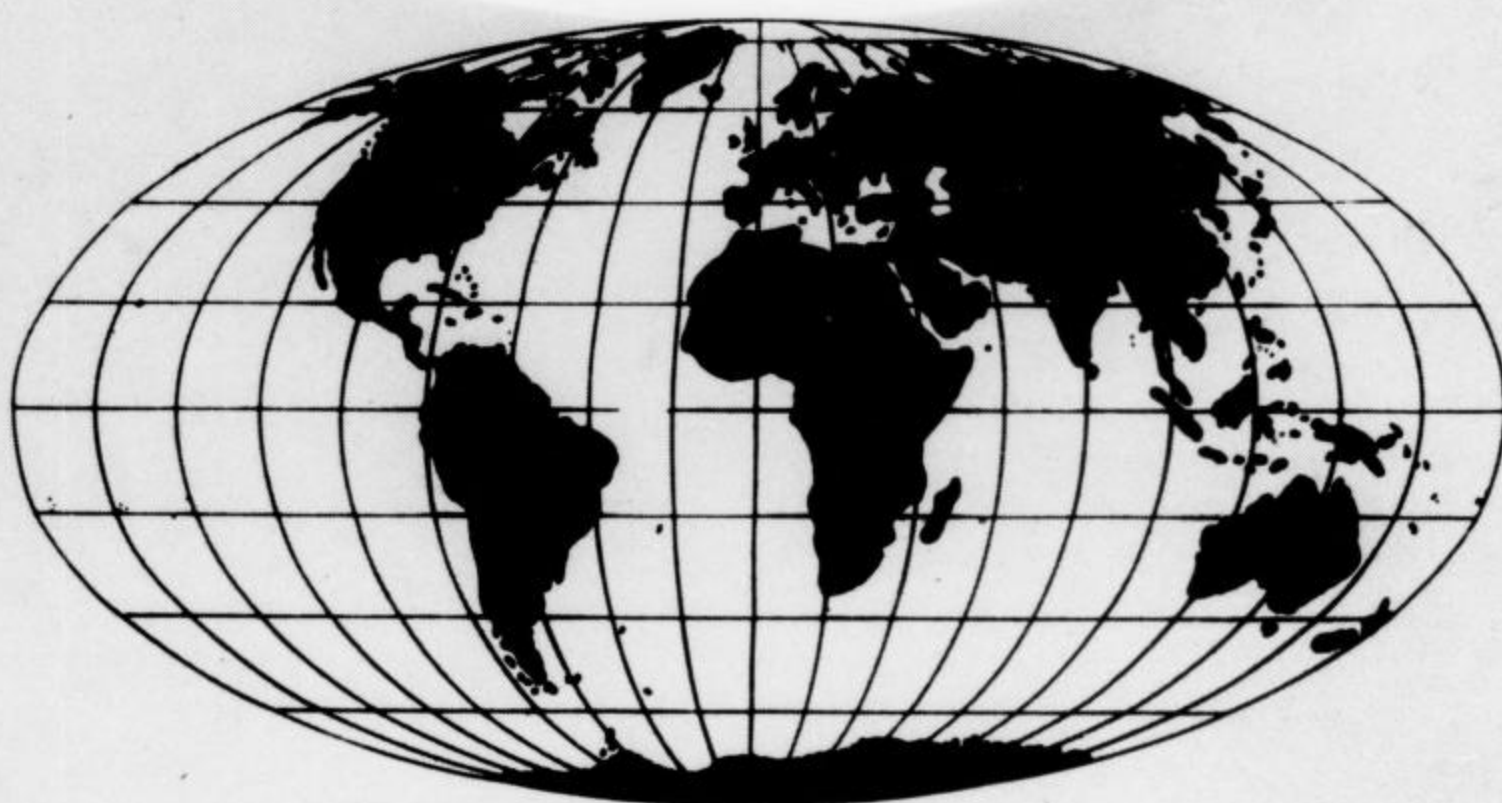


# **WORLD MARXIST REVIEW**



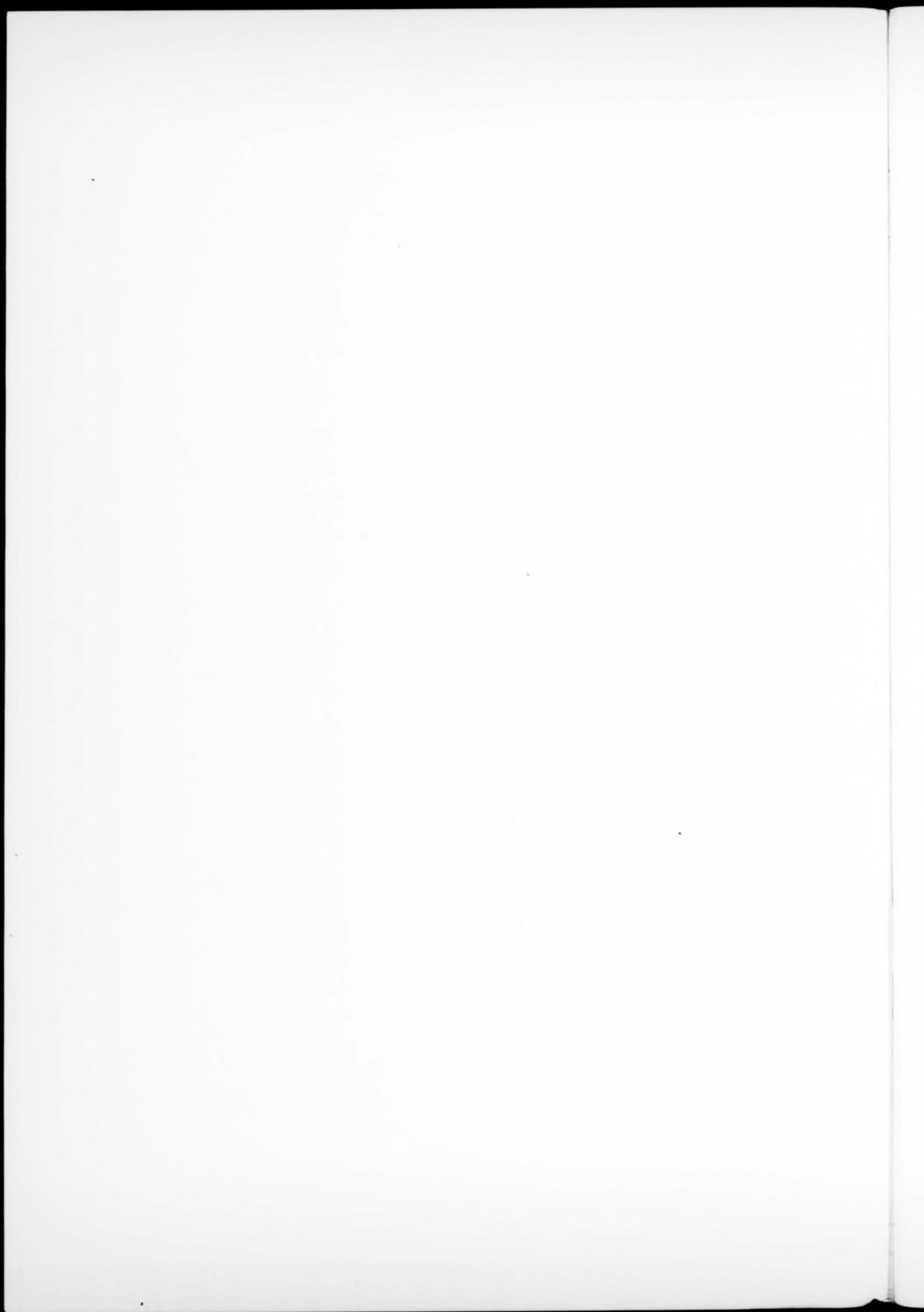
## ***Problems of Peace and Socialism***

*In This Issue:*

**Unity and the Need for a Conference  
of the Communist Parties** —*Tim Buck*

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**The Multi-Party System Under Capitalism  
and Socialism** —*F. Fuernberg*





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WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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# The Italian Communist Party and Problems of the International Communist Movement

*Luigi Longo*

THE Memorandum left behind by Comrade Togliatti and published by the leadership of the Italian Communist Party as an exact expression of the position of our party on problems of the international working-class and Communist movement and its unity can hardly be discussed without mentioning the response this document has found in our Party, throughout Italy and all over the world.

In our Party it has stimulated both theoretical thought and practical effort to enhance the political and organizational strength of the Party, to extend its ties with the masses and to further, in the spirit of growing unity, the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. "The main aim of Togliatti's theoretical and practical labors," the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of our Party pointed out in the document "May the Political Behests and Ideas of Palmiro Togliatti Live on in the Italian Communist Party" published a month after his death, "was to chart step by step and day by day a way to socialism that would correspond to the conditions and requirements of Italian society and be equal to the problems of the working-class movement in a country with a complex political and social structure and varied cultural traditions. It was precisely by pursuing such a line that the small revolutionary vanguard which formed the core of the Italian Communist Party at the time of its founding in Leghorn, grew, though not without having to overcome contradictions and difficulties and to correct mistakes, into the powerful force our Party is today—a party which is not only the vanguard of the working class but a mass party constituting a leading national force deeply rooted in Italian society and forming the center of a steadily growing broad popular bloc."

"At the same time," the document points out, "Togliatti placed equal emphasis on the

need to ensure that the independence of the parties and pursuance of 'national paths' should not lead to any departure from the spirit of proletarian internationalism or give rise to a centrifugal tendency towards the dissolution of the Communist movement into trends isolated from or opposed to one another. It is in this spirit that he approached in the Yalta Memorandum the problems now confronting the international working-class movement, confining himself neither to reiteration of the sharp criticism of the positions adopted by the Chinese Communists nor to the reservations voiced by our Party as regards the timeliness of another international meeting, but pointing to concrete and positive ways of developing the discussion and making it more fruitful." The intrinsic link between conformity to the national conditions and the spirit of internationalism which enters into the very fabric of the history and life of our Party was further strengthened in our ranks by Comrade Togliatti's Memorandum.

Our enemies, who could not but recognize the profundity of analysis, accuracy of judgement and outspokenness that mark the Memorandum, found themselves in a difficult position on seeing the collapse of the old stereotyped patterns of their anti-communist propaganda. The frankness of the Memorandum caused consternation among those who accuse us of not being able to call a spade a spade, while the internationalist spirit permeating it embarrassed those who think that autonomy of the Communist parties implies a break with the international Communist movement and rejection of proletarian internationalism. These people are, or pretend to be, unaware that international unity, solidarity with all parties and movements standing for progress and socialism, is a matter of pride and a source of strength for our Party. Our ties with the CPSU and all other fraternal parties stem from the very nature of our Party as a revolutionary workers' party fighting for socialism, from

This article was written in connection with the publication of the Togliatti Memorandum.



our complete agreement with the principles set forth by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU.

The publication of the Memorandum of Comrade Togliatti was therefore a reaffirmation of the continuity of the policy our Party elaborated and carried out under his leadership in the current international discussion. We made it public in the conviction that ours is a mature Party able openly to tackle the new problems that are constantly arising, and also to underscore how valuable a legacy for our Party is the method of work, basic to all of Comrade Togliatti's political work, of which the Memorandum is one of the most vivid expressions.

"As he saw it, repudiation of revolutionary phrasemongering and opportunist practicalism," our Central Committee points out in the above-mentioned document, "implied combining broad historical generalization in defining policy and unflagging exploration with no less constant day-to-day practical Party work as an essential means of ensuring the Party's link with the struggles of the masses. As Party leader, Togliatti always sought to popularize this mode of work and to prevent it from being considered the prerogative of a narrow leading group; hence his efforts to broaden and deepen Party democracy, which is bound to remain abstract and formal unless it is based on collective responsibility and the fulfilment by every Party activist of the tasks assigned to him." Hence, too, "his ability to look forward, but not in the manner of idle dreamers or abstract doctrinaires, for no one possessed a sense of the concreteness and complexity of history keener than his; he was able to look forward without losing heart in the face of obstacles, without clinging to fossilized formulas or dogmatic postulates, but always seeking to approach new problems in a new way."

These new problems and the need for a new approach to them are the focal point in the Togliatti Memorandum, which is permeated with deep concern about the present situation in the international Communist movement and devoted to the search for the best ways to combat the erroneous political positions and disruptive activities of the Chinese Communists. As Togliatti saw it and as our entire Party sees it, this search should proceed from the premise that "our struggle against the Chinese positions should be conducted solely as a struggle for unity." "The unity of all the socialist forces, concerted action, ideological differences notwithstanding, against the most reactionary groupings of imperialism is an urgent necessity," Com-

rade Togliatti wrote in his Memorandum. "One must not think that China and the Chinese Communists can be excluded from that unity. Consequently, we should work already now to facilitate this task rather than raise obstacles to its achievement. By no means should we end the polemic, but in this polemic it is necessary to proceed from showing, on the basis of the facts of today, that the unity of the working-class and Communist movement can and must be achieved."

This approach stems not only from Togliatti's somewhat pessimistic view of the perspectives on the international plane caused, for one thing, by the deep social crisis in the United States today where the Kennedy assassination demonstrated "the lengths to which the offensive of the reactionary groups can go." "In no way should one exclude the possibility of the Republican candidate (Goldwater) winning the Presidential election, and he has included war in his program and speaks like a fascist," the Memorandum reads. "The worst thing of all is that as a result of his offensive the whole American political front is shifting to the Right and there is a growing tendency to regard greater aggressiveness on the international arena as a way out of internal contradictions and as a basis for agreement with West European reactionary groups. This aggravates the general situation."

Nor can the situation in Western Europe be ignored; here accelerated monopoly concentration "increasingly strengthens the objective basis for a reactionary policy aimed at abolishing or restricting democratic freedoms, preserving fascism and establishing authoritarian regimes, preventing any advance on the part of the working class and substantially worsening its living standard."

There are also other factors to be borne in mind; at any rate the fact that the "events in Vietnam and in Cyprus show how—especially if the Right shift in the world continues — we can find ourselves confronted with very sharp crises and dangers in the face of which the entire Communist movement, all the working-class and socialist forces of Europe and the whole world will have to employ all their potential." And the Memorandum adds: "We think it is necessary to take this situation into account in our entire attitude to the Chinese Communists."

It would be a mistake, however, to think that Togliatti's sober call for unity was prompted only by the alarming symptoms on the world scene. On the contrary, it stems primarily from that concept of the unity of



the Communist movement which Comrade Togliatti and our Party have been propounding for years and which finds reflection in the following passage of the Memorandum:

"My view is that within the framework of present historical development and the general prospects which it holds out (I mean the advance to, and victory of, socialism on a world scale), the concrete forms and conditions for such an advance to socialism and its victory will both now and in the immediate future greatly differ from what they used to be in the past. At the same time conditions differ greatly in the different countries. Consequently each party must learn to act independently. The autonomy of the parties, a point we most determinedly champion, is not only the inner necessity of our movement, but also an essential requisite for our progress in the present conditions. For that reason we are against all proposals to re-institute a centralized international organization. We are resolute partisans of unity in our movement and in the international labor movement; this unity, however, should be maintained in a situation where we have a multiplicity of concrete positions that accord with the conditions in the different countries and their levels of development. This, of course, gives rise to the danger of isolation of some parties from others, and, hence, to a certain amount of confusion. We must combat these dangers, and we believe that to this end it is necessary to undertake a series of measures, namely: to arrange for frequent contacts and the exchange of experience between different parties; to make a practice of calling jointly sponsored meetings for the purpose of examining problems common to particular groups of parties; to hold international meetings to study the general problems of economics, philosophy, history, etc.

"Furthermore, we take a positive view of having discussions between different parties on subjects of mutual interest. These discussions may also be public so as to interest the entire public opinion. Of course, they should be conducted with due tact, with respect for either side and on the basis of objective arguments, and not with the vulgarity and rudeness that the Albanians and the Chinese display."

This concept of unity was advanced by the Central Committee of our Party a year ago in the document "For a New Advance and the Unity of the International Communist Movement," which underscored the need to bear in mind that the present discussion and differences in our movement emerged and are continuing at a time when the libera-

tion struggle of the working classes and peoples and the Communist movement are growing rapidly throughout the world. In October 1963 our Central Committee voiced the view that the situation in the Communist movement is marked by three principal elements: first, our movement has objectively undertaken a new and great responsibility to the masses and all humanity whom the forces of imperialism threaten to plunge into the immeasurable suffering of a nuclear disaster; second, the changes in the structure of the world are making it increasingly imperative for our movement to solve new tasks relating to the study of outstanding problems and elaboration of its strategy and line; finally, our movement has reached a more advanced and differentiated stage owing to the opening of new opportunities for progress and the greater diversity of the subjective conditions, aims and tasks of the various parties and their political and ideological levels. The root cause and the objective basis of the debate and difficulties in the Communist movement today are to be found precisely in these elements.

Closely connected with the foregoing is the fact that the Communist movement was years late in fully grasping the postwar changes in the world structure and the conditions it had to work in and consequently failed to draw the necessary theoretical, strategic and tactical conclusions from these changes in good time. Political initiative was at a standstill, and there was stagnation in the elaboration of theory and scientific assessment of the changes in the world as a whole and in the various countries. The ideological and practical positions won by the Communist movement since the Seventh Congress of the International, in the course of the struggle against fascism and nazism and for the unity of all working-class and popular forces, were not consistently developed, and some of them were questioned and even given up. Hence we fully appreciate the significance of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU which, summing up the most valuable experience gained by the Communist movement, marked the first major step in doing away with the lag, overcoming the mistakes, regressive trends and erroneous or obsolete positions, and enabling the Communist movement to cope with its new responsibility and to carry out all its tasks.

Hence, too, our full awareness of the gravity of the offensive waged by the Chinese Communists against the turn begun at the Twentieth Congress. Our Party declared already in October 1963 that the Chinese offen-



sive against the line of the Twentieth Congress and the Soviet leading group to whom the credit belongs for this turn must be parried and defeated. There can be no retreat from the line of the Twentieth Congress; it is essential to move forward. If the international Communist movement has reason for self-criticism, it is not because it endorsed the line of the Twentieth Congress but because it has not yet drawn all the necessary conclusions, in practice as well as in theory, from the new orientation adopted by that Congress. Precisely because of this the political struggle which must be waged against the dogmatic, exclusive and sectarian positions of the Chinese comrades should be accompanied by and based on the desire and ability of the Communist movement to tackle, boldly and with a full sense of responsibility, the new problems of theory, research and practical struggle facing it.

Comrade Togliatti underscored this in his report ("For the Unity of the International Communist and Working-Class Movement") at the April 1964 plenary meeting of our Central Committee when he declared, explaining the reasons why our Party cannot agree with the line the Chinese comrades offer the entire international working-class and Communist movement, that "this position of ours corresponds to our concept of the international Communist and working-class movement as a movement united by deep-rooted solidarity but allowing for the necessary diversity and exchange of ideas which would facilitate clarification and elaboration of theory and the collective efforts needed in order to avoid errors in matters of principle while ensuring that our conclusions and actions accord with the tangible, constantly changing reality."

Needless to say, this position does not imply renouncing the struggle against the Chinese platform. On the contrary, all the effort invested by Comrade Togliatti and our Party in thoroughly assessing the situation—effort now summed up in the Memorandum—was aimed at finding the best way to combat the Chinese positions. The Memorandum recalls that, for effective struggle against the erroneous political positions and disruptive activities of the CPC, our Party suggested a plan different from that being carried out now. The main points of this plan were: to continue the polemic against the points of principle and policy propounded by the Chinese; to conduct this polemic—in contrast to what the Chinese are doing—without going to extremes and without sweeping accusations, that is, to deal with concrete issues in an objective and

convincing manner, always showing respect for the opponent; to organize, at the same time, among the different groups of parties a series of meetings to make a deeper study of, and better to formulate, the tasks now facing the different sectors of our movement (Western Europe, Latin America, the countries of the third world and their contacts with the Communist movement in the capitalist countries, the People's Democracies, etc.).

"Only after such preparations, which might need a year of work or even more, would it be possible to discuss the convocation of an international conference which could truly mark a new stage in our movement and its factual consolidation on new and correct positions. By acting in this fashion, we would be able better to isolate the Chinese Communists and organize in opposition to them a more firmly rallied front that would be united not only in applying drafted formulations with respect to the Chinese positions but also in a deeper knowledge of the common aims of the whole of our movement and the tasks that concretely face each of its sectors. Furthermore, if the tasks and the political line were to be defined for each sector, it might be possible to give up the idea of holding an international conference, should such action be necessary to avoid a formal split."

The Memorandum continues: "Actually another line is being pursued and I think the ensuing consequences are none too good," mainly because "as a rule this (the Chinese leaders') offensive has been countered with ideological and propaganda polemics, not by elaborating and enriching our policy from the standpoint of combating the Chinese positions." This latter line ("combating the Chinese not merely with words") was followed by the Soviet Union in a series of actions (the signing of the Moscow nuclear test-ban treaty, the Khrushchov visit to Egypt, etc.), but the same cannot be said of the Communist movement in other countries. After mentioning the way our Party had been conducting the discussion of issues raised in the polemic with the Chinese, the Memorandum goes on: "From these observations I draw the conclusion that (even if the work to convene an international conference continues) political initiatives which could contribute to the defeat of the Chinese stand should not be ignored, and that such initiatives can best be developed on the basis of discussion and formulation of conclusions concerning the concrete situation facing us today and the actions necessary to solve the problems existing in the various sec-



tors of our movement, in the different parties and in our movement as a whole."

Clearly, this view takes into account the far-reaching changes in the world arena in favor of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism which were generalized in particular at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and in accordance with which a policy was worked out that cannot be shaken by the position taken by the Chinese comrades (especially on questions of war and peace as they are posed today). Following the course ushered in by the Great October Revolution, the progress of our movement in the past twenty years has radically changed the face of the world: suffice it to mention the rise of the socialist camp, the triumph of the Chinese revolution, the victories of the national-liberation movement in Cuba and Algeria, the emergence with the formation of the German Democratic Republic of a peaceful anti-fascist German state building the foundations of socialism, and the powerful force our parties have become in some developed European capitalist countries. But this overall picture of the strength and scope of the movement should not prevent a critical examination of some of the aspects of its development. On the contrary, it should stimulate constant advance in all areas of theory and practical activity.

I have already cited the "somewhat pessimistic" view taken by Comrade Togliatti in his Memorandum on "the prospects of the present situation both internationally and in our country." With deep insight he points to the connection between the evolution of the international situation and the way in which the problems in the international Communist movement and in the socialist camp should be approached from the standpoint of the perspectives. But it should also be noted that in examining the main aspects of the situation in the European capitalist countries, Togliatti stresses that "objectively the conditions are highly favorable for our advance in the working class and among all working people generally as well as in public life as a whole. But it is necessary to understand and utilize these conditions. The Communists should possess enough political daring to overcome dogmatism in all its forms, to advance and solve new problems in a new way, to adjust the methods of work to the rapidly changing political and social situation."

The problem which Comrade Togliatti brings out here is that of the connection between the objective conditions and our subjective capabilities, our development as parties and as a movement. This problem should

be examined in the light of today's realities and tomorrow's perspectives, especially if "things came to an open split in the movement and the establishment of a Chinese international center which could set up its 'sections' in all countries." Not only the "masses would be discouraged and serious obstacles for the development of our movement would arise," but there is a danger that the Communist parties in this part of the world which do not yet exert an effective influence on the political life of their countries would be compelled to devote much of their efforts to polemics with these Chinese "sections" at the expense of work to overcome their relative isolation and to "participate, actively and continuously, in political and social life, take the political initiative and become an effective mass movement."

We in capitalist Europe are faced with major common problems awaiting solution. Much of the Memorandum is devoted to these problems stemming from the deep crisis of the capitalist economy and the inability of the ruling classes to solve them by traditional methods. "In particular," Togliatti says, "the biggest countries are today faced with the question of the centralization of economic direction and attempts are being made to solve it through programming from above in the interests of the big monopolies and by means of state intervention. This question is on the order of the day throughout the West and now there is talk of international programming, preparations for which are being conducted by leading bodies of the Common Market. Clearly, the working-class and democratic movement cannot remain indifferent to this question. We have to fight also on this issue."

"For this it is necessary to extend and coordinate the immediate demands of the working class and proposals for economic structural reforms (nationalization, agrarian reforms, etc.), and to combine them in a general plan of economic development as an alternative to capitalist programming. Of course, this would not be socialist planning; the conditions for such planning do not exist as yet. But it is a new form and a new means of struggle for advance towards socialism. The possibility of this advance taking the peaceful way is today closely linked with how this problem is presented and solved. A political initiative in this direction may make it easier for us to win added influence over the broad sections of the population which have not yet taken the path of socialism but which are seeking new roads."

"In this context the struggle for democracy now assumes a different content, a content



more concrete and more closely connected with the realities of economic and social life. Indeed, capitalist programming is always accompanied by anti-democratic and authoritarian trends which have to be countered by the adoption of a democratic method also in the direction of economic life."

In this connection our parties are confronted with new problems which call for more thorough examination and assessment. Needless to say, each Party should engage in this study and analysis, search for solutions and chart the way forward. But there is no doubt that all parties would find it useful if in Western Europe meetings and discussions were arranged on these questions with a view to comparing the positions elaborated hitherto and engaging in joint study of the problems. The Communist parties of the European capitalist countries are also faced with other complex problems relating to our tactics and strategy to which we often feel due attention has not been paid. We have always considered such meetings useful also because we believe that more profound elaboration of the tasks facing us in the various regions of the world is the best way to reply—by drawing on the facts and developing our policy—to the actions of the Chinese comrades. "On these subjects the Chinese arguments are absolutely indefensible and powerless," Togliatti says in the Memorandum.

"In drafting our policy we, on the whole, proceed, and have always maintained that we should proceed, from the positions of the Twentieth Congress," the Memorandum goes on. "Today, however, it is necessary to deepen and develop these positions still further. Thus a deeper study of the possibility of the peaceful transition to socialism will serve to clarify what exactly we mean by democracy in a bourgeois state, how the limits of freedoms and democratic institutions should be broadened and what form of participation by the workers and the toiling masses in economic and political affairs would be most effective. There, then, arises the question of the possibility of the working people winning positions of power within the framework of a state whose nature as a bourgeois state has not yet changed, and, hence, the question of the possibility of a struggle aimed at gradually changing this nature from within.

"In countries where the Communist movement is already as strong as in our own country (and in France as well) this is a central issue stemming from the political struggle. That, naturally, calls for imparting a more radical character to the struggle, and on it depend the further perspectives."

The principal way indicated by Comrade Togliatti for solving these problems is the autonomy of the parties inasmuch as the "concrete forms and conditions for such an advance to socialism and its victory will both now and in the immediate future greatly differ from what they used to be in the past." This autonomy does not imply isolation but, on the contrary, fruitful exchange of opinions on a bilateral or multilateral plane, organization of conferences on specific problems, meetings, etc. For instance, it is necessary to establish new contacts between the Communist parties of the European capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement based on better knowledge and more precise definition of the common tasks in the fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, in order to ensure closer relations and concrete unity of action among all the revolutionary and progressive forces in the world. We feel there is a serious lag in this respect, in particular as regards the question of the growing economic disparity of the developed industrial countries and countries just beginning to develop. This disparity is one of the principal issues in the world today.

Here the question arises also of the connection between peaceful coexistence for which we are working and the new conditions, the creation of which peaceful coexistence should facilitate, for ensuring complete autonomy and new opportunities for the class struggle, the struggle for national liberation and the struggle for socialism, in spite of atomic blackmail. It would be a grave mistake to claim, as the Chinese comrades do, that peaceful coexistence will retard the popular and revolutionary struggle. On the other hand, however, our parties should exert greater effort to bring it home to the masses that international tension cannot be reduced through diplomatic agreements alone but must be ensured by unflagging popular struggle waged in forms according with the conditions prevailing in the various countries. "We must not discontinue our struggle," Comrade Togliatti said in his report to the Central Committee in April this year, "we must closely follow developments in all areas where peace is threatened, we must be able to mobilize a powerful mass movement in defense of peace at a moment's notice." Here too our main concern should be unity, for we cannot ignore the fact that there has latterly been a let-up in the fight for peace, with less attention being paid to adapting it to the new conditions.

"But there are also other questions, many



other spheres," the Memorandum says, "in which we can and must act more boldly, discarding the outmoded formulas no longer conforming to present-day reality." Here Togliatti dwells — true, in general terms — on two questions which he studied for many years and around which he waged an ideological and political struggle. The first is the question of the organized Catholic world and the Catholic masses among whom "during the time of Pope John there was an obvious shift to the Left. . . . Today there is a countershift to the Right in the center of Catholicism. But at its lower levels we observe conditions and pressures making for a shift to the Left, which we should appreciate and foster. For this purpose the old atheistic propaganda is of no use. The very problem of religious mentality, its content, its roots in the masses and the problem of overcoming it — all should be approached differently, not as it was in the past, if we want to reach the Catholic masses and be understood by them. Otherwise our 'extended hand' may be regarded by the Catholics as a temporary device and even a piece of hypocrisy."

This problem has been posed more and more concretely as our Party advanced and elaborated its policy; its importance grew steadily during the struggle against fascism, and also later, when the issue was the creation, through the drafting of a republican Constitution, of the conditions for new, more up-to-date civil relationships between the Catholics and the non-Catholics, between the Church and the state. Our Party's striving to overcome the old anti-clericalism did not always meet with understanding on the part of other secular forces; in particular this was the case when Togliatti made his substantial contribution to the section of the Constitution dealing with this question. But today it must be admitted that if the shaping of Italy's history in recent years has been influenced by the existence of a big Communist Party and a broad unitarian mass movement, this is largely due to the new approach taken by our Party to these problems. We consider it a mistake to regard religion merely as a weapon used by the conservative classes. On the contrary, we believe that sincere religious sentiment can make a valuable contribution to the struggle against the oppression and inhumanity of capitalist society, to the struggle for peace and against war; we believe that Communists and Catholics as well as other democratic forces can get together and cooperate not only to solve today's problems, but also to define and establish the Italian road to socialism and the forms of socialist

government stemming from the realities of our life and our traditions, with a multi-party system, full observance of constitutional guarantees and freedom of religion and culture.

"In Western Europe," our Central Committee declared in October last year, "the socialist solution which would destroy the foundations of the economic and political power of the big capitalists should not only ensure bread and work, but also guarantee a high rate of production growth, give effect to economic planning that would stimulate and afford opportunities for the initiative of each individual, provide for the administration of the affairs of society along lines guaranteeing a broad system of autonomy and political freedoms, ensure the progress of science and culture and a constant comparing of ideas. Only by working in this direction, bearing in mind this perspective, will we fully meet the aspirations of the masses and be able to win over and unite the majority of the working class and the people. Sectarian views which ignored this demand caused too much harm in the past. The time has come to learn from the facts. It is time to give thought to the objective causes and subjective shortcomings which led to a series of setbacks for the working-class movement in the developed countries."

We also declared then and reaffirm even more strongly today that the "dogmatic positions of the Chinese comrades are in our opinion all the more dangerous at a time when the entire Communist movement should be oriented on a critical study, a profound analysis of modern capitalism, of the changes and new contradictions in the capitalist world; at a time when the Communist parties of the capitalist world should strike still deeper root in the concrete realities of their respective countries, broaden their links with the masses still to be won over to socialism, as well as with other democratic forces, increase their membership, and urge Communists to play a bigger part and to display greater initiative in the unitarian democratic and class organizations."

This concept may be found in full in Comrade Togliatti's Memorandum, where concise exposition adds to its impact. Above we dwell on the Catholic movement and the problem of religion, neither of which questions is a purely Italian one. Another subject dealt with by Togliatti in general but precise terms is the question of Communist influence in the sphere of culture.

"We must act as champions of the freedom of intellectual life, freedom of artistic expression and scientific progress," the Memo-



random says. "For this we must not counterpose in an abstract way our concepts to tendencies and trends of a different nature, but must start a dialogue with all these trends and, through this dialogue, try to go deeper into the cultural issues of today. Not all who are today far from us in the various spheres of culture, in philosophy, in historical and social sciences are our enemies or agents of our enemies. Mutual understanding reached through a continuous discussion adds to our authority and prestige and at once helps us to expose our real enemies, the pseudo-thinkers, mountebanks in art, etc. In this area great help could come to us — which is not always the case — from those countries where we already guide the entire social life."

There is a direct connection between this statement and the critical remarks which Comrade Togliatti makes concerning some questions of socialist construction as it has been carried out so far in the countries that have rid themselves of capitalism. These critical remarks acquire particular weight in view of our positive assessment of the economic, social and political achievements of these countries as well as of our full support of the orientation given by the Twentieth Congress and the overall perspectives of socialist progress and the victory of socialism the world over which Comrade Togliatti underscores in his Memorandum. He notes that "it is wrong to say that things are always going well in the socialist countries (the Soviet Union included). This is the mistake, for one, of that part of the 1960 resolution which deals with these countries. Actually all the socialist countries have their difficulties, contradictions and new problems which should be seen in their true light."

He adds that "the problem meriting the greatest attention — this concerns both the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries — is, however, that of overcoming the regime of restricting and suppressing democratic and personal freedoms which was introduced by Stalin. We do not see an identical picture in all the socialist countries in this respect."

"The general impression is that of slowness and resistance in the matter of returning to the Leninist norms that ensured within the Party and outside it a broad freedom for expression and debate in culture, art and also in politics. We find this slowness and this resistance difficult to explain, especially in view of the present situation, when capitalist encirclement no longer exists and economic construction has had tremendous successes. We have always proceeded from the idea that

socialism is a system where the workers enjoy the broadest freedom and actually participate, in an organized way, in the direction of the entire social life. That is why we welcome all the principled positions and all the facts showing that this is really so in all the socialist countries, and not only in the Soviet Union. At the same time, we consider harmful for the entire movement those facts that at times point to the opposite."

Voicing the concern of our Party in connection with the "manifestation of a centrifugal tendency among the socialist countries" and noting that "national feeling remains a permanent factor in the working-class and socialist movement for a long time, even after the winning of power," Comrade Togliatti points out that "we hold that also as regards the socialist countries one should have the courage to approach many situations and many problems in a critical spirit if we want to create a basis for better mutual understanding and for the closest unity of our entire movement."

The unity of our movement, as can be seen from the concrete though by no means exhaustive treatment of this question in the Yalta Memorandum, is the keynote of Comrade Togliatti's last work. The striving for unity likewise prompted us to reaffirm our Party's stand on the problems of the Communist movement, on the question of the convocation of an international meeting and the active part we propose to take in the preparatory conference, fully realizing that each Party must make its independent and creative contribution to combating the erroneous and dangerous views that have appeared in the Communist movement and to restoring, in conditions of diversity and autonomy, the necessary unity. But we must also stress that Comrade Togliatti's Memorandum, besides throwing light on the difficult and complex problems of today, contains a behest of inestimable value to the Party and to all of us from the standpoint of both method and content, a behest representing the guiding principle of his own life: always concretely to link theory with practice, to eschew arrogance and schematism, to possess political courage, to gear all our activities more and more to the political, social and cultural realities of our country while becoming more and more confirmed in the universal concept provided us by our Marxist-Leninist theory.

Proceeding from all this — from what Antonio Gramsci and Palmiro Togliatti taught us — we shall carry on our struggle to ensure the continued advance of our people toward socialism in conditions of democracy



and peace, inspired by the spirit of internationalism by which the Communist parties

should be guided at all times and under all circumstances. Rome, October 1, 1964.

# Unity and the Need for a Conference of the Communist Parties

*Tim Buck*

**T**HE overwhelming majority of Communist and Workers' parties are calling for an international conference to draw together the world Communist movement around those principles and aims which unite Marxist-Leninists in all lands. The fact that there are differences of opinion and that some of the differences are quite serious is well known; the importance of this should not be minimized. The parties want this conference to be held as soon as full preparations for it are completed because it is necessary to act now to prevent a division. Experience has shown that the best way to overcome differences is the way of collective discussion. We Canadian Communists believe that the projected conference should, proceeding from the common ground upon which there is mutual agreement, advance a broad program of action capable of uniting all Marxist-Leninist parties in joint struggles against imperialism and war, against colonialism and neo-colonialism, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The danger of a split in the world Communist movement is becoming increasingly acute, and this at a time when imperialist reaction is working to rally the forces of militarism, revanchism and neo-fascism in a desperate attempt to halt the advance of the socialist world system which, more and more, is playing the decisive role in world affairs. The possibility of a split is an important factor in the calculations of the imperialists; this is acknowledged by the capitalist press in Canada and the United States. If a split is averted, the efforts of the imperialists will have been in vain. Should we fail to avert it, then who can say what the consequences may be. Certainly a split would slow down the advance of socialism at a time when it has so many achievements to its credit; it could result in setbacks for those peoples who in recent times have gained political independence. To unite our movement and avert a

split is the cardinal task now facing every Marxist-Leninist party.

The claim is made in some quarters that a conference would aggravate the danger of a split, or even help to crystallize it, by "reading some parties out of the world movement." This claim, however, is refuted by the resolutions adopted at the national congresses and plenary meetings of the Central Committees of scores of parties. In virtually every resolution we find an urgent call for a conference accompanied by an equally emphatic qualification that the purpose of the conference is to unify our movement, not to read any party out, not to excommunicate and not to attach insulting labels to anyone. The forms in which the Communist and Workers' parties cooperate, including the forms in which our unity is expressed, exclude organizational measures against any party. No party can be separated from the world Communist movement, except by its own action.

The Communist Party of Canada regards an international conference as a necessary step towards the unity of all the fraternal parties. We view it as part of that "determined defense of the unity of the world Communist movement, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism" which the 81-party meeting called for in its unanimously adopted Statement. Adherence to this line at the proposed international conference and the working out of jointly elaborated agreements reaffirming the unchallengeable integrity of Marxism-Leninism will ensure that our world movement and all the parties will be strengthened and made more effective.

