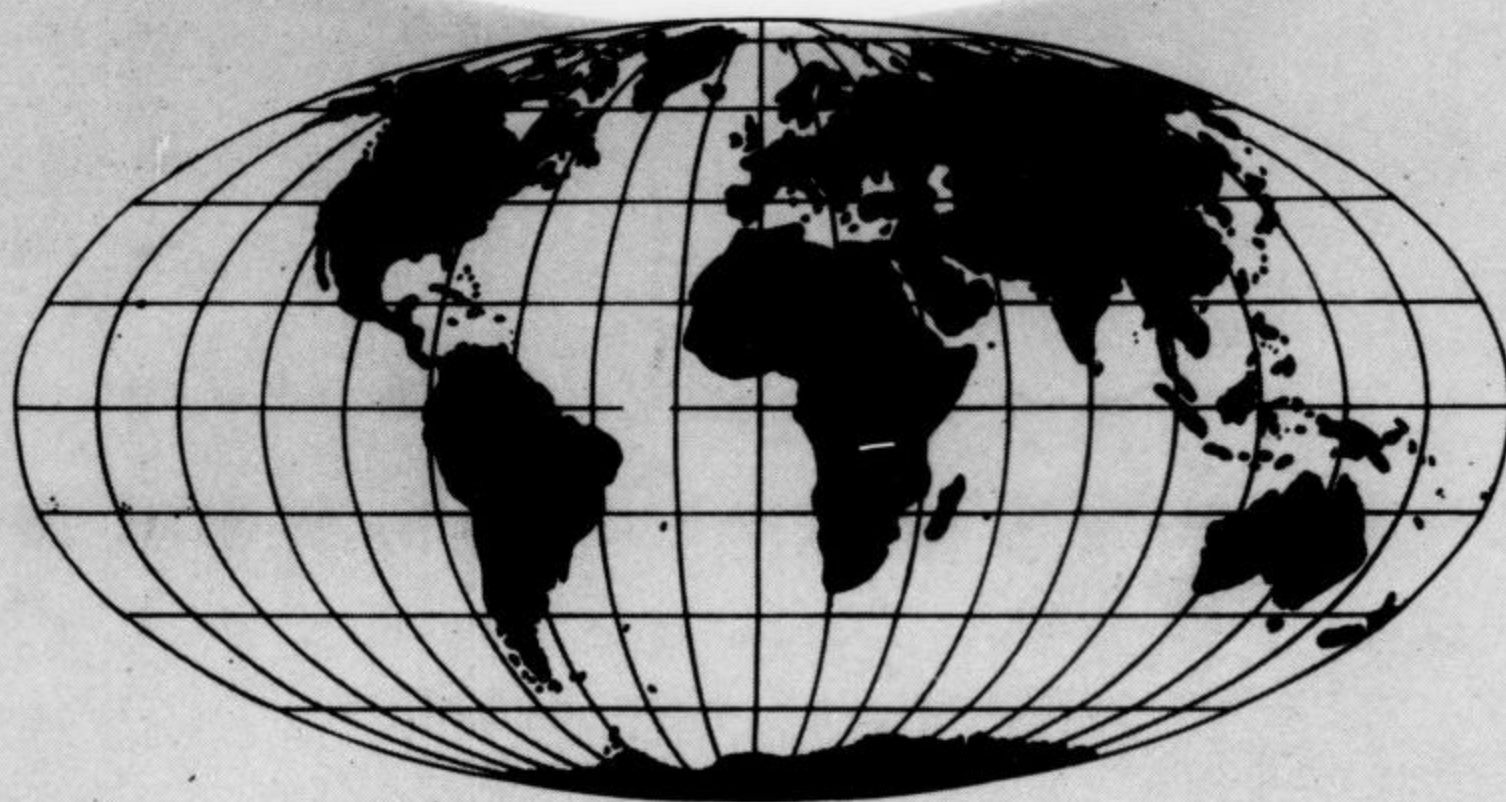


WORLD MARXIST REVIEW



Problems of Peace and Socialism

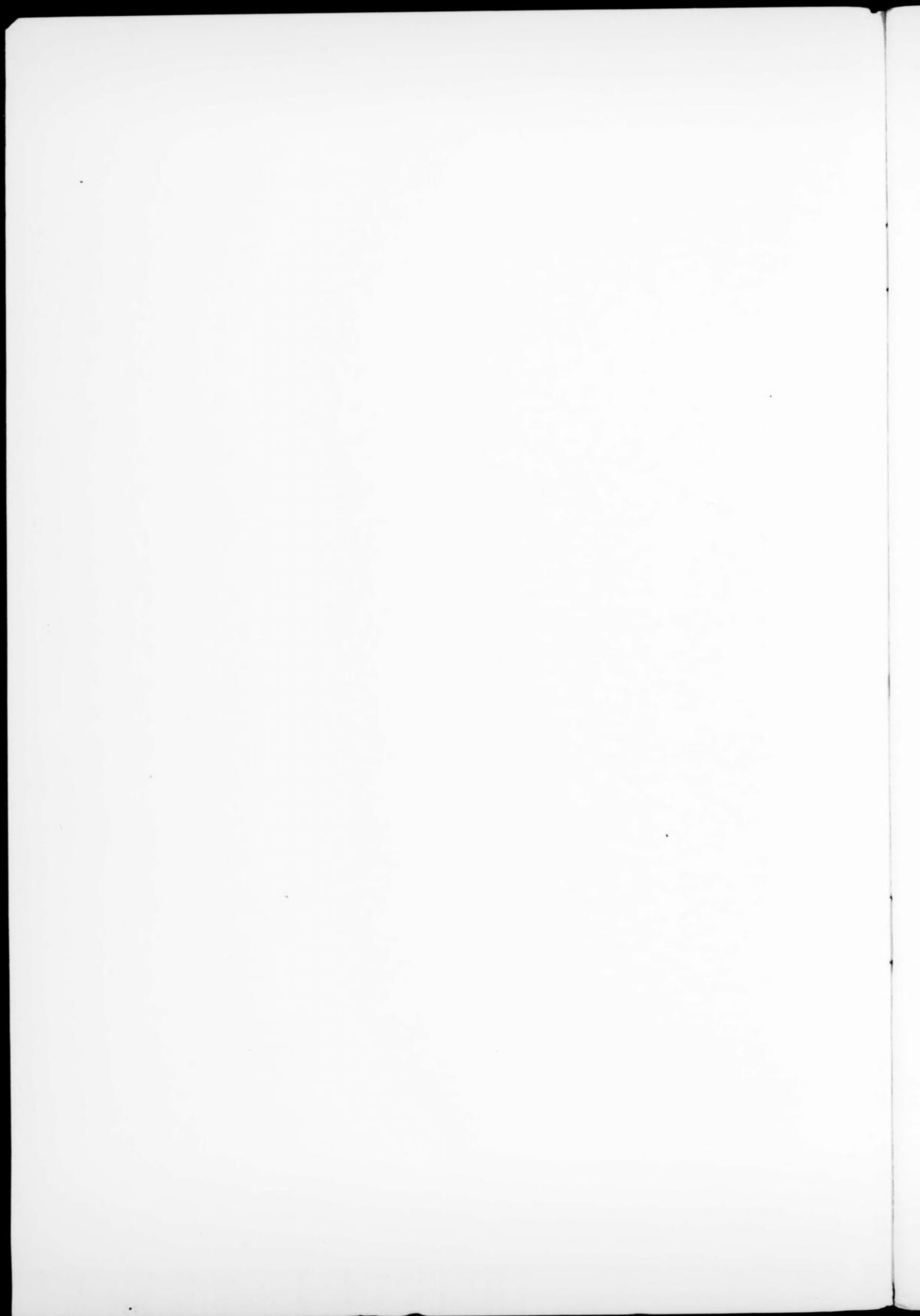
In This Issue:

Automation: Its Impact on Canada

—Tim Buck

Concerning the Basic Contradiction of Our Time

—A. Rumyantsev



WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW: Problems of Peace and Socialism

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Concerning the Basic Contradiction of Our Time

A. Rumyantsev

A CLASS approach to social phenomena and processes has always been an axiom of Marxism. Without it neither Marxist-Leninist theory nor successful practical activity of the Communist and Workers' parties to change the world in the interests of the working masses is conceivable. This is elementary; so much so that it might seem unnecessary to mention it. Yet experience has shown how right Lenin was in stressing that this truth should never be forgotten, that our strength lies in complete clarity and sober "assessment of *all* the class forces"* and that it is essential "to seek out the *interests* of some class or other behind all moral, religious, political and social progress, declarations and promises."**

As was the case at earlier stages in the development of Marxist thought, there are people today who claim to be Marxists and who indulge in much talk about a class approach to social phenomena while *actually* discarding the very essence of our revolutionary theory and rejecting a *class* analysis of reality. This is the position today of the leaders of the Communist Party of China, who have renounced the criteria of Marxism-Leninism, the basic principles of the theory and practice of scientific socialism, and who have counterposed to the jointly-elaborated line of the world Communist movement a line of their own which revises, from clearly non-Marxist positions, the basic precepts of the Declaration and Statement of the Moscow meetings.

The Chinese leaders' departure from Marxism is manifest in their approach to the processes presently under way in the world. It is explicit, in particular, in their revision of the views of the world Communist movement on the character of our time and its basic contradiction. Ostensibly undertaken in "defense" of Marxism-Leninism, this revision pursues a very definite political purpose — that of justifying the disruptive activities of the Chinese leaders aimed at disuniting the world revolutionary forces.

The Present Epoch and Its Basic Contradiction

According to materialist dialectics, the question of contradictions in general and the main contradiction in particular is a question of the motive forces, tendencies and ways of development of things and phenomena. The basic contradiction expresses the relationship between the opposite sides of the essence of the phenomenon, i.e., its quality. So long as this basic contradiction is not resolved, no metamorphosis can alter this quality. These precepts of materialist dialectics are of the greatest methodological significance for any analysis of social developments.

Theoretical assessment of the present stage of human development and of the basic contradiction of the times is the groundwork on which the Communist and Workers' parties define their strategy and tactics; it is the point of departure for their entire political activity. Marxism-Leninism recognizes only one criterion in making this assessment. Discussing the substance of the Marxist approach to defining the epoch and the contradiction which is its fundamental motive force, Lenin wrote: "We do not know how fast and how successfully the various historical movements of a given epoch will develop. But we can ascertain and we know *what class* occupies the central place in one or another epoch and determines its main content, the main direction of its development, the main features of the historical situation in the given epoch, etc."*

Ascertaining the main content, the main trend of development and the main features of the times, is then, a matter of perceiving its *class* essence, of seeing which class holds the center of the stage. There is no other way. Any other approach would lead to an unscientific, if not anti-scientific, a non-Marxist, if not anti-Marxist, appraisal diverging from the objective truth.

Scientifically examining the epoch of undivided capitalist domination, Marxism-Leninism revealed its basic contradiction — the contradiction between social production and

* V. I. Lenin. *The Tax in Kind*.

**V. I. Lenin *The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism*.

*V. I. Lenin. *Under an Alien Banner*.

private appropriation, expressed in the struggle between labor and capital and which makes the abolition of capitalism inevitable.

The basic contradiction of the times is global in character. Being the mainspring of social development, it manifests itself at the most advanced point, the "point of growth," of social progress. For instance, capitalism, by creating the world market and the capitalist world system of economy, drew into its orbit the archaic, historically less developed pre-capitalist socio-economic formations which existed alongside it for centuries. Consequently, the basic contradiction of capitalism became, for that particular time, the basic contradiction of *humanity as a whole*.

Only capitalism, creating as it did large-scale industry and a world market and carrying social antagonisms to the extreme, could bring into being the material prerequisites of socialism on a global scale. "The bourgeois period of history," Marx said, "has to create the material basis of the new world — on the one hand the universal intercourse founded upon the mutual dependency of mankind, and the means of that intercourse; on the other hand the development of the productive powers of man and the transformation of material production into a scientific domination of natural agencies . . . When the great social revolution will have mastered the results of the bourgeois epoch, the market of the world and the modern powers of production, and subjected them to the common control of the most advanced peoples, then only will human progress cease to resemble that hideous pagan idol, who would not drink the nectar but from the skulls of the slain."* Precisely because of this the classics of Marxism see in the *proletariat*, and in no other oppressed class, the social force which by emancipating itself emancipates all humanity from the fetters of oppression; because of this they qualify the struggle of the proletariat as a world-historic act leading to a classless society.

