now at the helm of the state declared that a "country cannot be governed by prisons. To govern," he said, "means to convince, not to coerce." This circumstance revived the people's hopes that democratic standards would be restored in Senegal. Accordingly, the African Party of Independence (Senegal) requested that Comrade Diop and other patriots be allowed to return to their native land.

In practice, however, Senghor's talk about the policy of "the extended hand," and "respect for democracy" turned out to be little more than empty phrases. The "state of emergency" continues. The government continues to arrest, exile and otherwise remove its political opponents. The electoral law, as the recent referendum has shown, is being crudely violated.

Against this background of repressions the government has launched another campaign against Comrades Diop and his party. The old case has been dragged out and the old charges against him revived.

The actions of the authorities in resuming their criminal persecution of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the African Party of Independence (Senegal) aroused a storm of protest. Nevertheless, under pressure from the reactionaries who are turning Senegal into a police state, the St. Louis magistrate's court on May 21 reviewed the case against Majhemout Diop and sentenced him in absentia to 10 years imprisonment.

The Central Committee of the African Party of Independence (Senegal) has appealed to all friends, all progressives, and all fraternal parties to demand the repeal of this shameful sentence.

M. DIENE.

IN MEMORIAM . . .

EVERY nation has its heroes. Songs are composed about them. Monuments are raised to their memory.

The memory of the Communist Julian Grimau, hero of the liberation struggle of the Spanish people against fascism, will live for all time in the hearts of all Spaniards.

In honor of Grimau's memory 12,000 metallurgists in Seville declared a general strike, a demonstration was held in Barcelona and similar manifestations occurred in Asturias and Leone, in Madrid, Basconia and other parts of the country. National mourning was observed even in the prisons. A day of silence was declared in the Carabanchel jail. In the yard of the Caceres jail the prisoners held a meeting which the prison authorities were powerless to disperse. Fearing the wrath of the people the authorities placed a special guard at the cemetery where Grimau is buried and everyone who visits the hero's grave is detained and registered.

But Julian Grimau is the national hero not only of Spain. His memory is cherished by many other nations. Streets, schools and factories in many different countries have been named after him.

There is a street in Moscow which bears

his name. "We wanted our street in the new district of our capital to remind people, and especially the young generation, of the courage of a Communist who gave his life for the cause of the Spanish people," so wrote the residents. "Julian Grimau was a standard-bearer in that struggle, and standard-bearers do not die . . ."

In France the municipality of Gibors has decided to name one of its streets after Julian Grimau. His name has been given also to a street in the Saint Denis suburb of Paris.

In Cuba the first section of the United Party of Socialist Revolution in Jatibonica, a permanent exhibition of plastic arts in Santiago, a school, a library, and the friendship club of the Havana district Pioneer organization have been named after the Spanish hero.

A lamp factory in Warsaw and a socialist labor youth brigade in Kielce; labor brigades at the Micromat, Electromat and Sachsenwerk factories and the Freital Mine in the German Democratic Republic; and labor brigades in the Dusikarna and Adasta plants in Czechoslovakia — all have been named in Grimau's honor.

Spaniards residing in Holland have formed a Julian Grimau society.

ATROCITIES COMMITTED BY MILITARY JUNTA

(Two Letters from Peru)

I.

BECAUSE of the long period of complete isolation in which we political prisoners were held following our arrest on January 5 this year, we were unable until recently to read the earlier issues of *Problems of Peace and Socialism* and to contact you in order to join in your campaign against the fascist repressions in Peru. Our conditions have now been slightly improved and we read with gratitude the article in No. 3 of your journal calling for our release. We also found much else of interest to us in the issue.

We take the liberty, however, of appealing to you to intensify your campaign as much as possible . . .

We hope, dear comrades, that the new material on the conditions of political prisoners in Peru will help the struggle that is being waged in our country for democratic rights.

Signed by a group of political prisoners.

II.

When on July 18, 1962, the military junta came to power in Peru it promised presidential and parliamentary elections for the following year. Since then U.S. imperialism and the Peruvian oligarchy have been working hard to find a suitable pretext for consolidating the position of the junta. Such a pretext was provided when the Cerro de Pasco Copper Corporation deliberately blew up several of its warehouses in order to blame the democrats. Another was obligingly given by the Trotskyites of the Hugo Blanco group, who killed a number of policemen for purposes of provocation. Besides having ample funds at its disposal the Blanco group has the backing of the North American press which tries to depict it both at home and abroad as the "champion" of the Peruvian people. The facts, however, show that the Trotskyites are merely muddying the waters, while doing nothing to protect the class interests of the working people, with the result that they are losing the little influence they still have in some of the trade unions.

Taking advantage of the provocations of the reactionaries and the Trotskyites, the military junta has branded as extremists not only the Left parties, but the trade unions and other progressive organizations. It has launched a vicious radio and press campaign, and is bent on crushing the popular movement which is endeavoring to unite the trade unions.

Despite the reprisals, despite the shooting of 250 workers and peasants, the people are determined to win the fight for a genuine working class leadership of the Peruvian Workers' Confederation.

The military junta has forbidden the workers to advance economic demands or to strike for higher wages. Some 1,500 workers, peasants, doctors, lawyers, writers, professors and students are confined in the El Sepa concentration camp and the El Fronton prison. They are charged with complicity in an alleged "communist plot," with having organized "attacks on the armed forces" and with having "seized arms."

Many of those arrested have been tortured. At present 140 trade union and political functionaries of diverse political trends are in custody. They include Dr. Teodoro Aspilcueta, Dr. Genaro Ledezma, Dr. Carlos F. Cuadros, Dr. Arturo Salas and his daughter, Dr. Angel Castro Labarelo, Guillermo Sheen Lazo, Dr. Saturnino Paredes and Eduardo Sumire, Raul Acosta Salas and Jorge del Prado, Pedro Machuca, Manuel Peralta and Emiliano Huamantla.

A monstrous machine of repression has been set in motion. A member of the military tribunal who during the first hearing questioned the grounds for the arrest of the defendants was removed at once, charged with being a Communist and placed under arrest. The same thing happened to Major Hinostrosa, the first judge of the military tribunal.

The authorities plan to court martial the political prisoners. This is a violation of the military penal code according to which cases of this kind against civilians in time of peace must be tried by civil courts. The hearing of the cases of political prisoners, who have committed no crime, by military courts doing the bidding of the junta and the U.S. imperialists enables the authorities to mete out monstrous penalties to democrats.

Despite the repressions the mass struggle for democratic rights is gaining momentum, a fact which is causing the junta no little anxiety.

The Peruvian patriots appeal to all progressive organizations, all men of good will to raise their voices in protest against the rape of democracy by the Peruvian government and to demand a general amnesty for the political prisoners.

Luis CONDORKANKI.

May 29, 1963.

NEW BOOKS

(Books listed here are in the language of the country of publication;
the titles are given in English)

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- E. Czizmadia. *Ket ut—ket vilag*. (Two Worlds Two Paths) Budapest, Kossuth Konyvkiado, 1962. 400 pp.
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- P. Togliatti. *Momenti della storia d'Italia*. (Pages from Italian History). Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1963. 326 pp.

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KURT HAGER: Member of the Political Bureau, Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

IB NOERLUND: Member of the Executive Committee, Communist Party of Denmark.

GIORGIO AMENDOLA: Member of Leadership and Secretariat, Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party.

LEO MARMIO: Secretary, Satakunta Area, Communist Party of Finland.

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