It would be a grave error to minimize the relationship between the position adopted by the leadership of the Communist Party of China and the necessity for an international conference. Equally, however, it would be an error to assume that nothing has changed in recent years except the position of the Chinese leaders. Other important changes have taken place. Some of these have posed



new problems for Marxist-Leninist theory or placed a new emphasis on old ones. The changes have been in the direction indicated by the Moscow Declaration adopted in 1957 and the 81-Party Statement adopted in 1960, but the speed of development could not have been foreseen at that time. Broad possibilities may be opened up by correct and unequivocal answers to the new questions. Because they arise out of the advance of our worldwide struggle to higher levels, popular exposition of the Marxist-Leninist answers would reinforce the unity of our movement, while increasing still further the magnetism of the ideal of socialism and communism, extending the influence of Marxism-Leninism to still larger masses of democratic peace-loving people.

The conference should provide an example of how to grapple with new tasks and resolve new problems in a new way. It should give precise, scientifically correct Marxist-Leninist answers to the new questions and thereby help all the Communist and Workers' parties to combat the danger of dogmatism.

The achievements of the Soviet people in their comprehensive advance to communism as well as the progress of the other socialist countries are confirming a number of Marxist-Leninist theoretical conclusions in ways which refute dogmatism. This is an example of the relationship between theory and practice that Lenin illustrated by quoting the words of Goethe: "All our theory is grey, my friend, but green is the tree of life."

The rapid advance of the national-liberation movement heralds the speedy abolition of colonialism. The peoples of the new sovereign states are confronted by the inescapable necessity of national action and policies to achieve economic independence, which is indispensable for maintaining their political sovereignty.

This poses a whole series of new problems of Marxist-Leninist theory which should be jointly examined and resolved at the meeting. For instance, what conditions and what policies will enable nations that gain independence before capitalism takes root in their countries to by-pass the capitalist stage of development. Lenin suggested that such countries could do this with the help of the world proletariat. The time has come when the concrete forms of this aid should be indicated.

There is not as yet unanimity that this can be done, and this brings forward another question: is small commodity production bound absolutely to grow into capitalism in the conditions prevailing in some of the newly independent countries today? We think not,

even while agreeing that small commodity production provides the soil out of which capitalism could grow.

The existence of the socialist world system, the historical challenge to capitalism as a world system and capitalism's deepening decay, the absence of capitalism and the growth of state ownership and elements of planning in these countries, all combine to create the possibility of small production being utilized as a valuable factor facilitating the by-passing of capitalism, a stepping stone toward a path which, though not yet socialist, would offer more favorable conditions for advancing towards socialism.

Answers to these questions are needed because in more and more countries people are asking: "What is our national-economic policy to be?" Correct and unequivocal answers will help them to choose the right way and inspire them with confidence in their own strength and the aid rendered by the socialist world system and the international working class.

An example of the speed at which some of the developments indicated in the Moscow Declaration and in the 81-Party Statement are being accelerated, of the change in the relationship of class forces on a world scale, is to be seen in the economic policies of some of the Arab countries. In a number of these countries vigorous measures are being taken to place their economy under control of the national governments. Algeria, for instance, has proclaimed the aim of its national economic policy to be the achievement of a socialist society. The growing influence exerted by the socialist countries, above all by the Soviet Union, and their power and resources in the spheres of production, science, culture, trade, and the well-being of their people are steadily changing the relationship of class forces on a world scale in favor of socialism. Imperialist control of world economy and world development, which they abused so long, has been broken. The growth of socialism, not imperialism, is now the decisive factor in world development.

And this has been accomplished in the conditions of peaceful competition between countries with differing political and economic systems, when the socialist countries are advancing at a more rapid rate. The imperialists recognize the significance of this, and their more reactionary spokesmen do not conceal their hatred of peaceful coexistence. As socialism approaches its immediate economic goal of higher productivity per worker and, consequently, a higher standard of living for the people, the imperialists tend to become more reckless in their search for ways and means to preserve their system.



Imperialism is still strong; possessed of immense resources it still has the power to do incalculable damage to the world and to all mankind. True, it has lost its freedom of action but its character has not changed; it is a tiger with atomic claws, with an insensate impulsion to lawless violence which, if the people were to permit it, could destroy civilization. Any illusion that modern civilization has advanced beyond the stage of such catastrophes should be completely dissipated by the ease with which the Goldwater men in the United States virtually split the two political parties of U.S. state-monopoly capitalism during the election campaign. In essence the Goldwater election program was anti-peaceful coexistence.

The extremism of the forces of reaction rallied around Goldwater is all the more ominous when one considers the reckless policy of aggression pursued by U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, its brazen interference in the Congo, and the reactionary coups organized and carried through in Latin America since Lyndon Johnson inherited the Presidency of the United States.

The policy of war preparation which Goldwater personifies in the United States is entrenched in the monopoly regime in West Germany. Unrepentant Nazis ride high in its economy, in its army, in its educational system and in its government. Their bellicose demands for revision of the Federal Republic's eastern frontiers, for access to nuclear weapons and for the liquidation of the German Democratic Republic express the essence of the revanchist policy of the West German government. The same danger is expressed in the imperialist ambitions and the atom-mania of Gaullism in France. The seeds of the danger are evident also in the resurgence of imperialist ambitions in Japan.

The foregoing typifies the widespread and intensified efforts of imperialist reaction to rally the forces of the extreme Right; to prevent any advance by the working class at home; to fasten the chains of neo-colonialism on the newly independent and semi-independent nations; to maintain pro-fascist regimes wherever possible; to inflame revanchist and anti-Soviet passions; to stop the advance of the peoples towards socialism. The reactionaries are not yet strong enough to do this; so far, imperialist contradictions and rivalries have prevented them from combining effectively. But the fact must be faced that only unity of all the peace forces can prevent imperialism from plunging mankind into a new world war. The men of war can be curbed and peace ensured only by the joint action of the socialist camp, the international work-

ing class, the national-liberation movement and all the numerous other forces making for peace, provided they grow faster than the forces making for war.

### **The Banner of Unity in the World Communist Movement**

To cope successfully with the various new tasks and continue our advance on a broadening front, the imperative need is unity: of all Communist and Workers' parties, of the powerful forces fighting for national independence, of the broad popular forces fighting for peace and democratic progress in the capitalist countries. We believe that one of the main aims of the international conference should be to cement the unity of the world Communist movement. We hope that the preparatory commission will place the emphasis on this consistently, from the beginning of its work through to the draft documents which it will submit to the conference, and that it will be the prime concern of the conference itself.

In the world Communist movement, and in Communist and Workers' parties individually, the essential condition for unity is agreement on the tried and tested fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism and voluntary association in the struggle against the class enemy for the triumph of the cause of the working class. These aspects are indivisible; unity is the embodiment of the whole. There may, and evidently will, be penetrating discussion, sometimes in sharp terms as the representatives of parties gathered at the conference study and debate ways and means of applying the principles in the day-to-day struggles. Every comrade there must, necessarily, insist that the forms of struggle endorsed shall encompass the conditions in his or her country. But there cannot be any substitution of nationalism or petty-bourgeois opportunism dressed up in revolutionary phrases for proletarian internationalism.

It would be folly to minimize the sharp difference between our concept of what should be the outcome of the international conference and what the leaders of the Communist Party of China are doing and the aims they now proclaim. The international conference can be successful and strengthen unity in the world movement only if these facts are faced frankly and the ways of overcoming them are found.

The Moscow Conference in 1957 decided to "entrust the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with the function of convening meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties in consultation with the fraternal parties. On



the basis of that decision and the expressed desire of the majority of the parties that an international conference be held soon, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union pointed out that the time was ripe to begin preparatory work for the convening of an international meeting, and proposed that the drafting committee prepare drafts of the principal documents to be submitted to the international meeting. The committee could discuss the whole range of questions concerning the holding of the international meeting and make its proposals; its proposals and recommendations would be forwarded to all the fraternal parties.

Aware of the complexity of the situation, the Central Committee of the CPSU noted already in its letter of June 15, 1964, that the conference might not be able to arrive at identical views at once on all issues. "The CC CPSU," the letter goes on, "is convinced, however, that even such an outcome of the conference will not amount to a split, which the CPC leaders persistently predict. For in that case too, we visualize the possibility of the parties agreeing at the conference to take cognizance of the views of all the delegates, of all the Marxist-Leninist parties conscientiously to cooperate in areas where their positions and interests are identical and refrain from any further action aggravating the difficulties and gratifying none but the class enemy."

Concerning the convening of the international conference and the object it should pursue, the Central Committee of the CPSU declared: "As far as we are concerned, the question of a conference is inseparable from the problem of maintaining and promoting the unity of our movement. We believe that in view of the differences that have arisen in the Communist movement it is necessary first and foremost to concentrate on bringing out what the fraternal parties have in common and what unites them, on seeking ways of overcoming the difficulties that have arisen."

This wise approach to the work of the preparatory committee and to the aims of the conference as a whole will be applauded by every Communist guided by the sincere desire to overcome our difficulties. The Chinese leaders, however, turned down these proposals.

The Chinese leaders attribute their stand and their disruptive activities to devotion to Marxism-Leninism. Their protestations to this effect call to mind Marx's comment on the value of the words of political parties in France in 1852:

"... As in private life one differentiates between what a man thinks and says of himself and what he really is and does, so in

historical struggles one must distinguish still more the phrases and fancies of the parties from their real organism and their real interests, their conception of themselves from their reality."\*

The distinction between the vehement protestations of the Chinese leaders that they are dedicated to Marxism-Leninism and what they are really doing, found vivid expression in statements made by Mao Tse-tung in the course of an interview with a group of Japanese socialists.

Mao Tse-tung indicated to the Japanese socialists that he and his associates in the leadership of the Party and the government of China envisage the pursuit of aims and a state policy of which cultivation of prejudice and hostility against the Soviet Union is an essential part. In addition to describing the far-reaching territorial objectives of that policy, he suggested that Japan could well be a partner in the pursuit of its aims. "Japan and China should act in concert and cooperate with each other," he told the Japanese delegation. He even referred to some Far Eastern maritime areas of the Soviet Union which Japanese imperialism tried to seize following the Great October Revolution, as land which "became Russian territory" only "about a hundred years ago." He concluded his remarks with the words: "As for the Kurile Islands, the matter is clear. They should be returned to Japan."

It should be noted that Mao Tse-tung did not pretend that the areas referred to had ever been Chinese territory. He only emphasized that they became part of Russia only about a hundred years ago. One can imagine how the people of Canada would feel if the President of the United States were to dangle British Columbia and her off-shore before Japanese imperialism with the remark that: "They have been part of Canada less than a hundred years."

The above deals with only one aspect of Mao Tse-tung's wide-ranging suggestions concerning possible territorial changes extending right across Central Europe. His statements to the Japanese socialists had nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism; they were an expression of crude expansionist ambitions strikingly similar to those which brought widespread suffering and sorrow so often in the past.

It is impossible to ignore the fact that there is a direct relationship between the expansionist ambitions revealed to the Japanese socialists and the CPC leaders' efforts to split those Communist parties which refuse to sup-

\*Karl Marx. *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*.



port them. An international network of defenders of their nationalistic ambitions is a necessity to the Chinese leaders.

### **The International Meeting Should Be Held Soon**

We feel that no danger of a split will emanate from the international conference; on the contrary, we think it will strengthen the unity of the world Communist movement and increase its magnetism. There is need for detailed, agreed answers to questions that have come to the fore in recent years, answers that would serve as powerful levers for the re-establishment of unity.

A danger that does confront the world Communist movement is that the parties which want to reaffirm, collectively, the unshakable Marxist-Leninist basis of the unity of this movement might delay too long. Such procrastination would play into the hands of the Chinese leaders. The tactic of these leaders is transparent. Having failed to make large-scale inroads in the overwhelming majority of parties, they are concentrating on obstructing that firm international cohesion of the Communist and Workers' parties which is indispensable if our world movement is to be fully effective.

The splinter groups set up by the Chinese leaders are rejected by the workers and do not represent a force but they are systematically sowing confusion in the working-class movement and exacerbating relationships wherever they find it possible to do so. In their letter to the CPSU on July 28 the Chinese leaders boast about their assistance to renegades who have succeeded in creating splits in some parties, declaring: "We did so before, we are doing so now, and, however you may revile us, we will continue to do so in the future and do it more and do it better."

The methods by which they are trying to obstruct the holding of an international conference are in themselves convincing evidence that the conference should be convened as soon as adequate preparations for it are completed. The Chinese leaders believe that 4-5 years or even more are needed to prepare the conference and that therefore an early convocation would bring about a split. They complain that there has not been enough consultation between the parties. They claim that a conference should be called only when every party in the world is in favor of it and should not be called even if only one party is opposed.

The truth is that consultations have been proceeding all over the world, not only with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and

the Chinese Party but between the parties everywhere; bilateral, multi-lateral, discussions on the basis of geographical areas and political issues, international seminars and visits by party delegations. There have been hundreds of consultations. Representatives of our Party, the Communist Party of Canada, have discussed the question with numerous parties. We sent a delegation headed by our General Secretary to Peking. We have discussed our attitude at two national congresses, at plenums of the Central Committee, at provincial and regional conferences and in the basic units of the Party. In addition we have addressed communications to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. It is common knowledge that the majority of the Communist and Workers' parties have dealt with the question in much the same way as we have.

The pretence about consultations comes with ill grace from the Chinese leaders in the light of their refusal to engage in purposeful bilateral discussions, even with the CPSU. The Italian Party invited them and they did not deign to reply.

The pretence that unanimity is a necessary condition for the calling of an international conference is an insult to the other parties, since it means imposing the will of one or a few parties on the absolute majority. It is precisely the condition that would make unity impossible.

The claim that the international conference should not be called for four or five years or even more is revealing. It shows that the Chinese leaders are beginning to realize that splitting the Communist parties and the world Communist movement is a more difficult task than they had anticipated. Until April 1963 they declared that the convocation of an international conference was of "urgent and positive significance." Now they are maneuvering to gain more time.

The Chinese leaders' threat that the international conference will signalize a formal split justifies asking them: "By which parties?" The leaders of the Chinese Party speak only for themselves. They have the unqualified right to decide what to do, and to announce their plans in advance if they choose to do so. But when they threaten the majority of the parties of the world with a split, they are assuming the right to speak for other parties besides themselves.

The parties adhering to the line of the Moscow Declaration and the 81-Party Statement must regain the possibility of carrying on rational political discussion with the leadership of the Communist Party of China. It would be folly, however, to assume that



this could be facilitated by postponing the international conference. On the contrary, such a conference could serve as a forum for fruitful discussion of the problems with the leadership of the Chinese Party and help to strengthen the unity of the world movement on the basis of a collectively elaborated position. This in itself makes the conference imperative.

It has been suggested in some quarters (the idea is put forward in the Memorandum of Comrade Togliatti, for instance) that, instead of convening an international conference now, we should hold a series of conferences of groups of parties to make a deeper study of and collectively to formulate the common aims of our movement and the tasks confronting its various sectors.

No Communist will deny the value of regional conferences or any other meetings between fraternal parties to study mutual problems. Such conferences have proved their value through the years. Our own Party has participated in a number of them and will continue to do so. But sectional conferences cannot solve problems concerning all the parties. Only an international conference can do so. It alone provides a forum in which the whole world movement can be represented.

Our detailed answers to the new questions, the position that should be counterposed to the confusion spread by the Chinese leaders, and our initiatives towards restoring unity should be those of the combined Communist and Workers' parties of the world; they should come from a conference of world dimensions, even if this means limiting our initiatives to those upon which unanimity can be achieved.

Local and regional conferences and meetings on specific problems will, naturally, flow from the results of the international conference, but they cannot be a substitute for it. This explains also why the suggestion that the world movement should perhaps abandon the idea of an international conference and thus avoid a formal split ignores the concrete situation facing us today.

In the present circumstances a party or a number of parties may stay away from the conference. But the question: "Which Party (or parties)?" can be answered only after the conference has completed its work.

How the leadership of the Communist Party of China can hope to justify its refusal to participate in a representative international

meeting is hard to imagine. It would be only natural for the members of the CPC to ask: "If the leaders of our Party really believe they are right, why are they unwilling to defend their policy at the international conference? After all, the conference will be a forum at which many viewpoints will be expressed and debated. Why are our leaders reluctant to attend?"

The Chinese leaders try to benefit from declarations of neutrality such as: "We don't support either side, we are independent!" With all due respect to comrades who say that that is a principled position, we hold that it is an evasion of responsibility which could lead to serious errors. The Communist parties are parties of action which never evade revolutionary responsibility. They have to win the confidence of the working people by the clarity of their position and their unflinching struggle for principles. How can the leaders of such parties be neutral towards a proclaimed attempt to split the world Communist movement? Every Communist Party is involved in this struggle, whether it wills it or not, and none can evade responsibility for the future of our movement, evade its international duty.

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The conference, possibly, may not succeed in achieving unanimous agreement on all questions because of the complicated situation. But the vital fact is that it can reaffirm, while examining the new questions, the line of proletarian internationalism, of fraternal solidarity, of unity in the struggle against imperialism, for national independence, peace, democracy and socialism. This is the key to strengthening the fraternal solidarity of the world Communist movement.

This is the basis on which the world movement can unite and advance to victory, towards the final triumph of peace and socialism. This is the way to consolidate the world revolutionary movement and defeat imperialism and colonialism. This is the way to strengthen fraternal bonds between the socialist countries, the newly-independent nations, and the proletariat of the capitalist countries. This is the way to maintain the progress towards socialism and the full-scale advance of the glorious Soviet people to communism. Hence, it is the way to restore unity in the world Communist movement on the solid basis of Marxism-Leninism.



# The Dynamic Force of Creative Marxism

Santiago Carrillo

EVER since its appearance Marxism has aligned itself with the masses; the spirit of sectarianism is alien to it. Marxism bases itself on a critical analysis of reality, on the dialectical materialist method, condemns dogmatism, "self-evident truths," and affirms that practice is the touchstone of any concept or viewpoint.

## I.

Socialism is blazing new trails. It would be senseless therefore, mechanically to compare the socialist revolution with previous revolutions. The revolutions of the past replaced the domination of one class by another, they did not set themselves the aim of abolishing classes and exploitation; they developed on a narrower plane and at a slower pace; they did not have the profoundly universal character of the socialist revolution. The socialist revolution has spread to continents that were beyond the reach of the bourgeois revolution and many peoples are emerging from the stage of economic backwardness, feudalism and even the tribal system—which has hardly altered under imperialist domination—to the socialist path of development.

Thus, the realization of socialism in everyday life is connected today with the solution of the historical problems characteristic of previous stages of social development. These are not so much problems directly engendered by socialism and typical of it as they are contradictions which in large measure are hangovers from the preceding social formations. The laws of social development have foreordained that capitalism begins to disintegrate at its weakest links. Hence we must discard the abstract image of a socialism that knows no problems, a socialism that is a "universal panacea." This makes it all the more imperative to uphold the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism if we are to find the right solution to problems and prevent their becoming contradictions.

Experience teaches that Marxism is not to be interpreted as some kind of theology, as a series of canonical rules, but as a guide to action, as a science which is constantly developed and enriched in the light of the new

experience of the revolutionary movement and the new achievements of scientific thought. Application of the scientific materialist method when analyzing social life enables us to give a clear and logical explanation of development, to find the best way to solve the new problems, to advance the cause of socialism.

In their day-to-day work the Communist parties seek independently to tackle the problems connected with the creative application of Marxism-Leninism. The experience of each Party enriches the common treasure-house. In this respect the work done by the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism* in generalizing this experience is of considerable value. So, too, are the international meetings of Communist parties which review and assess the experience gained and the decisions reached, the basic lines of action with respect to the common problems facing the Communist and working-class movement. Bilateral meetings make it possible to analyze and elaborate specific questions relating to one or another area. Useful too are the meetings and seminars convened to discuss ideological and political issues.

No party has the right to interfere in the internal affairs of another party. This can only prejudice the movement. But mutual contacts in the most diverse forms should be expanded, so that the different parties might benefit from one another's experience, whether *negative* or *positive*, from the experience of building socialism.

The Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which exposed the mistakes committed in the period of the Stalin personality cult, the ossification of Marxist thought, dogmatism and suppression of Marxist criticism, were landmarks in the history of our movement, decisive steps toward restoring the creative spirit of our doctrine, the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The new propositions elaborated by the two congresses opened up a clearer perspective for the world Communist and working-class movement, for the liberation movement.

World developments make it imperative to develop and enrich our theory. In my view



it would be unrealistic to expect that the urgent theoretical problems facing us will be solved only with the appearance of men of the calibre of Marx, Engels and Lenin. It would be unrealistic not because the world Communist movement lacks talented leaders but primarily because of a variety of factors that have to be taken into consideration, such as the scope and diversity and hence complexity of the contemporary revolutionary movement which today takes in the whole world and societies at different stages of development; the rapid development of science and technology which requires a high standard of specialization and collective effort when making generalizations; the swift changes in the world which cannot be fully grasped by any single person, no matter how great a genius he may be. All these factors show that in our time enriching Marxism is the collective affair of the Communist and Workers' parties and the progressive movements in the various countries, a matter of combined effort by political leaders, economists, philosophers and scientists; in a word, it calls for the cooperation of all forces seeking to transform society.

## II.

In our time when the revolutionary movement has reached a higher stage of development, when the revolutionary forces are advancing throughout the world, when a number of countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and even of America are moving toward socialism, and when the Soviet Union has embarked on building communism, new problems and differences crop up in the Communist and working-class movement and among all the progressive forces of society. Hence, the struggle for the affirmation, development and enrichment of Marxism remains an imperative task permitting of no relaxation.

These differences are the reflection, on the one hand, of objective developments, the result of different points of view in assessing these developments; on the other hand, they are the result of the ideological and political influence exerted by the bourgeoisie on the revolutionary movement.

One problem of today is the line pursued by the CPC leaders. They are following a dogmatic, Left course which they hope will secure them the ideological and political hegemony of the world Communist movement and the national-liberation struggle. They are seeking to convert Marxism into a kind of ascetic and militant religion reminiscent of the ideal of feudal Spanish society, the society of the conquistadors and Inquisition, expressed in

the dictum: "Man must be part monk, part soldier."

The Chinese leaders snatch Marxist propositions and phrases out of context and turn them into a set of canonical rules. They discuss problems of Marxism-Leninism in much the same way as the Ecumenical Council discusses religious dogma. The Communist parties should avoid this kind of approach when upholding the principles of Marxism-Leninism. It is not a question of opposing one quotation to another, but of elaborating the current problems of the revolutionary movement in a creative and dynamic form, in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. This is the object of the projected meeting of the fraternal parties.

The need for a meeting of representatives of the world Communist movement is recognized by most of the parties. It seems that the meeting will be held, that it will discuss frankly and creatively the problems facing our movement, that it will not pass judgment on or excommunicate anybody, that it will, on the contrary, make every effort to find ways and means of overcoming the crisis caused by the Chinese leaders.

Marxism, as has been said, is not a dogma but a guide to action. The efforts being made to overcome the present differences in the Communist movement should help to extend and step up the mass struggle for peace, democracy and socialism, should help ultimately to pave the way to new victories, new progress and a new stage in the development of the world revolutionary movement.

## III.

Approximately as much time has passed since the end of the Second World War as between the two world wars. In this period twelve new countries, following the example of the Soviet Union, have taken the socialist road. More than 50 states have won political independence, and of these some have likewise turned to socialism. The colonial system has disintegrated, although the imperialist powers are trying to replace it with neo-colonialism. Imperialism has proved powerless to prevent the sweeping victories of the peoples. These revolutionary changes coincide with the scientific and technical revolution taking place in the world today, when the productive forces have reached a very high level of development and, in conjunction with the aforementioned changes, are influencing the course of events.

Thus a new situation has arisen which requires, more urgently than before, that theory be further developed and Marxism creatively applied. Formulas and even propositions which



held good in their day have now become obsolete.

The expansion of the productive forces and the achievements of socialism have created the objective possibilities for averting a new world war, for excluding it from the arsenal of world politics. Today it is no longer just a matter of one or another country being interested in peace. The struggle to avert a new world war has now become a crucial issue for all, one of the conditions making possible the advance of socialism, communism and revolution throughout the world.

The fact that there still are people who do not understand this shows that consciousness lags behind material development. There are influential groups among the imperialist forces who refuse to realize that a world war, far from giving them the supremacy they hanker after, would spell their destruction. The Goldwater men, the men in the Pentagon, and the revenge-seekers are one and all a menace to humanity. But the same can be said of those in our own camp who, blind to the new conditions and new possibilities, maintain a dogmatic attitude in this matter.

In the political and ideological battle against this trailing in the wake of things, the Marxist-Leninists will emerge victorious for they are equipped with the truth of our dynamic theory, are supported by the objective balance of social forces and the people's striving for peace and progress.

The victories of socialism and the possibilities which the scientific and technical revolution open up have given added impetus to the determination of the peoples to put an end to misery and want, to achieve a prosperous life, not in the hereafter but right now, in this world. This is the sentiment of the peoples of both the developed and underdeveloped countries.

According to those bourgeois ideologists who interpret facts tendentiously, the striving of the working class and oppressed peoples to achieve a prosperous life is, allegedly, a sign of "bourgeoisification," of a desire for personal gain which can only shore up the foundations of capitalism and jeopardize the socialist system.

There are, regrettably, people who while regarding themselves as Marxist-Leninists also hold that the striving for a well-to-do life is a sign of "bourgeoisification," something discreditable, and who promise the people the millennium a couple of centuries hence as compensation for present misery and austerity.

Although the striving towards a good life does not always keep step with revolutionary consciousness, we Marxist-Leninists

should, it seems to me, see this as a positive trend, as a decisive step forward in man's progress to free himself from the influence of religion which compelled people to resign themselves to misery here on earth, to exploitation; we should see it as realization not only by the vanguard but by all working humanity of the Marxist principle that "man is man's supreme consideration."

The program of building communism elaborated by the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU fully corresponds to the principles of Marxism, to the aspirations of the working people everywhere. The world Communist movement rightly noted in the 1960 Statement of the 81 parties, for example, that the struggle between the two systems should be waged mainly in the sphere of material production, that it is in this sphere that socialism must demonstrate its superiority. We know that the people are capable of making sacrifices for the sake of happiness and a better future. The preaching of abstinence and asceticism, of renunciation of the good things of life as the ultimate object, can only be of a mystical and religious nature. It is not the ideal of Marxist-Leninists.

The existence of a socialist system in a number of countries and especially the experience of the Soviet Union are an inspiration to the working-class movement in the capitalist countries and to the liberation movement. This inspiration will spread as the people realize more clearly that socialism, notwithstanding the fact that it triumphed at first in backward countries, has given the working man a much richer material and spiritual life than the most developed of the capitalist countries.

Contemporary sociologists are unanimous in pointing to the role now played by the people in public life and in world developments. We are not saying that the masses have already become socialists. The thing is that socialism is no longer just an opposition movement, a system of ideas. Socialism has demonstrated that it can develop the productive forces at a much more rapid rate than capitalism; it has abolished exploitation of man by man and has ended national and social oppression; it has carried out a cultural revolution; it has paved the way for the development of science; it has imparted new meaning to the concept of human freedom.

#### IV.

In present-day conditions socialism as an ideology and practice is exerting a tremendous influence on all mass movements, including even movements of a bourgeois trend. Given the right policy, the Communists can enhance their influence and win allies in all mass move-



ments of the people, and impart to them an anti-monopoly character.

Instructive in this respect are the developments in the contemporary Catholic movement. The policy of "adjustment" initiated by Pope John XXIII is symptomatic in itself. Such a powerful institution as the Catholic Church, which always looked backward, is no longer immune to the influence exerted by socialism, to the consequences of the scientific and technological revolution and to the evolution caused by these developments in the minds of the people.

In the socio-political sphere these changes are seen in the fact that the Catholic mass movements can no longer be regarded as purely reactionary and conservative movements. On the contrary, they are reform movements, seeking to remove the injustice of capitalism; the more progressive among them declare their support of socialism as a system that is *technically* more effective and in the social sphere more just than capitalism.

In a number of Western countries, and in Spain in particular, Catholic organizations are participating, at times very actively, in the fight for social demands and democratic liberties. Although vacillating and inconsistent, they frequently join forces with the Communists in the struggle for the vital interests of the masses. In many instances propaganda against social injustice and against fascism takes the place of religious propaganda.

The Catholic laity, and many priests, are turning to the traditions of early Christianity when it was the religion of "slaves and free-men, of the poor and the downtrodden, of the peoples subjugated or dispersed by Rome" (Engels), and see in this past an affinity with Communism.

These changes in the Catholic movement have made possible joint action by Communists and Catholics for economic and political reforms. Considering the fact that in some of the socialist countries Catholic groups participate in the government, the possibility should not be discounted that, as the influence of socialism grows and given a favorable situation, big Catholic movements may appear in some capitalist countries that will support a socialist revolution.

In the light of this perspective it is essential that we perfect our propaganda and tactics, that ideological and political problems be tackled not as in the past when the Church and the Catholic movement generally, with rare exceptions, were described as one reactionary mass. As we know, in a number of countries, including Spain, some Catholic sections have contributed to the development of the class struggle, to the awakening of class

consciousness and a striving towards democracy among the backward sections of the people, to the elimination of the spirit of being resigned to misery and oppression, and in this sense have made their contribution to the democratic and revolutionary movement, a contribution which I do not wish either to exaggerate or belittle.

Marxism teaches us to analyze facts, not to accept preconceived ideas. The complete overcoming of belief in a hereafter will be achieved by education, by the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, but most of all by abolishing the material causes which away back in antiquity led man to create a God, to defer the solution of his problems to the other world, to seek supernatural explanations for the things for which he could find no rational explanation. The contest between Marxist philosophy and theology will be resolved ultimately not only by sound education but fundamentally by practice. The contest will not call for bullets or bloodshed; it will be a contest of ideas which should, and no doubt will, be conducted in the spirit of coexistence and cooperation in the political and social spheres.

## V.

The reform trend in the various Catholic movements, the progress achieved by the socialist revolution and the liberation movement, and the general crisis of capitalism all tend to deepen the crisis which Social Democracy is now experiencing. We should not close our eyes either to the significance of this crisis or the influence Social Democracy still exerts in some countries.

Some Social Democratic leaders try to exploit the bad things engendered by the personality cult to divert attention from the crisis in their own ranks, and even to find in these things a "historical justification" for their policy. As if denunciation of the personality cult could, like the waters of Jordan, wash away all the sins of Social Democracy.

In some of the developed capitalist countries Social Democratic leaders have been able to modify the consequence of the crisis in their parties thanks to the economic expansion which has taken place under state-monopoly capitalism, thanks to the new needs of the masses engendered by technological progress, and to the possibility of satisfying these requirements partially.

It is indubitable that even in the developed capitalist countries a revolutionary situation will arise—contradictions are already accumulating which will lead to this. Certain signs point in this direction: the spread of the working-class struggle, which is acquiring the cha-



racter of united action; the development of militant peasant movements which, consciously or unconsciously, are of an anti-monopoly nature. the spread of Marxist and other progressive ideas among intellectuals. These movements and trends clash with the trend in monopoly capital to concentrate more and more economic and political power in the hands of a small oligarchic group.

The Right-wing Social Democrats and some revisionists deny the possibility of revolutionary situations because they fail to appreciate that such crises are not necessarily dependent on war or *abject poverty*, that in a number of countries the concept of necessity is different from what it was in the last century or from what it is today in the underdeveloped countries.

The crisis in Social Democracy signifies, in effect, the fiasco of the policy of class collaboration, of opportunism. But it does not follow from this that the crisis can be solved only with the disappearance from the scene of the Social Democratic parties.

These parties are a powerful force with solid traditions and deep roots in many European countries. They will be able to emerge from the crisis provided they, or a large part of them, adopt a more clearly defined attitude to scientific socialism. Of course, there is no such thing as a universal prescription as regards this or any other question. But it should be noted that in some of the European countries the advance towards socialism is unthinkable without the support of the Social Democratic forces.

The problem is anything but easy. For us Communists the question is how to take advantage of the crisis in Social Democracy so as to win over to scientific socialism its numerous following who today question the policy of their party and who are beginning to see the socialist revolution not as a catastrophic perspective filled with agonizing bloody episodes, but as a necessary historical development which will be the less painful the greater the forces that help to carry it out.

On the other hand, some of the historical differences between the Communists and the Socialists which originally divided them and led to the creation of the Third International are no longer as insurmountable as they were then. And not because the Communists misjudged the situation then and hence took the wrong action, but because the situation has changed completely.

In those years when the first socialist revolution had just triumphed and became the target of frenzied attacks on the part of external and internal enemies, Lenin's stand in

the polemic between the Social Democrats and the Communists on the issue of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the parliamentary and peaceful way was decisive for the survival or death of the revolution. Today, however, the successes of socialism and the weakening of imperialism have resulted in a new situation, one in which some countries can pass over to socialism less painfully, through parliamentary forms combined with the revolutionary struggle of the masses. a situation in which the dictatorship of the proletariat can take forms distinctly different from those in Russia. It can be assumed that at present the struggle for socialism in a number of the developed capitalist countries will be combined with the struggle to extend democratic and political liberties. This places the historical controversy between Socialists and Communists on more favorable ground.

Also of considerable importance today is the struggle for democratic structural reforms as a means of opposing increasingly bigger and more powerful forces to the domination of monopoly capital. The struggle for these reforms also offers a broader basis for contact with the Socialists.

Having freed ourselves, as a result of a critical analysis, from the dogmatic tendencies characteristic of the personality cult, we are now in a better position to study the new possibilities for united action with the Social Democrats, to pose questions in their proper aspect and to suggest solutions in keeping with the times.

## VI.

When elaborating our tactics we should be guided by the teaching of Marx and Lenin regarding revolution, should take into account all the multiform aspects of the situation. We should avoid the mistake of thinking that a revolutionary situation will come about automatically, that it can be conjured up in all countries and in all circumstances according to a cut-and-dried plan.

Take the experience of the national-liberation movement in the former colonial countries where its leaders are coming round to scientific socialism. In many of these countries the weakness of the proletariat or its total absence acted as a barrier to the emergence of mass Communist parties which could have taken the lead in the national movement. This role was performed by intellectuals associated with the peasants, handicraftsmen, and other groups of the petty-bourgeoisie.

The turn towards socialism in these conditions is brought about chiefly by working class influence exerted on the international plane



where it derives from the example set by the victory of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, from their disinterested aid to the liberation movement, and also from the solidarity displayed by the proletariat in the developed capitalist countries.

The advanced forces in such countries assimilate the economic and political forms of socialism more rapidly than its philosophy; they follow the socialist way without actually having adopted the Marxist-Leninist ideology. Full acceptance of Marxism-Leninism requires time; it is a process which cannot be rushed. But it is evident already now that these forces represent the vanguard in the economically backward countries, that they are a part of the forces of socialism and as such should be helped to develop.

This, then, is a new feature, one which does not fit into any preconceived pattern; we should therefore adopt a creative attitude to it, an attitude conforming to the spirit and not just the letter of Marxism-Leninism.

As Lenin wrote on the eve of the October Revolution: "All nations will arrive at socialism—this is inevitable, but not all will do so in exactly the same way. Each will contribute something of its own in one or another form of democracy, one or another variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, one or another rate at which socialist transformations will be effected in the various aspects of social life. There is nothing more primitive from the viewpoint of theory or more ridiculous from that of practice than to paint 'in the name of historical materialism' this aspect of the future in a monotonous grey. The result will be nothing more than Suzdal daubing."

Not everywhere will developments necessarily take the same course as they did in Russia, or in China, or in any other place. The forms of transition to socialism will change, depending on the conditions in the countries concerned.

## VII.

Communists are of the opinion that in the capitalist countries where state-monopoly capital is highly developed the main blow should be directed against the political and economic power of the monopoly oligarchy. Taking into account monopoly capital's tendency to concentrate power in the hands of a small oligarchic group, to set up an undisguised dictatorship, to curtail and, wherever possible, suppress liberties, the fight for socialism must not be separated from the fight for democracy. One is a component of the other. It is precisely this feature of contemporary capitalism

that creates a much broader base for waging the struggle for socialism. The recent experience of our French comrades is interesting and instructive in this respect. They have registered successes in united action with the Socialists and other democratic groups against de Gaulle's one-man rule, successes which until recently were inconceivable considering the extent of anti-communism in the Socialist Party.

The fight for democracy and against monopoly capital has its own dialectics; it cannot be a struggle for a return to the old, to the previous forms of capitalism; there can be no retreat in economic development. Every political blow struck at monopoly capital by the democratic forces must be accompanied by economic measures limiting and reducing its possibilities, measures that are a step toward converting the usurped wealth into public property. In this process the revolutionary, socialist consciousness of the masses will grow. Is it not possible, then, that simultaneously with this process the anti-monopoly political forces who today are not yet ready to go beyond bourgeois-democratic and reformist positions might carry their program a step further? Might not these forces, even without accepting Marxism-Leninism, come out in support of the socialist reconstruction of society?

When considering the question of possible alliances in the fight for democracy and against the power of the monopolies we should discard the old concept of "temporary" allies. We should meet with the Socialists and the democratic parties and discuss with them the question of long-term cooperation which can and should grow stronger in the course of time.

When determining the motive forces of revolution we should proceed from the actual situation. Formerly we spoke almost exclusively of the proletariat and the peasantry. In view of the specific features of state-monopoly capitalism should we not broaden the concept (without, of course, changing the thesis about the vanguard role of the working class and the importance of its alliance with the peasantry) to include the sections of the small and middle urban bourgeoisie which are vitally interested in surviving in the battle against the monopolies?

It is perhaps necessary, then, to elaborate in greater detail the question of the attitude of the proletariat to the urban middle and small bourgeoisie as regards not only democracy but also the socialist revolution, just as Lenin in his time elaborated the policy of the proletariat's alliance with the peasantry.