The greatest revolution of all time which the working class of Russia carried out in October 1917 under the leadership of the Leninist party "entered world history as a change of epochs."** The period of the undivided rule of the bourgeoisie came to an end. The world entered "the era of the rule of a new class."*** Thus the development of the basic contradiction of capitalism led to the

emergence of socialism, of a new social system, the opposite of capitalism. From then on the basic contradiction between labor and capital and all other social contradictions found their focal point in the struggle between the two opposed systems. ". . . In the present world situation . . . the mutual relations between the nations, the whole world system of states, are determined by the struggle waged by a small group of imperialist nations against the Soviet movement and the Soviet states, at the head of which stands Soviet Russia," Lenin said in the early years of Soviet power. "If we lose sight of this we shall not be able correctly to present a single national or colonial question, even if it concerns the most remote corner of the earth. Only by adopting this point of view can the Communist parties correctly pose and solve the political questions affecting both the civilized and backward countries."*

In resolving the antagonisms in capitalism which beset the modern productive forces and world economic intercourse, the socialist revolution does not limit itself to the purely negative act of abolishing the rule of capital; it also solves the more far-reaching *constructive* task of creating the conditions enabling emancipated labor to demonstrate, drawing on all the achievements of civilization, its superiority over oppressed labor. "Capitalism can be utterly vanquished, and will be utterly vanquished," Lenin said, "by the fact that socialism creates a new and much higher productivity of labor."** He regarded the solution of this task as the prime *internationalist* duty of the victorious working class, the way in which it will exert its "greatest influence on the international revolution."*** Only by ensuring rapid growth of the productive forces, by perfecting the new socialist public relationships and by ensuring the conditions essential for the free, all-round development of all members of society, was the young socialist world (at first only one country) able to become the mainspring of the international revolutionary movement, the most powerful stimulus to the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries and the struggle of peoples enslaved by imperialism. The Communists in these countries are fully aware of the revolutionizing influence exerted on the world by the constructive endeavors of the working class and all the working people of the socialist countries.

*Karl Marx. *The Future Results of British Rule in India*.

**V. I. Lenin. *Report of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars to the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets*.

***V. I. Lenin. *The Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution*.

*V. I. Lenin. *Report of the Commission on the National and Colonial Questions at the Second Congress of the Communist International*.

**V. I. Lenin. *A Great Beginning*.

***V. I. Lenin. *Closing Speech at the Tenth All-Russian Conference of the RCP (B)*.

"... We, the Communists of a capitalist country, can say to our brothers in the socialist countries: *Your achievements in building socialism and communism are the most effective aid you can render us,*" wrote Ville Pessi, the Finnish Communist leader. "The working class and the people generally want to know what socialism and communism are. Today we can answer their questions not only by citing Marxist-Leninist precepts, but by pointing to the *practical achievements* of socialism and communism. Each of these achievements, each step ahead in industry, agriculture, science and culture generally, every improvement in the life of the working people of the socialist countries, every stride forward in developing socialist democracy, is an *incontrovertible* argument in favor of socialism and communism."

The growth of socialism into a world system, adding greatly to the impact of the struggle between the two social systems on world development as a whole, made the basic contradiction of the new epoch still more apparent. The influence exerted by socialism upon relations between the nations, upon the entire world system of states and upon the world revolutionary process has grown enormously. The basic contradiction on the worldwide plane is that between moribund capitalism and rising socialism and communism. This antagonism between the two diametrically opposed systems of ownership — the supreme manifestation of the contradiction between labor and capital — is the very essence of the times. Any assessment of the epoch and its basic contradiction which ignores and repudiates the substance of Marxism-Leninism — the theory of the class struggle and the inevitable victory of the working class, of all working people, as its end result — lacks scientific validity.

Yet it is precisely this untenable approach that marks the Chinese theoreticians' discourses on the contradictions of our time. The Chinese leaders level the following charge against the overwhelming majority of the Marxist-Leninist parties: "They have not grasped the meaning of the changes in our time, the meaning of the changed situation. They do not understand the contradictions existing in the present-day world and fail to see the focal point of these contradictions." The charge, needless to say, is totally unsubstantiated, for there are no facts to prove it.

According to the leaders of the CPC, there are four "fundamental contradictions" in the contemporary world: "between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp," "between

the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries," "between the oppressed nations and imperialism," and "among imperialist countries and among monopoly capitalist groups." The Chinese theoreticians thus offer us a *mechanical sum* of "fundamental contradictions," each operating independently of the other. Nor is this all. Confusing the concept of the basic contradiction with that of the weakest link in the imperialist chain, they postulate: "The population . . . of the Asian, African and Latin American areas accounts for more than two-thirds of the population of the entire capitalist world. The steady rise of the revolutionary waves in these areas, and the struggle waged over them between the imperialist countries, between the new and the old colonialists, are a striking reflection of the fact that these areas are the focal point of the diverse contradictions of the capitalist world and, it may be said, the *focal point of all the contradictions existing in the world.*" (My italics—A.R.)

The Chinese theoreticians would make it appear that their revisionist reasoning is based on Marxist-Leninist methodology, to which they vow loyalty. In reality they distort Marxist dialectics. The Marxian method is not limited to mere postulation of objective contradictions and their impact on the processes under way. The classics of Marxism-Leninism singled out from the sum of contradictory phenomena the most important, that which reflected the essence of developments and determined their basic trend. Recall, for instance, what Engels said about the contradiction between socialized production and the private form of appropriation: "This contradiction, which gives to the new mode of production its capitalistic character, contains the germ of the whole of the social antagonisms of today."* From the standpoint of materialist dialectics, revealing the intrinsic interrelation of phenomena implies ascertaining the predominant, basic, decisive facet in them, i.e., establishing the "order of precedence" in the relationships under examination. The contradiction between socialized production and the private form of appropriation is expressed in the contradiction between labor and capital, which engenders the class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie in the capitalist world. The liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples likewise reflects the basic contradiction between labor and capital inasmuch as the working people of the dependent countries are fighting against exploitation by international capital. Lastly,

*Friedrich Engels. *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific.*

the *supreme* manifestation of the contradiction between labor and capital is the struggle between the two diametrically opposed systems in the course of which this contradiction is resolved.

The Chinese leaders reject this approach. For Marxist dialectics they substitute a scholastic enumeration of a *number* of equally "fundamental contradictions" differing from one another only in degree.

The Peking theoreticians have a predilection for quoting Mao Tse-tung's writings in support of their views. But they also have a curious way of "forgetting" just those passages in which Mao once correctly expounded Marxist ideas. Let us recall some of these passages. "In the process of development of a complex thing, many contradictions exist; among these, one is necessarily the *principal contradiction* whose existence and development *determine* or influence the existence and development of other contradictions... The basic contradiction in the process of development of things, and the *quality of the process* determined by this *basic contradiction*, will not disappear until the process is completed... At every stage in the process of development, there is *only one* principal contradiction which plays the leading role." (My italics—A.R.)* These propositions are not Mao's invention; they correctly convey the essence of the Marxist view on the question. Consequently, it is one of two things: either the CPC leaders still recognize the universal validity of these truths, in which case their assessment of the present situation is simply false, or they have renounced them and hence have no right to invoke Marxist Leninist methology in substantiation of their views.

As can be seen from the foregoing (as well as from the overall context of his writings), Mao Tse-tung uses the terms "principle contradiction" and "basic contradiction" as synonyms, to which one can hardly object. But when he goes over from general definitions to an examination of the concrete processes in China, a concept emerges which contradicts everything said above.

"When imperialism wages a war of aggression on such a country (meaning China—A.R.), the various classes in that country, apart from the traitors, can temporarily unite to wage a national war against imperialism. At such a time, the contradiction between imperialism and that country becomes the principal contradiction, while all the contradictions among the various classes within

that country (including the principal contradictions between the feudal system and the great masses of the people), are relegated temporarily to a secondary or subordinate position."* Here Mao regards the relationship between imperialism and the social structure of "that country" merely as a matter of *extrinsic* interaction. It would appear that the contradiction between the feudalists and the masses develops independently of imperialist influence, although it is a fact that imperialism struck deep roots already in the last century in Chinese society, where a local comprador bourgeoisie emerged and the struggle against feudalism and struggle against imperialism, quite apart from external conflicts, were inseparable aspects of one and the same task. In Mao's interpretation, however, one basic contradiction is superseded by another even if it has not been resolved, and the quality of the phenomenon remains unchanged. From this it would follow that the basic contradiction does not reflect the essence of the phenomenon but comes into being and vanishes depending on external circumstances.

True, the basic contradiction is not immutable. In the process of development it is manifested in different forms. Yet it would be a grave mistake to regard the various forms of *one and the same* contradiction as *different* contradictions. For in this case the most important thing — the intrinsic interconnection between phenomena — would be lost sight of. If we were to accept the view that basic contradictions can *alternate*, we would have to assume, for example, that the basic contradiction during the Second World War was that between two groups of powers, and that it relegated to the background the basic contradiction between labor and capital. But all Marxists know that the fight against Hitler did not signify interruption or termination of the struggle of the international working class against the bourgeoisie, primarily against the most reactionary form of capitalist rule — the fascist dictatorship — for democracy, peace and socialism; on the contrary, it was a direct continuation of this struggle.

How is one to ascertain which is the basic or principal contradiction in any phenomenon? The Chinese theoreticians reply that the principal contradiction is the most acute contradiction. Mao Tse-tung simply identifies the principal contradiction with the one most *acute* at the moment. Moreover, the criterion of acuteness is not how deeply the contradiction impinges on the essence of the pheno-

*Mao Tse-tung. *On Contradiction*.

*Mao Tse-tung. *On Contradiction*.

menon, but the external form of its manifestation — armed clashes, bloodshed, etc. It is this superficial view that the Peking theoreticians have made their concept of world development. As they see it, a struggle is revolutionary only if it takes the form of civil war. Consequently, they tend to underscore only the destructive function of revolution and to underestimate the remainder of its complex tasks.

The Chinese theoreticians blindly apply Mao Tse-tung's ideas to everything, regarding them as universal philosophical truths, although their rational content does not transcend the bounds of the relationships between countries within a limited space of time. They seem to be completely oblivious of the illogicality of their conclusions. In China, for example, a definite regrouping of forces took place under the impact of anti-imperialist war, but in defining the basic contradiction of the *epoch* we are dealing with the *whole of humanity*, which on the social plane does not interact with any external force, and hence there are no factors which might relegate its basic contradiction to the background.

The men in Peking close their eyes to the true dialectics of development. For it is clear to Marxists that the emergence of the socialist system did not signify the simple quantitative addition of one more contradiction to those previously existing. Things are far more complex. Whereas at the time when capitalism was the sole social system its contradictions contained the negation of capitalism only in a latent form, as a possibility, the struggle between the two systems ushered in the transformation of the possibility into reality. The question, then, is of a *qualitatively* new manifestation of the contradiction between labor and capital. The struggle between the two opposed systems is an expression of the essence of the changes that have taken place in the socio-economic structure of the world; it marks the advent of a new era, a new phenomenon — a global economy consisting of two interacting antagonistic opposites — dying, but not yet dead, capitalism, and rising and flourishing socialism.

The Struggle Between the Two Systems and World Development

What is the fundamental political meaning of the CPC leaders' denial of the fact that the socialist system holds the center of the historical stage in our time and that the onward march of history is determined primarily by its struggle against capitalism? Their views logically lead to *negation of the lead-*

ing role of the international working class in the world revolutionary process. The socialist world system is the principle creation of the international working class. The establishment of socialist society was the supreme expression of the role of the proletariat as the grave-digger of capitalism, as custodian of the ideas of scientific communism and the force destined to carry out these ideas. *The socialist system is the fullest expression of the hegemony of the working class in world development.*

Rejecting this fundamental precept of Marxism, the CPC leaders belittle the role of the socialist world system. According to them, this system not only does not exert an increasingly decisive influence on world development; it does not play even an independent role in the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses. They regard it merely as a "source of support" for the revolutions of the oppressed nations and peoples.

In constructing their schematic pattern of "contemporary contradictions," the Chinese "dialecticians" find themselves in crying conflict with their own reasoning. While berating imperialism as a "paper tiger" and declaring that "imperialism has not used the nuclear weapon everywhere and will not dare to use it" (speech by Liu Shao-tsi in Phyon-gyang on September 18, 1963), they point to the fact that it is the might of the socialist system that has restrained the wilder men of imperialism. But when it comes to concrete analysis of the contemporary situation, the Chinese theoreticians obdurately ignore the influence exerted by the socialist system on world events. What is more, they reject the Marxist appraisal of the concrete ways in which this influence is brought to bear and its results, and discern "revisionism" in the Marxist-Leninist thesis that in our time the main content, main direction and the main features of historical development are determined by the competition, i.e., struggle, between the two systems.

In practice this position has led the Peking theoreticians to underestimate the effect of the struggle of the two world systems on the antagonisms in capitalist society. Contrary to the creative spirit of Marxism-Leninism, they repeat *ad infinitum* that our epoch is the "epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions," closing their eyes to the fact that this thesis is *incomplete* and, consequently, gives an *incorrect* picture of the basic features of the time inasmuch as it does not distinguish between two different historical periods — the period *before* the advent of

the socialist system and the period *after* its emergence as a world system.

The laws of capitalism, it goes without saying, operate in the capitalist world. But merely to register this fact means to ignore the circumstance that the capitalist system is no longer the all-embracing, decisive determinant of social development. Indeed, can we concede that world development in the sixties of the 20th century is determined solely by the laws of capitalism? Of course not. The point is that the march of events in the world as a whole is determined by the interaction of two types of social relations, two types of laws. The laws of imperialism are losing their universal character and becoming only *one of the factors* of development, a factor whose impact diminishes in inverse proportion to the growth of the opposite factor — the laws of socialist society. The interaction of these two factors is not stable; it is steadily changing and will continue to change in favor of socialism throughout the entire period of man's transition from capitalism to socialism on the world scale.

When analyzing the inter-imperialist contradictions our Peking theoreticians fail to take into account the influence of the new world balance of forces, they ignore the fact that these contradictions pass through a number of specific stages associated with the general crisis of capitalism. The political purpose of the build-up of military and economic blocs (NATO, EEC, etc.) and the attempts to create an "Atlantic community" is to consolidate the capitalist world in a situation marked by the rapid growth of world socialism. Reluctant to face up to the facts, these theoreticians give a one-sided appraisal of, for instance, monopoly integration. They describe it merely as a symptom of the deepening contradictions, of inter-imperialist struggle. Needless to say, integration will not iron out the inter-imperialist contradictions; it is a specific manifestation of these contradictions. Still, it is an attempt to resolve them by means other than war. This, too, is to a considerable extent the result of the growing influence of socialism, which on more than one occasion has stayed the hand of imperialist powers when they sought by armed aggression to resolve problems connected with the economic and territorial re-division of the world.

The socialist world system also influences the operation of the general law of capitalist accumulation. Marxists have not the slightest doubt that this law, which is manifested in the constant striving of the monopolies to

intensify the exploitation of the working people, operates today as well. The "evolution" of capitalism into the "affluent society" is simply a myth. But the conditions in which the struggle between labor and capital is waged have sharply changed. In recent decades the working people of a number of capitalist countries have won through persistent struggle considerable socio-economic gains — higher wages, a shorter working week, paid holidays, improved social security, etc. Such gains are directly connected with the influence of the socialist world system on the progress and perspective of the revolutionary working-class movement in the capitalist countries.

The new world balance of forces is modifying the laws of class struggle in the capitalist countries, influencing the ways and forms of struggle for the socialist reconstruction of society. The social base of the revolution has widened, the *prospects of revolutionary transition to socialism in various ways*, including the peaceful way, have become more favorable, and the opportunities for capitalist restoration by means of imperialist intervention have narrowed.

True, the bourgeoisie has at its disposal a powerful machinery of coercion. But is it always in a position to use this machine? The Chinese theoreticians say yes. "World history," they say, "knows of no instance of peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism." And: "The bourgeois revolution is a revolution in which one class of exploiters overthrows another, but even it cannot be effected without civil war. All the more so is proletarian revolution inconceivable without civil war." Revolutionary coercion is thus reduced to armed struggle, and armed struggle, to civil war.

Such a position runs counter to the views of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and the realities of today. The world Communist movement holds that the forms of bourgeois resistance and, in general, the forms which the struggle between revolution and counter-revolution will take depend on concrete historical factors. *Peaceful transition to socialism necessarily involves recourse to revolutionary coercion in relation to the exploiters*, though the revolution remains peaceful inasmuch as it is not attended by bloodshed or civil war. Things may take this course where the working class and its allies enjoy a decisive preponderance of strength. The conditions for building up such a preponderance of strength are now taking shape in many countries.

The strength of the socialist camp greatly limits opportunities for the export of counter-revolution. Compare, say, the position of Cuba with that of Soviet Russia in 1918-20, or of Republican Spain in 1936-39. And as we know, whenever the overthrown bourgeoisie resorts to civil war it does so largely because it has hopes of receiving aid from external counter-revolutionary forces.

But neither should the possibility of non-peaceful transition to socialism be ignored. The Communist parties of Portugal, Paraguay and a number of other countries where there are terrorist regimes hold that in these circumstances the working people cannot overthrow the tyrannies except by force of arms. Armed force is indispensable wherever the bourgeoisie has recourse to crude violence, wherever it unleashes civil war at one or another period of the struggle for socialism. But this does not justify the conclusion that nowhere can the revolution develop along peaceful lines.

While insisting that all the fraternal parties accept the non-peaceful road as the only way and embark on adventurist actions, the Chinese theoreticians allege that the CPSU is trying to impose an orientation on peaceful revolution on all the Communist parties of the capitalist world. Refuting this slander, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Portugal declared in a recent statement: "The Portuguese Communist Party is in a particularly good position to judge of the accusations made by the Chinese comrades. An examination of the conditions of fascist rule in Portugal has led it to conclude that the road to the establishment of a democratic system in our country will not be a peaceful road but the road of popular insurrection. Nevertheless, while recognizing the need to use armed force to overthrow the fascist dictatorship, our Party holds that peaceful transition to socialism will become possible when a democratic system has been established, provided certain conditions are observed."

The disintegration of the system of colonial slavery — an event second in historical significance only to the rise of the socialist world system — was a triumph for the struggle of the oppressed peoples and further proof of the powerful influence exerted by the socialist camp on world developments. "The forces of world socialism," the 1960 Statement points out, "contributed decisively to the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples for liberation from imperialist oppression."

The emergence of 50 new sovereign states in the past 20 years is evidence of the tremendous pressure of the liberation struggle. But the fact that more than half of these countries won their political independence without, or practically without, armed struggle, that in most cases the imperialists had to refrain from waging colonial war, is due primarily to the existence of the powerful socialist camp which has become a reliable safeguard of the independence of nations.

On the other hand, the colonialists have been defeated in nearly every case since the Second World War when they forced countries fighting for freedom to take arms. The victories won by people in just national-liberation wars were, of course, the fruit of grim struggle demanding exceptional heroism and heavy sacrifices. But the fact remains that these victories became possible thanks also to the all-round aid (military aid included) rendered to the embattled peoples by the socialist countries.

The problem facing the countries which have won political independence is to end economic exploitation on the part of the imperialist powers.

In this respect the internationalist policy of the socialist countries plays a most important role. The new states which are establishing closer relations with the socialist countries and which receive from the latter credits on favorable terms, scientific and technological aid, etc., are now in a position to end the imperialist economic domination. The importance of this was stressed by Fidel Castro when he spoke of the failure of the economic blockade of Cuba as an example highlighting the new status of the "underdeveloped countries which are freeing themselves from the imperialist yoke in order to enter a new world on an equal footing with such economically highly developed countries as the Soviet Union . . ."

The fact that in looking at the world problems the Chinese theoreticians see the "focal point" of contemporary contradictions encompassing three continents, which in addition to being inhabited by the majority of the world's population include countries belonging to different social systems, is in itself somewhat curious. In Marxist-Leninist theory the concept of the "focal point" was first applied to the situation in Russia on the eve of the October Revolution, in other words, to a concrete country where, first, the contradictions of imperialism were most acute, where, second, an unmistakable revolutionary situation existed and where, third, there was

a force capable of resolving these contradictions by revolutionary means — a united proletariat headed by the Leninist Party.

To claim that such a situation exists or may arise simultaneously in the numerous countries of Asia and Africa (not to speak of the Latin American countries where the conditions differ greatly from those of the first two continents) is tantamount to ignoring the great diversity of conditions and, in particular, denying the far-reaching differentiation of the national-liberation movement of these peoples. In some areas the struggle for sovereign statehood is still under way, while in other the liberation movement has entered the stage of struggle to abolish economic backwardness and win economic independence from imperialism. The countries which have won political sovereignty are developing along various lines. Some have taken the road leading to socialism; others, having won political independence, have begun to effect radical socio-economic changes. In one group of countries a national bourgeoisie opposed in the main to imperialism is in power. Others, although they have gained formal sovereignty, are, in effect, prevented from pursuing independent policies by puppet regimes or by involvement in imperialist blocs.

Clearly the people of each of these groups of countries are confronted with different tasks. Hence the multiform processes under way in Asia, Africa and Latin America cannot be fitted into any one pattern (the "focal point" theory); the Communist parties cannot base their general political line on schematism of the kind.

Marxists have no doubt that the oppressed peoples, drawing on the support and aid of the socialist world system and the working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries, can defeat the imperialist system of enslavement and plunder of other countries. But the Marxist-Leninist concept of imperialism is not limited to defining it as a system of political and economic domination of colonial and dependent peoples (although this is one of its salient aspects).

The oppressed peoples *alone*, isolated from the socialist world system and the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat, cannot abolish capitalism as the socio-economic system dominant in the imperialist countries; their struggle cannot directly replace capitalism with socialism even though it facilitates progress in this direction.

The Chinese leaders paint a different picture. Their reasoning clearly bears the imprint of the "theory" that capitalism will au-

tomatically collapse once it has lost its colonies. The exponents of this "theory" claim that as a result of the establishment of the socialist world system, "the loss of the old colonies," and the "rise of the national-liberation movement," the "world capitalist market has shrunk since the Second World War." The advance of the national-liberation movement and the total abolition of imperialist domination in the above-mentioned areas will lead, the Chinese theoreticians hold, uncritically repeating Stalin's mechanistic thesis, to a further shrinking of the capitalist market and serve as the main economic cause of the downfall of capitalism.*

This concept can lead to only one thing — the isolation of the national-liberation movement from the socialist world system and the international proletariat. But this is no cause of concern for the leaders of the CPC. Their argument is that the *ultimate* fate of capitalism on our planet will be decided in the course of the struggle waged by the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America under the leadership of the Chinese leaders against imperialist plunder. The nationalistic roots of such notions are self-evident.

Here too the Chinese leaders are trying to universalize their restricted national experience. For decades the Communist Party of China carried on its revolutionary activities in the rural areas of the country. According to Mao Tse-tung, the revolutionary democratic struggle in China was essentially a "peasant struggle." The Party evolved the tactics of gradual encirclement and isolation of the cities, which were regarded as strongholds of bourgeois influence. Thus the concept was born of the greater militancy of the village poor, a concept of socialism springing not from the towns but from the countryside. This concept now makes itself felt in the CPC leaders' approach to international problems. They not only aver that the proletariat of the developed capitalist countries has been "bourgeoisified" but claim that the same thing is happening to the working people in the socialist countries. Therefore they consider the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries fighting for liberation to be practically the only revolutionary force of our time. Hence the thesis that Asia, Africa and Latin America are the "focal point of all the contradictions" of our day, hence the exhortations to concentrate on the revolutions in the "rural areas of the world," com-

*In the politico-economic sense the capacity of a market is not only a matter of its territorial area, but also of the volume of transactions, and this is steadily increasing in the capitalist world.

pletely ignoring the fact that socialism is the product of the development of modern industry and the world market.