Certain opportunist elements, both of the Right and the Left (some switch with ease from the one to the other), criticize Marxist-Leninists for seeking an alliance in the struggle against capitalism with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois social sections which, as such, are doomed by history and whose heyday is associated with the early forms of capitalism. Acting as champions of progress while clinging to fossilized, dogmatic concepts they claim that this is "reactionary." They hold that monopoly capital must be given a chance to develop freely, unhampered, and since it is the "threshold to socialism," it will of its own accord, as a result of some unknown mechanical process, open the doors to socialism.

The argument that the peasant, the small and middle bourgeoisie will eventually disappear as social classes, that they have outlived their day, omits the most important thing, namely, that these sections include millions of people who carry weight in the political and social spheres; their exploitation by big capital and the uncertainty about their future make them potential allies of the proletariat if the latter can offer them a different perspective.

What is the political and economic perspective? It seems to me that when tackling the job of doing away with the monopoly superstructure, of converting the big monopolies into public property, the other forms of private property should not be abolished automatically but allowed to exist for some time, to cooperate with the new social forms on a basis of mutual advantage and ultimately to integrate painlessly with public property. This would open favorable perspectives for the representatives of these sections. They should also be ensured an opportunity to take an effective part in the new organs of political power, in the dictatorship of the proletariat.

### VIII.

Lenin's words regarding the diverse forms of transition to socialism, bring to mind the experience of the Spanish revolutionary war of 1936-1939.

The exigencies of the struggle against fascism caused an evolution in all the parties of the Popular Front. What kind of power was created in the country? A people's power exercised by the Socialist Party, the petty-bourgeois republican parties, the Catholic Basque nationalists, the National Confederation of Labor and the Communist Party. This power, the most democratic in the history of Spain, relied on Parliament. But it was also a dictatorship directed against the reactionaries

and fascist insurgents, a dictatorship exercised in the name of the working class, the peasantry and the liberal bourgeoisie by a coalition government headed by a Socialist, while the President of the Republic was a representative of the liberal bourgeoisie. It was necessary in the course of the war to create a new machinery of state, to introduce various economic and political measures. This state machine and the new measures were not socialist, but neither were they typically capitalist.

What course would the Spanish revolution have taken had it been victorious? There were two possibilities: retreat to bourgeois democracy or advance towards socialism. Considering what the correlation of forces would have been in the event of victory, the socialist way was the more likely. The war led to a profound evolution in the positions of the petty-bourgeois parties, which endorsed progressive revolutionary measures. In the event of victory the same coalition could have been preserved, even though it might have experienced an internal crisis, and a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, headed by this coalition and relying on Parliament, would have been established.

But events did not take that course. The revolution was defeated. Still, the experience of the war in Spain is valuable in the sense that it demonstrated that the struggle of the people, of its democratic forces, against fascism or against other forms of monopoly domination engenders forms of cooperation and ways to socialism in which not only workers and peasants but the broadest political and social sections of the population participate.

Some people are of the opinion, taking into account the concrete experience of one or another country, that the capitalist machinery of state must first be destroyed before the working class and democratic forces can win power. In Spain, however, the working class and democratic forces changed the machinery of state through simultaneous, parallel actions: from the top, by means of government decrees, from below—through the conscious, revolutionary actions and initiative of the people.

From this we see that it is possible to reconstruct the state not only by abolishing old machinery of government in an armed struggle, but also through democratic reforms imposed from the top by the government and from below by the movement of the masses.

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We communists can afford to be bolder and more flexible in thought, to adopt a more



creative approach to the changes taking place in society, to the new phenomena engendered by the successes of our cause. We can afford to do this because Marxism-Leninism is the world outlook of the epoch, the theory that enables us to find the solution to the burning questions facing mankind—the question of war and peace, socialism and democracy, the development of science and the well-being of the people.

We will continue the struggle for the purity of our theory and against the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influences represented by dogmatism and revisionism. We will not allow defense of Marxism-Leninism to be confused with any dogma. Defense of Marxism-Lenin-

ism implies its constant development and enrichment, which in our time can be attained only through the collective effort of the world Communist movement.

We Communists have no right to discard our armor in the struggle against the different bourgeois schools of ideology, against the attempts to distort Marxism. We must not evade encounters with these schools. On the contrary, we should seek encounters, carrying our ideology into both the cottage of the oppressed and the centers of culture. In this battle of ideas we are prepared to accept and assimilate any gain of scientific thought. In this battle of ideas we shall develop and enrich our theory.

## The Multi-Party System Under Capitalism and Socialism

*Friedl Fuernberg*

THE view is widespread that the main difference between bourgeois democracy and socialist democracy is that the former presupposes the multi-party system while the latter admits of only one party. The fact is, however, that Marxism-Leninism has never regarded the one-party system as indispensable for building socialism. The idea that socialism calls for rule by one party, namely, the Communist Party, owes its origin to the specific circumstances of the rise and development of the first socialist country—the Soviet Union—and it gained currency among the masses and persists with remarkable tenacity to this day because for a time the Communist parties themselves believed that the dictatorship of the proletariat, unlike bourgeois democracy, could be effected only through one-party rule.

This simplified concept, which is nothing but a vulgarization of Marxism, is based on the formula: the existence of antagonistic classes or essential distinctions between parties = several parties; absence of antagonistic classes and essential harmony of class interests = one party. Moreover, it was argued that the leading role of the working class is expressed in the fact that it has a party through which to exercise leadership, while all other classes and sections of the population form a non-party mass following the working class and its party.

The reality, however, is far more complex and multiform than this cut-and-dried pattern, which only superficially accords with the Marxist-Leninist teaching on classes and the class struggle while actually precluding a concrete examination of the question.

In order to forge ahead towards socialism in the developed capitalist countries it is imperative resolutely to overcome the misconception that the multi-party and one-party systems as such are antithetical.

In Britain and France, where classical bourgeois democracy emerged, the fight against feudalism was waged under the slogans of liberty and equality, and ever since then the bourgeois, and later also the Social Democratic, ideologists have equated political equality and freedom with the multi-party system. Marx and Engels exposed these attempts to camouflage the class rule of the bourgeoisie, and especially was this sleight-of-hand combated by Lenin, who showed that the existence of several parties under capitalism by no means meant freedom and equality for all, even if the conditions for working-class struggle were far more favorable under bourgeois democracy than under any openly dictatorial form of capitalist class rule. To combat the Social Democratic ideology which propounded democracy in the abstract instead of showing the working people that bourgeois democ-



racy merely concealed capitalist class rule was of utmost importance for the Communist parties inasmuch as awareness that even the broadest bourgeois democracy is nothing but a form of capitalist rule is a prerequisite for building up the determination needed to put an end to this rule. Lenin urged the working class and all other sections of the working people of Russia not to stop at bourgeois democracy but to take the revolutionary way forward to proletarian, socialist democracy, showing that proletarian democracy, even if it too represents the domination of one class, is a hundred times more democratic than the broadest bourgeois democracy.

When Lenin and the Russian Communist Party called for the overthrow of the Krensky government and then, at the head of the working class, deposed it, they had no intention of banning or dissolving all other parties. On the contrary, they called time and again on the Social Democrats, the petty-bourgeois parties and, above all, on the peasant parties to join forces with the Communist Party to establish the rule of the working class and to build a worker-peasant alliance. Needless to say, they insisted on all power being vested in the working class, i.e., on the dictatorship of the proletariat, and on the forcible suppression of the capitalist class and the counter-revolution, for otherwise the working class could not have remained the dominant class and it would have been impossible to take the socialist road. In other words, they were for suppressing the counter-revolutionary and anti-democratic parties and not all political parties in general.

But the leaders of the Social Democratic and petty-bourgeois democratic parties did not believe socialism could triumph in Russia with its overwhelmingly peasant population and backward economy which, moreover, was completely dislocated by war. They thought the defeat of the Soviet power and the Communist Party was inevitable and shaped their policy accordingly. As we know, in the end these parties were crushed between the millstones of the long drawn-out armed struggle between the socialist revolution and the united forces of counter-revolution.

At the same time, however, many of the functionaries and the rank and file of these parties did not agree to join the counter-revolution which they had always opposed. They realized that the victory of the counter-revolution over Soviet power would place Russia once again at the mercy of the die-hard reactionaries, and they were also aware of the real purpose of the imperialist intervention in Russia. Their experience in the political, social and national struggle as well

as their convictions prompted them to support the Soviet government and to join the Communist Party. In the life-and-death struggle fought on the battlefields of the Civil War over a number of years they sided with the working class, while their former party comrades threw in their lot more and more with the counter-revolutionaries and, eventually, together with the remnants of the latter, fled abroad to devote the rest of their days to fighting the soviet power.

In these circumstances to have restored the multi-party system after the Civil War would clearly have been a step backward; indeed, it would have been impossible to restore it without renouncing working-class rule and the victory of socialism. To have enabled the sworn enemies of Soviet power and socialism, who had just been defeated in a costly Civil War and driven out of the country together with the imperialist armies of intervention, to reorganize their forces would have been a betrayal of the socialist revolution and those who had given their lives for it; it would have been an absurd and senseless act. The members and officials of the former Social Democratic and petty-bourgeois parties who had fought for Soviet power and joined the Communist Party, and who regarded it as their own party and enjoyed equal rights in its ranks, naturally had no desire to reconstitute the old parties which the majority of their leaders had completely discredited in the eyes of the people.

The march of history thus led to only one political party remaining in the Soviet Union—the Communist Party, which in the course of the building of socialism acted as the vehicle of working-class leadership in the nation as a whole and entered into an alliance with the petty-bourgeois masses, above all the peasantry.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union was, in view of all this, all the more keenly conscious of the duty devolving on it to strengthen and extend socialist democracy—the right of the working people to play their full part in political and economic life—and to safeguard and promote inner-Party democracy. But the infringement of socialist and inner-Party democracy during the Stalin cult fettered the initiative of the people generally and Party members in particular, thereby retarding the building of socialism and causing the Soviet Union much harm. This state of affairs contributed to the tendency in the world Communist movement to equate working-class rule—the dictatorship of the proletariat—with the one-party system. Moreover, it facilitated the efforts made by the enemies of communism to deceive the people by lump-



ing both fascism and communism as "dictatorships" in opposition to "democracy" (meaning bourgeois democracy) and thereby glossing over capitalist class rule, discrediting communism, and sowing fear of communism as "fascism in reverse." The damage caused to the international working-class movement was enormous.

After the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU the Marxist-Leninist thesis that socialist democracy is a hundredfold more democratic than bourgeois democracy, even where owing to the historical circumstances only one party exists, and not several, once again found confirmation in practice.

Socialist democracy should, in fact, be a thousandfold more democratic than bourgeois democracy, for only then can all the forces of the new society be released for the building of socialism, only then can the power of attraction of socialism exert itself to the full in the capitalist countries and influence even the middle strata and their parties.

The anti-fascist struggle waged already before the Second World War led in a number of countries to an alliance between the Communist and other anti-fascist parties. The object of this alliance was to prevent fascist rule or to overthrow it where it had already been established. After the defeat of fascism in the Second World War the question arose: should the alliance of anti-fascist parties whose supporters came from different classes be dissolved, or should these parties, in view of their nature and the class interests of their members and supporters, oppose one another. In other words, must the party of the working class necessarily enter into conflict with all other political parties when it comes to working for socialism, must it forge ahead towards socialism alone or can it win the cooperation of other political parties on this path?

On the whole the Communist parties have given a positive answer to this question, considering alliance with other political parties possible both in fighting to win socialism and in building it. As a matter of fact, in the European People's Democracies other political parties exist side by side with Communist parties. True, it must be frankly admitted that after the Second World War the fundamentally correct position of the Communist parties on this question was relegated to the background, distorted and negated under the influence of Stalin's erroneous theories concerning the intensification of the class struggle in the course of building socialism. This, too, helped to cultivate the misconception that bourgeois democracy implies a multi-party system whereas socialist democracy can tolerate only one party.

That the two main classes of capitalist society—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat—are in irreconcilable conflict with each other and that the petty-bourgeois middle classes vacillate between the two is elementary Marxism. Yet this abstract generalization, just as the theoretical proposition that the interests of the middle classes can be met better under socialism than under capitalism, should serve us only as a point of departure. Real life is far more multiform and complex than these formulas would make it appear. And if, as Lenin stressed, the question of who wins over the majority of the middle sections is of the greatest importance in the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, we should make a closer examination of the relationships between classes and their parties.

As Marx pointed out, the division of society into the bourgeoisie, middle sections, proletariat, etc., does not imply that these classes are separated from one another by sharp boundaries fixed for all time. On the contrary, these boundaries are fluid to a point. Moreover, the numbers of the proletariat tend to increase, and the number of big capitalists, to decrease. The middle classes, beginning with the small capitalists of town and country and ending with certain groups and sections of workers, cover a wide range of different and even contradictory interests.

This variety of class status and class interests is reflected in a way also in the bourgeois democratic parties. It often explains the plurality of parties. But the variety is not the only thing that makes the picture a complicated one. National, religious and other ideological factors which find different manifestation at different times must also be borne in mind. In certain circumstances they may overshadow material interests, decisive though the latter are in the long run. At present, after two world wars and owing to the deadly nuclear threat hanging over the world, the problem of war and peace also plays an important and, at times, a decisive role.

Vulgar Marxism explains everything by a simple formula: the bourgeoisie makes use of all political parties except the Communist Party to maintain or camouflage its rule, and the leading bodies of these parties are the direct or indirect agents of the bourgeoisie. Diametrically opposed to them is the Communist Party, which consistently upholds the class interests and aims of the proletariat. According to this formula, it is the task of the Communist Party to expose, by word and deed, the other political parties as pillars of capitalist rule so that the masses should come to see their class status in the true light and give their support to the Communists.



This formula has always been incorrect. Lenin held that the attitude to other parties should be defined on the basis of a concrete examination of their political programs and their actions in the course of the class struggle. For instance, in 1918, when there was a possibility of winning over part of the democratic following of the Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries, he wrote. "But when profound historic changes induce an inevitable change of front in our direction among the mass of the non-party, Menshevik and Socialist Revolutionary democrats we must learn and shall learn to take advantage of this change of front, to encourage it, to evoke it among appropriate groups and strata, to do everything possible to reach agreement with these elements and thus facilitate the work of socialist construction. . . ."

Clearly, then, our attitude towards a political party may change with time, for parties are subject to change, often very substantial change, under the impact of the march of events. This is the case now more than ever before in view of the big social and national changes in the world in recent times. It should, moreover, be borne in mind that the victorious ideas of socialism, which, illuminating the way forward for hundreds of millions, are being realized over a large part of the world, play a big role in the changes taking place in the political parties of the capitalist countries. These changes are of a dual order. On the one hand, monopoly capital is exerting every effort to build up and consolidate reactionary, fascist or semi-fascist parties ready to stop at nothing in fighting against the Communists, the socialist countries and the working class of their own countries, i.e., against democracy and hence against all democratic parties. On the other hand, the parties deriving support from the middle sections or part of the working class are in one or another way subjected to socialist influences. This is so—and the process is bound to go on irresistibly—because these parties, the mass of their supporters, members and functionaries and partly even their leaders, cannot be regarded merely as agents of the monopolies, as the primitive stereotyped pattern clung to by vulgar Marxism would make it appear. For they would lose influence over the sections from which they draw support if they did not to some extent uphold the interests of these sections; moreover, most of their supporters sincerely believe that these parties are fighting for their interests in the most effective way. This applies primarily to many peasant parties, to some parties of the urban small

bourgeoisie and parties that appeal to sections of the working class leaning towards the petty bourgeoisie. Hence a constant dialogue with such parties is both possible and necessary. Such a discussion should be based on a policy which derives from the Marxist thesis that the bulk of the middle classes and the working-class groups close to them are not potential enemies of socialism and which applies this thesis also to the political parties of these classes and groups in so far as they declare their support of democracy, progress and peace.

Our aim is durable, lasting alliance with such parties. In this connection we should remember what Lenin said. "It is not enough to encourage this change of front and amicably greet those who are making it. A politician who realizes his duty must learn to evoke this change of front among the various sections and groups of the broad mass of the petty bourgeois democracy if he is convinced that serious and profound historical causes for such a change of front exist."

We are fully aware—and say so openly—that alliances between parties come into being not as a result of one party simply accepting the program and policy of another. We shall not demand this of others, nor shall we do so ourselves. Neither do we seek alliances in order to undermine the influence of our allies or to eliminate them after power has been won. On the contrary, we consider it possible and even advisable to build socialism together with them. But does this not nevertheless mean that we insist on their accepting our program? By no means, since in their own program these parties put forward—in different ways in different countries—social demands and aims which we believe will help to lay the foundations of socialism once the working class has taken over power. The big capitalists have been unable to prevent petty-bourgeois parties from advancing social programs of this order; at one time they actually counted on such programs preventing the masses from turning to the Communist parties. The point is to convince the petty-bourgeois parties that alliance with the working class and the Communist Party will enable them to carry out social programs which hitherto have mostly remained on paper. To-day progress in this direction is facilitated by the fact that the strength and example of socialism has reinforced the resolve of these parties to win their demands and aims. The chances of socialism being achieved by peaceful means are, consequently, steadily growing.

\*V. I. Lenin, *Valuable Admissions* by Pitirim Sorokin.

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We Communists wage an unflagging struggle against the monopoly capitalists and their direct representatives, who, although they sometimes set up their own political parties, have latterly concentrated on establishing their control over parties with mass support. Our immediate aim is to curtail the power of the monopolies, but we also openly declare our intention to deprive them of all power, to nationalize the big concerns and monopolies. That this is justified, necessary in the people's interests, and possible, is today admitted by people remote from the Communists.

In order to defend and consolidate their rule, the monopoly capitalists accuse the Communists of seeking to nationalize all property, or at least all the means of production, all the way to the peasant's implements, the handicraftsman's tools and the barber's scissors. And in doing so they cite without any justification whatsoever the example of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

In this connection it is not enough to point out that Lenin would have preferred to see the small capitalist enterprises vanish from the scene only as the result of economic development and that other measures had to be taken at times only because of the civil war and the sharpness of the class struggle. Nor is it enough to admit the grave mistakes made in this respect, partly because of the personality cult, in the course of the building of socialism, and that these mistakes not only retarded the building of socialism but caused harm to the international working-class movement, impeded the struggle to win the masses for socialism.

It is necessary to recognize that small-scale production has an important role to play in the period of building socialism. We have witnessed instances of the socialist countries taking hasty and economically unjustified steps in the course of nationalization and centralization of small enterprises. But today it is clear that small enterprises can substantially help to solve a number of economic problems, especially those connected with consumer demand, in the process of building socialism. Hence it may be assumed that small-scale production can exist and play an effective role throughout the entire period of transition from capitalism to socialism. Moreover, experience suggests that under certain conditions small-scale production may exist to one or another extent also in socialist society.

This applies to small producers in both the towns and the countryside. In the conditions of peaceful transition to socialism small-scale production will be able to function for quite some time, i.e., the private sector in the eco-

nomy will continue to exist. We are opposed to the pluralistic economic theory advanced by the Social Democratic leaders, not because we reject a mixed economy as a matter of principle, but because the proponents of the pluralistic idea accord a place in it also to monopoly capital. This would inevitably mean the continued monopolization of the economy. We are for a mixed economy in which nationalization completely rules out monopoly, while small production continues to exist in town and country until gradually eliminated by technological and economic progress. In other words, we shall accord urban small producers every opportunity to carry on, while agricultural cooperatives will be built up gradually, in step with technical progress and on a completely voluntary footing. These are important aspects of the peaceful road to socialism.

Complete exclusion of monopoly capital from the economy, its abolition through nationalization, will be possible only when the working class has become the leading force in the state, i.e., when state power has passed from the hands of the big capitalists to the working class. For only the working class, owing to its place in production, can find in itself the strength and resolve needed unhesitatingly to implement this decisive measure. But since in the final analysis abolition of monopoly is in the interests of the middle strata as well, it can be effected jointly with the latter. The whole of society, including the working class, would only benefit from such cooperation. The middle strata would then, far from being excluded from the exercise of state power, take an active part in it. In political terms this means that their democratic parties would not only continue to exist, they would take an active and very important part in the reconstruction of the economy and society.

If we concede the possibility of a multi-party system under socialism, the question arises: must all the parties take part in the government simultaneously, united in a supra-party organization (popular front, patriotic front, etc.), and put forward their candidates in elections only through this organization? At present this is the case in the People's Democracies, for obvious historical reasons stemming from the exigencies of the struggle against monopoly capital at home and against imperialist pressure from without.

In the future, however, the same pattern need not necessarily be repeated in other countries. If after the overthrow of monopoly rule the democratic parties work together to uphold the platform of the new system, i.e., the socialist constitution, and if the state wages a struggle by all the means at its dis-



posals against the forces seeking to restore the domination of monopoly capital, new forms of cooperation between the democratic parties may emerge both in public life generally and in Parliament.

It should be borne in mind that Lenin's thesis that the working class remains weaker than the bourgeoisie for some time after winning power cannot be mechanically applied to every social revolution. Already in the People's Democracies which emerged after the Second World War this thesis did not apply to the same extent as in Russia after the October Revolution. And if in the future monopoly rule is overthrown in one or another European capitalist country by an alliance of the Communist Party and other democratic parties, the working class allied with the majority of the middle sections may from the very beginning prove stronger, both internally and externally (the growing strength of the socialist world system), than the bourgeoisie of that country.

In Austria—as in other capitalist countries—the overthrow of capitalist rule is not our immediate aim. Our immediate object is to curtail and curb the power of the monopolies.

We are fighting to win for the working class a say in economic management and state administration, for the regeneration and extension of democracy, and peace. We can achieve these aims only in alliance with the other democratic parties, with the parties of the middle sections. The sectarian accusations levelled against us by the vulgar Marxists should not be allowed to discourage our efforts in this direction, for such an alliance is of the greatest importance for ensuring social progress both today and in the future.

The struggle for the right of the working class to take part in economic management and for the regeneration and extension of democracy is at the same time a struggle

to win key positions in the state. Depending on the conditions, this struggle differs from country to country. But everywhere its aim is to stimulate to the maximum the political activity and consciousness of the masses, to oust the reactionaries from the state machine and at the same time bring the Communist and the other democratic parties together in lasting alliance. In the course of this struggle the petty-bourgeois sections and parties will outlive "their chief sin, namely, their trust in the capitalists."\* Success in this joint struggle is an important prerequisite of peaceful transition to socialism.

We have not dwelt on the problem of working-class unity, although this, needless to say, is a question of paramount importance in all circumstances, and especially in the conditions of a multi-party system. It merits special examination. Clearly, the organizational unity of the working class in a single political party would greatly facilitate both the struggle to deepen and extend democracy under capitalism and the building of socialism under a multi-party system. But we must proceed from the existing, historically conditioned state of affairs which precludes the achievement of organizational unity overnight inasmuch as it must necessarily be based on ideological unity. *Ideological and organizational* unity, however, are not an indispensable precondition of success in the struggle we have been discussing. What is indispensable is the *political unity* of the workers' parties, their joint struggle. So long as the workers' parties fight each other the chances of success in the struggle against monopoly rule and for the peaceful achievement of socialism are reduced to a minimum. We Communists stand for political unity, for joint action by the workers' parties, which would bring together all the democratic parties.

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\*V. I. Lenin, *On Slogans*.



# The Struggle for Genuine Democracy

*Jacques Duclos*

EVER since their epoch-making contest began in the mid-19th century, capitalism and socialism have been locked in combat, and there still are grim battles ahead, for no progress is possible without struggle, be the issue at stake peace, democracy, or socialism. We must bear this in mind in examining the question of struggle for democracy in central and local government in the conditions of state-monopoly capitalism.

With the development of monopoly capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism the stranglehold of the monopolies on the entire life of the nation tightens.

The contradictions of capitalism, the 1960 Statement of the Communist and Workers' parties points out, "have accelerated the development of monopoly capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism. By tightening the monopolies' grip on the life of the nation, state-monopoly capitalism closely combines the power of the monopolies with that of the state with the aim of saving the capitalist system and increasing the profits of the imperialist bourgeoisie to the utmost by exploiting the working class and plundering large sections of the population."

In these circumstances the monopoly capitalists subordinate the state machine more and more directly to their domination, and hence the overall trend is towards curtailment of democratic rights, towards minimizing the role of the elected representatives of the people, thus preparing the ground for introducing totalitarian methods of government.

A natural consequence of this is, on the one hand, curtailment of the prerogatives of Parliament and its powers of control over the government, and, on the other, concentration of power in the hands of a single individual, of which France affords an example.

The trend towards limiting the democratic rights of the people and the prerogatives of their elected representatives is closely connected with the striving of the monopolies to increase their profits at the expense of the population.

Capitalizing on the complex problems crying out for solution in the present conditions, the monopolies aim at creating situa-

tions that would bear out their claim that elected bodies have become ineffectual and would justify the rule of the technocracy.

The technocrats in the service of the monopolies are bent on extending their intervention to all areas of society's activity.

A case in point is France where the monopoly placemen occupy the key posts in the administration.

The de Gaulle government and the monopoly groups closely cooperate through mixed committees on which heads of trusts sit side by side with top government officials who bow to the former.

These committees decide behind closed doors all major issues that have a bearing on economic policy and on overall policy.

Parliament, silenced for a good six months of the year, is even when in session little more than an ornamental body.

The so-called "economic development committees," "regional development companies" and "mixed companies," all of which tend to proliferate, help the monopolies to accelerate capitalist concentration and to increase the rate of profit.

The monopolies draw on state funds and accumulations, enjoy government-guaranteed credits and subsidies as well as alienation rights extended to them by the authorities, and fleece the public through exorbitant charges for municipal services.

Through the mixed companies and other similar organizations the commercial banks are in a position to make huge investments without the slightest risk to themselves.

Public funds provide them with all the guarantees they may wish for and ensure them lush profits.

The nationalized banks likewise render assistance to the big monopolies, and this too is evidence of ever closer cooperation between state and private enterprises.

State-monopoly intervention thus plays a growing role in enabling the monopolies to exercise domination and intensify exploitation.

Today the big banks are directly represented in the government, not through intermediaries as the case was in the past.

The Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, the Banque de l'Indochine, and the Rothschild,



Lazard and Worms banks all hold commanding positions in the state. Through them monopoly capitalists exercise their power in a direct and tangible way.

With the prerogatives of Parliament cut to the bone, the government is implementing, in conformity with the wishes of the monopolies, a plan for governmental reform which threatens the continued existence of the present administrative subdivisions (the departments and communes), makes for an interlocking of governmental power and private interests, and enhances the role of the prefects, who are the representatives of the central government.

As regards the administrative subdivisions, the government proposes to reorganize them with a view to replacing the present municipalities and departments with a smaller number of bigger territorial units.

Hence the plan for amalgamating the municipalities. Although this may be justified in certain cases, in the circumstances it reflects the trend towards replacing elected representatives of the people with civil servants.

As a result of machinations on the part of the mixed companies and development committees such elected bodies as municipal and general councils are being increasingly stripped of their rights (in the sphere of public works and supply) in favor of technocrats who are closely linked with the commercial banks and other capitalist enterprises and who are not responsible to anyone.

This is a policy aimed at serving private interests to the detriment of the public. The implementation of the plans of the one-man regime is providing the commercial banks and specialized enterprises with new sources of huge profits in public works on the local and departmental plane.

The monopolies are working to wrest control over the finances of the Departments from their general councils, for they see in this another rich source of profit.

As regards control over the national budget, the one-man regime is out to reduce it to a pure formality without any practical significance, thereby preparing the ground for completely abolishing the right of the elected representatives of the people to have a say in budgetary matters.

The aim of the monopolies, which under the aegis of Gaullist rule are the true masters of France, is to subordinate the country's economy and finances completely to the technocracy.

Official circles make much of the difficulties allegedly attending public administration at local, departmental and national levels in order to push the idea of placing public affairs under the management of "competent experts." The object is to make it appear as if the elected representatives of the people were no longer capable of coping with administrative problems.

The idea is being propagated that, because of the technical complexity of the questions affecting public administration, democratic institutions have outlived their time.

These anti-democratic concepts underlie the campaign conducted in favor of one-man rule with a view to cultivating political indifference, which plays into the hands of the proponents of dictatorship. But the complexity of the issues can in no circumstances be regarded as a serious argument justifying the abolition of guidance and democratic control by the people.

Technical experts should not take the place of elected representatives, but should work under the guidance of the latter in the interests of the people.

By reducing the prerogatives of Parliament to the minimum, the one-man rule has sought to make it more difficult, if not impossible, for the people to exert pressure on the authorities in defense of their own interests.

Moreover, the authorities hold that the trade unions should confine themselves exclusively to wages and conditions and refrain from intervening in any political issues.

This could lead to wage claims, pension and other demands advanced by the trade unions being labelled as impermissible political pressure if the government does not happen to agree with them.

This is one of the consequences of authoritarian rule, concerning which one of its strongest supporters, Albin Chalandon, the banker and former general secretary of the Gaullist party, once said:

"The multitude needs personalization of power not only because it idolizes 'stars' in politics as it does in the cinema or sports, but mainly because it needs a point of human contact, because it is psychologically essential for it to be trusted and to repose its trust in someone."

In speaking of "being trusted and reposing trust in someone" Chalandon underscores one of the objectives of one-man rule—the desire to deprive citizens of their sense of political responsibility. The object here is



to replace the civic spirit which presupposes a critical approach with a non-political herd spirit, a readiness blindly to follow the genius standing at the helm of state and possessing the knowledge and wisdom that no one else possesses.

In these circumstances the French Communist Party has proposed to the other democratic parties and groups a program capable of serving as the basis for a common platform aimed at replacing authoritarian rule with genuine democracy.

At a time when the harmful consequences of the one-man regime policy are mounting, it is imperative to uphold whatever still remains of democratic freedoms and to fight for a democratic regime.

Lenin said: "To develop democracy to the utmost, to seek out the forms for this development, to test them by practice, and so forth—all this is one of the constituent tasks of the struggle for the social revolution. Taken separately, no kind of democracy will bring socialism. But in actual life democracy will never be 'taken separately'; it will be 'taken together' with other things, it will exert its influence on the economic life, will stimulate its transformation; and in its turn it will be influenced by economic development, and so on. Such are the dialectics of living history."<sup>\*</sup>

In the light of this program we submit for discussion by the other democratic parties as the basis for a common program calls for the establishment of a government capable of withstanding the pressure of the reactionary forces and working in the interests of the people and the nation. The democratic government of tomorrow should, in our opinion, meet two basic requirements.

On the one hand, it should rely on a united majority based on a common program supported by all parties and democratic organizations.

On the other hand, it should enlist the millions in administering public affairs by

1) fully recognizing the importance of the elected bodies and

2) granting the working people and their organizations the right of control and management in the economic, social and cultural spheres.

In our opinion the new democratic regime should have the following political institutions:

A National Assembly elected by universal ballot whose main function would be to legislate and exercise control over the government.

A stable government responsible to the National Assembly and ruling the country in conformity with a program supported by the majority of the people.

To ensure both the stability of the government and genuine democracy the Communist Party proposes that elections be held on the basis of proportional representation to a Constituent Assembly which would adopt a new democratic constitution clearly defining the rights and duties of both the government and the National Assembly. This democratic Constitution should provide effective guarantees of the basic human and civic rights and provide for:

—the principle of proportional representation in all elections;

—full freedom for the trade unions and democratic parties;

—extension of the rights of the municipalities and departments;

—a democratic state machine, including the courts of law and the army;

—a purge of the police;

—separation of the Church from the state and from the schools;

—democratic control over the radio and TV;

—democratic statutes for state institutions guaranteeing the rights of government employees and giving them a say in the management of these institutions.

But a Constitution alone, no matter how good, is not enough to guarantee the sovereignty of the people and to ensure the full flowering of democracy in the political and social spheres.

To achieve this it is essential to stop the appropriation by the economic and finance oligarchy of the country's basic resources and to prevent the oligarchy from flouting the will of the nation and imposing its dictates on the government and Parliament.

To achieve this it is necessary to release the country's main wealth from the grip of the monopolies, to ensure the full development of the national economy by harnessing all the material and moral resources and, finally, to ensure a steady increase in the standard of living and untrammelled progress in the sphere of education.

To this end our program provides for some important democratic reforms in the economic sphere.

We stand for nationalization of the monopolies of the iron and steel, atomic and chemical, and aircraft industries and airlines, the big enterprises of the electronic industry,

<sup>\*</sup>V. I. Lenin, *The State and Revolution*.



the big commercial banks and insurance companies, and democratization of all public and nationalized enterprises through trade union participation in the management.

We propose coordinated and rational utilization of all power resources, coal production and hydro-electric energy, and an atomic industry for peaceful purposes.

We urge the development of modern branches of industry (electronics, machine tools, chemicals, aircraft) and the training of large numbers of research workers, engineers, technicians and specialists, to meet the needs of a modern and expanding economy serving the people and the nation.

We stand for workers' control at all levels through extending the powers of the production committees and freedom for the trade unions to function in the enterprises.

In accordance with this perspective, the future democratic government should ensure the development of the nationalized sector and guarantee the necessary capital investments in the key sectors of the economy and national life in conformity with an economic, social and cultural plan worked out democratically, with the participation of working class organizations.

Whereas under the regime of one-man rule what is called a "plan" is simply an instrument designed to intensify monopoly domination, the methods of planning which we propose, and which would be carried out in certain spheres by a genuinely democratic government, would be aimed at curbing the power of the trusts and ensuring the development of the economy in the interests of the entire nation.

Naturally, such a policy can succeed only if the people unite and press for its implementation. That is why we attach so much importance to the question of an alliance, and we believe that to make the alliance lasting and effective it should be based on a common program.

Such a program is an essential condition for achieving common victory over the one-man rule and the reactionaries. Its appeal would be all the greater since it would ensure the realization of a genuinely democratic policy in keeping with the interests of the people.

We believe that a program of this kind could be worked out, all that is needed is the desire to do so. And while there are some important divergencies of views, we think that the programs of the various parties, unions and other democratic organizations, beginning with the Socialist Party,

have many objectives in common which accord with the aspirations of millions of French men and women.

As for the differences, they are not of such a nature as to make it impossible to achieve the necessary agreement between the democratic parties and organizations; but mass pressure of course is needed to overcome the resistance to agreement.

"The struggle for democracy is an integral part of the working class struggle for socialism," states the resolution adopted by the 17th Congress of our Party.

In the new situation the working class and its allies can in the course of the struggle against monopoly domination secure the introduction of far-reaching democratic reforms going beyond the usual economic demands.

Democratic reforms of this kind, realized by the working people in the course of the struggle, would not be socialism as yet, but their realization could create the conditions for broadening the struggle for socialism.

We hold that it is in the struggle to end monopoly rule, the struggle for a genuine peace policy, for far-reaching democratic and social reforms, that the working class could unite and rally around itself all the anti-monopoly forces in order to isolate the big bourgeoisie and enable the masses to get a clear idea of the objectives of the socialist revolution and help them to appreciate the need to fight for those objectives.

By working in this direction our struggle to extend democracy becomes an integral part of the struggle for socialism.

Nationalization carried out by a genuinely democratic government would undoubtedly facilitate the advance of the working class to socialism since it would strike heavily at monopoly domination and force the monopolies to loosen their stranglehold on the economic and political life of the country.

This is an important aspect of our program and it is all the more necessary for the workers to appreciate its significance since the nationalization carried out after the Liberation has gradually been deprived of its social content and in the end has been utilized by the Gaullist regime in the interests of big capital.

For example, the national railways which pay their employees ridiculously low wages, have been obliged under government pressure to cut freight charges to the private industries to one-third of the regular rate. The resulting deficit is covered by the state from taxes paid by the working people.



In other words, if some state-owned enterprises operate at a loss and refuse to meet the just demands of their employees on these grounds, it is not because their productivity is lower than that of private enterprises, but because the government grants privileges to the big private companies at their expense.

The nationalization envisaged by our program pursues an entirely different aim. Its main purpose is to create a situation in which the country's resources and the labor of the workers would no longer serve to enrich a privileged minority, but would be placed in the service of the nation.

Today the big monopolies in the iron and steel, chemical and other industries are appropriating the country's wealth and deriving fabulous profits through super-exploitation of their workers and are robbing the consumer by forcing up prices.

Nationalization as set forth in the draft submitted by the Communist group in Parliament would permit the workers employed at state enterprises to win their demands for better conditions, for recognition of trade union rights and freedoms, and lastly, for vocational training on a large scale.

Another argument in favor of nationalizing the monopolies is that nationalization is essential if the state is to cease being a tool in the hands of the monopolies.

Nationalization of the big industrial monopolies and banks would enable the working class and its allies to exert a greater influence on the economic and political life of the country, would make it possible to use all the country's resources in the national interest.

Capitalist propaganda claims that private enterprises are more profitable than state enterprises, but there is conclusive evidence to show that this argument is invalid. For example, it is generally recognized that the French railway system is among the best in the world, and that its technical experts are second to none. The same may be said of the state organization in charge of bridges and highways. Moreover the splendid achievements of the engineers in this field would undoubtedly be even greater had they more funds at their disposal.

Consequently, if today the employees of state enterprises encounter difficulties this is not the fault of nationalization. It is the fault of the government which uses nationalization to further the interests of the monopolies.

But emphasis must be laid on the fact that the nationalization we propose differs

sharply from that in existence today inasmuch as it is closely linked with the perspective of a new regime, i.e., a genuinely democratic government which would use nationalization to pursue a policy of peace and social progress in the national interest.

That is why we have included a clause on nationalization in the proposal submitted by us to the Socialist Party and all other democratic parties and organizations to draft a common program and work jointly for its realization.

Accord between the democratic parties with a view to joint realization of a common program is, in our opinion, an urgent necessity inasmuch as agreement is a condition of common victory over the one-man rule, and a guarantee that a genuinely democratic policy in the interests of the people will be pursued in the future.

We do not lose sight of the fact that a powerful mass movement is needed if the one-man rule is to be abolished.