The pseudo-revolutionary phrasemongering practised by the leaders of the CPC, their adventurist policy in regard to the national-liberation movement, instead of promoting the anti-imperialist struggle in these areas, injures this struggle. Suffice it to recall that their policy towards India, for instance, far from strengthening the unity of the progressive forces in that country, disunited them in the face of the reactionaries.

The international proletariat and its vanguard — the Marxist-Leninist parties — attach very great importance to the anti-imperialist liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples. But Marxist-Leninists are fully aware that this struggle can succeed only when it draws on the aid and support of the international working class and, above all, of its principal creation, the socialist world system; when this struggle joins with the latter into a single revolutionary torrent. The Peking leaders, however, prompted by their striving for hegemony, counterpose the national-liberation struggle to the struggle of the proletariat in the developed capitalist countries and the building of socialism and communism in the countries where the working class has won power; they want to isolate the struggle of the oppressed peoples from the other two great movements of our time.

The Chinese leaders do not conceal their striving to dominate the national-liberation movement. They pose as the "natural champions" of the interests of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, and insist that these peoples should take their cue from Peking. They are frankly out to drive a wedge between the national-liberation movement and the socialist world system and the international working class.

"The Chinese splitters," N. S. Khrushchov correctly pointed out, "would like to be the leaders and mentors of the revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America. They maliciously counterpose the struggle of the people of these continents to the working-class movement and the socialist countries. Here, too, they seek to sow disunity, distrust, estrangement. The same aim is served by the reactionary idea that white people will never understand the black and the yellow, that their interests allegedly differ."

To the Leninist idea of unity of all the

anti-imperialist forces the Chinese theoreticians counterpose the nationalistic slogan, "The East wind will prevail over the West wind," in which class is replaced by a geographic approach. The long-range aim here is obvious: they would have the peoples believe that the "winds of history" originate in China, the biggest country of the East.

It will not be out of place here to recall Lenin's words that "... the revolutionary movement of the peoples of the East can develop successfully, reach consummation, only if it is directly linked with the revolutionary struggle of our Soviet republic against international imperialism."* The fundamental interests of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America coincide with the interests of the socialist countries, of the working class, of the working people of all countries. This is the objective basis of the unity and solidarity of all the anti-imperialist revolutionary forces of today.

The Chinese leaders see in this unity a serious obstacle to the realization of their plans for hegemony. It is this that underlies their policy of driving a wedge between the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, on the one hand, and the USSR, the other socialist countries and the international working-class, on the other, a policy fraught with grave danger for the national-liberation movement.

* * *

The CPC leaders' concept of the present epoch and its basic contradiction, like their views on the other fundamental problems of the day, runs counter to the line of the international Communist movement. For them the present stage of development is merely the "epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions." They deny that there has been any qualitative change in the world since the initial period of imperialism. The laws of capitalism are considered, as before, to be decisive in world development and enjoying free rein within the framework of the capitalist system. The concrete, tangible influence of the socialist countries on politico-economic relations throughout the world and the development of the working-class and national-liberation movements is ignored. The national-liberation movement is counterposed to the socialist countries and the working class of the developed capitalist countries.

As a result, the CPC leaders take an er-

*V. I. Lenin. Report at the Second All-Russian Congress of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East.

roneous view of the perspectives of the struggle to abolish capitalist exploitation and to ensure the triumph of Communist ideas the world over.

The world Communist movement rejects the views of the Peking leaders and condemns their actions, which are engendering

a real danger of a petty-bourgeois nationalist deviation asserting itself under the cover of "Left" phraseology. The world Communist movement is following the only correct road — the road charted by Lenin. And there is no force that can make it swerve from this road.

Automation: Its Impact on Canada

Tim Buck

AUTOMATION, more correctly the revolutionary advance in technology of which automation is, in the full sense, the ultimate technical expression, is bringing dramatic changes in Canada. Phenomenal increases in productivity, which in a socialist society would be reflected in higher living standards and more cultured leisure, are accentuating unheard-of monopoly concentration of production and capital and, simultaneously, chronic mass unemployment in Canada. Along with this, there is the growing demand for scientists, technicians, and workers with specialized skills, which is bringing about marked changes in the nature of the jobs of growing numbers of workers and in the composition of the working class. While it is true that some developments of this kind would have taken place without automation, the fact is that the technological revolution has made them particularly painful.

Nature and Scale of Automation

The word "automation" is used as an omnibus label to a variety of innovations. It describes, for instance, the operation of a production line under computer control, the proliferation of automatic machines and the extensions and refinements of conveyor belts, the spread of mechanical and electronic appliances in offices and vending machines from which people buy cigarettes, hot coffee, postage stamps, etc. This indiscriminate use of the term tends to blur the qualitative difference between automation characterized by the use of computer along with automatic machines and the use of automatic machines alone. This blurring of the quality of the change reflects the manner in which "automation is coming" in Canada.

The spread of automatic machines and of more sophisticated forms of mechanization in

virtually all fields of social activity has conditioned the thinking of the majority of people, including the workers in industry, so that the use of computers seems to be only an extension of straight line development.

This indiscriminate application of the word "automation" to every expression of the technological revolution, while a vulgarization, mirrors, nevertheless, the immense variety of forms in which it is affecting social life in Canada. For example, a ship recently launched on the Great Lakes is described as having a capacity of more than twenty thousand tons of coal and to be self-loading and self-unloading, each in less time than by traditional methods. To the longshoremen (coal handlers) this is "more automation."

These less sophisticated forms of automation are part of the uninterrupted advance by which men have changed the physical relation between themselves and their environment, continuously, since they learned to use tools. Automation in the full sense constitutes a qualitative leap in technology rather than a simple straight-line continuation; its impact on employment and occupations is revolutionary.

The technological revolution includes also the harnessing of electronic control to automatic machines, either singly or in series, with continuous unwinking inspection of their products and self-correction by the machines whenever necessary. The computer ensures all the essential functions that otherwise would be performed by the operator. In the sense that the operator has to think, or remember, to keep a battery of automatic machines producing efficiently, it can be said that the computer does also. In some circumstances it improves on the human or group of humans that it displaces. It is to distinguish this qualitative difference that the word cyber-

nation, continuous correction, is used to indicate the combination of computers with automatic machines and the growing use of computers in industry, transport, commerce and government offices in Canada.

Cybernation was introduced in Canada later than in the United States. One reason for this is the "branch plant" type of most of the larger enterprises in Canada. In the manufacturing industries in particular, there was a tendency for some time to subordinate the introduction of cybernation in the Canadian plants to the prospect of making the Canadian operations a market for the products of cybernated production lines in the USA. To some extent many Canadian workers became victims of automation long before it was introduced into Canadian plants.

At the end of 1959 there were only 89 computers operating in Canada. By July 1962 the number had increased to 303. The total today is 700 or more. This illustrates the lag between Canada and the United States where, it is reported, 13,500 computers were in operation in February 1964. "The market for small computers," commented the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, "is expected to continue expanding rapidly, but industry officials believe a major increase in installations of medium-sized units should come within two years as manufacturers move from clerical applications of the 'electronic brains' to more sophisticated uses in production and control."

Oil refineries are operated by computers. Centralized steam heating installations are operated by computers, which regulate the temperature in every building served by the system. Crane of Canada Limited, a major manufacturer of industrial valves, has renovated its machine shop in Montreal, equipping it with electronic tape-programmed machine tools. In addition to the elimination of workers, cybernation has increased the plant's capacity by 40 per cent. The coming into operation of a new rod mill was reported in a suburb of Montreal. This mill, which turns ingots of copper into copper rods, is fully automated, the entire operation being carried out by one person from a console. During April, the Canadian National Railways brought a new automated marshalling yard into operation at Toronto.

Two dispatchers, assisted by a few men with "walkie-talkie" radios, sort out six thousand freight cars daily, potentially three hundred thousand tons of freight, redirecting them from arriving trains to the train going to their destination, and the control computer will reject any conflicting train orders. The

nationalized railway system is installing centralized traffic control in all its main marshalling yards across the country, the Toronto installation is the second to come into operation. The Canadian Pacific Railway is installing similar systems. Cybernation in various operations is the main reason why the Canadian National Railways management was able to report that, during 1963, the freight load work rose 10.3 per cent over 1962, but operating expenses increased only 1.8 per cent.

Each example is but one of dozens of similar ones that could be given. Scores of manufacturing enterprises are "automating," i.e., installing cybernation to various extents. For universities, large offices, engineering firms, etc., computers are becoming necessities.

These techniques serve the monopolies as a powerful means to oust their rivals. The increasing concentration of capital, the tremendous advantage enjoyed by the monopolies in the introduction of automation and in ability to operate their own subsidiary credit corporations to finance sales of their products for installment payments, forces more and more small and medium, invariably Canadian as distinct from U.S.-owned concerns in Canada, into bankruptcy. According to incomplete figures, the number of bankruptcies and insolvencies rose from 1,800 in 1955 to 3,200 in 1962, the sum of liabilities thus formed increasing from 53.8 million to 150.7 million dollars respectively.

The increase of bankruptcies does not necessarily correspond exactly with the increase of take-overs of Canadian enterprises by United States monopoly capital but it does illustrate the economic climate in which the take-overs are increasing.

The majority of employers lean heavily on those elements of automation which, while cutting down the number employed, intensify still more the relentless demand made by the machine on the physical resources of the worker. Speed-up, with the over-exertion, tension and chronic fatigue that accompany it, is the great crippler in Canadian industry today. Production lines are speeded up to the immediate limit of human ability to keep pace. No sooner have the production workers mastered one speed than it is increased. This is the "real secret" of the fabulous profits being made by the monopolies, the means by which, according to Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers' Union, General Motors Corporation made \$3.80 profit for every hour worked by an hourly-rated employee. Selected statistics for all manufacturing industries indicate that the value added by

manufacture (per production worker) increased by 97 per cent between 1949 and 1960.

The tension generated by the continuous race with machines is not limited to industrial workers. As Leslie Morris, General Secretary of the Communist Party, said at the Party's Eighteenth National Convention: From 1931 to 1961 the number of office appliance operators increased from 1,742 to 28,371. Industrial workers are still the main victims, however.

Nearly half of all illness in Canada is "mental illness" and medical research carried out in the province of Saskatchewan indicates that "mental illness" is caused by "stress, tension and over-exertion." A contributor to the *Canadian Tribune* wrote recently: "In a recent stay in a 'mental' hospital I observed that of 20 patients in the ward, one was a farmer, two were middle-class office workers, two were businessmen and 15 were industrial workers. They were all suffering the results of stress, tension, and over-exertion, some without even realizing it.*

In view of the fact that, for Canadian workers, automation is associated with speed-up beyond the limit of long extended endurance, shortening the working lives even of those who don't "crack up" prematurely, their hostility to it is understandable.

Automation and Jobs

Concentration of capital has proceeded apace since the Second World War, at increasing speed as United States monopolies secured control of the commanding heights in the economy. This concentration is reflected in the growing importance of the bigger and more modern plants. In 1949 establishments which turned out less than half a million dollars worth of products produced 17.2 per cent of the total of manufactured products. In 1960 their production was barely 11.7 per cent of the total. In contrast, plants which produced five million dollars worth of products or over, turned out 49 per cent of the total in 1949 and by 1960 their share had increased to 56.9 per cent.

Because cybernation is only now being introduced on a wide scale, its effect on the organic composition of capital can only be indicated. The trend, however, is clear. The Steel Company of Canada is bringing into operation a steel plate rolling mill at a cost of thirty million dollars which, when operating at full capacity, will increase the total work force in the plant by less than a hundred, equivalent to an investment of \$300,000 per

worker. The automated rod mill installed by the Northern Electric Company is reported to have cost twelve million dollars and employs one man. The new "Hump" centralized traffic control marshalling yard established in Toronto by the Canadian National Railways is reported to have cost seventy-five million dollars — an investment of more than a million dollars for every worker employed. A similar growth of constant capital to variable capital is to be found in the "Hump" yards all over the country. Automation, combined with merciless speed-up, was, until recently, the main cause of the growing unemployment. Even today, when hundreds of computers are performing operations which otherwise would employ tens of thousands of people, the less complex forms of automation remain the most evident immediate reason why jobs are being eliminated in Canada at the average rate of 4,000 per week.

Partly because of resistance by the trade unions, partly because of pension rights, etc., the reduction of working forces in some areas has been accomplished by not hiring new workers and by firing workers already employed. An example of this is to be seen on the railways. In 1953 Canadian railway employees numbered 211,951. In 1961 they numbered only 166,081. A substantial part of this drastic reduction has been accomplished by not replacing workers who reach sixty-five, the age of compulsory retirement.

The recent rapid increase in the installation of computers performing tasks which otherwise would employ many thousands of workers, has been concurrent with a pronounced upswing of the economy. Because of this, the immediate over-all effect of cybernation has been a marked expansion of economic activity without putting all the unemployed workers back to work, rather than a reduction of over-all employment.

The impact of the technological change on employment was emphasized recently in the report of a special Senate committee which carried out a public inquiry into unemployment. The committee declared that "one of the most pressing national problems confronting Canada at the present time (is) the upward drift in the general level of unemployment" . . . "In each successive recession the percentage of people out of work has been higher than in the preceding recession." The committee pointed out also that during the period of highest employment in 1951 the level of unemployment was 2.4 per cent, but in 1959 it was 6.0 per cent. According to the same source, the average all-Canadian per-

**Canadian Tribune*, March 30, 1964

centage of the labor force unemployed was 3.3 per cent in 1950-54, 5.1 per cent in 1955-59, and seven per cent in 1960, which points to the growth of chronic unemployment.

As a result of the economic upswing, particularly a boom in the building industry stimulated by large-scale public expenditure at all levels, the federal government was able to claim for a few weeks at the end of the summer of 1963 that unemployment had declined to 5.1 per cent of the labor force. Be that as it may, the number of applicants for unemployment benefits during the first week of April was reported as 660,000, approximately 10 per cent of the labor force.

The Senate Committee pointed out that the main reason for the failure of employment to expand as rapidly as the population does is that the goods-producing sector of the economy does not grow fast enough. This is true, but it does not mean that the goods-producing sector of the economy has not grown. The whole truth is that, although production has grown, automation has eliminated a multitude of jobs. According to the Senate Committee, between 1949 and 1959 the physical volume of production of motor vehicles increased by 49.9 per cent but employment in this industry by only 11 per cent, in motor vehicles parts by 19.7 and 6.8 per cent respectively, electrical apparatus and supplies 81.6 and 40.6 per cent, machinery 33.7 and 16.8 per cent, household appliances 53.7 and 19.3 per cent.

The impact of automation on the youth is particularly heavy. Failure of opportunities for employment to grow as fast as the population results in a marked increase of unemployment among young people. In 1950-54 there were 6.9 per cent unemployed men and 4.0 women in the under 20 years age group, and 4.9 and 1.8 per cent respectively in the 20 to 24 years age group. In 1960 the figures for the first group rose to 15.6 and 8.5 per cent respectively, and for the second group to 11.4 and 3.1 per cent. Not without cause do many young workers complain that automation under monopoly control is making them a redundant generation.

As John I. Snyder, Junior, President of United States Industries Incorporated, told the conference on "Automation and Social Change" organized by the government of the Province of Ontario in September 1963, there is need for "a new awareness of the problems of automation." "The hard fact we must face," he said, "is that our new technologies do not produce jobs for the workers they displace. Detroit is the center of automation and it is one of our country's largest and most cri-

tical unemployment areas. At last count automation was eliminating jobs in the United States at the rate of more than 40,000 per week. And we must also keep in mind that automation is not only displacing people directly, but also indirectly by what is called 'silent firings', referring to workers who, without automation, would eventually have been hired for specific tasks that are now automated. There are also those workers who lose their jobs through vertical integration due to automation, as in the case of a company which formerly supplied a third of the Ford Company's body parts. When Ford automated its stamping plants, no Ford employees were displaced, but 5,000 employees of the body company were obliterated from the payroll."

Automation is making radical changes in the occupations at which people are employed. In the first place mention should be made of the general trend of decline in the percentage employed in the production of goods and an increase of the percentage employed in service. Thus in 1946 less than 32 per cent of the labor force was employed in trade, finance, insurance and service, but in 1962 more than 46 per cent. In some branches of production the number of employees is falling absolutely. For example, the number engaged in "mining and quarrying" declined from 65,291 in 1951 to 64,611 in 1961. But, the mining industry as a whole, grew at an average rate of 9.3 per cent per year during that decade.

Workers in the group classified as "unskilled laborers" have been hit particularly hard. In 1951 they constituted 6.7 per cent of the employed labor force. By 1961 their number had declined not only relatively but also absolutely. The relationship of automation to that decline is indicated by the fact that, in the industries from which unskilled laborers were being displaced by machines, the number of skilled workers increased during that decade.

The fastest growth shown by any occupational group during the fifties was that classified as "professional and technical workers." This group grew by 65 per cent in the decade. It is now ten per cent of the entire employed labor force. The percentage increase in the number of chemical engineers during the decade 1951-61 was 366.7 per cent, of electrical engineers 263.6 per cent, of mechanical engineers 88.9 per cent.

Lastly, the number of men and women employed in agriculture declined by a hundred and eighty-one thousand during the decade of 1951-61 but the number classified as "clerical workers" increased by 324,459 in the same

period. The impact of technological change upon jobs has been obscured until now by the fact that automation has been introduced during a period of over-all expansion of the economy as a whole.

Along with decimation of jobs and the changes in occupations, automation has made intability a characteristic of employment. Dr. Stuart M. Jamieson, professor of economics at the University of British Columbia, emphasized this when he warned a conference on automation that:

"At the present and anticipated rates of technological change and displacement, young workers now entering the labor market for the first time will, on the average, have to change their occupations, not just jobs but occupations that require a more or less lengthy period of training, three or more times in the course of their working lifetime."

The Crisis in Education

The Communist Party has emphasized for years past that division of authority over the standards of public education between ten provinces, at varying levels of industrial development, prevents it from equipping young Canadians to meet the demands of modern industry. We have put forward proposals to change this. On at least one occasion, 1958, our key proposal was endorsed by the annual conference of Canadian Mayors and Reeves. Nothing was done, however, because of violent opposition from the representatives of monopoly capital on the pretense that an all-Canadian standard of free compulsory elementary education with Federal government responsibility for ensuring it, would infringe the terms of the British North America Act, which assigns full authority over education to the provincial governments.*

But, in October 1957, the first Soviet Sputnik sparked an awakening to the fact that mankind had entered the space age. The interests which, until then, had been the main opponents of federal government intervention in matters of public education started to proclaim that the nation's most valuable asset is not in its immense natural resources, but in the occupational and technical efficiency of its workers and in the potential productivity of its youth. University presidents, presidents of manufacturing corporations, bankers and politicians, joined in announcing that "the revolution in technology" requires more sophisticated educational methods than the "memory

exercises" which are the main content of the primary and secondary schools. It was announced that Canada's primary and secondary school system, even where nearly every boy and girl has a reasonably good opportunity to attend, is deficient and woefully inadequate. To cut the long story short, the spokesmen for monopoly capital discovered "the crisis in education." The crisis has been there for a long time, of course, but it was suddenly made acute by their demands for radical changes to "catch up with the Soviet Union" in the field of public education. More than appeals for radical improvement were required, however. The changes required were, and are, quite beyond the resources of most of the provinces.

Since 1957 the necessity for action to overcome some of the deficiencies in the educational system has won wide recognition. It has been emphasized in the numerous conferences, on automation, on education, and on other subjects. One result is to be seen in legislation introduced by the federal government in 1960.* This law, "The Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act," authorizes the federal government to contribute 75 per cent of the total capital expenditures incurred by a provincial government in building and equipping vocational training facilities. In the spirit of a "crash program" which pervaded some sections of the capitalist class, the law set March 31, 1963, as the latest date up to which the federal government would contribute 75 per cent. When that "deadline" was passed, however, the federal government, now headed by the leader of the Liberal Party, Lester B. Pearson, announced that the program will be continued.

The ten programs to which the federal financial assistance is limited indicate the reality of "the crisis in education." They indicated also the near panic that was expressed in the attempt to overcome the crisis without openly repudiating the British North America Act. The ten programs are: technical and vocational high schools, technician training, trades (crafts) and other occupational training, training unemployed workers for new occupations, training to help employed workers improve their skills, training for disabled workers, training of technical and vocational teachers, training for federal government departments and agencies, including members of the armed forces, apprenticeship training in co-operation with employers, a program of student aid.

*The BNA Act, enacted in 1867 is, in effect, Canada's Constitution. The Canadian bourgeoisie use it as a barrier to progressive change.

*The Conservative government headed by J. Diefenbaker.

By March 31st, 1963, five hundred and thirteen construction projects had been carried through or were in various stages of completion. Their cost was \$508 million, of which the federal government paid 75 per cent. Substantial as this appears, it provided accommodation for only 138,000 students and falls far short of meeting the need, particularly in the provinces where the need of the young people for education or retraining is greatest.

The rapid spread of cybernation is evoking questions already about the adequacy of the ten programs. Dr. Garnet T. Page, Deputy General Secretary of the Engineering Institute of Canada, is warning all concerned that the principal reason for the changes in manpower is the increasing application of the techniques of automation throughout the economy. Dr. Page continues: "In the future many more Canadian employers will adopt the techniques of automatic production in one form or another" . . . "Recent studies indicate that Canada's requirements for professional personnel will double over the next 20 years, with scientists and engineers being required in the largest numbers . . ." One conclusion arrived at by Dr. Page is: "We need a system of primary and secondary school education that will serve to inspire and identify our future specialists in all fields of higher learning, and will instil the discipline of study and thought in our young people."

The quotation from Dr. Page typifies the guarded warnings that are being uttered in numerous conferences and publications. It is becoming clear that teaching young men and women to operate machines is not the answer to cybernation, which displaces the machine operator. The same is true of very many of the trades and occupations, the teaching of which is the main aim of the Federal-Provincial program. This program is helping to some extent to raise the general level of education but it side-steps the problem of instilling "the discipline of study and thought." It provides facilities for training in trades. Some of the trades and occupations for which it does provide training are such that many of its students will graduate to find that they have been trained for the jobs of yesterday. The problem that cybernation poses for the educational system in Canada is very far from being solved.

Automation and the Trade Union Movement

In the trade union movement there is widespread a tendency to equate automation with displacement. The workers, clerical as well as industrial, have good reason for this. It was stated in the Ontario provincial legislature re-

cently that automation has displaced 800,000 workers in this province alone during the past fifteen years.

Some authoritative spokesmen for monopoly-capital readily admit that the automation is creating unemployment. For example, Thomas J. Watson, president of the International Business Machines Corporation wrote: "We can't argue that technological change and automation are not labor-saving devices. Of course they are. They do cause displacement of people." The president of the IBM was addressing himself to prospective customers for automatic machines and computers rather than to the victims of automation, but this does not make the truth of his statement less chilling.

At the same conference, the "manager of training and salary administrations" for the Canadian Westinghouse Company extended the thought expressed by the president of the IBM by the following example of cynicism: "If more and more goods can be produced by a relatively smaller proportion of the populace (backed up of course by improved technology) then it seems inevitable that some people now in manufacturing must adjust to being in new and different lines of work . . ." "We must face up to having a sizeable segment of the adult population out of the work force and on welfare, or we must (and I pray we can) exercise great effort and ingenuity in a third direction. This direction includes: A) Identifying those likely to be displaced before they actually are displaced. B) Convincing them that they must take action to keep themselves employable. C) Providing opportunities and assistance so that they can take action, if only they will."

These are examples of the reason why automation has become a big issue at virtually all trade union conventions and "action to meet the threat of automation" has become one of the main demands of the membership upon union leaders.