In order to bring together the majority of the people in a vast movement to fight for genuine democracy, they must have a clear prospect in the shape of agreement between the principal democratic parties and organizations.

We believe that opportunities for the peaceful transition to socialism in our country will be all the greater if the Communists and Socialists act together to unite all the democratic and national forces in the struggle to end the regime of personal power, establish a true democracy and advance along the road to socialism.

To pave the way for the peaceful transition to socialism, our Party proposes an alliance between the Communist and Socialist parties not only for today but also for tomorrow, for the joint effort in building socialism.

At its 17th Congress our Party rejected the idea that the transition to socialism can be effected only by one party. This position is of major importance for the development of united action. This, however, does not in any way imply that the role of the Marxist-Leninist party in the struggle for socialism is reduced. It is a question of achieving unity and joint action by the democratic parties (primarily the Communist and Socialist parties) and by all those interested in building socialism.

We visualize the struggle for democracy as a powerful mass movement holding out the prospect of popular actions that could open the way (peaceful, if possible) to the



conquest of power by the working class. The working class in alliance with the peasantry and the middle urban sections will effect the socialist reconstruction of society, setting up for this purpose and for a lesser or greater period of time, a proletarian dictatorship which, while ensuring the masses broad democratic freedom would serve, if need be, to prevent any attempt at restoration of capitalism and would deprive the reactionaries of the means of engineering such attempts. Incidentally, the need for a dictatorship of the proletariat was recognized only recently by the leadership of the Socialist Party (Guy Mollet, for instance) in the course of the public debate published in the press of our two parties.

As regards the forms and duration of the dictatorship of the proletariat these may of course vary depending on the conditions and the situation in the different countries. But the dictatorship of the proletariat, of which the Paris Commune was the first example, is an essential condition of socialist revolution, peaceful or non-peaceful.

In founding the First International one hundred years ago under the immortal slogan "Proletarians of all Lands, Unite!"

Marx and Engels counselled the proletariat to guard international solidarity like the apple of their eye, to abide by proletarian internationalism. Later, Lenin came to the conclusion that in view of the importance of the national-liberation movement of oppressed peoples, the great watchword of proletarian internationalism should be: "Proletarians and Oppressed Peoples of all Lands, Unite!"

As Waldeck Rochet, General Secretary of our Party, said recently in Paris on the occasion of the centenary of the First International, our Party, true to the doctrine of the founders of the First International and to the traditions of working-class unity in France, has persistently fought under the leadership of Maurice Thorez for a united front and an alliance of all democratic forces.

In conformity with the decisions of our Seventeenth Congress, we shall continue this great battle, convinced that by establishing a united front of the parties which consider themselves working-class parties, and by an alliance of all republicans, we shall build up a movement powerful enough to overcome the regime of personal power and establish genuine democracy.

## The Problems of the Non-Capitalist Path of Development in India and the State of National Democracy

*G. Adhikari*

**I**S the slogan of National Democracy, as the most suitable state form to solve the problems of national regeneration and social progress along the non-capitalist path of development, applicable to India? What are the peculiarities of this stage of the revolution, what is the proletariat's attitude towards sections of the national bourgeoisie? These have been the central issues of the debate going on at present in our Party.

This debate found expression in the drafts of the Party Program which were presented before our last Party Congress held at Vijaywada in April 1961. The majority draft took its stand firmly on the analysis given in the

1960 Statement, and held that the slogan of National Democracy as the most suitable state form to implement the non-capitalist path of development to achieve national regeneration and social progress and to effect a gradual transition to socialism was fully "applicable to India."

The minority, while expressing full agreement with the analysis and general line of the Meeting, renounced in its draft the idea of national democracy as one which is not applicable to our country. The minority representatives denied the possibility of a broad militant alliance of all progressive forces of the country, the non-monopoly sections of



the national bourgeoisie of India included. Proceeding from this the minority in our Party expressed in its draft program the opinion that a state of people's democracy should be set up under the exclusive leadership of the working class.

The different viewpoints expressed in these two drafts also covered a number of other questions, such as the class character and the role of the present Indian Government, the contradictions in the present economic development and their effects and, lastly, questions of the strategy and tactics of building the National Democratic front in India. These differences were not solved at Vijaywada though unity of the Party was maintained.

The differences came to a head and the situation in our Party deteriorated sharply in connection with the crossing of our borders by the armed forces of the Chinese People's Republic, with the action of the Chinese leaders in trying to effect a solution of the border dispute with our country by force. This event had a disastrous effect on the Indian situation; it strengthened the reactionary forces and sharpened the differences in our Party to the point of a split.

The situation worsened when the Chinese leaders began to make public their own dogmatic and sectarian understanding of the situation in our country and the strategy and tactics that should be followed by the Communists in India. They publicly denounced the leadership of our Party as revisionist, as a tail of the bourgeois government and openly called for a split in our Party. This gross interference by the Chinese leaders played no small part in accelerating the developments which culminated in a split in our Party. The dissenters have set up a rival party and published their rival program.

The programmatic ideas put forward in the minority program which we mentioned above have been developed into a full-fledged dogmatic and sectarian line in this new program of the splitters. In this program they formally concede that in the context of the new world situation "new big opportunities have arisen for several economically backward and underdeveloped countries, on achieving independence, for establishing a State of National Democracy." It further states that "the developing working class can, by gradually establishing hegemony in that State, take the country along the path of non-capitalist development and go on to socialism by skipping over the stage of capitalism." But after saying this they draw the very strange conclusion. "Such a door, however, is barred to us in India."

The dissenters explain this by the fact that during the past two decades the national bourgeoisie of India has by utilizing state power strengthened its class positions at the expense of the mass of the people and by compromising and bargaining with imperialism and big landlordism. The country, they assert, has taken the path of capitalism. This is what the rival program has to say on this question:

"During the past two decades there has been an enormous growth of Indian monopoly and strengthening of capitalism in India. Such being the case, it is unrealistic to talk of a non-capitalist path of development and the establishment of a National Democratic State to achieve this aim in India. Even the basic democratic tasks of uprooting imperialist monopoly capital and smashing the feudal and semi-feudal fetters on our agriculture cannot be completed without dislodging this bourgeois-landlord government, headed by the big bourgeoisie, from power."

The dissenters who proceed from this analysis, deny the possibility of utilizing the non-monopoly groups of the national bourgeoisie to accomplish the basic tasks of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution and care nothing about preparing the political forces of the country; in effect they propose to the Indian people the following "immediate objective":

"... The establishment of People's Democracy based on the coalition of all genuine anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces headed by the working class. This demands first and foremost the replacement of the present bourgeois-landlord State and Government by a *state of the working people* and a Government led by the working class on the basis of a firm worker-peasant alliance. This *alone* can quickly and thoroughly complete the unfinished basic democratic tasks of the Indian revolution and pave the way to putting the country on the road of socialism." (Emphasis added.)

The quotations given and the emphasis added, expose the dogmatic and Left sectarian character of the positions. It appears that, as far as our dissenters are concerned, nothing has changed either in the world situation or in India; they do not seem to understand that a certain part of the Indian non-monopoly bourgeoisie is objectively interested in accomplishing the basic tasks of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution, without which it would be impossible to create a really independent national economy and do away with the backwardness; they close their eyes to the emergence of the mighty socialist system headed by the Soviet Union, as a



decisive factor influencing world developments and facilitating the growth of progressive trends.

Besides, it appears that some Indian Communists are not quite clear on the meaning of the term, the non-capitalist path, as applied to India.

In this article I shall, therefore, deal with those efforts which our Party is exerting in India towards applying the ideas of the Moscow Statement of 1960—the ideas of a state of national democracy and the non-capitalist path—to the concrete conditions in our country. Section VIII of the draft program of the CPI entitled “National Democratic Revolution and the Path Forward” is devoted to these questions.

Is the concept of the non-capitalist path a new concept in Marxism? In what context was it formulated originally and what is new in its application at the present stage? Only when we answer these questions will we be able to see the correct interconnection between the concept of National Democracy and the new application of the concept of the non-capitalist path.

The idea of a non-capitalist path was formulated in connection with the question: How do independent underdeveloped countries — countries which are not industrially developed and where feudal or semi-feudal relations still predominate in agriculture—make their transition to socialism? Should not they first have capitalism to become industrially advanced so as to become mature for socialist revolution?

These questions were first touched upon by Engels as far back as 1882 in the context of the future of the colonies of an imperialist country like England after the victory of the socialist revolution. It is natural that a reply could not be given to that question at the time. And in a letter to Karl Kautsky, Engels noted that one could advance only “idle hypotheses” of what “social and political phases” the colonial countries would have to pass through before they likewise “arrive at socialist organization.”

The question of the non-capitalist path of development for economically underdeveloped countries which have rid themselves of colonial oppression and imperialist domination was first raised in the works of Lenin. The thesis on the possibility of the economically underdeveloped countries skipping the capitalist stage was confirmed by the experience of the CPSU and a number of Soviet republics which arrived at socialism via the non-capitalist path, and also by the experience of the Mongolian People's Republic.

Later this question was elaborated in the

documents of the Sixth Congress of the Communist International on the revolutionary movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The appraisal of the role of the national bourgeoisie contained in these documents bore, however, the imprint of sectarianism. Although it was conceded that the national bourgeoisie is opposed to imperialism, it was at the same time noted that that opposition is always a reformist, a half-hearted one: being *anti-revolutionary*, it capitulates again and again to imperialism.

From this it was concluded that the national liberation is to be achieved under the leadership of a united national front at the head of which stands the working class, and that this alone can lead to complete independence; the state that is set up will have the character of the democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants; such a government in close alliance with the country of victorious socialism can complete the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution and build the requisites of socialism, i.e., a developed industry and agriculture, *in a non-capitalist way*.

Although this view ceased to conform to the radically changed conditions in the world, it continued to be current after the Second World War right up to 1956 — up to the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU.

True, China serves as an example confirming the correctness of the old theses. In 1927 as a result of the First Revolutionary War the big national bourgeoisie led by the Kuomintang came to power in China. What happened there in the next ten years was the development of compradore bureaucratic capital, closely linked with imperialism and controlled by it. Therefore, the task was to replace the reactionary government of the big compradore bourgeoisie by a government of “new democracy,” by the dictatorship of an alliance of all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal forces under the leadership of the proletariat. Such a government in alliance with the country of victorious socialism would be able to complete the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution and create the prerequisites of socialism on the basis of the non-capitalist path.

As regards China, the analysis of “New Democracy” made by Mao Tse-tung in January 1940 was fully confirmed when the Chinese people's revolution won its historic victory in 1949. However, the same analysis, mechanically generalized for all countries, continued to figure in the documents of the Communist Information Bureau. The newly independent countries which had won their independence under the national bourgeoisie were declared as not really independent and in the grip of the imperialists. Thus the gov-



ernments of these countries were assigned to the imperialist anti-democratic camp.

After the Second World War, an upsurge of national liberation revolutions in a number of countries of Asia and Africa resulted in their attaining independence. But in actual fact the independent countries which thus emerged were not of the two types visualized in the old understanding i.e., either satellites, semi-colonies of the imperialists, on the one hand, or People's Democracies, on the other. A new kind of state now emerged, typified by India. These states were led by the national bourgeoisie; they were not in a military alliance with imperialism; they generally pursued the policy of peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism; though not free from imperialist economic grip, they were struggling to build independent economies and maintaining relations with both the socialist and the imperialist camp.

This reality was shaping itself in these countries, yet our 1951 Program, drafted under the influence of the old understanding, ignored this. India was declared a satellite state—a semi-colony, whose bourgeois-landlord rulers were incapable of building an independent economy and who, in the field of foreign policy, were facilitating imperialist aggression and pursuing a spurious peace policy.

This error arose not only because there was a lag in understanding the full import and impact of the new epoch and the new stage of the general crisis of capitalism, but also because in the international Communist movement and in our Party there were strong tendencies which underestimated the significance of the liberation movement led by the national bourgeoisie and the fact that the national bourgeoisie had not exhausted its progressive role and the degree of its participation in the national liberation movement varied depending on the specific conditions. This led to sectarian mistakes and to the self-isolation of the Communists and the working class from the national-liberation movement, instead of to their hegemony in the same.

India belongs to the group of non-aligned countries, striving to develop an independent economy on capitalist lines — countries of bourgeois democracy, with a certain measure of bourgeois democratic freedom.

Internationally India stands for peace and peaceful coexistence; it pursues a policy of non-alignment and wages a struggle against colonialism. The socialist camp and the international Communist movement accord support to all anti-imperialist and progressive measures of governments of countries like India,

renders them economic aid to help them strengthen their economic independence.

What is the attitude of the masses to a government which is building an independent economy, though in a capitalist way, and maintains a certain measure of bourgeois freedom?

The masses see that the capitalist way of building an independent economy heaps economic burdens on them; does not raise but rather lowers their standard of living. They see that with the growth of capitalism and with the growth of monopoly and concentration of capital, the soil for reactionary forces grows and these forces begin to put pressure on the government to impel it towards pro-imperialist and anti-democratic policies.

The bankruptcy of the capitalist path to secure economic independence for the country and a better standard of living becomes more and more apparent to the masses.

Is it possible for India to reach economic independence, that is, a high level of industrialization and developed agriculture, in the capitalist way?

This possibility cannot of course be excluded. The capitalist path of development provides the national bourgeoisie as a whole with a number of possibilities to pursue its class aims. Of course, such a development would be a protracted one, heaping burdens and sufferings on the masses and involving dangers to the national interests of the country.

To recognize the possibility soberly is neither to have any illusions about capitalism nor to overestimate the impact of the new epoch.

The Communist Party of India does not set forth the objective of the immediate overthrow of the existing government, but concentrates on the following two objectives:

1. Isolate and eliminate the reactionary forces seeking to put the clock back and take the country in a pro-imperialist and anti-democratic direction.

2. Develop struggle against the Government to prevent its back-sliding in the above direction, mobilize and unite the masses to build an independent national economy in the non-capitalist way and to achieve such changes in the policy and structure of the Government, which would make it capable of implementing these policies.

The masses, being faced with the burden, suffering and danger inherent in the capitalist way are seeking an alternative path, are asking the question: Must India go the capitalist way? Is there no other way? The capitalist path stands discredited in the eyes of the masses. Experience teaches our people that it will not be able to rid itself of exploitation,



poverty and hunger while advancing along the capitalist way as our country is doing at present. This is the reason for the growing interest of our people in the ideas of socialism which are in keeping with their striving towards rapid progress and a better life. This is also the reason why the ruling class of India and its party, the National Congress, today proclaim the construction of a "socialist state" as their aim.

What are the principles of economic planning of the government which, as it claims, pursue the aim of setting up an independent national economy, raising the living standard of the people and liquidating economic and social inequality? It is creating a heavy industry in the state sector, carrying out an agrarian reform and maintaining democracy. These, according to the statements of the ruling party, are progressive principles.

However, the manner in which these principles are being implemented in actual planning, leads to an increase in the burdens and sufferings of the people and endangers the independent development of our country.

The alternative program we put before our people is a program of completing the anti-feudal and democratic revolution. We deem it necessary above all to curb the growth of monopoly capitalism in India; put an end to foreign capitalist control over our economy; extend and consolidate the public sector independent of foreign monopolies, placed on a democratic footing and constituting a powerful lever of building an independent national industry and economy; effectively curb the growth of Indian monopoly groups by breaking their economic might; end landlord domination and feudal survivals; carry through far-reaching agrarian reforms in the interests of the peasants, and abolish the rule of usurious, commercial and bank capital in our agriculture.

This program is, in substance, the non-capitalist path which as a result of deep-going changes will release the productive forces in industry and agriculture, raise the standard of living and create the possibilities for active participation by the people in production.

This alternative path, it must be clearly understood, is neither an anti-capitalist program in the sense of uprooting all capitalist relations nor a program of the immediate building of socialism. It is an alternative program of building an independent national economy—without, at the same time, allowing capitalist development in the familiar way, and enabling India to implement the task of economic construction with much smaller sacrifices and more rapidly.

The fight for this path puts forward a solu-

tion for the twofold crisis engendered by the Plan of the Congress government. Firstly, the planning under the present government is leading to a growth of monopoly, their influence over the state machine and public sector, huge profits for these monopolists and more corruption; these are leading to a crisis of resources and of foreign currency and hinder the economic development of the country. This creates the soil for the growth of reaction and for their attempt to subvert national policies—those of independent development and non-alignment. Secondly, the present Congress planning is resulting in heavier burdens and suffering for the masses, and a very slow rate of growth in living standards.

Our alternative offers a solution of the problem of resources, makes it possible to mobilize resources within the country by nationalizing the banks, oil, export-import trade and key industries which involve both foreign and Indian monopolists.

The alternative path, by releasing additional resources through nationalization and through expansion of the public sector and by fighting for complete agrarian reforms and for strengthening the economy of the masses of middle and poor peasants and agricultural laborers through developing cooperatives and giving them technical and material aid, creates conditions for raising the standard of living.

Thus, while formulating and fighting for this alternative path, the non-capitalist path, we develop a basic criticism of the present planning, which, though based on the three progressive principles noted above, is so implemented that in practice it leads to all the evils and contradictions of capitalism.

At the same time, we always stress that the only way to build an independent national economy, to avoid the crises mentioned above and the danger of reactionary anti-national subversion, is the alternative we offer. On this basis we believe it will be possible to unite all progressive sections of the people, including the bulk of the non-monopoly national bourgeoisie.

This, we think, is possible in our day at the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism not only because capitalism is discredited but also because the socialist system headed by the Soviet Union is becoming a decisive force, capable of crushing imperialist aggression and of giving the necessary economic aid to the underdeveloped countries enabling them to build their independent national economies and avoiding the dangers of capitalist development.

How can our people switch over to this better path? We see the reply as follows: by replacing the present bourgeois-democratic



government by a government of national democracy. National democracy is not bourgeois democracy in which the leadership of the national bourgeoisie is decisive; nor is it people's democracy in which the leadership of the working class is decisive, that leadership having won the support of the overwhelming majority of the people. It is qualitatively different from bourgeois democracy because it is consistently anti-imperialist and anti-feudal; it rejects dictatorial and despotic methods of government, ensures broadest democracy and active participation by the people and their organizations in effecting social changes and shaping government policy. In such a state, as distinct from bourgeois democracy, the balance of forces is shifted in favor of the proletariat, in the sense that the proletariat shares power with the national bourgeoisie. That is why such a state becomes an instrument for promoting development along the non-capitalist path.

In 1958 at our Amritsar Congress we took one more important step forward in giving a scientific foundation to the path of struggle we were evolving. Taking our cue from the 1957 Declaration of the Communist and Workers' parties, which defined how today in a number of countries opportunities have arisen for the working class and its party to create the necessary conditions for the peaceful realization of the socialist revolution, we wrote in the preamble to our Party Constitution the following.

"The Communist Party of India strives to achieve full democracy and socialism by peaceful means. It considers that by developing a powerful mass movement, by winning a majority in Parliament and by backing it with mass actions, the working class and its allies can overcome the resistance of the forces of reaction and ensure that Parliament becomes an instrument of the people's will for effective fundamental changes in the economic, social and state structure."

The peaceful way defined here is not to be identified with the "parliamentary way" of the reformist conception. In this bourgeois reformist concept of the parliamentary way the masses are to be passive and democracy formal, so what becomes decisive is not the will of the people but the power of the purse and its force. The peaceful way as defined in our Constitution is the most persevering effort by the majority of our people to utilize the democratic rights, freedom of speech, press and organization, parliamentary democracy won by our national-liberation struggle, to enforce the will of the people in achieving the urgent national and social objectives of today.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the proletariat and its Party should utilize all the democratic rights the people have won through struggle to awaken the broad masses, to unite them, to build disciplined class and mass organizations, to imbue them with self-confidence and revolutionary will to fight for the urgent national and social aims. Leninism teaches and experience confirms that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily, and one has to be prepared to use force whenever necessary. Everything will depend on whether the force of peaceful mass struggle, isolating the ruling classes, compels them to surrender or whether they hit back with their armed might at one stage or another. The proletariat and its party must never lose sight of the possibility, and it should be prepared for it. Given such a basic preparation, a switch-over to non-peaceful methods when required should not be difficult. Without such a basic preparation and attempt to switch over to non-peaceful methods would either remain mere talk or lead to adventurism.

The main content of the proletariat's fight for the peaceful path is persevering effort for the use of the democratic rights won for the defense of democracy and its extension. This brings out its revolutionary essence and demarcates it from its reformist concept. Lenin wrote in his *Two Tactics* and other works that the proletariat and its party in their struggle to achieve hegemony in the bourgeois-democratic revolution must be in the forefront of all in the struggle for democracy. In the present situation in India we have, on the one hand, a bourgeois government pursuing in general a policy of non-alignment, of economic independence and of ensuring some democracy, but at the same time using anti-democratic methods, developing capitalism and facilitating the growth of reaction; and on the other hand, we have the rise of an extreme reactionary trend which is seeking to subvert the national policies and the democracy that exists.

In this situation the path of struggle and unity, the path of building the broadest front of patriotic forces to defeat reaction and to force a Leftward turn in the policies of the ruling class is, essentially, a fight for all-round democracy and for consistent democratic development.

The democratic content of our path of struggle and unity has two aspects, the national aspect and the class aspect. The national aspect consists in the struggle to consolidate national sovereignty, to secure economic independence, all-round national regeneration, and to abolish all forms of feudal inequality



and backwardness. The class aspect consists in the exposure of capitalism and the capitalist way of development, showing how the class aspirations of the national bourgeoisie conflict with the national aspirations in the struggle for the non-capitalist path of development. It consists also in the struggle for curbing and eliminating foreign and Indian monopoly in our economy, and asserting the role of the masses, of the working class, of the worker-peasant alliance.

Both aspects are closely interlinked. It is a path of building a broad national democratic front, representing a militant alliance of all patriotic and democratic elements in the country with the working class playing a growing role. On the whole it is the path of widening and deepening the conquests of democracy—the precious fruit of our national-independence struggle—the path of peaceful mass struggle, combined with the use of parliamentary democracy, for all-round national regeneration and for socialism.

The slogan of power which corresponds to this path of struggle and to the broad front of all patriotic forces is the slogan of replacing the bourgeois-democratic government, which represents the interests of the entire bourgeoisie, including its Right-wing, and pursues a policy of hesitation and compromise with reaction, with a government of national democracy—or, as our Vijayawada resolution calls it, the government of the national democratic front.

It can be said that the state of national democracy will also differ from the state of people's democracy, the Indian conception of which was outlined in our program of 1951. It seems to us that in India no great difference was envisaged as concerns the composition of the classes participating in running the country under national democracy and at the initial stages of people's (socialist) democracy. The basic difference is that, in the state of people's democracy, as outlined in our past documents, only the working class heads the alliance of patriotic and class forces whereas under national democracy the leadership of this alliance can belong not only to the working class.

Under what circumstances will the national bourgeoisie, i.e., its truly patriotic sections, be compelled to enter into alliance with the working class and the democratic forces? This will not take place easily. Under the stress of economic development—growth of capitalism and growth of monopoly—a reactionary trend is emerging in the country in the shape of the Swatantra Party and some other communal parties which embody the reactionary trend outside the national bourgeois govern-

ment. This trend is demanding the reversal of the national policy of non-alignment, growth of the public sector, radical agrarian reform and democracy. This trend, though growing, is not strong. However, inside the Congress—the ruling party—there is a Right wing which is sabotaging national policy from within, while the Left wing, which is emerging, wants a vigorous "go ahead" implementation of national policy. A process of differentiation is taking place in the national bourgeoisie and inside the ruling party. It is not very advanced and is proceeding slowly. The Left in the National Congress is as yet neither assertive nor strong.

We took note of this differentiation in framing our policy at Vijayawada. This differentiation, it should be said, has continued since Vijayawada, though the situation has been complicated by the consequences of the Chinese invasion and the intensification of the border conflict. At the same time U.S. imperialist and neo-colonialist pressure on India is being stepped up. This is a further factor promoting the differentiation.

At such a time the disunity of the democratic forces and the disunity in the Communist Party itself are factors favoring the Rightward swing. But if the disunity can be overcome and a powerful national-democratic movement gets going, then real possibilities will arise both for differentiation in the national bourgeoisie and in the ruling party and for a shift in the correlation of forces in favor of the working class and all democrats. These, then, are the preconditions for the realization of the national democratic front and subsequently of the slogan of national democracy.

Such is the revolutionary concept of a national-democratic government. Such a government arises in the course of a bitter nationwide democratic struggle leading to the isolation and defeat of the reactionary monopoly sections of the bourgeoisie and the feudal elements.

Unity with the patriotic national bourgeoisie is forged in the fire of the same struggle which is national in form and whose driving force are the worker-peasant and democratic masses. The government which arises on the crest of such a mass movement will, no doubt, have contradictions within it—those between the national bourgeoisie and the common people but under the constant pressure of the mass movement it will be forced to act unitedly and implement the program of national development in the non-capitalist way, i.e., eliminating foreign monopoly, curbing Indian monopoly, carrying through radical agrarian reforms, extending democracy, ensuring active



participation by the masses in the economic and political life of the country.

In this process the balance continuously shifts in favor of the working class and of the worker-peasant alliance. This paves the way for strengthening the leadership of the working class in the state and thus creates the conditions for the transition to socialism.

It is a fact that as social contradictions sharpen the national bourgeoisie tends more and more to compromise. At the same time the patriotic national bourgeoisie can and must be included in the national-democratic front to complete the national-democratic tasks. In those conditions, as Leninists we have to address ourselves to the task of finding a way, in the concrete situation, to stabilize the national bourgeoisie in the front, to neutralize its composing inclinations.

This can only be done by utilizing the differentiation in the ranks of the national bourgeoisie. In order to defeat the reactionary monopoly groups and other reactionaries, and to isolate the extreme Right wing in the Congress and in the ruling circles, we must launch a powerful nation-wide democratic movement the driving force of which are the working class and the peasant masses, a movement for consistent implementation of national policies. Such a movement can create conditions for uniting all the democratic forces, including the patriotic sections of the national bourgeoisie, in the national-democratic front.

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The situation that has developed in our country in the recent months following the passing away of our late Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, is characterized in the economic field by the crisis of price-rise, especially of food grains and other necessities, cruelly hitting the masses and lowering their standard of living. In the political field, it is characterized by the rising pressure of the Right reactionary forces and of the powerful monopoly groups seeking to edge the government to the Right, to subvert national policy and to turn the clock back.

The powerful rallying of the democratic forces and their unity of action, which was reflected in the mass struggles of the recent months—struggles to defend living standards, to rebuff the pressure of the reactionaries and to force the government to adopt urgent progressive measures, such as state trading in food grains and nationalization of the banks—fully confirm the following statements in our draft program. "Objective conditions are most favorable for building up a national mass movement . . . for forging a national democratic front in the course of this struggle. . . . The slogan of setting up a National Democratic Front and later a government of the NDF—the state of national democracy—has today the greatest mobilizing force. That is why we make it the central slogan of the day."



## Some Lessons of the Civil War in Greece

FIFTEEN years have passed since the civil war in Greece (1946-49) came to an end. Today the situation is quite different — what with the defeat of the neo-fascist ERE\* government, the victory of the democratic forces at the polls and an active popular movement for genuine democracy, to mention only the salient features. Still, many of the lessons of the civil war period are of no little topical significance.

### The National Resistance and the Civil War

The civil war should be regarded against the background of the National Resistance Movement of 1940-44 and the December battles of 1944 since these not only gave a powerful stimulus to the popular struggle but also left behind an adverse legacy which laid its imprint on the subsequent development of the people's democratic movement.

The National Resistance Movement and the struggle of December 1944 led by the National-Liberation Front (EAM) in which the Communist Party was the moving spirit broadened the outlook of the people, heightened their awareness of their own strength, offered them a foretaste of popular government, and inspired them with hope that liberation from the Nazi yoke would be followed in the postwar by the solution of the country's internal problems along peaceful democratic lines.

The leadership of the Communist Party correctly directed all its efforts at ensuring allied victory over Hitler Germany. But it failed to expose and rebuff the intrigues of the British imperialists and to prepare the people to resist British intervention; it did not harness the will of the people to the struggle for democracy.

Repeated concessions and mistakes on the part of the Party leadership helped to create a situation where the oligarchy came into power as a result of imperialist intervention. Once again foreign imperialist domination was imposed on the people and additional difficulties created for the popular struggle.

Distorting the truth, the home and foreign reactionaries claim that the responsibility for the civil war rests with the Communist Party. But the incontrovertible facts prove that the

guilt rests squarely with the plutocratic oligarchy and the imperialists.

There is now ample proof that the British imperialists, seeing that they could not subordinate the Greek National Resistance Movement to their aims by political means, sought to split and defeat it by provoking civil war already during the Nazi occupation. This was also the object of their armed intervention in December 1944. And in 1946 they again impelled our people to civil war in order to restore the fascist monarchy and to place the Right-wing collaborators in the saddle.

Citing instructions he had received from Cairo towards the end of April 1943, Meyers, head of the British Military Mission in Greece, wrote that inasmuch as it was impossible to drive a wedge between the ELAS\* and the EAM, whose aims were opposed to those of the more moderate movements, the authorities in Cairo believed civil war to be inevitable after the liberation of Greece.

In September 1943 Churchill cabled General Ismay (for transmission to the Chiefs of Staff): "Should the Germans evacuate Greece we must certainly be able to send 5,000 British troops with armored cars and Bren gun carriers into Athens."\*\*\* This, as Churchill himself notes, was the first indication that "we might be forced to intervene in Greek internal affairs at the moment of liberation."\*\*\* Six months later Churchill urged intervention at the earliest moment. "I fully expect," he wrote, "a clash with EAM and we must not shrink from it, provided the ground is well chosen."\*\*\*\*

The intervention came in December 1944, with request for aid from the Greek plutocratic oligarchy as the pretext.

After the December defeat and the Varkiz agreement which the EAM and the Communist Party were compelled to sign and under which the ELAS undertook to surrender its arms, the political situation was as follows.

The reactionaries, installed in power by foreign arms, flagrantly violating the Varkiz agreement on the cessation of hostilities, set about abolishing the gains of the people and sup-

\*People's Liberation Army.—Ed.

\*\*See Winston Churchill, *The Second World War*. Vol. 5 Book II, p. 475.

\*\*\*Ibid., p. 476.

\*\*\*\*Ibid., Vol. 6, Book 1, p. 250.

\*National Radical Union, which represents the interests of the big Greek capitalists associated with foreign monopolies.—Ed.



pressing the popular movement. Closely co-operating with the British imperialists and relying on fascist collaborators, they reorganized the state machine and directed their main blow at working-class organizations.

The following incomplete figures afford an idea of the scale which the terror acquired during the first post-Varkiz year: 1,289 people were killed, 6,671 wounded and 75,000 arrested; there were 6,567 hold-ups and 572 raids on printing plants. In addition, more than 100,000 citizens were subjected to other repressive measures.

To this the Communist Party counterposed its own line — a line of struggle for national unity, to prevent civil war, for the withdrawal of British troops and for normal democratic life.

Pursuance of this line put an end to the confusion and uncertainty in the ranks of the democratic forces fairly quickly and the popular movement made headway. The Left gained a victory in the trade unions. In the countryside, despite the terror, the Left forces were able to retain their positions in many cooperatives. In 1946 all sections of the working people joined in mass economic and political actions and a broad people's democratic anti-imperialist movement gained momentum.

In the course of the struggle the Democratic Association was established as a new form of mass organization aimed at winning democracy and preventing civil war.

In response to a call issued by the Democratic Association mass meetings were attended by more than 300,000 in Athens and 100,000 in Saloniki. These meetings put forward the demand for a general political amnesty and free elections.

Alarmed by the rapid growth of the movement, the oligarchy and the British imperialists stepped up their provocations, impelling the country towards civil war.

It has been conclusively proved that the British imperialists and the Greek reactionaries did their utmost to unleash civil war. It is they who bear the responsibility not only for the bloodshed (according to official figures published in *Eleftheria* on March 18, 1952, the number of civil war victims was 154,561) but also for turning down the repeated offers of the Provisional Democratic Government to terminate the war, as well as the proposals made by the Soviet Union for a durable peace in Greece.

It should be pointed out that while the Right opportunist mistakes committed by the leadership of the Communist Party during the occupation caused the popular movement to be ideologically, politically and organizationally unprepared to repulse the British armed inter-

vention in December 1944, the Left opportunist mistakes made after December enabled the reactionaries and imperialists to start the civil war, which they saw as the only way to complete what they had started in December, to crush the democratic movement and to consolidate their power.

The Eighth Congress of our Party (August 1961) held that the basic mistakes made by the Party leadership of that time were the following: first, it incorrectly appraised the postwar situation (1945-46), underestimated the peaceful forms of struggle which could have helped to unite the majority of the people around the working class, and turned to armed struggle when the conditions did not warrant this; second, having decided on armed action, the Party leadership prepared for it belatedly, and the enemy took advantage of this. These basic mistakes, as well as a number of others stemming from them and the generally Left sectarian policy of the Party leadership at the time, had disastrous consequences for the democratic movement.

Of the utmost importance in the revolutionary struggle is a correct assessment of the popular sentiment, which, though shaped by the objective conditions and pressures, must be channeled in the desired direction by advancing slogans giving concrete expression to a sound Party policy.

Precise assessment of the mood of the masses and their readiness to take revolutionary action is all the more important when it comes to armed struggle, especially protracted partisan warfare.

The leadership of the Communist Party ignored these considerations when the struggle against the offensive of the Greek reactionaries and the imperialists reached the critical stage with the announcement of a general election to be held on March 31, 1946.

What was the situation in the country at that time and what was the mood of the masses?

A revolutionary crisis was maturing, but it had not yet come to a head. The Communist Party had the support of the majority of the working class (witness the trade union elections) around which the peasantry and the urban middle sections were rallying. Our Party won these masses by waging the fight for independence, democracy and the peace so deeply desired by the people.

The only correct policy in these circumstances would have been participation in the elections with a view to rallying all the democratic forces around the slogans of "Out with the British fomentors of civil war!" and "For normal democratic life!" and action to avert the



civil war. The whole situation called for this policy. If pursued it would have added to the prestige of the Communist Party and the EAM, strengthened their links with the masses, won them stronger positions (this is clear from the response to the Party's call to boycott the elections), and opened new opportunities for winning democratic gains by peaceful means. Success for this line was a tangible *possibility* (inasmuch as it was supported by the overwhelming majority of the people and the balance of forces in the world arena and in the Balkans was favorable). And if the home reactionaries and the British imperialists had persisted in fomenting civil war, the masses themselves would have realized that the only way out was to take to arms.

But at this critical juncture the leadership of the Communist Party, assuming without any justification that the masses who had followed our lead in the struggle for peace would automatically, without proper preparation, follow us also in armed struggle, decided to boycott the elections, opted for armed struggle and, regardless of the fact that the situation was unfavorable, actually embarked upon civil war and thus played into the hands of the British imperialists and the home reactionaries.

Moreover, capitalizing on the inconsistency in the policy of the Party leadership, the reactionaries succeeded in shielding those really responsible for the civil war and in putting the blame on the Communist Party. As a result, the Party was isolated from the masses. Even people close to the Party refused to follow its lead and rejected armed struggle.

Speaking of the "Left," contradictory line pursued by the Party leadership at the time, it should be noted that it aimed at carrying the revolution to its socialist stage without going through the anti-imperialist democratic stage. N. Zahariadis wrote subsequently that the Greek Democratic Army "fought *from the very beginning* for the social revolution" and that "wherever it was victorious it established the dictatorship of the proletariat."

This erroneous line gave rise to other mistakes, such as, for instance, the new attitude adopted on the Macedonian question, underestimation of our allies in the EAM, and a subjectivist approach to the armed struggle.

The Eighth Party Congress also pointed out that one of the basic mistakes of the Party leadership at the time was that, having turned the Party towards an armed struggle, it allowed 18 months to go by before any efforts were made to prepare for the struggle.

To begin with *the policy of the Party leadership at this time was clearly contradictory and vacillating*. Indicative in this respect were the

decisions of the national conference held on April 16-17, 1946, which posed before the membership tasks that had nothing to do with the armed struggle for which the Central Committee had opted two months earlier. The decision of the Seventh Congress (October 1945) dissolving the rural organizations of the Party and instructing their members to join the Agrarian Party was now being implemented. This disorganized the Party in the rural areas at a time when all its branches should have been strengthened in every way, and when, according to the instructions issued by the leadership, the armed struggle was to be started — and indeed had started — in the countryside.

Secondly, the problem of reserves, which is one of the most important elements of revolutionary strategy, was not correctly solved. As we know, ensuring adequate forces and reserves for any armed struggle requires 1) a correct policy. 2) timely political, ideological and organizational preparation of forces, primarily the forces of the Party, and 3) timely and determined action to forestall any attempt by the enemy to deprive the popular movement of its reserves. It is imperative to be ahead of the enemy in mustering reserves and in moving them into action.

The first condition, as can be seen from what has been said, was not met. The decision on armed struggle ran counter to the sentiment of the masses. Even many Party functionaries and members did not agree with it. This made it much more difficult to ensure the second condition — the ideological, political and organizational preparation of forces for the armed struggle. For the Party's decision had to be implemented primarily by its functionaries and members.

"The masses," Lenin said, "must know that they are entering upon an armed, bloody and desperate struggle. Contempt for death must become widespread among them and will ensure victory."\*

Armed struggle, if only in the form of guerrilla action in the countryside, is sooner or later bound to lead to the banning of the Party and all other democratic organizations. Consequently it is essential to take steps in advance to ensure underground Party activity. This applies primarily to the urban centers which are under the direct control of the enemy and where practically the entire vanguard force of the revolution — the working class — is to be found.

But these things were not done, with the result that the steps taken by the enemy to

\*V. I. Lenin, *Lessons of the Moscow Uprising*.



isolate the Party and the Democratic Army did not meet with resolute resistance.

With the Party isolated, only part of its forces, and a small part at that, engaged in the struggle, cut off, moreover, from the other revolutionary forces and from the people generally. This was the result not only of the wrong policy of the Party leadership but of the lack of proper preparation.