The United Automobile Workers Union, warned by the fact that the industry in USA and Canada increased its production by 17 per cent while reducing employment by four per cent during the period of 1955-63, is seeking, along with wage increases, longer vacations with pay, a measure of union control over the working of overtime, higher pension payments, payment by the employers of the full cost of medical care, insurance for workers after they are pensioned off, and an earlier age of retirement for workers who have worked in the industry for thirty years.

The program of the UAW is modest, re-

flecting the fact that the industry is in the midst of one of its periodic temporary booms. The issues about which militant members of the union are most acutely concerned are those of overtime and the speed-up. In some industries the union members don't consider that they have so much time. Printing trades workers in a number of cities are fighting literally for the life of their union, to win a measure of protection against the effects of automatic typesetting. A judge of the Superior Court of Quebec has granted an injunction forbidding printing trades workers from molesting the operations of a printing company. When granting the injunction the judge read a homily to the workers, informing them that, while he realized that automation means loss of jobs to them, "the institution of new methods of printing is not itself illegal."

Perhaps the best example of trade union action to defend its members against the immediate impact of automation is provided by the wage contract negotiated between the longshoremen of the Pacific Coast (British Columbia) and their employers, The Shipping Federation and the Wharf Operators Association. It concedes to union demands for job security for the present membership of the union.

If the cargoes do not fall below the present level, the present members are guaranteed work or the equivalent of their wages for a 35-hour week, even if mechanization or automatic machinery cuts the need for manpower in half. If jobs are eliminated at one port, members may be moved to other ports at the expense of the employers. If jobs of one type are eliminated by technological development and at the same time a demand arises for workers with new skills, members of the union will be trained, on the job, for the new skills.

Any member having worked on the waterfront for 25 years may retire voluntarily at any time after he passes the age of 62. In that event his retirement benefit is used to provide a pension until his full pension becomes payable at the age of 65. If a shortage of work develops, members may be retired compulsorily at the age of 62 but, in that case, the retirement benefit is increased 1.5-fold. All benefits are completely portable between all the jobs covered by the eleven local unions of longshoremen and dockworkers.

This is one of the best or the very best union-employer contracts negotiated in Canada for a long time. Precisely because of this, it is useful to note the fact that, good and vitally necessary as it is, it is only a stop-gap

solution for the problems presented by automation.

Because the guarantees apply only to those who were members when the agreement was signed, it will allow mechanization to reduce payrolls by making it unnecessary to replace members who retire, or die, or leave for any reason whatever.

Hence it is clear that the agreement forecasts a large measure of job security for a declining number of men. As Harry Bridges, the president, is reported to have said, the waterfront workers' union alone cannot solve all the problems of automation. Yet, the fact must be faced that, if all the workers now employed in Canada were protected by agreements identical with this excellent one, it would create a situation in which the workers would have job security, but their sons and daughters might never have a chance to work.

The United Steelworkers' Union is learning a similar lesson from the results of its ambitious plan for 13-week vacations as a means of avoiding lay-offs. The union leadership was confident that this plan would ensure employment for twenty to twenty-five thousand steelworkers who without the long vacation plan would be laid off. Now, the plans of the steel companies for further and more sophisticated automation indicate that long vacations will not even begin to counteract the massive cuts in manpower made possible by automation throughout the steel industry. From its peak employment of 544,000 at the end of 1953 the steel industry of the United States has reduced the number of jobs to 400,000, and the slashing of manpower continues. Against this the long vacations may protect the jobs of five to six thousand workers. It will help, but it certainly does not meet the challenge with which automation confronts the trade unions.

Make Automation Serve the People

It may well be that the coming ten years will be marked in Canada by technological advance greater and more radical than all the development that has taken place since the Canadian state was founded in 1867. The problems that such an advance will raise will be of a different magnitude and of a different political character than any that the Canadian working class has had to face until now. The replacement of men by machines in the field of direction and control is bringing us rapidly to the unavoidable necessity to choose between alternative paths for the future of Canada. One path leads direct to economic chaos with the most extreme reactionary interests in control, the other leads to abun-

dance for all, within the lifetime of most of us who are living today.

This is so because we have entered the age of automation. The technical structure of industry, and of the economy as a whole, is going to change radically. The role of the working class, its status in society, is going to change also — either for better or for worse, depending on what relationship is established between the workers as a class and automation. The use of computers will exert a powerful influence on society. Control of the computers is going to be a vital factor in the determination of national economic policy.

When one capitalist enterprise “automates,” its competitors are forced to do likewise, literally as a condition of survival. In every case in capitalist society automation, with or without computers, is installed to reduce labor costs — certainly not for the benefit of the workers. In capitalist society automation means loss of jobs and uprooting for the working class with increasing instability and uncertainty for masses of people.

Only in a socialist society can cybernation, that is to say, the use of automatic machinery under computer direction and control, be developed fully. Free from the crippling contradiction of private appropriation of the fruits of social production and its consequence in monopoly-capitalist limitations upon the market, socialist society can utilize cybernation to the full extent of its “as yet unmeasured” possibilities, in coherent and coordinated planned production — for abundance and a richer life for all.

As the Eighteenth National Convention of the Communist Party pointed out, automation is confronting the working class and all democratic Canadians with an inescapable challenge: “. . . if this new revolutionary development is allowed to remain in the ownership and control of the monopolies, it will have disastrous consequences for the working class and for society as a whole” . . . “But, there is another side to the possible effects of automation. We can use it to enrich all our lives if we put it to work under democratic public control.”

The measures proposed by the trade unions so far, even if they are achieved, are not adequate to protect the interests of the workers. This is not to suggest that such demands should not be made, and fought for with determination, to win some protection for the workers immediately. Unions, whose members are threatened by automation or mechanization should fight to protect their jobs and working conditions in the political relation-

ships that exist now. But, to paraphrase the words of Marx and Engels, the real interests of the working class can be defended today only to the extent that their future interests are guarded also. The interests of the workers, including those who are members of unions, demand that the trade union movement join hands with the broad democratic forces of the people to meet the challenge of cybernation as a problem for society as a whole.

Monopoly-capital and its governments are striving to divert the attention of the working class away from the necessity to decide now which path to take, by focussing attention on the technical “wonders” of cybernation and the demand that it “is going to create for workers with special skills.”

The Federal government announced with fanfare still another conference. Its Minister of Labor met with the Labor Ministers of the 10 Provinces in a two-day conference “to seek the answer to automation.” Their “answer” was, according to newspaper reports, “to set the stage for a closer partnership between the provincial and Federal governments in training young workers for the kind of jobs expected to be needed in the future . . . To fashion a flexible, mobile, skilled work force for the automation era.” In the meantime the House of Commons had to be kept in session late, to vote emergency financial assistance to the National Unemployment Insurance System, the funds of which had been exhausted.

What the governments are striving desperately to obscure is the fact that cybernation, introduced and operated under democratic people’s control, could eliminate much of the drudgery now performed by the working class, could raise living standards, provide opportunities for creative employment of youth, and retirement at an age when we are still able to enjoy creative activity and leisure. To accomplish this, cybernation must be brought under democratic people’s control now. Direct public responsibility must be established for the workers who are displaced by automatic machinery or cybernation.

The obstacle to harnessing cybernation to the real interests of the working class and the overwhelming majority of the people is monopoly capital. The struggle to harness cybernation to the real interests of the nation is a struggle to take control of it away from the monopolies. This is why the Eighteenth Convention of the Communist Party declared in its call to the workers to struggle for a new economic policy:

“Establishing democratic public control

over the introduction of automation will constitute partial subjugation of the monopolists to the will of the people of this country . . . It

will open the road for continued democratic advance. It will be an important step to the path to socialism."

The Struggle of the Mexican People and the Tactics of the Communist Party

Arnoldo Martinez Verdugo

TOWARDS the end of the fifties the struggle of the Mexican people for national independence, democracy and social progress entered upon a new phase. This phase was marked by the upsurge of the working class, peasant and anti-imperialist movement. It began with the militant working-class actions of 1958-59 — the biggest in the past twenty-five years — which showed that the workers are the principal revolutionary force in Mexico. The growing might of world socialism and in particular the progress made by the Soviet Union have had a powerful revolutionary effect on the masses. New and profoundly progressive processes are taking place in the mass working-class organizations, and there is a growing trend toward unity among the Left groups.

The people of Mexico are therefore making their contribution to the upsurge of the democratic and anti-imperialist movement in the Latin American countries, the supreme expression of which is the Cuban revolution.

I

The significance of the developments in Mexico is enhanced by the fact that the tendency in the working-class and peasant movement for a long time was one of relative inaction. This was due to the specific character of socio-political development in Mexico after the bourgeois democratic revolution of 1910-17.

During the twenty years that followed the founding in 1919 of the Mexican Communist Party, the working class and peasant movement won some notable successes. The unity achieved in the trade union movement and

the establishment in 1936 of the Confederation of Labor was the fruit of the Party's persevering efforts. The peasant movement, too, which began to play a significant role in political life, was organized mainly by the Communists, and it was under Communist leadership that in 1926 there arose the National Peasant League, an organization uniting the main forces of the revolutionary peasant movement that had been steeled in struggle for the land and in battles against the clerical, latifundist and bourgeois reaction. The influence of the Communist Party and the democratic movement extended to the students and progressive intellectuals.

The independent movement of the masses and the growing contradictions between the people and imperialism at the time of the economic crisis of 1929-33 led to the progressive reforms carried out under General Cardenas (1934-40). These reforms continued the tradition of the 1910-17 revolution which struck a shattering blow at the semi-feudal structure of Mexican society and created possibilities for independent development. The bourgeois government, however, failed to take advantage of these opportunities and until 1934 Mexico remained an agrarian, semi-colonial and semi-feudal country.

The reforms of 1934-40 were a step forward in the right direction; they created a new situation which necessitated a new approach on the part of the Communist Party and the entire revolutionary movement — elaboration of more flexible slogans and methods of struggle, a profound examination of the theoretical and political problems pertaining to the future of the democratic and

anti-imperialist movement in the light of conditions which at that time were entirely new in the experience both of our own Party as well as the Communist parties of the other Latin American countries, and, we believe, the Communist parties of the economically underdeveloped countries on other continents. Unfortunately the Party leadership at the time did not do this; it failed to appraise the character of the Cardenas government and to work out the proper tactics towards that government.

By the second half of 1937 some negative features began to appear in the life of the Party. Waging a struggle against the sectarian deviations of the preceding period, the leadership gradually slipped into Right opportunist positions. Success achieved through mass struggle was attributed to the revolutionary spirit of the bourgeoisie. The Communist Party withdrew from the struggle for the leadership of the working-class and peasant movement, relinquishing the key positions in these organizations to agents of the bourgeoisie.

In 1939-40 the Party tried to rectify these mistakes, which were duly criticized at the extraordinary Congress held in 1940. But while basically correct, the criticism and the steps taken to rectify the blunders failed to go to the root of the trouble, with the result that before long our ranks became infected with revisionism of the Browder variety.

The efforts made in 1939-40 to correct the policy were hampered by another factor: through the medium of the Communist International, the false concepts and methods of Stalin penetrated into our Party, and specifically, his thesis to the effect that "the theory that opportunist elements can be 'overpowered' in ideological struggle within the Party, the theory that these elements can be 'eliminated' within the framework of one party is a pernicious and dangerous theory." In 1940 the notorious "purge commission" was set up which expelled thousands of sincere Communists and dissolved entire organizations. Among those expelled were Comrades Laborde and Campa, two of the founding members of our Party. Many members, bewildered by what was happening, left the Party.

This marked the beginning of a critical period in the life of our Party which lasted for nearly 20 years. The internal struggle sapped the vitality of the Party, diverted its attention from the mass struggle and led ultimately to a split. The Party became weaker and the bourgeoisie succeeded in isolating it

from the masses. In these circumstances a clique of bureaucrats who had sold out to the bourgeoisie seized control of the trade union movement, while the peasant organization degenerated into a mere appendage to the State.