Third, a wrong approach was taken to the army. Lenin said: "... the wavering of the troops, which is inevitable in every truly popular movement, leads to a real *fight for the troops* whenever the revolutionary struggle becomes acute. The Moscow uprising was precisely an example of the desperate, frantic struggle for the troops that takes place between reaction and the revolution."\*

An examination of the situation in the army at the time when the decision on armed struggle was taken and the Party leaders' subsequent attitude towards it leaves no doubt that the Leninist principle of struggle to win over the troops in preparing for and waging armed struggle was ignored.

In 1946, when the Central Committee decided to steer a course towards armed struggle, the situation in the army was favorable for the popular movement. Its numerical strength was no more than 60,000 and democratic sentiment was widespread among the men. Describing the situation in July 1946, General Tsakalotos mentioned that half the men of a brigade of the Second Army Corps in Larissa were under arrest. And this was not an isolated instance; it was characteristic for the entire army. Yet the Party turned its attention to preparing for armed struggle 15 months after the Central Committee decision. By this time the army was far from what it had been in 1946 from the standpoint of both organization and personnel, officers as well as men. The reactionaries, using every device from intimidation, torture and the firing squad to "brainwashing," corruption and bribery, had succeeded in changing the situation.

It should also be borne in mind that the Party leadership paid little attention to preserving the military cadres of ELAS, in particular the former regular army officers, whose training and skills were essential for building up the Democratic Army and especially for staff work.

Apart from the fact that for a long time there was no military center to direct the armed struggle, the *absence of a strategic plan* should be noted. For some time the local organizations of the Party were left to their

own devices and, lacking instructions, took haphazard action at their own discretion. The armed detachments which began to be formed in the spring of 1946 were left to decide for themselves whom to take in. In 1947, for instance, many detachments would not accept volunteers who offered to join but sent them back to the villages where arrest awaited them.

The absence of a strategic plan, combined with all the other negative features, laid its imprint on the organization and direction of operations, and ruled out a proper study of the enemy, of his possibilities and the prospects of the struggle.

### **The Reactionary War Against the People**

In the situation that developed in 1946 and 1947 the reactionaries were able to launch an offensive against the popular forces.

With the help of the British imperialists they reorganized their armed forces, set up a state administration and intensified the terror. The Communist Party was outlawed, the EAM disbanded, democratic organizations, and 62 democratic newspapers were banned and restrictions were placed on the movements of the urban population.

By the end of 1947 the number of people in prison camps on the islands exceeded 30,000; 20,000 officers and men were held in a concentration camp in Makronisos, and 15,000 people were in jail.

The isolation of the towns, and of the working population from the Democratic Army, the closing down of the Party organizations and the consequent absence of mass actions in the towns had a strongly negative effect on the armed struggle of the people during the civil war.

The fact that after the formation of the first armed groups the leadership of the Party remained virtually inactive gave the enemy time to isolate the Democratic Army from the population of the countryside as well. Big tracts of land lay deserted because half a million peasants had been herded into camps set up in the vicinity of the towns. The Democratic Army was thus deprived of its last source of supply and information, its last means of contact with the urban population. The partisans were practically the sole inhabitants of the villages in the deserted mountain areas.

Thus before it had had time to build up its strength, the Democratic Army was isolated throughout the duration of the struggle. Because of the erroneous policy of the Party leadership in boycotting the elections, in launching a premature and ill-prepared uprising, and also owing to maneuvers taken by the

\*V. I. Lenin, *Lessons of the Moscow Uprising*.



enemy, the Party, too, found itself cut off from the masses.

The sectarian, "Left", dogmatic policy of the leadership at this time helped the enemy to divide the democratic forces, to isolate the Party from the people and to deprive the Democratic Army of any prospect of becoming a serious force.

Strategic defeat was now a foregone conclusion. In the absence of reserves, the few gains made could not prevent the military situation from becoming increasingly unfavorable for the Democratic Army, faced as it was with an enemy infinitely stronger both numerically and in armament. Moreover, as events moved toward their denouement, the strength of the enemy increased. It received American arms and equipment. It acquired an air force which operated almost unchallenged since the Democratic Army had neither airplanes nor anti-aircraft defenses.

The reactionaries vented their rage not only against the men of the Democratic Army but also against the civilian population; more than 700 villages were bombed out of existence, leaving their inhabitants homeless. Arrests and executions became the order of the day. During the punitive operations in Peloponnesos, 5,500 civilians were summarily arrested on a single night on orders from Pentzopoulus, commanding officer of the area.

Military tribunals sentenced patriots to death by the hundreds. In the Peloponnesos area alone six military tribunals functioned almost daily. According to a report from the General Staff of the government, dated November 21, 1949, these tribunals passed 5,322 death sentences between July 1946 and October 1949, and of these 3,038 were carried out.

#### THE ROLE OF THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS

In their war against the Democratic Army of Greece the reactionaries received generous aid from the U.S. imperialists. This American intervention — a sequel to the intervention of the British imperialists who, finding the business of crushing the Greek popular movement too costly, made way for their American partner — began with the proclamation of the notorious "Truman doctrine." As the *New York Herald Tribune* commented in April 1947, the USA chose Greece and Turkey not because these countries needed American aid but because they represented the strategic gateway to the Black Sea and the Soviet Union.

With the proclamation of the Truman doctrine, the USA embarked on open intervention in Greece. "Today the question of independence no longer exists," the conservative *Kathimerini* newspaper wrote on March 16, 1947. "Now the only question is that of who is the master.

We have one master. Or rather two. America and Britain."

Washington poured over 3,000 million dollars in "aid" into Greece, 90 per cent of which was spent on prosecuting the war against the Greek people, and, later, on organizing and maintaining in a state of constant military preparedness an armed force out of all proportion to the needs and potentialities of Greece, and intended solely for the purpose of turning Greece into an imperialist base of operations in the Balkans.

According to the *New York Star*, in the first six months of 1949 the United States dispatched to Greece 152 aircraft and 7,000 bombs, 10,000 army cars, 3,840 guns and mortars and 280 million rounds of ammunition.

This shows that the victory of the reactionaries in the civil war was won mainly thanks to the intervention of the U.S. imperialists.

#### The Struggle Waged by the Democratic Army of Greece Was a Heroic and Just Struggle

The civil war of 1946-49 was one of the gravest ordeals ever experienced by the Party and the democratic movement of our country.

For three years the Democratic Army fought an unequal battle in the face of indescribable difficulties and hardships. It inflicted heavy blows on the reactionaries and inscribed glorious pages in the history of our people's struggle. But the heavy losses suffered could not be replenished. And this situation remained unchanged until the end of hostilities in September 1949.

During the fighting in Northern Greece in 1949 the government forces outnumbered those of the Democratic Army 20 to 1, and were infinitely better equipped. In the face of these overwhelming odds the Democratic Army was forced to discontinue hostilities in September 1949.

In the course of this unequal struggle the men of the Democratic Army acquired valuable experience in mobile and positional warfare, operations in depth and in inhabited areas. Splendid heroes emerged from their midst to take their place alongside the heroes of the national-liberation struggle of 1940-44.

The armed struggle of 1946-49, regardless of its organizational weaknesses was, nevertheless, a *just national struggle*, a continuation of the resistance against the Hitler invaders and the army of occupation, a continuation of the struggle waged by the people against foreign intervention in December 1944.

The gallant struggle of the Democratic Army was an invaluable experience for the national-liberation movement of Greece. It showed the determination of the Greek people to fight oppression, their refusal to tolerate monarcho-



fascism and Anglo-American imperialism, and their firm resolve to fight for national independence, democracy and social progress.

In the valiant resistance of our people in the towns and in the mountains the Communists were in the vanguard. They were always with the people and they suffered untold losses. The courage and dignity with which the Communists faced their executioners is legendary. In their loyalty to their ideals they never wavered, they held aloft the banner of their Party even when the general line of its leadership was incorrect. The struggle and the sacrifice of the Greek people, the struggle and sacrifices of the Communists have not been in vain. They cannot be erased from the memory of the nation. And if today, despite all the slander and persecution, the prestige of the Party is growing, this is because in their resistance struggle the Communists acted as irreconcilable enemies of the foreign intervention and staunch fighters against the plutocratic oligarchy. The fact that this struggle did not directly lead to victory does not detract from its value; on the contrary, its significance both for today and for the struggles ahead cannot be overestimated.

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To withdraw from armed struggle is not an easy matter; it presupposes considered thought, firmness and resolution and intensive political ideological and organizational work based on a correct policy. In the given case the difficulties were heightened by the contradictory sectarian policy pursued at the time by the leadership of our Party.

The meeting of the CC of our Party in 1949 correctly decided to shift the center of gravity in Party work to the organization and direction of economic and political mass action. The leadership had often referred to Lenin's words: "Let us withdraw and reorganize everything from the beginning, but more thoroughly, before we have been finally defeated."

But this principle was discarded by the subsequent theories and practices of the Party leadership which were permeated with subjectivism and sectarianism. At a time when the Democratic Army had suffered defeat,\* when the reactionaries had inflicted a heavy blow at the main forces of the vanguard, and with the Party disorganized and out of touch with the masses, its leadership claimed that a revolutionary situation still existed in the country and that after the withdrawal of the Democratic Army the crisis had deepened.

\*The main forces of the Democratic Army were not destroyed but were forced to leave Greek territory.

The fruit of this erroneous conclusion was contradictory and sectarian policy: the military slogan "at the ready!", guerrilla operations by small groups two years after the armed struggle had all but petered out, and the assertion that these groups "were fighting not a rear-guard action but the first skirmishes of impending battles."

This policy simply complicated the difficult job of reorganizing the Party forces and elaborating a new line. It inflamed passions already heated to fever pitch by three years of civil war and gave the ultra reactionaries another pretext for continuing the terror against the civil population, against every democrat or democratic sympathizer. This irresponsible policy made it difficult effectively to combat the war psychosis and helped both the reactionaries and the U.S. imperialists in their provocations against the people's democracies in the Balkans.

#### Need for Normal Democratic Development

The reactionaries and their foreign patrons drowned the national-liberation movement in blood and then unleashed civil war avowedly for the sake of the national independence of Greece, for its economic advancement, democracy and peace. But the 15 years that have passed since the end of the civil war have opened the eyes of even the most gullible to the cynicism and hypocrisy of these claims.

Instead of strengthening her national independence Greece found herself in the position of what the reactionary newspaper, *Kathimerini*, described as "a miserable protectorate." Having signed under imperialist pressure a number of shackling agreements (e.g., the Greco-American agreement of 1953) and joined the aggressive NATO bloc, successive governments set the country on a perilous path. Their foreign policy, of which the betrayal of Cyprus and the Zurich-London Agreements were the concentrated expression, was subordinated to the interests of the imperialists and their designs to hot-up the "cold war" in the Balkans and throughout the world.

Before the war Greek economy depended mainly on British capital. After the war it found itself more dependent than ever on foreign monopoly capital, this time American capital. Greece became the arena of the economic and political rivalry of the NATO imperialist forces. With Greece's entry into the Common Market, the economy and the economic position of the working people took a turn for the worse.

On December 12, 1958, the very same *Kathimerini* which had been so loud in acclaiming



the Truman doctrine, had this to say: "In the nearly 15 years since the Second World War we have been unable, despite Truman doctrines, Marshall plans, American aid and so on to make Greece capable of maintaining and feeding her own population."

Instead of the "sound democracy" promised by the "Truman doctrine," Greece was saddled with a reactionary regime in which the gendarme played the leading role and the police penetrated into every pore of public life. Power was concentrated in the hands of the ultra reactionary and degenerate section of the big bourgeoisie, represented in political life by the ERE whose membership consisted mainly of collaborators, toadies and political mountebanks.

On the false pretext that the "insurrection was still raging" and later, that "the insurrection is being carried on abroad," the authorities extended the emergency measures introduced during the civil war under which hundreds of citizens had been executed and thousands threatened with imprisonment, exile, loss of citizenship, loss of work, pensions and other rights. Anti-Communist hysteria was whipped up and the country was subjected to fascist-type rule and neo-fascist organizations sprang up like mushrooms.

But there was another feature which laid its stamp on the life of the country at that time, namely, the heroic and determined struggle waged by the people.

This resistance headed by the working-class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, has passed through various phases in its development; it was given a new impetus by the changes which took place in the leadership of the Communist Party in March 1956; the adventurist, sectarian policy of the Zahariadis group was condemned, and things were helped by the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and the successes of the camp of peace and socialism. In recent years hundreds of thousands of working people have taken part in strikes, peasant rallies and other actions. The funeral of Grigoris Lambrakis, murdered by fascists, developed into a nationwide demonstration in which more than 500,000 people took part in Athens alone. The victory over the forces of reaction in the general election held in November 1963 and in February of this year, the Workers' March of April 6, 1964, and also the Peace March of May 1, 1964, which had repercussions all over Europe — all are evidence of the upsurge of the popular resistance.

It was this sentiment that brought about the downfall of the Karamanlis regime.

The dual defeat suffered by the Rights in

the general election and in the recent municipal elections has created a new situation which is marked by the steady advance of the popular movement for genuine democracy in all spheres of life.

Backed by the rich experience of the National Resistance, the experience of 15 years of hard struggle, a mass movement for normal democratic life and the regeneration of Greece, interrupted by the armed intervention, is rapidly gaining momentum.

Looking back it can be said that the British intervention in December 1944 and that of the Americans in March 1947 initiated the imperialists' postwar drive to build up the Atlantic Alliance, to strangle the process of liberation and democratization at work in the countries liberated from the Nazi yoke, to resurrect and instal ultra reactionary regimes. And that these efforts did not lead to disaster was the result not of the good intentions of Mr. Dulles and his disciples in the various countries, but to the steadily growing might of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, to the valiant struggle of the peoples for peace, democracy and progress, a struggle to which our people have contributed their modest share.

The Greek people, who lived through the ordeals of the Hitler occupation and civil war, have time and again voiced their desire to effect by peaceful means the democratic reforms the country so badly needs. We are convinced that the wind of change felt today in our factories and on our fields, in our universities and in offices, is evidence of the desire for democracy, and we believe that it will lead onto the right path even those still standing at the crossroads of our political life.

Today only a handful of representatives of the oligarchy and agents of the foreign monopolies are trying to revive the dying embers of the civil war, to sow dissension and hatred in order to weaken the nation's resistance to the forces conspiring against democracy and progress.

The Communist Party has no desire to succumb to the spirit of revenge or to rake up the past, although our Party represents those sections of the population who have borne the brunt of the suffering and hardships. It does not want to do so not because, as the reactionaries claim, the Party is responsible for the past or because it has no argument, but because it is guided above all by the interests of the nation.

Bearing in mind the passionate desire of the people for normal democratic life, and taking into account the fundamental change in the balance of world forces in favor of



socialism, a change which makes it harder for the imperialists to meddle in the affairs of other countries, our Party has proclaimed in its program that given certain conditions it may be possible in Greece to effect national-democratic and, subsequently, socialist reforms by peaceful means.

The Communist Party, true to the Marxist-Leninist teaching, has repeatedly declared — and has confirmed this by its practical activity — that it will do everything to achieve this goal. At the same time, our Party does not lose sight of the class antagonisms, the striving of the oligarchy to retard social progress and to preserve their power by every means not excluding armed force; also it is likewise well aware that the oligarchy have at their disposal a vast military and police machine, not to speak of considerable experience in counter-revolutionary struggle, and

that in the past it has invariably been the initiator of the lawlessness and violence that have paralyzed normal democratic life. Hence the Party stresses in its program that the working people must be prepared to foil any attempts on the part of the plutocracy again to resort to force to thwart the will of the people.

Our people have learned from bitter experience that the Communist Party's policy of upholding Constitutional rights, of rebuffing sallies on the part of the reactionaries, extending the class struggle in order to win new positions for the national-democratic movement and of uniting all the people to restore and extend democracy is the correct policy. Only in this way will it be possible to frustrate the designs of the reactionaries and ensure the democratic development of Greece.

*Zizis ZOGRAFOS*

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## CENTENARY OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL

### International Commemoration Session

**A**N INTERNATIONAL seminar on the centenary of the First International was held in Berlin on September 25-29 under the joint auspices of the journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism* and the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

Over a hundred Marxist scholars and leaders of Communist and Workers' parties from 40 countries attended.

Referring to the significance of the revolutionary traditions of the First International and noting their relationship to the contemporary world revolutionary process, and examining some of the basic issues of the revolutionary movement of today, the speakers stressed that the seminar was proof of the cohesion and mutual understanding among Marxist-Leninists the world over, and would serve to strengthen their unity through creative development of social science.

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In a paper entitled "The First International and the Modern International Communist Movement," *Walter Ulbricht (GDR)* said:

The International Working Men's Association was the first mass international organization of the proletariat. It helped to found many revolutionary working-class parties and laid the foundations of the international Communist movement of our day.

Glancing back at the development of the Communist movement, we can say that no other political teaching or political movement in history has won such impressive victories in such a relatively brief period as has the Communist movement and the theory of scientific communism. All the revolutionary movements of our day are guided, to one or another extent, by the principles of the First International.

From the *Communist Manifesto* and the founding of the First International the path leads to Lenin's teaching on the role of the proletarian revolutionary party, to the founding of the Bolshevik Party and to the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The same path leads further to the joint documents of the Communist and Workers' parties of 1957 and 1960 and to the CPSU Program adopted by the Twenty-Second Congress — the Communist Manifesto of the 20th century.

The Communist movement of today is the true heir to the glorious revolutionary traditions of the First International, which have become part of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice.

The First International laid the foundation for proletarian organization on an international as well as on a national scale. This organization develops continuously, revealing new features at each stage of the class struggle. It lives on in the combination "of unity and solidarity, in common action and policy." It is a class organization which, Engels wrote, "... freely adapts itself to the conditions peculiar to each nation and each locality, preserving, however, its principal features everywhere and thus ensuring unity of purpose and general accord on the means to be used to achieve a common aim — the emancipation of the working class by the working class itself."

The International acted as a link between the national contingents of the working class, it fused their ideas and objectives, and showed the need for mutual aid. It taught the various contingents of the working class to benefit from the experience of each in the revolutionary struggle and to enrich one another in theory and practice.

The International trenchantly denounced any tendency toward one-man leadership in the working-class movement, regardless of whether it emanated from a particular organization or individual. It fought against exaggeration of the role of leaders, against "personality cults." Marx in particular reacted with indignation to any exaggeration of his personal services to the movement. The International considered tendencies towards one-man leadership to be the source of error and delusion.

The resolutions of the International contain some important observations with regard to the multiplicity of the forms and methods of socialist revolution. Marx said: "We must tell the governments that we know they are an armed force directed against the proletarians and that we shall act against them peacefully whenever possible, or by force of arms, should the need arise."

We stand for the peaceful way to socialism, *Walter Ulbricht* noted. But we must reckon with the fact that the extreme Right of the



bourgeoisie, by fomenting civil war, may compel the working class and the progressive forces to wage an armed struggle.

*Pyotr Pospelov's (USSR) paper, "The First International and Its Place in History,"* noted that Marx and Engels, the strategists of the socialist revolution, held that the victory of the proletariat can be won either by armed force or by peaceful means, depending on the concrete condition. In an interview with the London correspondent of a New York newspaper, Marx observed that an uprising would be madness where peaceful persuasion would be a quicker and surer way of reaching the goal. Marx never excluded the possibility of using the parliamentary way.

The documents of the First International examine the question of the allies of the proletariat in its struggle and the need for a firm alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

Marx and Engels also drafted the basic principles of the International's policy on the national and colonial questions. These principles are permeated with the spirit of proletarian internationalism. The founders of scientific communism repeatedly stressed that the emancipation of the working class of any capitalist country is impossible without the emancipation of all the peoples oppressed by that country.

In his articles on the events of the day in China and India, Persia and Afghanistan, Marx drew the conclusion that it was necessary to establish the closest possible relationship between the revolutionary struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation struggle of the colonial peoples.

*Tadeusz Daniszewski (Poland)* said that the founding of the First International was directly associated with defense of the Polish uprising of 1863. Marx followed the national-liberation struggle of the Poles with the keenest interest; freedom in Europe, he stressed, could not endure unless Poland was independent; the entire history of Poland after its partition is proof of Marx's words that "Poland has and can have only one ally in Europe — the workers' party." But these words contain a more universal idea which reaches far beyond the limits of the Polish question. The founder of scientific socialism pointed out that the national-liberation struggle can be successful only if it is closely coordinated with the liberation movement of the leading force of progress, namely, the international proletariat. Any tendency toward isolating the national-liberation struggle from the working-

class movement Marx and Engels considered to be harmful to both.

Today, as then, the national-liberation struggle in any part of the world finds its best ally and true leading force in the working-class movement which is striving to end all forms of exploitation and oppression.

*Celina Bobinska (Poland)* pointed out that it was at the time of the First International that the policy of the proletariat on questions of international democracy began to take shape, a policy which in the future was to make the working class into the leading force and ally of the national movements and democratic movements generally.

Of the utmost importance for the entire subsequent course of the international working-class and Communist movement, *P. Pospelov* observed, was the struggle waged by Marx and Engels, and the General Council of the International against anarchism, against the petty-bourgeois ultra-revolutionary trend which, preaching rebellion "at any time" and making a fetish of violence with complete disregard for the genuine interests of the working people, was utterly alien to scientific communism.

Under cover of noisy revolutionary phrasemongering, Bakunin and his supporters engaged in undermining activity against the International, hatching a conspiracy against the proletarian movement itself, thereby in effect giving a helping hand to the ultra-reactionary forces.

In our day, said *Walter Ulbricht*, unity of the international Communist movement is more important than ever. Never before have the Communists borne such a grave responsibility for peace, socialism and progress, for the future of mankind.

Communist parties exist today in almost all the countries of the world. The diversity of tasks and conditions in which these parties work gives rise to a diversity of forms of struggle and tactical methods, and different approaches to some common problems. Hence the growing importance of the struggle of the parties for a correct ideological and political course for all the revolutionary forces and, above all, for the ideological cohesion of the Communists themselves.

Proletarian internationalism was the theme of the paper read by *Yuri Andropov (USSR)*:

In our time proletarian internationalism has been enriched with new content, he said. To begin with, it covers a much wider sphere than before. Today proletarian internationalism is coming to be the banner of revolutionary struggle not only of the working class but of millions of toilers and oppressed peoples



all over the world. It is a symbol of the solidarity of all revolutionary anti-imperialist forces — the world socialist community, the working-class and democratic movement in the developed capitalist countries, and the national-liberation movement — as expressed in the slogan endorsed by Lenin: "Proletarians of all lands and oppressed peoples, unite!"

Secondly, the tasks confronting Communists and all those fighting under the banner of internationalism have grown in magnitude. Today proletarian internationalism presupposes united action to strengthen and develop the socialist commonwealth, for the victory of the proletarian revolution, for the national and social emancipation of the oppressed peoples, for peace, democracy and socialism the world over.

Unity of all revolutionary forces is the need of our time. It is essential both for the solution of the tasks facing mankind as well as for the solution of the tasks confronting each national contingent of the working-class movement. To avert a nuclear catastrophe, to rid the peoples of all forms of colonial dependence and promote their advance along the road of social progress, the struggle for the victory of socialism over capitalism on a world scale — these are tasks which call for working-class solidarity, for the unity of working people and oppressed peoples everywhere.

There is no doubt that the national factor has become an important force in ideology as well as in practical politics, a force with which Communists cannot but reckon. Our opponents have gone so far as to assert that nationalism is destined to become the stumbling block to the further advance of communism.

But the hopes cherished by the anti-communists are doomed to be disappointed. A closer examination of the social processes at work in our time leaves no doubt that accentuation of the national factors is in no way detrimental to communism nor does it run counter to the ideology of internationalism.

What are the processes that are enhancing the national factor in ideology and politics? First of all, the disintegration of colonialism, the emergence and development of dozens of new national states formerly oppressed by imperialism. Further, the upsurge of national feeling in the independent and more developed capitalist countries, whose independence is threatened by the big imperialist powers. And finally, processes connected with the progress of national life, the strengthening of independence and sovereignty of the socialist countries.

These are not national but social processes.

They are not divorced from the struggle of classes and social systems which determines the course of history, but are intertwined with this struggle, are influenced by it and themselves influence it to some extent. The increased significance of the national element in ideology and politics is essentially part of the same social process which is leading to the abolition of imperialism and the triumph of socialism, i.e., to those international goals to which the Communists aspire.

With the rapid spread of the national struggle of the peoples, the imperialist bourgeoisie is doing its utmost to direct the national movement into channels best suited to its own purposes — national and racial antagonism — and to divert it from its real task, namely, the task of national regeneration, which can only be accomplished through social progress. The Communists consider it their duty to combat any attempt to counterpose the national tasks to the social tasks, they are opposed to any manifestation of racial or chauvinistic ideology.

Marxist-Leninists, however, take an entirely different attitude to those manifestations of national ideology which express the legitimate desire of the peoples to be liberated from any form of national dependence (above all, from colonialism and neo-colonialism) that alleviates the position of the working people in the countries concerned.

The unprecedented scope of the national-liberation movement in the postwar period, the path of independent development taken by many nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America has, naturally, stimulated a surge of national feeling, national pride, national consciousness, the desire to strengthen the national sovereignty and affirm economic and political independence.

Marxist-Leninists not only support the peoples' struggle for their freedom; they point to the only road that can lead to complete victory in the struggle for national independence — the road of social progress, of socialism. At the same time, the Communists make a distinction between the legitimate desire of nations for freedom, sovereignty and independence, as expressed in diverse forms of national ideology, and the nationalism propounded by the reactionary forces in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In extending constant and diverse aid to the revolutionary national-liberation movement, the socialist world system, the Communists in all countries are, in effect, solving the problem of which Lenin spoke when he emphasized the primary importance of establishing the proper relationship between the work-



ers and the peasants, since in the given instance it is a question of helping countries with predominantly peasant populations.

Marxist-Leninists see their task not in stressing the difference between scientific socialism and the spontaneous striving of the masses toward socialism, but in emphasizing (without losing sight of the difference) what unites the advanced workers and all democratic national strata in their socialist aspirations, and helping the latter to advance to the position of proletarian, scientific socialism.

The growing role of the national factor in social life confronts the international Communist movement with the task of making a careful study of the various manifestations of the contemporary national and nationalistic ideology, elaborating a new tactic of struggle, advancing such slogans as will express the striving of the masses to consolidate their national independence and fortify their desire to advance along the road of social progress. The Communist parties cannot successfully lead the peoples to the victory of the socialist revolution unless they act as a genuine national force.

Of late the view has been expressed here and there that in order to affirm itself as a national force the Party should focus attention primarily and chiefly on national problems, and show the masses that it is acting solely and exclusively as a spokesman of the national interests.

While on this subject we would like to emphasize that we are aware of the sources of this sentiment. We know that many fraternal parties have experienced, and still experience, strong pressure from anti-communist propaganda. And one of the main theses of that propaganda (which, incidentally, has now been caught up by Peking) is the fable about "the hand of Moscow," the allegation that the Communist parties act on instructions from a foreign power. These inventions have seriously hampered the work of the parties in some countries and prejudiced their ties with the working masses, particularly at the time when certain manifestations of the Stalin cult lent them some semblance of truth. In these circumstances one can understand the striving on the part of the fraternal parties to assert themselves in the public mind as a national force.

But is it right to allow this striving, in itself fully justified, to take precedence, whether consciously or unconsciously, over international obligations, over collective decisions and coordinated actions? It is open to serious doubt whether a working-class party can

strengthen its ties with the masses or raise its prestige in the country by such means. The Marxist-Leninist parties derive a great measure of their prestige from the fact that they belong to a great world movement such as the Communist movement. No party can become an influential national force if it withdraws into its shell, if it shies away from the issues which can only be solved in the ranks of an international revolutionary movement, in solidarity with other fraternal parties. Anyone who would seek to stand aloof from the Communist movement, from present-day socialism with all its achievements and difficulties, would willy-nilly dissociate himself also from the coming victories of the socialist system, from his own future.

In the complex situation that has set in in the modern world it is important to concentrate on the positive problems, on the search for new forms and methods of approach to the organic blending of the national and international tasks of the revolutionary movement.

Revolutionary experience, the experience of the anti-imperialist struggle shows that united action, the solidarity of all the forces of democracy and progress, is the main political weapon of the working people, that genuine internationalism is the decisive condition for realizing the aspirations of every nation. This has been and continues to be the position of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Walter Ulbricht noted that the Chinese Party leadership demands that Party members accept the thesis: divide one into two. This means a split and, consequently, is detrimental to the international Communist movement. The Chinese leaders have lost the main perspective in their pursuit of these policies. Instead of serving the cause of peace and exerting every effort to raise the people's standard of living, they have been instigating border conflicts, first against India and then against the Soviet Union. At present they are coming out against the borders established as a result of the Second World War in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, and thus playing directly into the hands of the West German imperialists and revanchists.

Throughout the history of the Communist movement a struggle has been waged for the purity of revolutionary theory, against the Right opportunist and Left sectarian danger. This struggle, as we know, was waged in the First International itself. Today, however, it is the danger of dogmatism, of Left opportunism that has come to the fore. The Chinese leaders have proclaimed their own particular



sectarian line. We are aware of the peculiarities of China's development. The backwardness of an agrarian country, preservation of methods of leadership established during the war and postwar economic construction, and also the influence of idealistic philosophy — these weigh heavily on the socialist movement of China and create a favorable soil for dogmatism. The Chinese leaders have rejected the proposal to convene a drafting committee to prepare the next meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties, as agreed upon in 1957.

The experience of the First International and the entire 100 years' history of the Communist movement teaches us that the unity of the international Communist movement is the condition for success in the revolutionary struggle. It is, therefore, necessary now as before to safeguard this unity by preparing for an international meeting. Representatives of the 26 Communist and Workers' parties which in 1960 made up the drafting committee have been invited to take part in Decem-

ber in working out a joint statement on an equal basis and without any preliminary conditions. We assume that the draft of the statement will be submitted to the parties for study. If the leaders of the Communist Party of China have the slightest interest in joint discussion and in preserving the unity of the Communist and working-class movement they will take part in the work of the drafting committee which will meet in accordance with the decisions adopted in 1957 and in the same composition as in 1960, and they will participate in drafting a new joint statement. If there are differences of opinion on one or another question which the drafting committee is unable to clear up, the parties will have the opportunity to formulate their proposals and substantiate them at the meeting. There cannot be a more democratic procedure. All that is needed is the good will to cooperate. Thus, no one intends to condemn individual parties or to exclude them from the international community.

## PROBLEMS OF THE WORLD SOCIALIST SYSTEM

The session devoted considerable attention to the problem of the relations between the socialist countries, strengthening their cooperation on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism, the importance of consistent adherence to these principles in the struggle to consolidate the unity of the socialist world system and the international Communist movement.

*Walter Ulbricht* stressed that the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses of the CPSU had marked a turning point in the relations between fraternal parties and countries.

After the Soviet Union delivered from fascism the countries where people's democracy subsequently triumphed, close and friendly relations were established between these countries and the USSR. But it was only after the foundations of socialism had been laid in these countries and when their Communist and Workers' parties, formed as a result of the merging of the Communist and Social Democratic parties, had developed ideologically, that these united parties and their leadership consolidated their fraternal alliance with the USSR. The measures taken to overcome the consequences of the Stalin personality cult and dogmatism broadened their cooperation and exchange of experience. There is no doubt that at the time of the Stalin cult there were many manifestations of narrow-mindedness and dogmatism in the People's Democra-

cies. After the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU effective steps were taken to put an end to dogmatism in Party life as well as on the state, economic and cultural plane.

Touching on the question of economic cooperation among the socialist countries, *W. Ulbricht* noted that the unequal development of the socialist countries and the differences in their economic structure and methods of leadership naturally gave rise to difficulties in the sphere of cooperation and specialization. These difficulties can be overcome only by basing the cooperation on the economic policy of attaining the highest possible scientific and technological level. Thus the economic interests of each country would serve as a stimulus both for cooperation and for the utilization of all the potentialities in each country and on the world market. We cannot afford, he said, to lag behind as regards certain methods of international cooperation employed by some capitalist concerns and the economic coordination of state-monopoly capitalism of the different countries.

*Y. Andropov* devoted a considerable part of his paper to examining the connection between proletarian internationalism and the development of the socialist world community, the struggle to consolidate the unity of the Communist movement. Now that socialism has emerged beyond the boundaries of a single state, he said, international relations between



the national contingents of the working class have become inter-state relations, and the political and ideological cooperation of the fraternal parties has risen to a new stage and is supplemented by economic cooperation between socialist states. All this has strengthened the international ties of the fraternal parties and peoples that have taken to socialism. At the same time a number of new problems have arisen.

How are the national state interests of each socialist country to be attuned to the interests of the community as a whole? How to harmonize the interests of the socialist countries? How is the rising tide of national consciousness springing from the successes of socialist construction to be directed into the channel of socialist internationalism? The future of world socialism, the future of mankind depends in large measure on the answer to these questions.

Recalling that Lenin had advocated the creation of a socialist alliance of peoples on the basis of complete confidence and voluntary agreement and had stressed the difficulties of this task as one requiring infinite patience and tact, the speaker noted that the socialist community had in a brief space of time solved many of the problems of which Lenin had spoken. However, though much has been done in moulding the new international relations, he added, this, clearly, is only the beginning, and we are now seeking ways and means of raising our cooperation to a higher level.

The socialist countries are at different levels of economic development; their historical and cultural traditions differ. Today with problems of comprehensive economic and political cooperation advanced to the fore, these factors acquire increasing importance.

In the past twenty years the People's Democracies have expanded their economies, laid the socio-political foundation of the new system and developed their statehood. Their independence and sovereignty have been consolidated on this basis. This has increased the self-confidence of each socialist country, and the desire of these countries to play a bigger part in world affairs is understandable. The heightened national consciousness of the socialist countries is reflected in the importance attached by the Communist parties to strengthening national sovereignty and the economic and political independence of their respective countries.

Pointing out that the line of the CPSU Twentieth Congress would have had more fruitful results had it not been for the splitting activities of the Chinese leaders, who in their own nationalistic interests were seeking to

restore the old methods in the relations between the socialist countries, methods which the parties had already discarded, Y. Andropov said:

Our Party holds that unity among the socialist countries can be reached only if the national interests of each are taken strictly into account. Experience has shown that one cannot build a correct policy in the relations between the socialist countries without taking cognizance of all the complex and at times contradictory factors involved. The task, evidently, is to do everything to strengthen fraternal relations between the sovereign socialist nations with due respect for the interests of each country and of the community as a whole, and without trying to bypass historical conditions or ignore actual processes.

Noting that for a number of reasons the interests of the socialist states may not always coincide on one or another question, the speaker said that it is necessary to find ways to overcome such divergencies and to achieve unity, proceeding from the assumption that the correctly understood fundamental national interests of one country accord with the interests of the other socialist countries.

The socialist countries are acquiring experience in diverse forms of cooperation, they are working out methods of overcoming difficulties and developing principles governing relations between states of the new social system, above all the principles which socialism consistently upholds on the international arena: equality, mutual respect for sovereign rights and territorial integrity of each socialist country, no interference in the internal affairs of one another, and no imposition by one country of its experience on other fraternal countries.

Added to these principles are the principles implicit in the ideas of proletarian internationalism: the development of economic and political contacts, fraternal cooperation among the socialist countries in all spheres of public life on the basis of mutual advantage and observance of national interests; coordination of foreign policy, united action on the international arena vis-a-vis the class enemy in the interests of peace and peaceful coexistence and, lastly, joint efforts in the sphere of defense, in collectively safeguarding the socialist gains of the peoples.

One of the basic principles on which the socialist community rests is the education of the peoples in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and the observance of internationalism in practice both in the relations between the socialist countries as well as in



the sphere of aid to the world revolutionary and liberation movement.

Of course, we all realize, Y. Andropov said, that the difficulty lies not so much in formulating these principles—although here too some different approaches, varying shades of opinion may also occur — as in preserving and developing good relations, economic and political contacts and strengthening the fraternal friendship of the nations despite possible differences in views. In our time the socialist countries cannot advance their national economy, cannot reach the needed scientific and technological level without improving international socialist division of labor as well as all other forms of cooperation.

Jan Simek (Czechoslovakia) described proletarian internationalism as the cornerstone of the cooperation of the socialist countries.

The underlying principle of socialist internationalism, he said, is comprehensive cooperation and fraternal mutual aid. The most concrete expression of this is international socialist division of labor. Notwithstanding some shortcomings of an objective and subjective nature, new relations between the countries took shape already at the initial stage of the cooperation, and the advantages of the cooperation became apparent. At the same time, socialist industrialization, socialist construction as a whole were at first carried out without sufficient account being taken of the national and international aspects of the socialist division of labor.

As the world socialist economy developed, the contradiction between the national and international aspects of socialist division of labor became more pronounced. It was obvious that the old forms of the international cooperation were no longer adequate.

In this connection the basic principle of socialist internationalism, namely, international cooperation and fraternal mutual aid, gains in importance. The problem now is to link more closely each country's efforts to develop its own economy with the economic development of the socialist world system as a whole. The center of gravity of the cooperation has shifted more to the sphere of production.

The community of socialist countries will, in the long run, evolve into a single world communist society in which there will be no longer any division of areas into economically "developed" and "undeveloped." But this will be achieved only through gradual and differentiated steps designed to bring the different countries together with a view to making the fullest use of all the potentialities at each given stage.

The socialist countries are developing as absolutely sovereign states which have travelled their own specific road in the struggle to establish a government of the working people and to build socialism. The touchstone of the sovereignty of a socialist country, profoundly international in content, is its relationship with the other socialist countries, its readiness to undertake measures designed to further the economic and social development of world socialism as a whole, and thereby help the economic and cultural level of each country. Internationalism is expressed concretely in the measure of participation by each country in the development of the entire system, the more developed countries naturally contributing a bigger share to the overall development. At the same time it is important that this difference should not be understood as something permanent and unchangeable, but merely as a means of overcoming the differences in the levels of the various countries.

The sovereignty of a socialist country should be regarded not merely from the standpoint of its own specific national interests, but with a view to the general development of the socialist world system, to the tasks and objectives of the world Communist movement. In this connection it should be stressed that for a socialist country and its Communist party, the contribution it makes to resolving the basic contradiction of our epoch — the contradiction between socialism and capitalism — is one of the principal criteria of its attitude. Independence cannot have anything in common with attempts to take an "above-the-battle" attitude, to adopt some sort of "neutral" position.

Several speakers touched on *economic management under socialism* and what the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries are doing to improve the system and methods of guiding the economy.

In this connection W. Ulbricht noted that economically the target in the socialist countries was to attain world levels in science and technology. This, he said, could be done only by making full use of the economic laws of socialism and by replacing administrative methods by a new system of economic planning and management, involving, among other things, the system of "economic levers." In agriculture there is a need to go over from the mentality and methods of the individual peasant cultivator, which still predominate in many cooperatives, to industrial methods, to conducting agriculture on the industrial principle. As far as foreign and home trade is concerned, close links should be established be-



tween industrial management and the corresponding trading organizations, and the administrative methods of management which were necessary at the time of shortages and shortcomings and which were largely applied in the sphere of distribution should be replaced by economic methods of trade aided by modern technical means.

These are urgent matters, Ulbricht said, adding that their solution called for scientific and technological progress, higher labor productivity, and **economic methods of management**.

*Michal Sabolcik (Czechoslovakia)* spoke of the fruitful discussion that has been going on of late in the socialist countries on the question of how to improve economic management. A feature of this discussion, he said, was its constructive character; it had not been confined to abstract demonstration of the obvious advantages of the socialist mode of production but had been concerned mainly with ascertaining ways of more effective utilization of these advantages.

The struggle to win decisive victories for socialism is being waged primarily on the economic front. In these circumstances it is the prime international duty of the working class of the socialist countries to strive for maximum success in developing the national economy of each socialist country and the socialist world system as a whole.

M. Sabolcik went on to speak of the importance of a political approach to the guidance of the economy and stressed the role of the Party in this respect. Pointing out that the policy to be pursued, the political institutions and the need for a leading force are conditioned by both external reasons (the existence of the world systems) and internal reasons stemming from the nature of the socialist economy (the existence, besides the common interests of all sections of society, also of specific group and individual interests), he said that only a party guided by Marxist-Leninist theory and generalizing the experience of the broadest masses can be the leading force capable of perceiving and ensuring satisfaction of the fundamental interests of society as a whole.

Contradictions between the common and the individual interests can be overcome primarily through the gradual reconstruction of the economy, and hence economic questions come to form the main content of policy.

M. Sabolcik criticized the formula advanced by the Chinese leaders that "policy is the commanding force," a formula which springs from

underestimation of the economic factor and is evidence of a subjectivist, voluntarist approach to economic problems.

He went on to show how the Czechoslovak Communist Party applies the principles of Marxism-Leninism in the conditions of Czechoslovakia, primarily in the economy. In the report delivered by First Secretary A. Novotny at the Twelfth Congress of the Party the results of Czechoslovak development were summed up as follows: "... We are fully justified in beginning with an appraisal of what has been accomplished inasmuch as these results provide a firm political and economic foundation for solving the next tasks — the comprehensive development of our socialist society with the object of creating the prerequisites for the transition to communism.

"However, if we speak primarily of our achievements, this does not mean that the appraisal of our efforts at this stage is less critical. We do not conceal that in this period — and especially in the past few years — a number of problems have accumulated which we shall have to solve in the immediate future..."

The present shortcomings in the economy of Czechoslovakia — due to both internal and external causes — may be traced to faulty leadership and organizational guidance, an insufficient knowledge of the objective economic laws and failure to draw the necessary conclusions therefrom, which led, among other things, to a violation of the proportional development of national economy and underestimation of the significance of agriculture for the development of the national economy as a whole.

This makes it all the more imperative for the Party to concentrate on improving methods of socialist economic management.

In order to build a developed socialist society and create the conditions for the gradual transition to communism, in accordance with the line now adopted, a number of complex tasks must be tackled: the level of production in agriculture must be raised to that in industry, conditions must be created for the large-scale application of scientific and technical achievements; the material and technological base in many branches of industry should be reconstructed; structural changes are needed in industry, especially in chemicals and metallurgy, and also in the engineering industry, etc. The purpose of these changes is to achieve a more intensive development of the economy.

The present system of economic guidance does not facilitate intensified development of the economy. On the initiative of the Communist Party, a project for improved manage-



ment and better planning of the national economy is being drawn up, based on a critical assessment of the experience gained to date. The purpose is to strengthen democratic centralism and enhance the leading role of the Party in the economy.

Economic management is based on the national-economic plan, primarily a long-range plan, drawn up in cooperation with the enterprises, research bodies, etc. Capital construction is the principal means of ensuring a properly balanced economy, raising the technological level and improving living and working standards.

Commodity-money relations and the levers connected with them will be used to ensure the *intensive* development of production; price will play a bigger role. There will be more incentive for workers. Through interest rates set for fixed capital, economic pressures will be created impelling the technologically backward enterprises to overcome the lag. And to heighten the role of research and technological progress fuller use will be made of such levers of centralized guidance as long-range planning, a price policy stimulating promising lines of output, as well as all forms of incentives.

The possibilities will be explored for more effective participation in international socialist division of labor, especially as regards allocation of production programs, specialization, serial production and lowering costs. At the same time, closer and more effective links will be established between amalgamations of enterprises in the various industries and the world market.

In the Inaugural Address of the First International Marx and Engels called the attention of the workers of all countries to the important social role of revolutions in science and technology, *Hannes Hoernig* (GDR) said in his paper on the role of science and technology in building socialism and communism.

To carry out a scientific and technological revolution is the target of the GDR's development plan scheduled to be completed by 1970. The plan lays emphasis on the chemical, and especially petro-chemical, industry; secondary metallurgy; electrical engineering and in particular electronics; engineering branches providing for mechanization and automation; instrument making; power; transport, and continued intensification of agriculture, with gradual transition to industrial methods of agricultural production. Top priority is given to chemicals.

As an objective reality of our time, the current scientific and technological revolution

contains the requisites needed for the victory of socialism all over the world through peaceful economic competition with capitalism.

However, this is not a spontaneous process which will win through unaided. It requires maximum effort by the workers, peasants and intellectuals for the highest scientific and technological standards, for efficient work and planning. Experience shows that reliance on spontaneity, especially in economic and scientific matters, is fraught with difficulties and failures. Socialism more so than any other social system is in a position to meet the objective demands of scientific and technical progress; but to ensure this the Party and the Government should make this progress an integral part of planning and guiding social development.

What is the objective content of the scientific and technological revolution? What factors has it generated, and how can we make the best use of them? In the first place, modern science is penetrating deeper and deeper into the secrets of nature and its vital processes and more so than ever before is stimulated by man's practical need. Fundamental research and specialized research are drawing closer. Less time elapses between a discovery and its practical application — the social essence of any research. Research capacities are being linked to production. In the last ten years integration of sciences has reached a stage where the cooperation of many branches of science and a structural reorganization of the research establishment are needed.

Hence such new elements as long-range planning. Research becomes a planned item and at the same time a basis for economic planning.

Under socialism the technological revolution raises the important problem of correlating this revolution with the cultural and educational spheres. Our Party bases its concept of a unified socialist educational system on propositions formulated by Marx, Engels and Lenin, namely, that socialism alone can ensure the all-round development of the individual in a society worthy of man.

The growing interconnection and interaction of science and industry is based on the socialist labor of scientists, engineers and innovators in production, which stimulates prompt application of scientific achievements as well as research. Thus the alliance of the working class and the intelligentsia is raised to a higher level, turning into an alliance for solving common problems in the conditions of comprehensive socialist construction.

Of great importance for scientific and tech-



nological progress is close cooperation of the socialist countries.

The session paid considerable attention to problem of *socialist democracy*.

After briefly characterizing the development of democracy in the European socialist countries, W. Ulbricht enlarged upon the example of the GDR.

After socialist relations of production had triumphed in the GDR and the working class had strengthened its alliance with the peasantry, with the intelligentsia and other strata of the working people it became possible, he said, to forego certain methods of rule characteristic of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Cooperation between the party of the working class and the other parties standing for socialism was strengthened. The participation of the working people in planning and in governing the state assumed a wide diversity of forms: socialist legality and democracy were developed; commissions of the working people's representative bodies began to participate in a more active and responsible way in implementing decisions; a new system of planning and management was established; social emulation was initiated; production committees and other workers' bodies were set up to take part in planning and management, without detracting from executive responsibility; agricultural cooperatives were established and the democratic participation of peasant cooperators in the economy of the country was developed; social insurance was placed under the jurisdiction of the trade unions; societies of inventors and rationalizers were formed; comradesly courts were set up.

Bourgeois writers tend to classify this development of socialist democracy as "liberalism"; this, however, is but wishful thinking, for liberalism is a political phenomenon characteristic of the dawn of capitalism. The liberals fought for bourgeois freedoms for the sake of the free development of capitalism. But in the People's Democracies the issue is not one of returning to bourgeois parliamentarism or any other methods and forms peculiar to the capitalist state.

This is a new type of democracy developed in the socialist countries, a genuine democracy distinguished by the fact that the exploitation of man by man has been abolished once and for all. The rights of voters in capitalist countries are limited to casting their ballots after the expiration of the term of parliament, and in the meantime the decisive role in the life of the state is played by the capitalist monopolies and high-ranking representatives of their bureaucratic machine. In the socialist countries, popular representation guarantees

the unanimity of decisions and of their realization. It is the people who plan and govern. In this way the population and its organization, the Popular Front, assumes the responsibility for promoting social, economic and cultural development. Deliverance from the habits of capitalism, elimination of the fierce competitive struggle, and a free life based on the humane principles of socialist morality — this is what genuine freedom means. If the enemies of socialism intend, under the cover of the banner of "freedom," to thwart socialist construction, preserve capitalist elements and build bases for the export of counter-revolution, they are wasting their time. The People's Democracies have created a firm foundation for socialism, and their fraternal alliance with the USSR is inviolable.

Dezso Nemes (Hungary) stressed the historic significance of the development of socialist democracy and proceeded to describe its functioning in Hungary.

He discussed in detail the question of people's rights, noting the role of the Communist Party as the vanguard of the working class and all working people.

The Communist Party is rallying the people for the building of socialism which is, of course, the cause of all the people. It can do this because of the cohesion of Communists and non-party people and by pursuing a policy which the people regard as their own. Links with the people are weakened wherever the Party violates the principles of this policy. At the same time a policy of divorcement from the masses undermines Party unity and causes confusion in all social life. A sad example of this was seen in Hungary in the 1949-56 period, ending in the counter-revolutionary uprising. It was possible to defeat the counter-revolutionary coup, reorganize the Party and restore strong ties with the non-Party masses only on the basis of the genuinely Leninist policy elaborated by the new leadership of our Party.

D. Nemes spoke about the relationship between the Party and mass organizations, about the trade unions as one of the most important organizations helping to strengthen the alliance of Communists and non-Party people, about the methods of drawing the working people into managing the enterprises not only through the participation of trade union and Party committees in supervising economic and technical policies, but also with the help of production conferences.

In addition, Hungary's industrial establishments have what we call councils of enterprises. Headed by the trade unions, these councils verify the profitability and technical



development of the enterprises; they participate in planning, in rate-fixing, in taking up inventions and suggestions for rationalization, in strengthening labor discipline and raising labor productivity.

Along with time and piece work, Nemes said, our industry operates a bonus system whereby a share of the profits is paid to all employees in the enterprise if it fulfils or overfulfils its production plan, does not exceed the expenditure target and achieves an economy, or if its profits turn out to be higher than planned. The purpose of profit-sharing is to provide greater incentives to the workers.

Socialist emulation is an index of the civic consciousness of the employees and is a feature of life in socialist society in general. It helps to raise productivity, makes for labor discipline and at the same time furthers educational progress.

D. Nemes analyzed freedom of the press in socialist society as freedom for the working people conforming to their supreme interests, and described the electoral system in Hungary.

Election meetings, he said, now play a useful role in the political and social life of the country. A feature of our elections, he added, is that instead of inter-party rivalry, the people discuss problems of both local and national importance.

During the elections held in November 1958 and in February 1963 thousands of candidates other than those proposed by Popular Front committees were nominated and in almost all cases the competence of the deputies thus elected proved to be at least equal to that of the candidates of the Popular Front.

*Ruben Avramov (Bulgaria)* spoke on the all-round development of socialist democracy in socialist society.

Socialist democracy is not something immutable. It took one form in the country where the proletariat triumphed for the first time, in conditions of capitalist encirclement, when it had to repel attacks by world imperialism and the internal counter-revolution. It was at a different stage when the first socialist country was overcoming its economic backwardness and laying the foundations of socialism. It is at a much higher level now.

After the war the socialist revolution triumphed in a number of European and Asian countries in the shape of people's democracy. The Cuban revolution, the rising revolutionary movement in the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries open up prospects for an even greater variety of forms of government and of building socialism.

The decisive role in establishing people's de-

mocratic power in a number of countries after the Second World war was played by the victory of the Soviet Army. Having crushed Hitler Germany it caused confusion and panic among the reactionaries in those countries and prevented their military occupation by the Anglo-American troops. Thus the peoples' hands were freed for resolute action.

In most of the countries where people's democracy triumphed, not only the Communist parties but also the other anti-fascist parties and organizations cooperated in patriotic and other anti-fascist fronts and participated, and participate now, in building socialism. The fruitful cooperation between the Communist parties in the socialist countries and other political parties is a cogent argument against the attempts of anti-communist propaganda in the capitalist countries to scare away the Social Democratic, peasant, Christian-Socialist and other petty-bourgeois and generally democratic parties from cooperating with the Communists.

With all its specific features, R. Avramov continued, people's democracy has asserted itself as democracy of the socialist type. It continues, essentially, the experience of the October Revolution and socialist construction in the USSR.

Extensive development of socialist democracy in the USSR and the other socialist countries in the past eight years has proceeded under the rejuvenating influence of the ideas and spirit of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses of the CPSU.

The stage reached now is not, of course, the ultimate stage. New measures will continue to be undertaken to perfect the political system of socialism. What has been done shows the main trend in the further development of the socialist state in the period of building the higher phase of communism: broader and more direct participation of the people in running the state and managing all the affairs of society, the transition to what Lenin had in mind when he envisaged the participation of every citizen in governing the country.

A role of exceptional importance in promoting socialist democracy in Bulgaria is played by the Fatherland Front.

The Soviet Union and, following it, the other socialist countries have proved that socialism, socialist democracy ensure genuinely equal rights and opportunity of development for all nationalities without exception, abolish the legal and social inequality of women and guarantee for young people equal rights and real opportunities for education and all-round development.

The Marxist-Leninist party is the organiz-



ing and unifying force in the complex system of the political superstructure of socialist society. Correctness of the political line, style and method of work of the Party — these are decisive in developing and perfecting socialist democracy. Relying on the experience of the people, the Party finds the best forms of political, economic and cultural organization, forms which give free rein to the initiative and energy of the working people.

The Party cannot guide the development of socialist democracy correctly unless it promotes democracy in its own ranks. Hence the need for the fraternal parties of the socialist countries to continue to develop inner-party democracy.

Consistent democracy presupposes the equality of all citizens, combined with fraternal friendship and mutual support and assistance. These features of consistent democracy, applied to the relations between socialist countries and between fraternal parties, are the essence of proletarian internationalism.

*Kurt Tiedke (GDR)* touching briefly on the work done by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany to build socialist democracy in the period following the defeat of Hitler, turned to the forms in which democracy, a universal law of the socialist revolution, is being implemented in the GDR.

With the establishment of the GDR in October 1949 the transition from the anti-fascist democratic revolution to the socialist revolution was affected in one part of Germany at a time when the old, reactionary scheme of things had been restored in the other part.

In carrying out the anti-fascist democratic program the alliance between the working-class party and other parties had been consolidated and this provided a solid base for the multi-party system within the framework of the dictatorship of the working class.

In this form the dictatorship of the proletariat, which was the chief instrument of socialist construction, ensured the laying of the foundations of socialism and the victory of socialist production relations in the GDR despite the existence for many years of an open frontier with imperialist West Germany.

Thanks to the victory of socialist production relations and to the political and moral unity of the people, deep-going changes were effected in the structure of society. Class struggle, increasingly declining as the motive force of social development, is being replaced by new motive forces. One such force, as the Socialist Unity Party noted at its Sixth Congress, is the *harmony of social requirements and those of individuals and collectives*. This provided a fundamentally new stimulus for

the unfolding of democracy at the new stage of our development, the stage of comprehensive building of socialism. The state has to reckon with this new motive force if it does not want to act as a brake on development. This means that broadening and deepening socialist democracy, the conscious activity of all citizens should become the main avenues of promoting the political organization of society. This way of development, inherent in the nature of the socialist state, is inseparably linked with the historical mission of the working class.

It has always been a tenet of Marxist-Leninist doctrine that, historically speaking, the dictatorship of the working class is of a temporary nature. Of course, Marx, Engels and Lenin could not predict exactly how this state would change after the victory of socialism.

With the introduction of new planning and management of the national economy the specific features of our democracy are more sharply delineated. As they acquire a deeper understanding of the problems of economic management, the working class and all the working people broaden their knowledge and find greater application for their abilities. Inasmuch as the development of socialist democracy is a measure of the creative powers of the masses, the closer it is linked with conscious expansion of the production forces the broader the democracy.

Tiedke attributed the success of the socialist reconstruction in the countryside to the fact that it is based on democracy in the co-operatives. Thanks to the efforts of the Party the bulk of the big farmers, too, have taken to socialist farming. It is now a matter of meeting the needs of the economic laws of socialism and of the technological revolution by going over to fully mechanized agriculture, and in this way to consolidate the economic and social base for the political and moral unity of the population.

Tiedke then dwelt on the functioning of the representative bodies in the conditions of the multi-party system existing in the GDR and described the various manifestations of socialist democracy in his country.

The broadening of socialist democracy, he said, depends to a considerable extent on how the Marxist-Leninist party, the leading force of socialist society, carries on its activity. In the conditions of comprehensive building of socialism, he continued, the Leninist norms of Party work, specifically through leadership on the production principle, had been developed.

Socialist democracy adds to the power of attraction of socialism. As time goes on the facts of socialist life exert an ever greater in-



fluence on the working people in the capitalist world. This is of tremendous importance both from the standpoint of the contest be-

tween socialism and imperialism on a world scale as well as for the solution of the national question in Germany.

## THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN THE DEVELOPED CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

Examining the prospects for socialism in the developed capitalist countries, speakers analyzed the *new processes at work in capitalist society*, namely, the continued growth of state-monopoly capitalism, the effects of the scientific and technological revolution, the new forms and methods of exploitation, changes in the social structure of the population. *Walter Ulbricht* dwelt on this in his introductory address.

We need, he said, a scientific analysis of the growth of state-monopoly capitalism in the industrially developed countries so that we can have a basis for elaborating strategy and tactics in keeping with the present conditions. It is not my purpose to make this analysis here, I merely wish to point to some new problems.

It is a fact, he continued, that in the past ten years the influence exerted by science on material production has resulted in an enormous accumulation of profit. Appropriating the lion's share of the profits, monopoly capital can afford to spend a fraction of them on satisfying the material requirements of a part of the working class and thus keep it from engaging in acute conflicts and class struggle. Monopoly capital employs these methods also to counter the influence of the socialist world system. Bourgeois politicians take advantage of the fact that state-monopoly regulation has somewhat modified the operation of the economic laws of capitalism and the forms of capitalist contradictions. It is because the parasitism of capitalist shareholders and monopolies is starkly revealed in conditions of monopoly capitalism that the monopolies aim at fusing with state power, to use this power to perpetuate exploitation, obtain still bigger profits, restrict the rights of the working people and divert the masses from class struggle.

Despite growing contradictions, state-monopoly capitalism has succeeded in changing the economic cycle. Although the instability of the capitalist economy is increasing on the whole, the process is considerably retarded by the measures taken by the state, with the result that many crisis phenomena end in partial crises. Nevertheless the exploitation of the working class has been greatly intensified,

and the gap between the growth of capitalist profits and that of the workers' incomes is widening. At the same time state-monopoly capitalism strives more and more to expand, to enlarge its influence in countries rich in raw materials and cheap labor, and to subvert socialist development in the countries of people's democracy.

This appraisal of the situation in the countries of state-monopoly capitalism points up the need for the working class, the peasantry and the intellectuals in these countries to make greater demands and wage a systematic struggle for democracy, against restrictions on freedom and democratic rights. The variety of the methods used to maintain the rule of the big monopolies with the help of the machinery of state requires not only a variety of demands and methods of struggle by the working people but their constant orientation on establishing their leadership of society.

*E. Sereni (Italy)* drew attention to the new relationship between economics and politics, a relationship which Lenin had analyzed in his time and which is becoming more and more sharply manifested in our time when the system of socialist states on a world scale stands opposed to the system of imperialism, and within the imperialist system itself the various forms of state-monopoly capitalism are becoming predominant. In the developed capitalist countries this new relationship between economics and politics poses new problems which should be studied.

The monopoly state is participating more and more in the economy in each country. In various parts of the world supra-national bodies like the Common Market are taking over on behalf of and in the interests of the international monopolies. Gradually, all the basic decisions affecting economic life as a whole come to be taken by the state and by the supra-state associations. The purpose is to carry the exploitation of the workers to the extreme, to regulate even their standard of living and to abolish contractual arrangements concerning working conditions, employment and wages. At the same time a growing share of the surplus value concentrated and centralized in the hands of the dominant monopoly groupings is obtained through the syste-



matic plunder of the peoples of the underdeveloped countries as well as the middle sections of the working people (primarily the peasants) in the capitalist countries themselves.

In these circumstances, Sereni went on, the problem of the relation between economics and politics is posed in a new way on both the national and the international plane. In the socialist world the working class and all other sections of the working people *consciously* elaborate this new relationship by pursuing a socialist policy in all areas of endeavor. As regards the imperialist world, here too economic development can no longer be regarded as something entirely dependent on the blind forces of the market.

For the working class of the developed capitalist countries this means the gradual transformation of all economic struggles into a political struggle. Even the struggle for power under these circumstances cannot be visualized as a matter of seizing the machinery of state at some opportune moment merely to abolish it and replace it with another. This concept strikes one as naive at a time when the growth of state-monopoly capitalism has profoundly changed the relationship between economics and politics, at a time when the working class and its allies can, through their struggle, change the denominator of the state capitalist institutions and transform them into instruments of democratic anti-monopoly programming, into strong-points for breaching the citadels of imperialism and capitalism.

In this way the democratic struggle of the working class acquires a concrete socio-economic content, directly linked with the everyday demands of the working people and with their socialist aspirations. Moreover this democratic anti-monopoly struggle, aimed at the socialist reconstruction of society, organically merges with the anti-monopoly struggle waged by the middle sections of urban and rural working people, with the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle of the peoples of the underdeveloped countries. This, we believe, is the *objective* effect of the new relationship between economics and politics now taking shape on a world scale arising from the predominance in the developed capitalist countries of the different forms of state-monopoly capitalism and from the progress made by the socialist system which is demonstrating the tremendous possibilities implicit in the conscious guidance of economic life by the people and for the people.

Speakers from Communist parties of capitalist countries discussed in detail the *per-*

*spectives of the struggle for socialism* in their countries, the features of the socialist revolution in the conditions of developed capitalism, and the forms and methods of mass struggle corresponding to these conditions and situations.

"The tasks confronting our Party call for a further examination of the problems of the peaceful way of the socialist revolution," M. Shaefer (FRG) said. "A study of these problems is essential both from the standpoint of the immediate tasks, elucidation of the socialist perspective and winning wider support, and from the standpoint of struggle against revisionist and dogmatic views, against Left opportunism which, by indulging in pseudo-revolutionary phrasemongering, diverts attention from the current tasks and thereby hampers the struggle for socialism."

The policy statement of the 1963 Congress of the Communist Party of Germany stressed that the overall trend in favor of socialism is laying its imprint on the situation in Federal Germany. "The Communist Party," the statement says, "is in favor of the peaceful path of socialist transformation in the FRG. And the possibilities of bringing this about increase as changes in favor of socialism grow both in the world and in Germany." Our experience, Shaefer said, points to the need to lay still greater stress on the socialist perspective in West Germany, on the need to link the daily struggles for better conditions for the working people, the struggle for democratic rights and for peace, ever more closely with this perspective.

"A great historical responsibility rests with our Party," S. Alvarez (Spain) said. "Standing at the head of the working masses and the people of Spain as a whole, it is working to abolish the Franco dictatorship, to win democratic freedoms, to carry forward the democratic revolution to its culmination and realize the socialist perspective. Our experience in Spain shows that strike struggles can help very much to bring down Franco's regime and end the fascist forms of rule by the big capitalists and landlords. Hence our Party's slogans for a *political general strike* and *national strike*."

We visualize, he said, the political general strike as a national stoppage of work in agriculture as well as in industry. A strike of this magnitude, bringing into action other sections of society (shopkeepers, small and medium manufacturers, clerical workers and civil servants, students and intellectuals), winning their support, and accompanied by powerful public demonstrations, could snowball into a vast



national strike. The 1962 and 1964 strikes in the Asturias could be described as forerunners of the national strike.

"Our Party," S. Zografos (Greece) said, "advanced the idea of the peaceful transition at a time when the country was under the semi-fascist police rule of the ERE party, of the home and foreign monopolists, and when the Karamanlis government was steering a course toward full fascism. Advancing and upholding this thesis we were able to unite the people, to organize them and rally them for mass action."

The speaker cited such developments as the strike movement of a million workers (a large figure for a small country like Greece) and the big protest demonstrations evoked by the murder of Lambrakis, the Left M.P. These actions, he said, led to the downfall of the Karamanlis government. Although its downfall cannot be regarded as a fundamental change, it was certainly much more than the usual Ministerial reshuffle. "There were in our ranks misconceptions, too, with regard to the peaceful transition," the speaker said. "Some people visualized it as the way of smooth and easy progress without any need for mass action by the working people. Our Party criticized Right opportunist underestimation of mass struggle."

T. Buck (Canada) spoke about the relationship between reforms and the socialist revolution. The radical change in the relationship of class forces on a world scale, he said, makes it incumbent upon Communists to re-examine their tactics and forms of struggle. This applies particularly to the role of struggle for reforms in the highly developed capitalist countries. We should rid ourselves of the notion that reforms are just the by-product of revolutionary struggle. A more positive appreciation of the role of reforms and of mass struggle to win them as components of the struggle for the socialist revolution is essential. Now that we are living in times of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale, that the balance of class forces has changed radically, mass action by the working class for reforms has a significance that it did not have previously.

The working-class movement is confronted with no small difficulties in this struggle. Until now the fight has been waged mainly for reforms which by themselves cannot weaken the political power of the capitalist ruling class, and the reformists have been able to divert the main mass of the workers away from the struggle for working-class political power and socialism. Therefore exposure of

opportunism in the labor movement, dispelling reformist illusions and unmasking the reformist leaders is a key feature of the battle for men's minds. It must be admitted that we do not always fight this battle as effectively as we should. All too often our correct opposition to reformism finds expression in a negative attitude to reforms. All too often our healthy and profound disgust at rank opportunism is misunderstood by workers because we do not make a sufficiently clear distinction between opportunism, which we correctly denounce, and the reforms the workers want and with which the opportunists have identified themselves.

These weaknesses largely reflect the absence or at least the inadequacy of revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist influence among the forces fighting for reforms. By being the best fighters for needed reforms while enlightening the workers concerning the partial and transitory nature of their benefits, the Communists could exert effective influence among the workers and make every struggle part of their conscious preparation for winning political power. This alone would make every victory in the struggle for reforms the beginning of a higher level of mobilization in preparation for the next step.

But a more positive appreciation of the role of mass struggle for reforms as a component of the struggle for socialism is not enough. It is important also to emphasize the dialectical inter-connection between needed reforms as such and the socialist revolution. One of the features of our time is the emergence of the need and possibility of winning reforms capable of undermining the foundations of the power of the capitalist class.

As regards Canada, the speaker thought that the socialist revolution there would come about as the culmination of militant mass struggles waged on an ever ascending scale to wrest reforms from state-monopoly capitalism. Provided that the Communist Party plays its role effectively, the qualitative change from capitalist-class political power to working-class political power could grow out of such struggles.

J. Schleifstein (FRG) pointed out that in the present conditions far-reaching social and democratic reforms are a direct lever of revolutionary reconstruction, one of the forms in which the revolutionary process develops. On this general premise we probably can all agree, he said. But the lever is not yet power as such. The question of changing power relations, of winning decisive positions in the state through extra-parliamentary and parlia-



mentary struggle of the working people remains not only the most important but also the most difficult question of the socialist revolution.

In our view the difficulty does not consist in our awareness of the significance of the struggle for far-reaching social and democratic reforms for taking the masses in to the socialist revolution, and not even in understanding these reforms as a lever and way of carrying forward the socialist revolution. The difficulty, strictly speaking, *begins* when it comes to the concrete elaboration of the *ways and methods* of bringing the masses into action for deep-going social and democratic reforms.

Where do we see today the best points of departure for promoting the struggle for social and democratic reforms? We believe that at the present stage of the West German working-class movement action by the working class and the democratic forces generally for radical reforms should be developed on the *basis* of struggle for immediate demands such as higher wages, longer holidays, shorter working hours, adequate sick benefits, prevention of anti-democratic emergency legislation, renunciation of nuclear armaments and reduction of military spending, lessening of tensions, and negotiations with the GDR. As regards more far-reaching social and democratic reforms, the point of departure for joint working-class actions could be, in our opinion, some of the proposals put forward by the trade unions. This applies in particular to the demand that workers and office employees and their trade unions be granted the right to take part in managing the enterprises and in resolving economic questions affecting more than one enterprise, as well as the demand for the nationalization of key branches of industry.

For a Communist Party like ours, said *James Klugman (Great Britain)*, working in a historic center of reformism, a country which has been for so long a center of imperialism, where the working class combines at one and the same time so often reformist or liberal illusions with a magnificent courage and tenacity of class struggle, not to find the correct dialectical relationship between reform and revolution would be suicide.

You could say that for a revolutionary in a country like Britain there are two, as it were, historic temptations. The one is, surrounded by workers, good, fighting, militant workers, fighting in railway, mine, factory, fighting hard on immediate issues, in a sense to descend to the level of the general movement and to renounce the general principles of socialist re-

volution. But then comes the other temptation — sectarianism, dogmatism. In tearing yourself away from the reformist ideas of the workers all around you it is so easy to tear yourself out by the roots from the broad working-class movement.

So always the double approach has been the lesson that Marx and Engels and hard experience have taught us, patiently starting where workers are, fighting with them loyally side by side, and patiently trying to find their idiom to explain the principles of socialist revolution.

Why do I speak in this way? Because I feel that this double approach is still the essential task that we face today. I find myself deeply in sympathy with much that has been said here on the deep significance of the fight on reforms and the new significance within the new international relation of forces. But I feel a certain warning is necessary for those living in countries with problems like ours. It is perfectly true that given clarity of perspective, leadership and mass struggle, many struggles on reforms today fought within capitalism can begin to undermine capitalism, as it were, begin already to break the framework of capitalism. But this will not go by itself. And it is as necessary as ever to accompany this struggle on reforms with finding the language of the workers to fight for the socialist perspective. So I would like at this stage to insist very seriously that in deepening our understanding of the contemporary fight on reforms, we should not in any way reduce the significance of the fight on socialist principles.

*Ib Noerlund (Denmark)* discussed the dialectical relationship between reform and revolution. The experience of the last decade and the theoretical discussions of it, he said, have led to a deeper and clearer understanding of this relationship, which is of tremendous significance in our time, when the working class in many countries is to work out its own road to socialism in conformity with the local conditions.

The significance of reforms for promoting the class struggle is determined primarily by the influence they exert on the activity and political consciousness of the people. It is necessary to see this connection clearly, to distinguish between the revolutionary understanding of the struggle for reforms and the reformist illusions. The revolutionary understanding of reforms makes for a fuller appreciation of the conditions essential to advance the struggle. Although the monopolies in Denmark, where reformism is widespread, have been able to retain their domination, it would



be unpardonable schematization and vulgarization to deny that the *concessions* they have been *compelled* to make have been instrumental in creating new conditions for the class struggle. From now on, *economic* concessions will be an historically conditioned element of the cost of labor-power, while *political* concessions will become part and parcel of democratic traditions. These traditions possess a real political force and help in the struggle to restrict monopoly rule, as is shown by the experience of the Danish working-class movement.

Another essential aspect of the problem, Ib Noerlund continued, is the role played by the struggle for reforms in creating the revolutionary situation. The experience of the world working-class movement shows that the struggle for reforms helps create the revolutionary situation — when the “lower classes” do not want to live in the old way and the “upper classes” are no longer able to maintain their rule by the old methods. This experience and these political ideas too can serve as a basis for solving the problems that confront the working class in the developed capitalist countries. At the same time, however, this calls for a correct understanding of the changes in the conditions of the struggle waged by the working class, for a creative application of the ideas born of the experience of this struggle.

A Rumyantsev, Chief Editor of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, stressed that the reconstruction of society along socialist lines is a revolutionary and not evolutionary process. The dogmatists contend that orientation on the peaceful revolution, on the struggle for deep-going democratic reforms leading to socialist reconstruction, means slipping from the positions of revolution to those of evolution. But the Communists are, and remain, revolutionaries. Have the Communists given up the struggle for working-class rule? Have we stopped talking of the qualitative leap, of revolutionary coercion of the exploiting minority by the exploited majority? It is precisely in this that the Marxist-Leninist concept of the revolution differs from the evolutionary concept.

Special attention was devoted to problems of the *struggle for democracy, for democracy in central and local organs of power*. This was the theme of the paper submitted by J. Duclos (France) and read for him at a plenary session (see J. Duclos' article in this issue of the journal); it was discussed also in E. Tuominen's (Finland) contribution.

In the light of the new prospects of the struggle for socialism in a number of capital-

ist countries the question of the bourgeois state, of its forms and functions has become even more important and concrete, E. Tuominen said. Marxist-Leninists attach great importance to the role of the state, especially today in conditions of modern capitalism, when the machinery of state is becoming more closely interlinked with the monopolies which use it as an instrument of their policy of exploitation and plunder. The monopolies tolerate neither freedom nor democracy. They are moving towards an ever more acute clash not only with the working class, but also with those sections of the people who believe in bourgeois democracy and who are anxious to preserve it.

Is there a real possibility in the conditions of state-monopoly capitalism of influencing the bourgeois state apparatus in the direction of greater democracy? We think there is. True, the peaceful way to socialism is possible even when the bourgeois state and the machinery of state itself are far from being democratic. But when we speak not only of the peaceful but also of the parliamentary road to socialism we have in mind a democratic renovation of the bourgeois state apparatus.

The form of the struggle for democracy in central and local organs of power and the content of its aims are determined in every country by the specific conditions. Constitutionally, power in Finland belongs to the people as represented by parliament; but the rights of parliament are greatly limited in favor of the executive — the president and the government. Having failed to elect the kind of parliamentary representation it wanted, monopoly capital would like to restrict the powers of parliament and add to the prerogatives of the government.

This explains why the Thirteenth Congress of the CPF paid special attention to upholding parliament and enlarging its rights. It insisted, for instance, that the deputies be granted the same right to legislative initiative as that possessed by the government. Furthermore, the congress voiced the demand that parliamentary decisions should be binding on the government and that government decrees should be submitted to parliament for endorsement.

According to the Finnish Constitution, high officials are appointed by the president and by the government. This system facilitates discrimination against People's Democrats and Communists and conflicts with democratic procedures. Therefore the congress of our Party proposed that high officials be appointed by the parliament — and for definite terms.

Anti-democratic trends are strong also in



local government. While the functions of the communal bodies have been enlarged, the central authorities are more and more restricting their autonomy and extending control over them. Decision-making is being transferred from the elected representatives to officials. However, this drive against local government is being rebuffed by the democratic forces. The contradictions between central and local organs are growing, which opens up new possibilities for forming a powerful united front of the working people and their parties in order to isolate monopoly capital.

The process of the struggle for democracy in the state apparatus in the developed capitalist countries is very complicated, E. Tuominen said in conclusion. Defense of democracy and its extension are becoming, without doubt, the central issue of the political struggle in these countries.

This problem was also discussed by J. Klugman (*Britain*). I think it is an inevitable trend in all countries of monopoly capitalism for the establishment of authoritarian regimes, and in Britain it takes a wide diversity of forms, he said. Therefore the fight of militant workers in Britain for democracy in this situation takes on special importance, because it is precisely in the fight for the defense of democracy and its extension that the possibility arises to isolate monopoly capitalism, to build a broad alliance around the working class and, in relation to the subject of our discussion, to evolve or make this transition from the fight for the extension of democracy within capitalism to the fight for real socialist democracy. A modest aspect of this has been the fight waged by our Party for time on television. We are demanding compliance with the law which declares equal opportunities for all in an election campaign, and threatening legal action. Thus monopoly finds itself attacked with the laws of bourgeois democracy. But legal action means nothing without mass action. More and more trade unions are expressing themselves that the Communist Party and smaller groupings should have the right to television time. Scottish and Welsh nationalists are fighting on this issue. Many personalities, scientists, academicians are also fighting on it.

We in our country, R. Oehmann (*Sweden*) said, are campaigning for the Riksdag to be given broader rights, including the right to elect the government, which has so far been appointed by the King. We are demanding a one-chamber instead of the two-chamber system. We insist that all votes should have equal weight (at present the Communists need twice

as many votes as the Social Democrats to get a seat). We realize that these and other demands can only be satisfied in the struggle against monopoly capital, for all-round democracy. The need to step up the fight against monopoly capital was emphasized by us during the last elections, owing to which we were the only party to obtain a considerable increase in the vote.