These phenomena, naturally, had their objective causes. The Cardenas reforms stimulated the development of capitalism in town and countryside and cleared the way for a big increase in industrial and agricultural production. The lessening of imperialist competition within the country during the Second World War and the postwar boom had a similar effect. Industrial output increased 2.5-fold between 1938 and 1959, that of agriculture by 242.4 per cent between 1939 and 1958, while national production averaged an 8.6 per cent annual growth in the period between 1940 and 1946.

The economic revival of these years was accompanied by a rapid growth of the working class and substantial changes in its composition. The number of industrial workers increased from 800,000 in 1939 to 1,900,000 in 1960. The influx of new workers into industry, most of them peasants and ruined artisans, weakened the class consciousness of the proletariat and was favorable soil for the spread of reformist ideas. (The more so since the bourgeoisie made some tangible concessions to the workers.)

These, in brief, are the causes which explain the period of relative calm that set in in the working-class and peasant movement in Mexico during the forties and fifties.

For some time now, however, the objective factors which brought about the onset of that period have been losing their effectiveness. Since 1957 the rate of economic growth has been declining. At present the annual increase in national production corresponds to the growth of population (approximately 3.1 per cent a year). The economy has entered upon a phase of stagnation; in some branches a crisis has already set in; unemployment is assuming mass proportions; real wages are 10 per cent below the 1940 level. The opportunities for independent economic progress ushered in by the reform of 1935-39 diminished sharply when the bourgeoisie again threw open the doors to foreign capital.

In the countryside the concentration of land ownership began again; in areas with irrigation systems built by the government the big capitalists expanded their holdings; 60 per cent of the communal land in the region of the Mayo and Yagui rivers, for ex-

ample, was leased to them. The result is that fifty years after the 1910-17 revolution we have 2.5 million landless peasants and unemployed agricultural laborers.

The ideologists of the ruling bourgeoisie persist in presenting the image of Mexico as a land of "prosperity, democracy and peace," as "the most stable regime in Latin America." But when we hear Mexico described thus we think of the scores of murdered peasants like Ruben Jaramillo, his wife Epifania and their three children, of the railwaymen who were shot during demonstrations, of men like Roman Guerra Montemayor, who was beaten to death in his prison cell. The bourgeoisie cannot make us forget the 8,000 railwaymen jailed for exercising their right to strike, or the 26 political prisoners sentenced to a total of two hundred years' imprisonment, among them David Alfaro Siqueiros, the world famous painter, Demetrio Vallejo, General Secretary of the Railwaymen's Union, J. Encarnacion Perez, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of our Party, and Valentin Campa, a veteran of the working-class movement.

The new political situation that has emerged in recent years has three basic features. The first is the *radicalization of the masses*, who are stepping up the struggle for their demands and taking an increasingly active part in political life, and the realignment of forces within the mass movement accompanying this process. The bourgeoisie is rapidly losing its influence particularly in the *peasant* movement; the peasants are withdrawing en masse from the government-controlled organization.

It is noteworthy that both the working-class actions of 1958-59 as well as the peasant actions of 1960-63 were not limited to economic demands; the working people are fighting for more democracy in their organizations, for independence and for democratic liberties.

The second feature of the situation is the *trend towards unity among the democratic and anti-imperialist forces*, whose lack of cohesion in the past had such a negative effect on the political situation. The emergence of the Movement for National Liberation and the establishment of a People's Electoral Front are landmarks in this respect.

And lastly, there is the *growing tendency toward the polarization of political forces*. Substantial sections of the middle strata who for years have been influenced by the big

bourgeoisie are now breaking away from it and drawing closer to the revolutionary movement. This is seen in the active participation of ex-President Lazaro Cardenas and a large group of intellectuals in the Movement for National Liberation which has a progressive program and is critical of government policy.

The tendency to withdraw from the ruling bloc is observed also among the ultra-reactionary and pro-imperialist forces led by another ex-President, Miguel Aleman. Faced with the rise of the democratic and anti-imperialist movement, they have set up their own organization, known as the Civil Front of Revolutionary Affirmation. So far this organization has been functioning as part of the ruling party, but its leaders do not exclude the possibility — depending on the general course of government policy — of separating and forming their own party. In any case this organization is already pursuing its own policy.

The facts point to the beginning of the disintegration of the ruling bloc and the failure of its policy of "unity of the revolutionary family." This dates back to the time of the world economic crisis of 1929-33 and the revolutionary situation of those years when the bourgeois politicians, in an effort to form a united front to offset the working-class and peasant movement, advanced a project for a "united party." The numerous bourgeois parties and groups existing at the time were dissolved and incorporated into a single government party, the National Revolutionary Party (subsequently renamed the Party of Mexican Revolution, and now called the Constitutional Revolutionary Party).

In those years when the bourgeoisie was still more or less homogeneous and largely interested in independent national development, its politicians were able to unite its different sections under the leadership of a single party. Today, however, the situation has changed: the distorted economic development and the advent of monopoly groups closely linked with imperialist capital conflict with the interests of the national bourgeoisie and inevitably lead to a polarization of forces. This, however, is not a straightforward process; some sections of the bourgeoisie are seeking a compromise solution in the hope of avoiding an open break. Nevertheless the polarization of forces is an objective tendency that is already making itself felt.

II

In Mexico, then, the conditions for a new revolutionary upsurge are maturing: the balance of forces is changing in favor of the anti-imperialist and democratic trends. This is taking place at a time when the Communist Party is making a serious attempt to overcome the mistakes and shortcomings that have retarded its development for such a long time and, on this basis, to evolve a new policy. An important role in the struggle for the renewal of the Party was played by the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which exposed the disastrous consequences of the Stalin cult and opened up new perspectives for the international Communist movement.

The Thirteenth Congress of our Party, held in May 1960, decided that the main task facing the working class and the people at the present stage was to win complete liberation from the yoke of North American imperialism, eradicate the survivals of feudalism and democratize the entire life of the country.

This task can be accomplished only through a new revolution, a *democratic revolution of national emancipation*. This, our Party holds, is the only way that can lead Mexico to socialism. The changed balance of forces in the world, the development of the revolutionary movement in Latin America and the victory of the Cuban revolution, combined with the fact that the forces capable of accomplishing a revolution in our country are increasing, indicate that the conditions for such a revolution are maturing and that victory is possible.

The efforts of the Communist Party are aimed at awakening the forces objectively interested in revolution to the need for it, so as to work out jointly a program of struggle and on the basis of that program to strive for united action.

These points, which were developed by the Fourteenth Congress (December 1963), formed the basis of the new program adopted by the Congress after more than a year's discussion by the membership.

Our Party attaches the greatest importance to the question of the approach to the revolution, how to build up a socio-political army of revolution, i.e., a force capable of implementing the economic and political changes so vital to Mexico's development.

In this connection we believe it is particularly important correctly to assess the period through which the revolutionary movement in our country is now passing. Some reckless

people in the democratic movement, overestimating the militancy and political consciousness of the masses, hold that Mexico is ripe for revolution. These people draw up plans of action which completely ignore the actual situation in the country. Such tendencies may seriously impair the preparations for genuine revolution. On the other hand, opportunistic ideas are current which deny the necessity of a new qualitative leap, the need to remove the government of the bourgeois-landlord bloc from office, and which offer the masses the sole perspective of supporting whatever bourgeois government happens to be in power in order to enable it to "complete the revolution" unhindered.

Depending upon a number of circumstances, the revolutionary movement in countries like ours may find itself in a period of sharp upsurge when the conquest of power becomes the order of the day, may find itself in a period of decline, or a period of preparation for a new advance, i.e., a period of mustering of forces.

Our Party holds that the revolutionary movement in Mexico is going through the latter period. The feature of this period is the uneven development of the struggle of the classes destined to carry out the revolution. For instance, at the moment when the working-class movement, following the defeat of the 1958-59 actions, is at a temporary standstill, the peasant movement has gone over to the offensive and is demanding radical reforms. Ours was the first political party to become aware of the awakening of the peasantry, and we proceeded at once to reorganize the movement in the countryside. The peasant movement has gained strength, and there is no doubt that before long it will show that it is a force to be reckoned with.

The period of gathering forces is not one of waiting passively for the maturing of the objective conditions for revolution. It is a time of intensive class struggle, of revolutionary actions by class conscious people and of working out a correct policy. The task at this phase is to unite the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie, progressive intellectuals and those sections of the national bourgeoisie not entangled with imperialism, and rally them to fight for the far-reaching changes essential to Mexico's progress.

This is the course which our Party has been steering since its 13th Congress.

III

We believe that our task at the moment is to win over the working masses, to be

ready to lead them to the decisive actions when the time is ripe.

This is by no means easy in our country for the bourgeoisie uses every device to retain its grip on the masses. Demagogy, with concessions now and again, and corruption of working class and peasant leaders are the favorite methods. Taking advantage of the anti-labor and anti-peasant legislation, the bourgeoisie meddles in the internal affairs of the trade unions and peasant organizations, securing key positions for its own men, and victimizing workers who oppose the reactionary policy of the corrupt leadership. Of late, alarmed by the growth of the independent peasant movement, the bourgeoisie has not hesitated to murder peasant leaders.

It should be emphasized that in no other Latin American country—since the liquidation of the “mujalistas” in Cuba—does corruption in the trade unions flourish on such a scale as in Mexico. The unions for the most part are run by agents of the bourgeoisie. Many a trade union boss has made his fortune by literally bartering away the rights of the workers. Some of them indeed make no attempt to conceal their access to the U.S. Embassy.

Our Party believes that the best way to win over the masses is to organize independent actions by workers and peasants for their immediate economic and political demands. The big battles fought by the railwaymen in 1958-59 showed that by organizing action from below for higher wages and by forming militant organizations run by the workers themselves (such as the “committees for higher wages”) it is possible to mobilize the masses *despite the opposition of the trade union leaders* installed by the government.

We attach special importance to upholding the immediate economic demands of the working class. Some sectarians have described this policy as “Economism.” But Lenin, it will be recalled, pointed out that “only economic struggle, only struggle for immediate, direct improvement of their position can rouse the more backward sections of the exploited masses; this struggle gives them a real education and converts them—in time of revolution—in the space of a few months into an army of political fighters.” (Lecture on the 1905 Revolution.)

The most difficult problem our Party has to face in the working-class and peasant movement is that of ridding it of the influence of *bourgeois ideology*. And it must be admitted that in this respect our work still falls short of the mark.

Reformism has deep roots in the Mexican working-class movement. Its ideologists propound theories which distort the significance of the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1910-17 and seek to place its glorious traditions in the service of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie which is lauded as the class that led the revolution and that is now “carrying out the ideals of the revolution.” According to this concept, the revolution has been developing steadily since 1917 and has now reached its “constructive” stage.

In order to dispel the illusions about the bourgeoisie, the Communists are exposing its anti-labor and anti-democratic character, revealing the predatory methods on which capitalism in our country rests, and the subordination of the economy to North American monopolies.

At the same time we do not forget that the education of the working class cannot be divorced from action, from struggle for its interests. We bear in mind Lenin’s counsel that struggle alone educates the exploited class, struggle alone makes it conscious of its strength, broadens its outlook, enhances its abilities, clarifies its thinking and fortifies its will. (Lecture on the 1905 Revolution.)

To win over the masses the Party must also display greater initiative in *organizing* them. The Fourteenth Congress called upon all Communists to concentrate on reorganizing the working-class and peasant movement which have fallen almost completely under the control of the bourgeoisie.

The Party and the revolutionary movement have made some headway in this respect. In January 1963, after two years of preparatory work, a national peasant congress was attended by over 3,000 delegates representing 500,000 peasants. By unanimous decision the Congress set up an Independent Peasant Center which in the space of one year has become the most active and authoritative peasant organization in the country.

In the enterprises the Party is heading the struggle for urgent demands and working to unite all democratic trends and organizations with the aim of making the labor movement independent of the bourgeoisie and its State, of ensuring democracy in the unions.

IV

Another task is to achieve united action by all democratic and patriotic forces in the struggle against the common enemy—North American imperialism and its agents in the country—the big bourgeoisie and the landlords. The condition for ridding the country

of imperialist oppression and democratizing its political system is to build a broad democratic front of national liberation. The potential represented by the anti-imperialist and democratic parties and groups in Mexico can only be brought into play by overcoming their traditional diffusion.