E. Woog (*Switzerland*) noted that the striving of the bourgeoisie to curtail and emasculate constitutional rights leads in Switzerland to growing disillusion and apathy among the electorate, to a decline of bourgeois democracy. Often less than 50 per cent of the voters and sometimes only 10 or 20 per cent go to the polls, even when referendums involving the interests of the working people are held. Obviously, the way out is to strengthen the connection between parliament and the extra-parliamentary struggle, to combine votes by the people with popular action.

The prospects of the struggle for socialism in the West are bound up with the establishment of broad anti-monopoly alliances. In this connection growing importance attaches to the *problem of the multi-party system under capitalism and under socialism*. This problem was the subject of a paper by F. Fuernberg (*Austria*), printed in this issue, and by V. Joannes (*France*).

The monopoly bourgeoisie, V. Joannes said, is compelled to maintain a formal semblance of democracy. The existence of political parties is one of the elements of the democratic facade which it feels constrained to preserve and which it uses to deceive the people. But at the same time it seeks to discredit and destroy these parties or to make it difficult or impossible for the working class and the people generally and for their parties to use the democratic rights and institutions in upholding both their immediate and long-range interests.

This is being done on the pretext that the parties are parasitic organisms and instruments of division. This is crude deception, designed to twist the generally known fact that political parties, far from being the cause of division, are a product of the division of society into classes and social groups with differing and even conflicting interests.

Only when they become aware of their identity of interests and wish to ensure an effective defense of these interests in the political field do citizens combine in a party. But the party does not unite the entire class or social group, but only its politically most alert members who lead the others. It is the most un-



ambiguous and organized expression of the interests of the given class or social group. It is not the party that breeds rivalry, opposition, strife or instability. These are the direct result of the struggle of the classes and of the clash of interests under capitalism.

Hence the existence of parties is a perfectly normal thing. Moreover, the existence of large, well-organized parties conscious of their responsibility to the nation is essential to the free functioning of democracy. Moreover, if democracy signifies the freest expression of the differing interests combined with the interests of the nation, it follows, clearly, that parties are one of the factors for the correct functioning of democracy.

Freedom for parties has enabled the working class to organize in the best way for the defense of its immediate interests and its desire for a better future. The party of the working class, the Communist Party, is the first party in our country wholly dedicated to the good of the working class and the people of France. To ensure the free development of democracy, to organize it properly to conform with the actions of the parties means to guarantee the working class and the Communist Party the possibility of leading the nation to independence and greatness, to freedom and peace. The big bourgeoisie cannot agree to this. It cannot afford to allow its policy to be publicly criticized and exposed. In order to hamper the growth and consolidation of the Communist Party it denounces all parties and undermines democracy.

Consequently, today the working class is particularly interested in upholding all democratic rights, including the right of every citizen to join and support the party of his choice. This is part of the struggle of the working class for respect for the will of the people expressed in elections, which should be genuinely democratic and in which the parties should be free to put forward their programs and to conduct their campaigns.

Proceeding from this characterization of the existence of parties and their role in a democratic regime, we proposed that the democratic parties and organizations should form an alliance to work out a joint program, jointly submit it to the people, and jointly carry it out. Our Seventeenth Congress said that at the present stage such an agreement is indispensable for the struggle for democracy.

W. Ulbricht touched on the problem of the cooperation of parties in socialist society. We in our country, he said, after the working class had united in the Socialist Unity Party, entered into an alliance in the form of a block of five

parties: the Socialist Unity Party, the Christian-Democratic Union, the Democratic Peasant Party, the Liberal-Democratic Party and the National-Democratic Party. To this bloc also belong representatives of the trade unions, the Women's Democratic Union, and the Kulturbund. The party of the working class plays, without doubt, the leading role in this bloc. But it exercises its influence, not by regimentation, but on the basis of democratic mutual understanding and cooperation. We hold that cooperation is needed not only before the victory of socialism, but also in the subsequent period of the transition to communism. People of different political and social backgrounds and different outlooks belong to these parties, but they are united by their devotion to the state of workers and peasants and by a common striving to preserve peace and successfully complete the building of socialism. The interests of peace and democracy, W. Ulbricht continued, demand that some forms of cooperation between the Communist and Social Democratic parties, trade unions, Christian organizations, etc., should be found in the capitalist countries as well. This flexible cooperation, which accords with the present requirements, calls for respect for the independence of the democratic parties, trade unions and youth and women's organizations concerned. Consequently, the Communists in the capitalist countries and the national states are far from equating their vanguard role in the working-class movement with the leading role in the mass organizations. Therefore, the formulation that the trade unions are the "transmission belts" between the Communist Party and the broad masses is applicable neither in the Western capitalist countries nor in the national democratic states.

J. Klugman (*Britain*) touched upon other aspects of this problem. Our Party, he said, began to envisage the possibility developing out of a period of much deepened struggle, developing out of a period of much polemic, discussion, debate within the Labor movement, of an election which would be fought on the issue of socialism, and in which a Labor Party, much changed, where militants have won the majority, alongside the Communist Party should fight for socialism. This does not mean, of course, that all its conceptions of socialism will be Marxist. There should emerge a majority of Labor and socialist members of parliament which, backed up and supported by the mass movement of workers outside of parliament, should begin to lead the country forward to socialism.

But then if we are honest, there is still an-



other problem of the party system that has to be faced in a country like ours. You can't avoid it. Make any speech as a Communist. Voice from the floor: "What about the Tory Party?" "What about the Liberal Party?" The comrades know that many millions of workers still vote for the Tories. And we have said openly that though we know that capitalist parties will inevitably be one of the main instruments for capitalist resistance to working-class power, we, and I use the official words of our program, "stand for the right of other political parties to maintain their organization, party publications and propaganda, to take part in elections provided that these parties conform to the law."

*E. Sereni (Italy)* said: Since we are discussing such problems as the existence of many parties under capitalism and in the period of building socialism, and other problems arising out of the socialist perspective, we should certainly pay attention also to the question of the attitude to the middle strata of town and country whom these numerous parties as a rule represent. In particular, I want to deal with the problems of objective development among the middle strata of the peasantry in such West European countries as Italy, France, West Germany, the Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries. Nobody will deny that recent years have been marked by an intensive development of capitalism in the agriculture of these countries. But it should be stressed that this is not simply capitalist development as such, it is extensive monopoly expansion in the countryside. Of course, what is taking place in all these countries is, in varying degrees, the establishment of big agricultural enterprises of the capitalist type. But the essence of the processes under way in the countryside does not boil down to that. This phenomenon, which exists objectively and cannot be discounted, is a derivative of the general and uneven process of monopoly expansion in the countryside. Most characteristic in this process is, to my mind, the growing subordination of agriculture as an economic sector to the interests and will of monopoly capital.

In Italy, Sereni continued, the changes in the sphere of exploitation of the masses, of the productive forces in agriculture have been so big that we, beginning with the Eighth Congress of our Party and in our program, have treated the peasant masses — the working peasantry, of course — as a single entity, as one of the motive forces of the democratic and socialist revolution. This applies not only to the sharecroppers, farm laborers and other such sections of the rural population, who have

always constituted an important contingent of the revolutionary forces in our country, but also to the small and middle peasants and even perhaps those sections of the peasantry who are in some countries listed among the kulaks but who in our country, by virtue of historical circumstances and also because of the ruthless monopoly exploitation take a favorable view of the anti-monopoly struggle.

Hence the importance of correctly defining what the socialist perspective means to the various sections of the peasantry. In doing so Marxists proceed from the fact that the levels of socialization of labor in the different sectors of the economy vary and that, consequently, different forms and degrees of socialization of the means of production are possible.

*S. Carrillo (Spain)*: Formerly, when discussing the motive forces of the socialist revolution, we spoke almost exclusively about the proletariat and the peasantry. Should we not, in view of the peculiarities of modern state-monopoly capital, extend this concept to the petty and middle urban bourgeoisie as well?

Carrillo posed a number of other problems, which are dealt with in his article printed in this issue of the journal.

*Working-class unity* is indispensable for the unity of the democratic, anti-imperialist forces. Questions of the struggle for the unity of the working class, especially of the Communists and Social Democrats, were the center of attention of the participants in the session. The Communists strive for the greatest possible cooperation and unity with the Social Democrats, *W. Ulbricht* said. Stressing that this cooperation and unity were a vital necessity, a prerequisite for ensuring peace and restricting and suppressing the power of the big monopolies, he went on to say this:

We assure the Social Democrats that the Communists have no intention of abolishing the Social Democratic parties. I mention this because many Social Democrats think that after the formation of a popular-front government, or, the subsequent establishment of a socialist government, the Communists will swallow Social Democracy.

Let us take the two German states. The unification of the two working-class parties in the eastern part of Germany in 1946 was an essential prerequisite for Germany's democratic and socialist development. But this does not mean that today, after the bourgeoisie has divided Germany in two, the same path can be taken in West Germany. The transition of democratic and socialist development in West Germany and the reunification of West and East Germany after German militarism has



been curbed and imperialism defeated, cannot be effected unless there is cooperation between the Socialist Unity Party, the Social Democratic and Communist parties in West Germany, as well as between the trade unions in the two Germanys. Thus, we do not intend to transplant our socialist system, to export it, so to speak, to West Germany. But neither should West German Social Democracy seek to impose its present views on the GDR. The Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party in West Germany should chart their own road of struggle for democracy and socialism, in conformity with the specific conditions of struggle in that country of state-monopoly capitalism, and advance along that road. In this way cooperation would be ensured not only in the defense of peace, which directly concerns the nation, but also in the general perspective, and as a result it would hasten the attainment of long-range objectives.

The struggle for Communist-Socialist unity was discussed in detail by V. Joannes. We believe, he said, that in the past 20 years changes have taken place in the world and in France which enable us to foresee a fuller and stronger unity between Communists and Socialists. Incidentally, the Socialist leaders do not deny "the necessity and possibility of working-class unity." They continue to resist it, they say, because of the ideological differences between our two parties. That is true, and the differences are serious. It is not our intention to gloss them over. But we are always ready to discuss these differences so as to iron them out. The discussion started by the Socialist Party in *le Populaire*, its central organ, last December, and the contribution our Party made to it by printing a reply in *l'Humanite*, constituted a significant event. The discussion was conducted in a serious, responsible tone, without invective and label-sticking.

The Seventeenth Congress of our Party advanced this discussion a step further. Anxious to facilitate peaceful progress to socialism in conditions of close cooperation of the two parties and all the democratic and anti-monopoly

forces, our Party categorically rejected the idea of the existence of only one party being indispensable for achieving socialism in France. This was stressed in the political resolution of our Seventeenth Congress.

It is almost fifty years since the split occurred in the world labor movement, N. Freed (Canada) said. In the light of historical experience the split was unavoidable. It does not, however, follow that the split should exist forever. The conditions and circumstances which gave rise to it have changed fundamentally. While the nature of right-wing Social Democracy has not changed, its ability to exercise its role has been restricted. To what extent have the socialist world system, the national-liberation movement, state-monopoly capitalism, the changed structure of the working class, the anti-monopoly movement and the revolution in science and technology influenced Social Democracy? These are questions which should be examined.

What is clear, N. Freed stressed, is that without the Socialist parties, which exercised considerable influence on the masses and constitute an important part of the democratic forces, no broad alliance is possible. In the highly-developed capitalist countries, including those countries where the Communist movement is stronger, the Communists cannot hope to be successful in the struggle to curb and defeat monopoly without cooperation with the Socialist parties. The working class cannot achieve socialism without working-class unity, without healing the split in the labor movement. It is essential to move from a position of unity in action on immediate issues to a position of simultaneously discussing those fundamental questions which still divide us. These questions cannot be postponed to some future date. This requires the adoption of a forthright position that Social Democracy is not the main enemy or the main danger against which the main fire should be directed. The main fire must be directed against the main enemy — monopoly and more particularly against its right wing.

## SOME PROBLEMS OF THE NATIONAL-LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Speakers paid special attention to the present stage of the national-liberation movement, analyzing its motive forces and determining the place of this movement in the world revolutionary process. They traced out certain new features of the liberation struggle, stressing that the new situation demands that Marxist-

Leninists pose in a new way many of the problems of the theory and practice of the national-liberation movement and find new solutions.

The unprecedented scope of this movement, said Bashir Hadj Ali (Algeria) poses the question of abolishing the colonial system altogether. This is one of the most important pheno-



mena of our time, which in its historical importance ranks second to the emergence of the socialist world system. The significance of this factor in the worldwide struggle against imperialism has increased compared with the time of the First International thanks to the growing struggle of the oppressed peoples and the advance of socialism.

The Great October Socialist Revolution was of decisive significance for intensifying the liberation struggle in the colonies. The breach in the imperialist front and the first victory of the exploited masses in the history of mankind, the example of resolving the national question, the support the oppressed peoples received from the multi-national Soviet state, the weakening of imperialism and the narrowing of its sphere of influence — these are the chief aspects of this radical change. Since then the national-liberation movement has received a powerful impetus and become an important component of the world revolutionary process.

However, in the opinion of Bashir Hadj Ali, in those early years the national-liberation movement tended to be underestimated. The Manifesto of the Inaugural Congress of the Third International said, in particular, that "liberation of the colonies can come only through liberation of the working class of the oppressing nations. The workers and peasants, not only of Annam, Algeria, Bengal, but also of Persia and Armenia, can gain independent existence only after the workers of England and France have overthrown Llóyd George and Clemenceau and taken the power into their own hands." This concept, which stressed the role of the working class of Europe, did not help the European workers to appreciate the full significance of the deep-going changes destined to take place in the colonies in subsequent years. Later, the national-colonial question gradually began to occupy a more prominent place in the activity of the Comintern, and the incorrect concept that the revolution would first take place in the West was no longer advanced as indisputable.

In the past 20 years over 60 newly-independent states have emerged as a result of the struggle waged by the peoples oppressed by imperialism. But this struggle would not have been successful had it not been for the Soviet Union's victory over fascism, had it not been for the growing influence exerted by the USSR and the other socialist countries on world politics. And the victory of the colonial peoples over superior strength was due first to their valiant struggle and second, to the political and moral support of the socialist states and of the working class in the imperialist countries and

its vanguard — the Communist and Workers' parties. As representatives of the people who for seven and a half years fought against the powerful military machine of the colonialists, we uphold this historical truth which no falsification can distort, and we will do everything necessary to consolidate this front of the anti-imperialist struggle.

In examining the documents of the International, Bashir Hadj Ali went on, one is struck by the tendency of the Communist parties in the capitalist countries to underestimate the national-colonial question. The same was true of some fraternal parties in the colonial countries which, not infrequently, especially in the initial stages of their activity, turned their eyes solely to Europe and to the European parties, forgetting that in pursuing the common aim of socialism the Marxist-Leninist parties can have different viewpoints concerning one or another slogan, and adhere to an orientation that corresponds to the realities of their national life. Among other things, this was caused by the orientation of the International which somewhat schematically called on the working class to be cautious about the parties of the national bourgeoisie. Stress was laid on social demands, which created the impression that for Marxist-Leninists national demands were of secondary importance, or that economic demands excluded the political aspect of the national struggle. This attitude stemmed from underestimation of the revolutionary potential of the bourgeoisie at one or another stage of the struggle as well as the role of the poorer strata of the peasantry—the main base of the revolution in the colonial countries. In Algeria, for example, there was a tendency to underestimate the revolutionary role played by working people of Jewish origin. Moreover, up to 1946 we belittled the significance of the national movement with the result that the liberation of Algeria was made directly dependent on the liberation of France, and the slogan of independence was relegated to the background, whereas this slogan should have been supported even at the time of the war against Nazi Germany, should have been tied up with the main aim at that time—the common struggle against Nazism.

Certain mistakes were aggravated at the time of the Stalin personality cult when some principles, valid in European conditions, were mechanically transferred into the entirely different situation in the colonial and dependent countries thereby retarding the growth of revolutionary national parties. Let us, in passing, note the inconsistent attitude of those who today declare their allegiance to the newly-



free peoples and at the same time defend the Stalin cult.

Speaking about the role of the working class in the national-liberation movement, Bashir Hadj Ali noted that Marxist-Leninists stressed the need for the hegemony of the working class in the socialist revolution. But does this mean that there must always be proletarian hegemony in each country? Should we conclude from this that revolution is impossible wherever the working class is weak or non-existent? The fact that there is the opposite view, i.e., that it is possible to advance to socialism without going through the capitalist stage, shows that in this reasoning there is no contradiction between the socialist ideological hegemony of the working class and the transition of an economically backward country to socialism. This hegemony is exercised on a worldwide scale by the international working class, above all by the emancipated proletariat of the socialist countries thanks to the growing influence of socialism which enriches the national-liberation movement with theoretical and practical experience and renders it material support. Now that the colonial system is in the process of disintegration, and with the young states deciding on their future, this truth is becoming clearer. What is needed is to make the choice between the capitalist and non-capitalist paths of development, the latter opening up the perspective of advancing to socialism.

Some of the new features of the national-liberation movement at the present stage were examined by *Pieter Keuneman (Ceylon)*. He said, in particular, that whereas the national-liberation struggles of earlier times were directed against one or another imperialist power, the national-liberation movement of our day is worldwide in scope and is directed against the entire colonial system itself. A second new feature of the national-liberation revolution is that it has produced new sovereign states which, although they still remain within the capitalist world economy, are, as far as the overwhelming majority of them are concerned, no longer part of the political system of imperialism and play an independent role that is objectively favorable for peace and the struggle against imperialism and the capitalist monopolies. A third new feature of the contemporary national revolution is that it has confirmed Lenin's prevision of the integration of the national-liberation movement of subject peoples with the international proletarian revolution in a single world revolutionary process. Only a few decades ago, the national-liberation movement was

no more than a potential reserve of the world socialist revolution. It has now become a vital component of the entire process of revolutionary transformation on a world scale from capitalism and imperialism to socialism and communism. The contemporary national-liberation revolutions go far beyond the limits of the aims pursued by the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the past which cleared the way for capitalist development. Of course, the disintegration and collapse of the colonial system cannot be equated with the collapse of imperialism itself. Monopoly capitalism—and especially state-monopoly capitalism—in the metropolitan countries still remains to be overthrown. There are also about 40 million people who have still to win their national independence and also some newly-free countries where pro-imperialist regimes still exist.

It nevertheless remains true, the speaker stressed, that for the national-liberation movement as a whole a new stage has opened when the struggle for economic independence, social progress and deep-going socio-economic changes has become the Number One problem. In a sense, the economy has become the main battlefield of the national-liberation movement as a whole in the present new stage.

All this is fully in accord with Lenin's teaching that the national-liberation movement does not end with the winning of political independence and cannot be completed unless economic emancipation is also achieved. If the national-liberation revolution does not solve all the urgent tasks of national renaissance and lead to profound changes in social and economic life, political independence itself will be unstable and can be undermined or turned into something nominal.

The development of the national-liberation movement, said *Khaled Bagdash (Syria)*, poses new problems which call for collective discussion and solution. One of these is the question of the motive forces of the national-liberation revolution, and especially that of the role of the working class in this revolution. In the past, more specifically prior to the Second World War, Marxist-Leninists maintained that the anti-colonial revolution in any country could triumph only under the leadership of the working class of the particular country, since the national bourgeoisie had become discredited and, by virtue of its reformist character, was unable to fight to the end for national independence and liberation from colonial domination. The role of the middle sections among the small urban and rural bourgeoisie, including the intellectuals, was essentially denied. Experience, however, has



shown that in many colonial and semi-colonial countries it was the national bourgeoisie and, in some of them, the middle sections represented by army officers and intellectuals, as was the case in Algeria, that played the leading role in the struggle for national independence. In some countries they played the decisive role in waging to the end the struggle against imperialism launched under the leadership of the national bourgeoisie (in Egypt, for example). However, the working class was unable to head this struggle, although it took an active part in the national-liberation movement.

In the face of these facts two kinds of erroneous viewpoints have arisen. Some, ignoring reality, deny the victories of the national-liberation movement won under the leadership of the national bourgeoisie or the middle sections, arguing that the political independence won by these countries is a sheer formality, because the struggle for it was not headed by the working class; and so they call for a "genuine" national-liberation revolution under working-class leadership. These theories are preached by dogmatists. Others, on the contrary, deny that the working class plays any role whatsoever in the national-liberation struggle. Since the working class has not played the leading role in the national-liberation movement, and also because some progressive socio-economic changes, which, according to the old concepts, could be effected only by the dictatorship of the proletariat, were implemented by the national regime, some people began to draw the conclusion that in the newly-free countries the working class has lost its role and that in the advance of these countries to socialism the working class, far from playing the leading role, will hardly exert any influence at all.

Possibly, Khaled Bagdash went on, these wrong views are the result of a certain confusion in the understanding of what socialism really is. Should we believe that certain progressive measures (for instance, agrarian reform, nationalization of banks and big companies, etc.) already signify the establishment of socialism, as is claimed by their architects, or should they be regarded as important steps on the way to socialism, provided the conditions for this are to hand? And this poses another question: does socialism as a socio-economic formation possess a definite and clearcut content in its main aspects, although the roads to it vary from country to country depending on their national peculiarities, or will it acquire a special content for each country? This is a question which needs collective

study and clear and frank elucidation. All this calls for discussing the role of the working class. Will the leading role during the transition to socialism, and then in the subsequent building of socialism, be played by the middle sections from among the intellectuals and army officers or will the working class play the leading role or any important role generally in these countries?

There is no doubt that the role of the international working class represented, in particular by the socialist camp and its vanguard—the Soviet Union—is a highly important one today and will continue to grow. However, the enormous significance of the socialist world system does not mean, as some believe, denying the role of the working class or minimizing its role in each country; on the contrary, it presupposes the growth of working-class influence in each country. The impact of the socialist world, far from ruling out the role of the local progressive forces, including the working class, adds to this role in measure with the development of the world revolutionary process as a whole.

The specific features of the national-liberation movement in Africa were dealt with by *Michael Harmel (South Africa)*. As with all great processes in real life, he said, the African revolution is not proceeding with that tidy and orderly sequence of events as would delight the parlor strategist or academic observer. The main direction is clear: it is that of a victorious, continuing and invincible drive to restore Africa to its rightful owners, the Africans. The first, indispensable step in this process is the winning of political independence, of the rule over the whole of Africa by Africans, for Africans. In great measure, one which guarantees the complete victory of this phase of our revolution, political independence has already been won. True, there have been reverses and temporary setbacks. Important areas of Africa still suffer under the rule of European countries, or of privileged white minorities who, backed by foreign imperialism, continue to commit all the intolerable crimes of colonialism. Also, in some African states, independence is still more apparent than real; the colonialists have been able to find Africans willing to act as their agents to perpetuate their domination. Such negative features show very clearly that our revolution is far from completed, and indicate the immediate goals to be gained.

No sound assessment of the African situation can be made that does not take into account the real and powerful trend towards all-African unity. Of course, there are many



and diverse territories on this vast continent. The African countries show wide variations of economic development. To study and comprehend all these differences is, of course, necessary for a complete understanding of the problems of Africa as a whole. But to concentrate only on them, while overlooking the essential unity of Africa—its past, its present and its future—is to commit a serious mistake.

If one studies the various countries of Africa one is struck by the relative absence, as compared with countries of developed capitalism, of sharp or antagonistic conflicts between the various social classes that exist. Even in countries with a relatively high degree of industrialization and a completed exchange economy, like South Africa, one finds that virtually all economic, industrial, commercial and financial opportunities have been seized and monopolized by the colonialists, so that the development of an indigenous bourgeoisie has been deliberately and artificially inhibited and stifled, and a substantial exploiting class hardly exists. The great mass of the people all over Africa live on the land, usually without any land of their own. Inseparably bound up with and part of this great army of rural people are the sadly small group of African intellectuals and professional people, the traders, and the steadily growing African working class, characteristically employed in some foreign-owned mine, plantation or other colonialist concern. Whatever divergencies exist among these various, developing social classes, they are all united in the common aim and interest of winning true independence, political and economic, and in ridding their countries of the last traces and consequences of colonialism.

It is this common aim and interest which, in a number of African countries, has led to the powerful tendency towards a single-party state. The "single party" is in fact not a class party but a united front of national liberation, combining various progressive classes and political tendencies in the common anti-colonial objective.

The countries of Africa are at an all-important and vital crossroad: the choice between capitalism and socialism as the path of future development. On the whole, and in principle, this choice has already been made. Hardly an African statesman, anywhere in our Continent, dares openly to defend and advocate capitalism. However, the people of Africa are not satisfied with "socialist" pronouncements from their leaders. They demand actual and tangible progress in ensuring the participation of the workers and poor farmers in government and

in production, in building a state sector of the economy, in reconstructing agriculture along socialist lines, in raising living and cultural standards, and in steadily eliminating colonialist influence in the economic and every other field. And those rulers who will not carry out such policies will have, in the course of time, to make way for others who will.

The national-liberation movement in Latin America is developing in conditions that differ greatly from those obtaining in Afro-Asian countries. The present situation in Latin America, said *Alberto Ferrari (Argentina)*, is highlighted by the victory of the Cuban revolution, which shows that revolutionary conditions have matured on the continent. The victory of the Cuban revolution has sparked off the process of triumph of the national-liberation revolution in Latin America and its advance towards socialism.

The motive forces of this revolution are the working class, the peasantry, considerable sections of intellectuals and students, the small urban bourgeoisie as well as the more or less broad sections of the national bourgeoisie not connected with imperialism and the landlord oligarchy. Hence the revolutionary stage in Latin America has a democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist content. Here it should be borne in mind that in our time the transition from this stage to the socialist one (as evidenced by the Cuban experience) can take place in a very short space of time.

The Latin American countries have a number of common features but at the same time, by virtue of the peculiarities of their historical development, they substantially differ from one another economically, socially and politically. Hence it would be wrong to make absolute any one tactic or any one political recipe. It is perfectly clear that the victory of the Cuban revolution, like any advance made by the socialist camp, gives a new impetus to the liberation struggle. But what is in question is the extent to which the working class and the masses in other countries become aware of their own strength, unite and fight for their national and social emancipation. For the Communist and Workers' parties the thing is, in the specific conditions of their countries and taking into account their national peculiarities, to find the corresponding forms and ways of struggle.

A lively discussion took place on the perspectives for the newly-free states. How feasible is it for these countries to take the path of non-capitalist development, do the necessary external and internal conditions exist for this, what should be the attitude of Marxist-



Leninists to the socialist trends in the young national states — these and other questions cropped up in the discussion.

In what way can the independent under-developed countries, i.e., countries in which industry is not developed while feudal and semi-feudal relations still prevail in agriculture, effect the transition to socialism? This question was posed by *Gangaharan Adhikari (India)* (see his article elsewhere in this issue).

A non-capitalist road of development for former colonies and semi-colonies, stressed *Pieter Keuneman*, was impossible at the time when imperialism and capitalism held sole sway in the world arena. But the rise of the socialist world system and its increasingly decisive role in world affairs have created the broad possibility for a non-capitalist transition to socialism for a large number of newly-liberated peoples. The possibility for new national states that have recently emerged on the world arena to embark on the non-capitalist way arises from a combination of favorable external and internal objective factors.

The non-capitalist way is an effective form by which the new national states can rapidly solve the urgent problems of national renaissance and carry out the varying stages of transition from pre-socialist and often pre-capitalist formations to socialism. That is why so many fraternal parties in Asia and Africa, including the Ceylon Communist Party, have concluded that the non-capitalist path of development is suitable and appropriate for their situation.

It is important to emphasize, he went on, that non-capitalist development is not the same as socialist development, the objective conditions for which have not yet matured in the new national states. Non-capitalist development is a road of revolutionary democratic transformations in the life of the nation which fulfils its historical function of preparing the material and social foundations for socialism. The non-capitalist road has nothing in common with reformist concepts of a gradual passing over to socialism. It involves bitter class struggles against imperialism and domestic reaction, actively dislodging them from one position after another. Non-capitalist development becomes possible only to the extent that the masses are drawn into active struggle to deepen, extend and complete the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic revolution.

Who will deny, said *Bashir Hadj Ali*, that, if new conditions obtained, say in some capitalist countries, the process of imperialist disintegration would be accelerated, thus paving the way for the working class, jointly with the power-

ful mass movement in the European capitalist countries, to win power? However, the massive scale acquired by the national-liberation movement makes one believe that in our time new Cubas will appear in Africa, Latin America and Asia. It will not be amiss here to note that the end of capitalism, evidently, may be expected more quickly in those newly-independent countries where, first, the socialist way appeals to people in view of their bitter experience of capitalism, and is seen as the sole way of finding a solution to the concrete problems of their backwardness; second, the relatively weak economic foundations of the exploiting bourgeoisie and its trading character prevent it from ensuring effective capitalist development and at the same time facilitate the struggle of the revolutionary forces for narrowing the sphere of activity of this bourgeoisie; and third, national awareness grows on a par with the social consciousness of the people who, under the leadership of the revolutionary government, are moving into action denouncing both imperialism and the exploiting, bureaucratic bourgeoisie. In the former colonies the dispossessed masses have had the experience of capitalism, which they regard as an enemy imported from abroad; having seen its brutal and barbarous manifestations their dreams of a better life are not utopian to them.

One of the most important developments of our time, *Bagdash* continued, is the spread of socialist ideas among the masses, especially among those who play the leading role in the national-liberation movement. Many sincere, forward-looking people are satisfied that socialism is the only way in which the needed socio-economic changes can be carried out. Thus, the Communists are no longer the only people standing for socialism and fighting for it.

True, the socialist trends among non-Communists were at first vague, resting as they did on a nationalist foundation and lacking a clearly expressed class content. At first the followers of these trends denied the class struggle and even the existence of classes; at best they said their aim was to abolish the differences between the classes. And although their outlook has changed somewhat of late, their idea of socialism is still pretty vague. But the existence of the socialist camp, the impact of its economic and scientific achievements, the course of the internal development of these countries, the vigorous activity of the Communists in the newly-free countries in disseminating Marxism-Leninism — these are impelling the as yet unclear but sincere socialist



trends towards scientific socialism. The task, then, is to draw still closer together these socialist and progressive trends and currents in each country and to fuse them into a single stream. But how is this to be done?

Here there is no room for generalization. The conditions in each country are extremely varied, time and experience show that they are becoming more varied. The national front which is heading the national-democratic revolution against imperialism and feudalism, and along the path to socialism, may in one or another country evolve into a single party of all the sections aspiring to socialism. Elsewhere the union of the national-liberation forces may take the shape of a national front of all national parties and groups without exception—Communists, Socialists and progressives from among the national bourgeoisie who are not hostile to socialism. But in none of these countries can there be any cut-and-dried scheme of uniting the forces and trends striving for socialism. In its development the general situation may evolve into one or another form and advance in a completely new way which previously seemed either impossible or unacceptable. Things are developing rapidly, and what is essential is that the form of unity of the progressive and socialist forces should correspond to the actual situation in the particular country at the given time. Only in this way will the union of forces be viable and possess everything necessary for its continued existence and advance.

*Badamyn Lkhamsuren (Mongolian People's Republic)* told of his country's development along the non-capitalist way. Our country, he said, was one of the first to take this way. It gained independence as a result of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution in 1921 under the direct impact of the October Revolution. The people's revolution, in which the peasantry was the driving force, overthrew the power of the feudal lords and replaced it with people's rule.

The experience of Mongolia shows that even in a backward country without industry and a working class the peasants can, by forming an alliance with the working class of a country where the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established, play an historical role in the nation's progress. A striking instance of such an international alliance was the Soviet Union's recognition of the independence and sovereignty of the Mongolian people to whom it gave not only moral but also armed support in its struggle against the repeated encroachments by the imperialists.

Nowadays a close alliance and cooperation

with the socialist countries create favorable conditions for the countries that have liberated themselves from colonialism to achieve complete political and economic independence and to arrive at socialism without experiencing capitalism. Our experience shows that in conditions of proletarian dictatorship non-capitalist development in the underdeveloped countries can begin under a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the peasantry, which will gradually grow into the dictatorship of the proletariat. The example of the MPR confirmed the correctness of the thesis of the Comintern Program that "the specific conditions of the revolutionary struggle in the major colonial and semi-colonial countries, the fact that the struggle for a democratic-dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry and the growth of this dictatorship into a dictatorship of the proletariat will inevitably be a long one and, lastly, the decisive importance of national features — all these factors confront the Communist parties of the countries concerned with a number of *specific* tasks which constitute the preparatory stage in tackling the overall tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The problem of non-capitalist development and the formation of states of national democracy was the theme of the paper read by *Alexander Sobolev (Problems of Peace and Socialism)*. The task now facing Marxists, Sobolev said, is to make a more concrete and substantiated analysis of the ways of achieving socio-economic transformations in conformity with the specific conditions of Latin America, Asia and Africa. We rightly believe that the capitalist way will not solve the urgent social and economic problems of today, that progress can be achieved only by taking the non-capitalist way. But this thesis, which is absolutely correct generally speaking, has to be elaborated in its application to the situation in each instance. We usually refer to the experience of some of the Soviet Republics and of Mongolia. But this experience can be applied only partially to other countries, since the advance towards socialism in Algeria, Burma, Ghana and Guinea, for example, is taking place in a different historical setting than was the case in the Soviet Republics and Mongolia. Hence the urgent need to further elaborate this problem, scientifically and theoretically, in conformity with the conditions obtaining in the countries concerned.

The process of non-capitalist development is a complex and many-sided phenomenon which, although it is a natural one for all these countries, will need to be modified not only ac-



cording to continents but also to countries, in view of the extremely different conditions of their development.

I think that we should define more precisely what is meant by the non-capitalist way to socialism. The non-capitalist way is sometimes directly associated or even identified with building socialism. When one or another statesman expresses himself in favor of his country taking the socialist road we Marxists should welcome this and do our best to give practical effect to socialist slogans. But there is the danger of the socialist criterion being lowered, of socialism being determined solely according to the extent of the socialization of the means of production, without due regard to expanding the productive forces and the scope of cultural and ideological reconstruction. This concept of socialism turns it from a new social system which in every respect should be superior, more progressive and more effective than the outgoing capitalist system into what may be called a socialization of poverty. Socialization of the means of production can be achieved quite rapidly, but that is still a long way from implying that socialism has come into existence, that is, a system superior to capitalism in every respect. The view has been expressed that the concept of socialism should be modified to suit the level of the socio-economic development of one or another country, the degree of maturity of class relations, etc. And the viewpoint is advanced that there is a difference between socialism in the developed countries and socialism in the economically backward countries, that this is particularly true as regards Africa or Asia where socialism is replacing not capitalism but the pre-capitalist socio-economic structure. But if these countries are bypassing the capitalist stage it does not necessarily mean that the level of development of the productive forces under colonialism should be the yardstick in determining the degree of their development towards socialism. Socialism can triumph and be viable only if it is superior in all respects to capitalism as a social system.

The non-capitalist way is a transitional form in social relationships. It is neither capitalism nor socialism; at the same time, however, it contains elements of capitalism and of socialism, and also of pre-capitalist relations. The non-capitalist way contains, on the one hand, the vestiges of the previously existing socio-economic systems and, on the other, ensures the development of new economic relationships which will be partly capitalist, partly socialist. After a country embarks on the non-capitalist way, following revolutionary changes

in the political sphere, transient productive relations take shape. A plurality of sectors exist in this phase: the state sector, one or another form of capitalist relations, small-scale commodity production as well as certain forms of pre-capitalist relations. Complex socio-economic relations develop between these sectors and, primarily, between the state sector and the different forms of private property, relationships which can be described as an economic struggle between nascent socialism and the still existing capitalism. Bitter class struggle rages between the various sectors. In the course of the non-capitalist way politics comes to play an increasingly important role. Hence non-capitalist development is inevitably confronted with the problem of power; it can be successful only if the masses and the state, which is in the hands of the people in one degree or another, directly influence economic relations. The type of state best suited to ensuring the non-capitalist way and the transition to socialism is the state of national democracy. But this does not mean that the non-capitalist way is possible only in a state of national democracy. Other state forms of political power are possible.

In examining the general problems of theory and practice of the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, speakers stressed the importance of making a profound analysis of the situation in each given country. In his report *Mohit Sen (India)* analyzed some basic experiences of the mass movement in India.

He told of the organization of the petition and the march to Delhi in the autumn of 1963 and the satyagraha of August 1964. As in the past, the working class took the initiative in these campaigns. In the satyagraha millions participated in meetings and demonstrations, and a total of 25,000 people were arrested.

These two movements were the biggest all-India actions launched by any party in India since independence. The demands put forward by the Communist Party in these actions—extensive nationalization, withdrawal of the onerous taxes and strict price control—were a clear alternative to the policies pursued by the Congress government. The forms of struggle not only conformed to the level of consciousness of the masses but were in keeping with the traditional forms of the hunger strike, civil disobedience and satyagraha evolved by the Congress itself when it led the struggle for independence. The working class also used its tried weapon of general strikes and hartal, resulting in mass actions in Bombay, Calcutta, Ahmadabad, Kerala, Uttar Pradesh and Goa.



The combination of working-class forms of action with the traditional national forms had a tremendous impact. The working class led the movement. The embryo of the worker-peasant alliance was evident in these actions. The urban poor and middle strata, including students, also participated on a large scale. The biggest gain was the sense of confidence and unity of the masses. These nationwide actions by no means imply any weakening of the struggle for the day-to-day demands of the masses. On the contrary this struggle has been greatly stimulated by such all-India actions and has, in turn, prepared the ground for still broader national campaigns.

*Amer Abdolla (Iraq)* spoke of some new phenomena in the Arab liberation movement. The movement for unity in Iraq, Yemen and the UAR, he said, should be viewed in close connection with the revolutionary changes in the UAR, with the rising tide in the struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialism, and with the further consolidation of friendship and cooperation with the socialist commonwealth. The movement for Arab unity, headed by the UAR, acquires new revolutionary content with the elimination of the economic and political positions of the Egyptian bourgeoisie. The rate of progress on the road to national liberation and social progress is not the same in every Arab country.

In Iraq, for example, despite the anti-democratic policy of the present government, objective conditions are maturing, opening up new possibilities for Iraq to follow the example of the UAR, and to embark on the road of non-capitalist development. As in the UAR, the Iraqi government, prompted by the need to realize a similar program of economic development, has introduced measures such as the nationalization of the banks and a number of foreign-owned and domestic enterprises.

*Reza Radmanesh (Iran), Yakub Demir (Turkey, Abdesalam Wazani (Morocco)* and others spoke of the new developments in the socio-economic and political life of their countries. *Pedro Motta Lima (Brazil), Ramon Amaya Amador (Honduras), Luciano Ferreto (Costa Rica)* examined the present stage of the national-liberation movement in Latin America.

All emphasized the need for a creative approach to developments, of comprehensively assessing the new phenomena in the national-liberation movement in the respective countries and, on this basis, contributing towards elaborating the right strategy and tactics for the Communist and Workers' parties.

\* \* \*

*Alexei Rumyantsev*, Editor-in-Chief, *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, closing the seminar, said that it had not been its purpose to adopt any final decisions on the problems discussed, for many of them had been raised only in general outline. They call for a more thorough study before they can be solved theoretically and applied in practice. It is evident, however, that in the course of our work we examined a wide range of extremely interesting material.

The First International, *Rumyantsev* noted, fought to make working men conscious of the fact that they were the vehicles of the new, progressive social system that would replace capitalism. Hence the struggle for their emancipation coincided with the struggle for universal social progress. Not a return, for the sake of an illusory equality, to obsolete forms of production, but a revolutionary leap forward on the basis of the achievements of world civilization — that is the underlying principle and conscious goal of the working-class struggle; not a society of "poor but equal," but the creation of conditions making for the rapid growth of the productive forces, and for fully satisfying the material and spiritual needs of all members of society, and hence for making possible the free, all-round and harmonious development of the individual—that is the ideal of Communists.

It is a paradox of history that a century later there are people who, in the name of Marxism, preach the ideas of egalitarian, barracks-like communism which Marx and Engels in their time rejected. Are not the attempts to build a society of communes through socialization of all the means of production and even of articles of personal use a sign of this? Is not the policy of dividing nations into "poor" and "rich," which ignores the class struggle in the countries and on an international scale evidence of attempts to revive these obsolete views? Is it not a return to primitive theories to assess the struggle to improve the well-being of the people as "bourgeoisification," to say that socialism now springs from victory in the "backwoods of the world" and not from victory in the "urban centers" which allegedly have become anti-revolutionary, etc.

The un-Marxist substance of these concepts, directed against proletarian internationalism, is obvious. It is only natural that the Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries should regard their activity to develop material production to the maximum and create the material and technical basis of socialism and communism as their cardinal revolutionary and internationalist duty. Every



achievement in the economic and social spheres, in developing and strengthening socialist democracy, is a powerful stimulus to the working people in their struggle for emancipation, a catalyzer of the world revolutionary process. And by the same token every setback or mistake in the activities of the parties in power is bound to have a negative effect on the development of the international revolutionary movement. Is a society built on the pattern of egalitarian, barracks-like communism likely to inspire anyone to fight for such an "ideal"? Hardly.

Under capitalism the vast productive forces become vast destructive forces. Humanity has come face to face with the threat of entire nations being wiped out in a nuclear war. The task is, therefore, to find ways and means of preventing this from happening. Recourse to nuclear blackmail on the part of some political and government leaders, their "bravado" in the face of a nuclear catastrophe can only be qualified as utterly irresponsible and fraught with disastrous consequences. True Marxist-Leninists—representatives of the most humane ideology—are fully conscious of the danger of such actions. No ideal, not even the loftiest, can be realized at the price of annihilating millions. Hence the struggle for peace today, like the struggle to extend and deepen democracy, does not contradict the revolutionary activity of the working class, of all working people. On the contrary, it is an essential part of this activity.

These are some of the thoughts I wished to express here, thoughts prompted by the extremely interesting papers read at this meet-

ing. I think I will be speaking for all if I say that our seminar has been a striking instance of unity of thought and action by Communists from different countries and continents, that it has demonstrated a truly international approach to diverse and complex problems. We all welcome the independent and profoundly creative approach to the problems facing the Communists of individual countries. At the same time we note with satisfaction the like-mindedness regarding the underlying principles of Marxism-Leninism, the fundamental aims of the working-class struggle, the need to treasure and further develop through joint efforts the glorious traditions left to us by our great predecessors.

\* \* \*

On September 28, the centenary of the founding of the First International, the participants in the seminar attended a public meeting dedicated to the historic date. The meeting, chaired by Walter Ulbricht, was addressed by: Kurt Hager (GDR), Yuri Andropov (USSR), Emilio Sereni (Italy), Victor Joannes (France), Tim Buck (Canada), Alberto Ferrari (Argentina), Pieter Keuneman (Ceylon), Nathaniel Iwuagwu (Nigeria), Khaled Bagdash (Syria).

On behalf of the participants in the seminar a wreath was laid on Marx's grave in Highgate Cemetery in London.

Wreaths were also laid at the Friedrichsfeld Cemetery, Berlin, at the memorial to famous revolutionary fighters: Wilhelm Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Ernst Thaelmann, Wilhelm Pieck and many others.

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## *Among Our Contributors*

**LUIGI LONGO:** *General Secretary, Italian Communist Party.*

**TIM BUCK:** *Chairman, Communist Party of Canada.*

**SANTIAGO CARRILLO:** *General Secretary, Communist Party of Spain.*

**FRIEDL FUERNBERG:** *Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Austria.*

**JACQUES DUCLOS:** *Member of the Political Bureau, French Communist Party.*

**GANGAHARAN D. ADHIKARI:** *Member of the Central Executive Committee and Secretary of the National Council, Communist Party of India.*

**ZIZIS ZOGRAFOS:** *Member of the Political Bureau, Communist Party of Greece.*



**In the Communist  
and Workers' Parties**

## Communist Press on the International Meeting

**T**ODAY Communists all over the world are discussing the question of preparing and holding an international meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties. In recent months numerous consultations have taken place between the fraternal parties concerning the expediency of holding the meeting as well as a number of important matters which make the meeting necessary.

In the course of these discussions the parties tended to the view that, as was the case before the 1960 meeting, a drafting committee should be set up and charged with preparing the meeting.

The Central Committee of the *Communist Party of the Soviet Union* advanced the proposal that the committee should start its work in Moscow on December 15, if the fraternal parties find this acceptable.

Speaking about the need for a new meeting, L. I. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CC CPSU, said on October 19:

"The CPSU will uphold the common line of the world Communist movement, strive to remove the difficulties in its ranks and rally together all the fraternal parties on the principled foundation of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the Declaration and Statement of the Moscow meetings. The CPSU will actively work for the convocation of a meeting of the Marxist-Leninist parties of the whole world, which, we are convinced, can and should facilitate the achievement of these aims."

The proposals for a new international meeting and steps to prepare it are supported by the majority of the Communist parties. Numerous materials have appeared in the Communist press: statements of the Central Committees and by Party leaders, newspaper articles which point to the timeliness of the proposed collective measures and substantiate the urgent need for a new meeting of representatives of the fraternal parties to exchange views and adopt joint decisions on the burning problems of our time.

"The differences arising in the international Communist movement," says the statement of the Political Bureau of the *Communist Party of Finland*, "urgently call for a new meeting

the purpose of which would be to try to restore unity."

*Drapeau Rouge*, the Belgian Communist paper, quoting the resolution of the meeting of the CC of the Belgian Party held last May, says that the meeting should not be confined to polemics with the Chinese leaders. Its principal aim, in the opinion of the paper, should be to deepen the analysis of the international situation which is rich with new elements, and to specify the line of action conducive to uniting the forces of the world Communist movement, the forces of the international working-class movement and generally all the forces fighting for peace, for the liberation of the oppressed peoples, and for democracy and progress in all spheres. With a view to cementing the unity of the movement as a whole and, at the same time, increasing the autonomy of each party, the meeting, the Belgian Communists hold, should also discuss the principles governing the relations between the fraternal parties in order to develop them, bearing in mind the growing difference in the conditions of the struggle.

A letter addressed to the CC CPSU by the Central Committee of the *Communist Party of Argentina* says:

". . . a meeting is necessary not only in order to analyze the differences, caused by the Chinese leaders, in the light of the general line of the world Communist and working-class movement laid down at the 1957 and 1960 meetings, but also to bring this line into conformity with the changes in the international situation and work out in common our future policy and tactics.

"This is especially important today in view of the onslaught launched by imperialism, by U.S. imperialism in particular, against the working-class and democratic movement and also against the liberation movements of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This onslaught, which endangers world peace, is maintained against Cuba. Of late it has been manifested in violent actions against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, in Cyprus and in the Congo."

Stating the views of the Communists of Ceylon, who at their Seventh Congress adopted a



resolution calling for a new international meeting of representatives of the federal parties, Pieter Keuneman, General Secretary of the *Ceylon Communist Party*, pointed out that the convocation of an international meeting is dictated not only by the need to discuss the problems that have arisen in the movement thanks to the policy and actions of the Chinese leaders. In recent years new problems have cropped up, which should be resolved by joint efforts. "For example," he said, "the new stage of the national-liberation movement—the stage of strengthening political independence and intensifying the struggle for economic independence—require a more thorough elaboration of the thesis of the 1960 Statement on the state of national democracy and the possibility of non-capitalist development towards socialism for the newly-emerged countries. This elaboration would be of great help to the fraternal parties in Asia, Africa and Latin America."

Some of the parties maintain that the meeting should also discuss problems urgent for the countries of the socialist community. An editorial in *Unen*, organ of the *Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party*, entitled "The Meeting Will Undoubtedly Be Useful," commented:

"These problems include, in particular, coordinating the actions of all the socialist countries in the international arena, perfecting the forms of their all-round cooperation and mutual support, and exchanging experience of building socialism and communism."

Reza Radmanesh, First Secretary of the CC, *People's Party of Iran*, said: "It will soon be four years since the last meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties. Even if there had been no differences in the Communist movement, it would still be necessary to call another meeting to exchange views, sum up the results of the work done and share experience."

The actions of the fraternal parties in support of the proposal for a meeting are prompted by **concern about the situation** which has developed in the international Communist movement.

"All genuine Marxist-Leninists," said Comrade Antonin Novotny, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the *Communist Party of Czechoslovakia*, "are justly raising their voices to demand that steps be taken as soon as possible to **retore and strengthen international Communist unity on the basis of a common line**. This attitude has found concrete expression in the demand for the immediate convocation of a new international meeting which would make a thorough analysis of world devel-

opments and draw theoretical and practical conclusions. These conclusions could be generalized in a joint document which would serve as a guide to action for all the parties. At the same time the meeting would define, by joint efforts, the ways, following which it would be possible gradually to eliminate the differences and strengthen the unity of action of the Marxist-Leninist parties."

The Togliatti Memorandum, which expresses the attitude of the *Italian Communist Party*, put forward the following views on the question of the meeting:

"... It remains firmly established that we shall take part, moreover, an active part, in the preparatory meeting. However, we still have doubts and reservations as to the advisability of convening an international conference, especially because it is now growing more and more obvious that, besides the Chinese party, a not-to-be-ignored number of parties will not be participating. It will no doubt be possible at this preliminary gathering to set out and substantiate our point of view, in particular, because it covers a whole series of problems pertaining to the international working-class and Communist movement. . . .

"The plan we suggested for carrying on an effective struggle against the erroneous political positions and disruptive activities of the Chinese Communists was different from what is actually being done.

"On the whole our plan was based on the following points:

"—never to discontinue the polemic against the points of principle and policy of the Chinese;

"—to conduct this polemic, in contrast to what the Chinese are doing, without going to verbal extremes and without sweeping accusations, that is, to deal with concrete issues, in an objective and convincing manner, and always to show respect for the opponent;

"—to organize, at the same time, among the different groups of parties a series of meetings to make a deeper study of, and better to formulate, the tasks now facing the different sectors of our movement (Western Europe, Latin America, the countries of the third world and their contacts with the Communist movement in the capitalist countries, the People's Democracies, etc.). This should be done bearing in mind that since the time of the 1957 and 1960 meetings the situation in all these sectors has undergone serious changes and that without a thorough collective discussion it will be impossible correctly to formulate the general and common tasks of our movement;



"—only after such preparations, which might need a year of work or even more, would it be possible to discuss the convocation of an international conference which could truly mark a new stage in our movement and its factual consolidation on new and correct positions."

At the joint meeting of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the Italian Party held in October, E. Berlinguer delivered a report "On the Problems of the International Communist Movement."

Noting the significance of the Togliatti Memorandum for the political line of the ICP, Berlinguer stressed that this line excludes any interpretation that the ICP adheres to an isolationist, neutralist or conciliatory attitude. Our Party, he said, reaffirms its all-encompassing and active obligation to carry on the struggle against positions like those of the Chinese leaders, which we regard as deeply erroneous and dangerous in the struggle for affirming the correct general strategy of our whole movement.

After discussing Berlinguer's report, the meeting adopted a resolution which says:

"The Central Committee and Central Control Commission approve the report and authorize the leadership to implement the proposals put forward in it concerning both the political activity and discussion in the Party and the participation in the preparatory commission due to begin its work on December 15."

*Rabotnichesko Delo*, organ of the *Bulgarian Communist Party*, wrote that "each Communist who supports the joint documents, who holds dear the unity of the Communist movement and who wants it to be equipped with the invincible weapon of Marxism-Leninism, is for the CPSU's proposal for an international meeting."

Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary of the *Portuguese Communist Party*, said:

"Since the absolute majority of the fraternal parties have declared for the meeting, not a single party, if it sincerely strives for the unity of the Communist movement, can refuse to take part in the international meeting and discuss all problems of common interest."

*Neues Deutschland*, organ of the *Socialist Unity Party of Germany*, commented editorially:

"The convening and preparation of the meeting of the international movement should not be torpedoed by the negative attitude of one party, for this would mean imposing the *diktat* of this party on all the other parties. The imperialist forces should by no means be enabled to go on speculating on the differences

and lack of unity in the socialist world system and in the great family of the Communist and Workers' parties. It is impossible to allow any further delay in convening another international meeting of our movement, which is demanded by the interests of consolidating its unity and, above all, by the interests of its further progress."

D. Urbany, General Secretary of the *Communist Party of Luxembourg*, said:

". . . We think that the meeting should be held with the participation of all the Marxist-Leninist parties, but should the CPC not wish to take part in it, it should be held without its participation."

The statement of the Central Committee of the *Communist Party of Greece* points out: "Even if this new meeting will be convened in a situation made difficult by the existence of sharp differences, the CPG believes that with all the fraternal parties exerting every effort it will serve to uphold and strengthen unity on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism."

O. Barte, Member of the Political Commission of the *Paraguayan Communist Party*, announcing their decision to support the proposal for convening the meeting, wrote:

"The Paraguayan Communists maintain that the hour has come when all the Communist and Workers' parties should clearly define their attitude and reach concrete decisions on unity. There is no better means of overcoming the present differences than convening a meeting of representatives of the fraternal parties. . . ."

"We hope," said K. Espersen, Chairman of the *Communist Party of Denmark*, "that the representatives of all the parties taking part in the meeting will contribute to overcoming the differences."

The *Syrian Communist Party* stands for a new international meeting. Expressing the Party's attitude on this question, Khaled Bagdash, General Secretary, said that such a meeting could fulfil two important and urgent tasks: do everything possible to ensure the unity of the international Communist movement, and to assess the changes in the world since 1960, in particular as regards the national-liberation movement. "Big changes have taken place, positive changes," he said. "No one party or even a group of parties can lay claim to being able to assess these changes, to explain them, and to draw the proper conclusion. For this the collective effort of all the Marxist-Leninist parties is needed."

The statement of the *Lebanese Communist Party* published in the newspaper *An Nida* says that the Lebanese Communists, together with



the overwhelming majority of the Marxist-Leninist parties, approve the idea of a meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties.

Expressing support for the idea of the international meeting, the parties emphasize that its aim should be to strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement.

The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Germany, supporting the idea of a meeting, points out that it should concentrate on elaborating joint decisions that would unite all the parties and find the ways of overcoming the differences.

"The aim of the meeting," says an editorial in the newspaper of the *Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party*, "is to consolidate the unity of the international Communist movement. True, there are serious differences of principle between the absolute majority of the Communist parties and the leaders of the Communist Party of China. We, however, sincerely believe that so far as the basic aims are concerned we are at one with those with whom we are still conducting polemics.

"The principal objective of the meeting precludes in advance 'excommunication' or denigration of any party. The Hungarian Party is for the meeting because it has nothing to conceal from its people, from the fraternal parties or from other peoples."

The same idea is stressed by many other parties. Thus, Armand Nicolas, General Secretary of the *Communist Party of Martinique*, declared:

"The meeting will enable the fraternal parties to express their viewpoint and attentively to study everything which unites the Communists of the world, taking into account the changes which have taken place since 1960. It does not by any means set the task of excommunicating anyone or of formalizing a split."

*Kol Haam*, central organ of the *Communist Party of Israel*, in an editorial welcomed the idea of an international meeting as both timely and correct: "The aim of the meeting should not be the expulsion of the Chinese leaders from the Communist camp but the healing of the split on the basis of principles which are common for the CPC and the other Marxist-Leninist parties."

It should be pointed out that the leaders of the Communist and Workers' parties in several countries (Albania, North Korea, New Zealand) have sided with the Chinese leaders against convening the meeting. There are also parties which have not yet expressed their attitude. But the majority of the fraternal parties regard the holding of an international meeting as a pressing and vital necessity.

## Conference of the Peruvian Communist Party

THE Fourth National Conference of the Peruvian Communist Party, held in Lima on August 15-18, was attended by 135 delegates.

The conference discussed the internal political situation and adopted a resolution denouncing the splitting activities of the leaders of the Communist Party of China, which benefit only imperialism and the oligarchy.

The participants also discussed the action of a group of splitters expelled from the Party and headed by lawyers Sotomayor and Paredes. Today these people, incited by the Chinese leaders, are acting hand-in-glove with Trotskyite groups and notorious police agents. One of these, Angel Marin, while still a Party member, turned over the archives of the Party to the secret police, an act of treachery which enabled the military dictatorship of General Odria to carry out wholesale arrests of the leaders and members of the Party, who were subjected to torture. It was at that time that Simon Herrera, member of the Central Committee of the Party, Apasa Mamani, peasant

leader, and other fighters against the tyrant Odria were tortured to death.

The resolution adopted by the Conference reads:

"Having discussed the ideological differences in the world Communist movement, which are being aggravated by the disruptive activity of the leaders of the Communist Party of China and of the handful of renegades who follow them in our country, the Fourth National Conference reaffirms that it fully supports the Marxist-Leninist theses in the resolutions of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses of the CPSU and in the documents of the 1957 and 1960 meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties."

The Chinese leaders, the resolution goes on, oppose the general line of the Communist movement, trying to substitute for it their own special line, a line which bears the imprint of great-power bourgeois nationalism; they are introducing the personality cult in their coun-



try, and supplanting class principles by geopolitical, racial criteria, by criteria of continents and generations typical of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology.

The resolution stresses that the Peruvian Communist Party stands for the international meeting to restore the unity of the Communist

movement on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles.

The Conference elected tried and tested comrades to the Central Committee and the Political Commission, and instructed the former to summon the Fifth Congress of the Party.

## Important Event in the Life of the Iraqi Communist Party

**T**HE CC of the Iraqi Communist Party recently held an enlarged meeting, the first of its kind since the fascist coup of February 8, 1963. The meeting was opened with a minute's silence in memory of the martyrs of the Party and the national movement—victims of the Baathist terror.

The meeting discussed and approved the report presented on the political situation, the Party's tasks in the present situation and the perspectives of the revolutionary movement in Iraq and in the Arab world. It also discussed internal problems of the Party.

In discussing the latest developments in the international Communist movement the meeting noted with regret that the leaders of the Communist Party of China are moving farther and farther from the Marxist-Leninist road. In the name of the membership it condemned their factional activities in the Communist movement and called for an active ideological struggle against them. The meeting declared its support for holding an international meeting in the middle of 1965 at which Communists would discuss the regrouping of their movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, would sum up and disseminate the new experiences gained during the past four years.

The meeting stressed that time has proved the correctness of the conclusions summarized and developed in the Statement of the 1960 Moscow Meeting. The balance of forces in the international arena has changed and is constantly changing in favor of the forces of peace, liberation and socialism and against the forces of imperialism and war. The influence exerted by the socialist world system on the trend of events in the world is growing day by day. People are turning to socialism in increasing numbers. This finds its concrete expression in the growth of the revolutionary movements and the popularity of socialist ideas.

On the Arab scene, also, the balance of forces has changed radically in favor of the people. Thirteen independent Arab states have appeared on the map (instead of the four that were nominally independent when the Second World War ended). Many imperialist military bases on Arab territory have been closed. Imperialist maneuvers aiming to bind the Arab countries to military blocs and pacts have been foiled. Imperialist political and economic positions have been lost for good. In the two biggest Arab countries (Egypt and Algeria) the revolution has moved beyond the framework of political independence from imperialism and has entered on a new stage, the stage of effecting important social changes which have brought these two fraternal countries onto the road of non-capitalist development, leading to socialism. The achievements of the Egyptian and Algerian revolutions are increasingly influencing the struggle of the Arab and African peoples as a source of inspiration and have placed the two fraternal republics in a vanguard position in the Arab world. In the course of the struggle for liberation and social progress, the militant solidarity between the Arab people is being consolidated, and the role of the Arab people as an important factor in influencing the trends in each Arab country is growing. The movement for Arab unity is also acquiring a new and more progressive content.

The imperialist-reactionary circles exploited the isolation of the Kassem regime caused by the big flaws in his policy—persecution of the people and the democratic forces, deterioration of the economic situation, the aggressive war against the Kurds, his prolonging of the emergency and dictatorial conditions, etc.

The coup of February 8th was a counter-revolution in the preparation of which participated imperialists, reactionaries and other anti-Kassem groups. Never in the history of



Iraq has there been such savage terror as that which took place during the Baath regime. Those who seized power on February 8, 1963 on the pretext of a rising against the Kassem dictatorship did not save Iraq from dictatorship, on the contrary they installed an infinitely more ruthless dictatorship and implemented the schemes of the oil company and CENTO circles against our people and resumed the dirty war against the Kurds.

The Baath fascist regime did not solve the contradictions which led to Kassem's fall, they deepened them and, hence, doomed themselves to quick collapse. The struggle of our people against the fascist regime enjoyed the sympathy and support of the fraternal Communist parties and of Arab and international public opinion, a fact which helped to isolate the Baath regime at Arab and international levels.

The Central Committee meeting regarded the action of November 18, 1963 as an action which ended the nightmare of fascist rule and created more favorable conditions for the struggle of the anti-imperialist forces, for the preservation of national independence, changing official policy and returning Iraq to the camp of Arab liberation.

The new government took measures corresponding to the interests of the people (stopping the war against the Kurds, restoring the National Oil Company law—despite the gaps in it—improving relations with the UAR and signing an agreement of coordination with it, stressing the policy of peace and non-alignment, undertaking some steps to restore and improve relations with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries and, lastly, the nationalization laws).

There are, however, serious defects in the policy of the present government: the Kurdish question is still without solution, prisons are filled with patriots, the country is living under emergency conditions, military courts are continuing to send more citizens to prison, the economic situation is still deteriorating and stability is almost non-existent, the administration is honey-combed with reactionary corrupt elements, and the policy of the government brings grist to the mill of the imperialists. This provides fertile soil for the imperialist-reactionary activities aimed at establishing a reactionary subservient regime similar to the Baath regime or the overthrown royal regime.

The CC of the Iraqi Communist Party urges the government to pay attention to the situation before it is too late to rely on the masses and on all the anti-imperialist forces. The present regime, if it wants to strengthen and deepen the anti-imperialist trend, if it wants

to pursue a progressive policy similar to that of the fraternal UAR and Algeria, must follow the example of the leaders in Cairo and Algiers in pursuing a clear and firm policy against imperialism and its agents; in this way it would safeguard the just oil rights of Iraq, implement and deepen the agrarian reform, release the political prisoners and detainees, stop shadowing Communists and democrats, guarantee liberties, satisfy the demands of the Kurdish people, establish a genuinely democratic government, block the penetration of imperialist capital and by so doing bar the way to imperialist plotting.

The Party will support all the patriotic and progressive measures taken by the present regime. It supports the Coordination Agreement between Iraq and the UAR and the steps towards unity which follow from it. It extends the hand of cooperation to all organizations and groups determined to uphold national independence and would support the Government in following a policy similar to that of the UAR and Algerian governments.

Our Party will, as it has always done, continue to fight for the just rights of the people. It determines its position on the basis of the attitude of the regime vis-a-vis imperialism (in its old and new forms), the demands of the workers, peasants and the masses of the people, and the problem of planned economic development, industrialization and social progress.

The Central Committee meeting stressed that imperialism was and remains the chief enemy of our people. Despite the victories won by the liberation struggle of our people (the overthrow of the monarchy, repudiating the Baghdad Pact and all the imperialist treaties), Iraq is still at the crossroads. It has not yet achieved economic independence and will not do so until it wrests its oil wealth from the grip of imperialist monopolies, until it establishes industries on the basis of modern technology.

The tasks facing our country are the complete liquidation of imperialist positions, namely, the economic positions, and the realization of radical social and democratic changes and above all, agrarian reform.

The meeting notes that the new developments in the Arab world and on the international scene open before Iraq the possibility of taking the non-capitalist way of development now being followed by UAR and Algeria.

The meeting sees the problem of Arab unity in the context of the new developments on the Arab scene — the non-capitalist way and social progress which enrich the progressive content



of the Arab unity movement and make it a movement aiming at both national and social liberation.

The Party is fighting, as it always has done, for the unity of all the anti-imperialist forces without exception, to uphold and consolidate national independence, for democracy and social progress. Our Party declares its readiness to conclude bilateral and multilateral alliances with all forces concerned with realizing social transformations and opting for the non-capitalist way for Iraq.

The meeting stressed the danger stemming from the continued deadlock in the Kurdish problem and the dragging out of its solution by the government. It urges a peaceful solution for it by granting the just demands of the Kurds within the framework of the Iraqi Republic. Our Party calls upon all patriots, Arab and Kurd, to enhance their vigilance and stand firm in the face of the maneuvers and conspiracies of the oil companies, CENTO and the ultra-reactionary and chauvinist elements who would like to embroil the country in yet another civil war, in order to facilitate realization of the imperialist conspiracies. Unity of the patriotic forces in Kurdistan is a basic guarantee for preventing a new outbreak of the war and for granting the just rights of Iraqi Kurdistan.

\* \* \*

The meeting also discussed internal prob-

lems of the Party. It noted with satisfaction that our Party stood firm despite the Baath terror and, thanks to its close contact with the masses, emerged from this crisis victorious despite heavy losses when large numbers of its members and leaders were murdered.

The importance of asserting Leninist principles in intra-Party life was also stressed.

Collective leadership is the guiding principle any violation of which runs counter to a correct Party policy. Violation of collective leadership necessarily leads to political and organizational mistakes and to great harm.

The meeting called upon all the members to close ranks, sharpen their vigilance, consolidate the unity of their glorious Party, strengthen discipline and to stand firm in the face of all forms of opportunism. The basic danger against which the ideological struggle should be concentrated by our Party in the present period is dogmatism and "Left" sectarianism which has its traditions in the revolutionary movement in Iraq and has now appropriate objective conditions on both the local and international levels.

The meeting adopted a number of amendments to the rules of the Party.

It expressed its appreciation of the activities of our Party delegation to the meeting of the Arab Communist parties and of the joint resolutions issued by the meeting.

The meeting ended by electing the central executive bodies of the Party.



# Against the Persecution of Democrats

## WHEN "GORILLAS" ARE IN THE SADDLE . . .

(Letter from San Pedro Sula)

**S**AN Pedro Sula, the second largest town in Honduras, is known in our country as the martyr town. Many bloody traces have been left on its body by the overt and camouflaged dictatorships which have succeeded one another in response to the nod from Washington. Brutal repressions and even killings during peaceful demonstrations are well known to our working people.

Since October 3, 1963, when the militarists staged a coup d'état and overthrew the constitutional government of Villeda Morales, the country has been in the grip of fascist terror.

The "gorillas" now in power have trampled on law, conscience and morality. With impunity they commit the most outrageous crimes. From time to time some of these crimes are reported in the press, some of the perpetrators appear before the tribunals, but justice is powerless to do anything.

The "gorillas" no longer confine themselves to the murders, arrests and exiles which marked the first days of their dictatorship. In our town of Tegucigalpa, for example, and other towns and villages, army officers and agents of the military counter-intelligence and the secret police raid homes night after night in search of "suspects" and "opponents of the regime." People are brutally beaten, subjected to mediaeval torture in police dungeons, or shot down in cold blood.

It often happens that a man disappears at night and only months later relatives learn that he has been jailed without trial. Sometimes the dead bodies of those who have disappeared are found on U.S.-owned banana plantations, or in the River Ulua.

The prison in our town is filled with the victims of the coup.

Not long ago, thanks to press exposures in the capital, the government had to send a special commission to investigate the state of affairs in the prison. Journalists reported that the things they saw reminded them of the horrors of the Nazi concentration camps.

One cell, for example, was crowded with 37 prisoners who were held in inhuman conditions.

Among the 37 detained without trial or hearing were Juan Angel Cruz, trade union official, Sigfrido Sandoval, school teacher, Ramon

Moncada, member of the dockers union and Oscar Echenique, journalist. When the visiting journalists asked why political prisoners were kept in such conditions, Lieutenant Ulloa, chief of the military counter-intelligence, cynically replied: "We have no political prisoners here, those whom you see are all Communists."

Reprisals against workers, peasants and students are the order of the day. Peasant families are forced to hide in the forests to evade the reprisals. In many towns the municipal councils have been dissolved on order from the military.

The list of those shot is endless. In Azacualpa, Salvador Turcios Ordonez was shot through the head. His murderer, Sergeant Justo Paguada, still holds his post. In Texiguat, a military patrol fired at the house occupied by the Aguilar family, demanding that they surrender the "arms" which, it was alleged, were hidden in the house. Of course, no arms were found, but Aguilar was brutally beaten and his wife raped before the eyes of her husband.

In Olanchita, Francisco Barahona, a student, was shot by the military. Instead of punishing the killer as demanded by the Federation of University Students and the organizations of secondary school pupils, the authorities took him under their protection.

On the banana plantations people are killed on the pretext of "ridding the place of Communists." Plantation owners no longer confine themselves to the "aid" of officials of the stooge trade unions—they have at their disposal the ramified repressive apparatus of the "gorillas."

The secret police commit crimes with impunity, despite repeated public exposure and protests from democratic organizations in other countries.

The student Mario Alvarado was so disfigured by the torture that the secret police refused to comply with the court decision permitting his relatives to see him.

Jose Maria Palacios, a well-known democrat, has been held incommunicado for months.

Twenty-three students who were about to go to Moscow to study in the Lumumba University were arrested and tortured. One of



their number, Constantino Zuniga, was charged with "subversive Communist activity." Support was accorded the courageous student leader by his fellow prisoners who went on a hunger strike demanding that the tortures be discontinued. International solidarity, too, was timely.

Although the past year in Honduras has been a year of sanguinary terror, we are now witnessing a big mass movement for an amnesty for all political prisoners and exiles. The government is resisting this in every way possible. But it finds it increasingly difficult to talk about "free elections" when the prisons are filled to overflowing with political prisoners.

Progressive people throughout the world are with the people of Honduras in their struggle. When we learn about protests coming from other countries or about the letters and telegrams sent to the head of state demanding respect for human rights, we are filled with new strength and new determination to carry on the fight for justice. We realize that we are not alone in our struggle for democracy and peace, for progress and social justice, against the oligarchy and against imperialism, which is the cause of all the misfortunes of our people and of the backwardness of our country.

Felix J. ZAVALA

## COLOMBIAN BRASS-HATS SUFFER DEFEAT

AS the Communists and other democrats had predicted, the military offensive launched in Colombia by the reactionary government of Guillermo Leon Valencia against the peasant organizations in the region of Marquetalia was the signal for another wave of terror and violence against the people of the country.

The repressions are no longer confined to the zones affected by the military operations. Both in remote villages and in the towns, government agents raid and search houses, throw people into prison, torture and shoot them. This is done by the police and the military, but as a rule gangs of assassins are hired for the job by the government.

The entire territory of the departments of Tolima and Huila is now the object of police raids. And in towns such as Bogota, Medellin and Cali there are non-stop raids by "investigators," who break into private houses, flouting the law, humanity and common decency.

Each raid is followed by imprisonment on the flimsiest of pretexts. Hundreds of peasants have been arrested in the above-mentioned departments and in the departments of Cundinamarca, Caldas and Valle del Cauca.

Many patriots are held in the Carcel Modelo jail, in the capital of the republic. In Neiva over 200 political prisoners, mostly peasants, are held in military barracks. Among them is Miguel Rueda, a Communist leader, and his wife. Manlio Lafontam, member of the Central Committee and director of the newspaper *Voz Proletaria*, was arrested on October 7.

Torture, with a view to extracting "confessions" is the order of the day in all the prisons. On the pretext of forestalling "plans

to escape," prisoners are kept under constant surveillance.

The terror is increasing in savagery as the failure of the aggression against the Marquetalia peasants becomes more and more obvious. Since the army has not been able to crush the peasant armed struggle vengeance is wreaked on the civilian population. Peasants who refuse to betray their fellows are charged with "complicity in the crime" and often shot. Such was the fate last June of Manuel C. Vargas when he was being convoyed to jail. Killers in military uniform shot seven peasants and an eight-year-old child in Gaitania. On July 7 twelve workers were murdered in Canon del Simbola, and on August 7 (Independence Day!) Cayetano Iguana and Faustino Ramos were tortured to death in the Miranda prison. A similar fate befell Marco Eliseo Alvarez.

Human life, especially that of a Colombian worker or peasant, has no significance at all for the men of the ruling oligarchy and U.S. imperialism.

More than 300 peasant families in Marquetalia area have been robbed of the plots they tilled. But these predatory ventures, just as the military operation itself, are doomed to failure. The peasant self-defense organization has grown into a mobile guerrilla force which has already proved its worth. Right from the start of the struggle it has struck hard at the punitive expeditions. According to press reports, the army has lost 300 in killed and wounded for every partisan killed.

Infuriated by defeat the military removed Cepeda Vargas, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, from prison and held him as a hostage. However, under pressure of protests from democrats at home and abroad, the authorities had to admit that



no charge could be made against Vargas and ordered his release.

This was an important victory in the struggle against the anti-communist crusade. As a recent statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party said, "the government is now working to curtail democratic rights and prepare the ground for a coup d'etat. By per-

secuting and arresting Communists it aims at paving the way to an anti-democratic policy." But the people of Colombia are carrying on the fight, using all the means at their disposal. They hope that in their arduous struggle they will have the support of growing international solidarity.

Jose Cardona HOYOS

## REACTIONARY INTRIGUES IN MOROCCO

THE onslaught against the democratic and patriotic forces is gaining momentum in Morocco. After the trial of over a hundred members of the National Union of Popular Forces several death sentences were passed.

Last May the Supreme Court again demonstrated its loyalty to the monarchist regime and its extremist supporters. It reaffirmed the February 1960 ban on the Communist Party on the "grounds" that the existence of the Communist Party is "at variance with the existing regime and the basic principles of Islam."

Encouraged by their impunity the reactionaries found this new anti-communist action inadequate and decided to step up their offensive. On June 1 the police confiscated all copies of the issue of the progressive newspaper *Al Moukafih* and suppressed it. In an attempt to justify this arbitrary action, the Minister of Information declared that the confiscation of the newspaper was connected with the "ban on a certain political party, of which it is evidently the official organ."

But the reactionaries miscalculated. It was simply impossible to impact even a semblance of legality to this lawlessness.

The point is that *Al Moukafih* has never been an organ either of the Communist Party or of any other party. It is an independent paper and was founded in May 1960, that is, after the Communist Party had been banned. It upholds the interests of the country and the rights of the people.

The independence of the paper, its truthful reporting of home and international affairs, its objective analysis of the problems confronting the people and its constant exposures of neo-colonialism have earned it the hatred of the reactionaries.

By the same token it has won prestige among the working people who regard it as their paper. Popular support has enabled it to ex-

pand. In 1962 a French-language edition appeared. In 1963 preparatory work began to transform it from a weekly into a daily, and on June 1, this year, having overcome all the difficulties and the official obstacles, the eagerly awaited first issue of the daily came off the press. But the entire printing was confiscated by the police, illegally and without any warrant.

This act of lawlessness sparked off a wave of protests. The weekly *Avant-Garde*, organ of the Moroccan Labor Union, wrote that "the confiscation of *Al Moukafih*, without any explanation, is unlawful and is yet another provocation against the progressive press in Morocco." Solidarity with the paper was expressed by the main political parties — Istiqlal and the National Union of Popular Forces — and by the National Press Association.

Ali Yata, director of *Ali Moukafih*, protested against the confiscation to the Government. "This action," he wrote, "has taken place in conditions which can be called the most difficult in the history of our country since independence, at a time when the country's sons need to express and substantiate their opinions, to come together and agree on how to take the country out of the stalemate, stagnation and economic backwardness. Silencing the free press does not solve the crisis, it can but deepen it."

The workers and all forward-looking people in the country are carrying on the fight for democracy, for Constitutional rights, in particular for freedom of the press, for restoring legality and raising the ban on *Al Moukafih*. In this they have the sympathy and support of democrats all over the world, of all who hold dear the cause of freedom and social progress.

M. AHMADI



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