In August 1960, two months after the Thirteenth Congress of our Party, the Central Committee addressed a letter to all the democratic parties, organizations and groups, to numerous non-party personalities appealing for united action and setting forth our proposals for a minimum program of action. Contact was established with many representatives of the democratic groups.

In March 1961 the Latin American Conference for National Sovereignty, Economic Independence and Peace was held in Mexico. Organized with the participation of representatives of all the democratic trends in the country, the conference was an important step toward uniting the anti-imperialist forces and laid the foundation for the Movement of National Liberation (MLN) which was established in August 1961.

The formation of the MLN was an event of first-rate importance in the political life of Mexico. The MLN was destined to become the focal point for all democratic organizations, parties and groups. Its core consisted of trends grouped around General Lazaro Cardenas, the Communist Party and the Socialist People's Party (PPS). It was also joined by various youth, women's and peasants' organizations, as well as by non-party intellectuals.

Its program includes struggle for peace and international cooperation, for solidarity with the Cuban revolution and with all peoples fighting for emancipation; struggle for nationalization of foreign-owned enterprises and for a broad foreign-trade policy, agrarian reform, a higher standard of living, defense of democratic rights and liberties, and release of the political prisoners.

The movement, however, came up against formidable obstacles in its efforts to achieve unity. This was not surprising considering how long the democratic movement had been disunited. The main difficulties were caused by differences in tactics expressed chiefly in the attitude toward the present government, and also by the differences with regard to the concept of a national-democratic front.

As a result of these differences the PPS, led by Lombardo Toledano, withdrew from the movement shortly after it was founded. Proceeding from his theory that Mexico is a semi-colonial country faced with the task of

carrying out the traditional-type bourgeois-democratic revolution and the prospect of developing along capitalist lines, Lombardo Toledano holds that the national-democratic front should be created around the ruling bourgeoisie and under its leadership.

This concept colors all of Lombardo Toledano's political activity and has caused him to reject joint action with the Communist Party, the MLN, and other democratic forces.

Renouncing joint action with the Communist Party, Lombardo Toledano advocates the immediate formation of a "united working-class party." The present situation, however, calls above all for united action, for a united front of all the progressive forces, and primarily the PPS, the MLN and the Communist Party.

United action by these forces (and of course by any others that might join in the struggle, not excluding certain groups now participating in the government) is possible right now, and could be a basis for the advance of the entire democratic and anti-imperialist movement. Joint action by the Communist Party and the PPS, their close cooperation in the mass movements and organizations, and lastly, the achievement of accord between them in the matter of ideology, tactics and program—these are the conditions essential for the slogan of a united party to acquire a realistic content in Mexico.

The difficulties still encountered in striving to unite the democratic forces were reflected in this year's election struggle. Our Party offered to join with the PPS, and the MLN in an electoral bloc with a common program and a common list of candidates.

The PPS leadership, however, ignored our offer. More than that, it launched a campaign against the Communist Party and other Left groups and reaffirmed its intention to support any government candidate.

Lombardo Toledano tries to justify his attitude by painting a distorted picture of the alignment of political forces, a picture borrowed from the history of other countries and projected onto Mexican reality. He maintains that the ultra-Right represented by the Party of National Action and the National Sinarquist Alliance are on the verge of taking power and that for this reason the Lefts should give every support to the government and its candidate in order to prevent the reactionaries from winning the day.

If such indeed were the pattern then Toledano's tactics would be justified. But this is not the case. In the first place, the parties in question have no real prospect of winning an

electoral victory and their opposition to the regime is steadily declining. Secondly, the more reactionary section of the ruling bloc, represented by "Alemanism," is exerting a growing influence on supporters of the government candidate; many agents of North American imperialism, such as the former ultra-Right candidate for the presidency Ezequiel Padilla, now figure as candidates for the ruling party. What is happening is the opposite of what Lombardo claims: the more reactionary and pro-imperialist elements are penetrating more and more into the administration and into the government party.

The main differences in the MLN at present concern the question of what should be the attitude to the mass movement, especially the peasant movement. Some disagreement arose between the Communist Party and part of the MLN leadership on the election campaign as well. The MLN decided not to participate in the campaign on the grounds that the electoral system is undemocratic. It did, however, adopt a critical position vis-à-vis the government candidate and in the course of the campaign fought for democratic reform of the electoral system.

In the circumstances, our Party and the democratic groups and individuals most of whom belonged to the MLN but who considered it necessary to participate in the election campaign, formed a People's Electoral Front and nominated Roman Danzos Palomino, one of the secretaries of the Independent Peasant Center, as candidate for the presidency.

The decision of the Left to take part independently in the election campaign was prompted by the need to build up a democratic and popular opposition to the government candidate whose connections with the clerical and reactionary elements are well known, and also to popularize the program of democratic reforms and make some tangible move toward creating a force capable of effecting the necessary changes in the political life of the country. The People's Electoral Front has no illusions with regard to the immediate results of the election; it was not permitted to register and will not be represented in the electoral bodies. However, its program and its candidate secured extensive support, particularly in the countryside.

Despite the differences between the various democratic forces, our Party believes that the aims and the approach to the solution of the basic issues facing the country coincide in the main, and that hence a basis for united action exists. The issues on which there is identity of views will remain after the elections, and

we are convinced that new opportunities will arise for united action by all the forces interested in the national emancipation of the country and in the democratization of the political system.

In the struggle for a united democratic front our Party, besides popularizing the tasks to be accomplished by a new revolution, is advancing a program of immediate demands, viz., 1) effective measures to limit the penetration of foreign monopolies; 2) abolition of all latifundia and transfer of the land to the peasants; 3) higher wages and better living conditions for all workers; 4) the right to strike and to set up an independent trade union movement; 5) an independent foreign policy, a policy of peace, extension of the peace movement; 6) defense of democratic rights, repeal of Article 145 of the Criminal Code, release of political prisoners; 7) consolidation of the front of aid to the Cuban revolution, and 8) democratic reform of the electoral law.

The aim of this program is to steer the country onto the pathway of independence and democracy. It is a program which accords with the interests of all the democratic forces in the country regardless of how they visualize the future of Mexican society and whatever their attitude with regard to the present political regime. Joint action in defense of all or some of the demands included in this program is the guarantee that the democratic and anti-imperialist movement in our country will rise to a new and higher level.

For its part, the Communist Party will do everything to ensure that in the relations between the different democratic forces the things that unite us and not those that divide us shall predominate.

V

The Communist Party, having overcome its internal crisis, is now confidently advancing in the direction of becoming a mass party.

The main condition for the sound development of the Party is consistent application of the program and tactics elaborated by the international Communist movement at its meetings in 1957 and 1960. These decisions constitute a synthesis of the rich experience of parties belonging to all the streams flowing into the mighty river of the world revolutionary movement. The delegates to the Fourteenth Congress of the Party unanimously condemned the disruptive activity of the leaders of the Communist Party of China, who in seeking to impose their own "program" resort to the most unsavory methods borrowed from

the arsenal of Trotskyism, and who are conducting a campaign of slander against the CPSU and the other fraternal parties.

Our Party is rallied solidly around its Central Committee. The policy of the group of renegades whose sole aim had been to impede the development of the Party and who sought the patronage of the Chinese leaders suffered a complete failure.

The struggle to build the Party is a vital component of the present revolutionary process. Fundamental to this process is the strengthening and consolidation of the other Left trends which are making their own contribution to the revolutionary movement and in whose success we have a direct interest. It is our Party's aim to be the vanguard of the revolution, but this does not mean that we underrate the role which other forces are destined to play in the revolutionary struggle,

forces with whom we are seeking honest and enduring unity.

The Mexican Communist Party is beginning to exert a growing influence on the political life of the country. Deeply rooted among the people, it is entering upon a new phase in its history; it represents the most diverse strata of the working population, and its policy expresses the interests of all the progressive forces of the nation.

The program adopted at its Fourteenth Congress embodies the ideals of independent national and progressive social development for which the finest sons of Mexico fought, beginning with the heroes of the struggle for independence and ending with the legendary peasant leaders of the 1910-17 revolution who gave their lives for the freedom of their native land and for a better future.

Some Aspects of the Economic Cooperation Between the Socialist Countries

Frantisek Stransky

ECONOMIC development gives rise to the need boldly to break out beyond the confines of the purely national economy and expand foreign-economic relations. This need is doubly acute, as a rule, when it is a matter of a country with a high economic potential, with a relatively small area, considerable density of population, a home market limited in relation to the optimum production scale, and when the country is concentrated on a policy of high economic efficiency. The need for extending foreign economic relations applies not only to fuel, and raw and semi-processed materials. It applies also to the manufacturing industry, to science, technology and transport.

Czechoslovakia's economic development is a good example, although it is not the purpose of this article to give an exposition of her specific problems. We know perfectly well that some problems of internal economic development and foreign economic re-

lations may be more acute in one socialist country than in another. One country may feel the need for posing and resolving such problems of economic development as greater international division of labor, etc., more strongly than another, this being due in each specific case to the varying national and historical conditions.

I

After the war, until 1956 or 1957, Czechoslovakia took advantage of the sources of economic growth implicit in the revolutionary change in her social system. Socialization of production enabled us to use available production plant and manpower to the fullest extent. The national income grew much more rapidly than fixed production assets. Employment figures, especially in industry, increased substantially.

But the situation has changed radically in the last few years. To increase the national

income, the country has had to speed up capital construction, and this meant a swift growth of fixed production assets. Due to the relatively small increase in employment this economic growth has called to life a distinct tendency towards changing the structure of employment. Manpower shifted from agriculture to industry. Here are the pertinent figures:

	1950	1955	1957	1960	1962	1962 to 1957
National income	100	148	167	207	225	135
Fixed production assets (end of year)	100	126	140	173	199	142
Aggregate employ- ment	100	107	109	110	112	102
employment in industry	100	117	125	137	145	116
employment in agriculture	100	94	89	71	65	73

Whenever greater social production and social productivity of labor are so unfavorably dependent on accumulation and fixed production assets, this dependence must be removed.* Effort is also needed in the field of international socialist division of labor which can mitigate the situation above all by giving an impulse to the creation of specialized enterprises of optimum production capacity.

The opportunities implicit in international socialist division of labor, specialization and cooperation are sure to induce a big rise in labor productivity and this, in the final analysis, is the decisive factor in the economic competition of the two world systems. Besides, it would also tend to reduce the investments needed for increased production.

The greater dependence of Czechoslovakia's economic development on foreign economic relations is evident from the following figures:

	1950	1955	1957	1960	1962	1962 to 1957
National income	100	148	167	207	225	135
Physical turnover	100	161	201	294	340	169

*Rapid technological progress, production on an optimum scale and increasingly intensive exploitation of the fixed production assets can do much to resolve this problem. However, as noted in recent Communist Party documents, there have been shortcomings in this respect until lately. Measures of an economic and organizational order have been taken to remove them.

More and more of the fuel and raw semi-processed materials necessary to advance Czechoslovakia's economy are imported. The same applies to primary and semi-processed chemicals and chemical end products, imports of which from the Soviet Union are growing.

That is one group of the foreign-economic problems of Czechoslovakia, and a cardinal one because it calls for continuous complex solutions both in the Czechoslovak economy and in the sphere of foreign economic relations.

Our efforts are aimed at creating an economic structure less dependent on imports of basic materials and able at once to sell its products in foreign markets. But we also have to bear in mind another factor. The role and volume of the basic materials are constantly decreasing in Czechoslovakia's commerce with other members of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, who are in much the same position as ourselves, and it appears that this trend will continue. Commodity exchange may be developed and improved in this respect chiefly by extending specialization and stepping up exchanges of materials and a wider range of products.

Machines and equipment are a decisive item in the effort to extend foreign economic relations, especially relations with members of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid. To avoid a reflux in her economic relations with the latter countries, Czechoslovakia must therefore give prime attention to specialization and cooperation in engineering and the chemical and other manufacturing industries.

The problem of international specialization and cooperation in the field of engineering is a very complicated one for Czechoslovakia, and not just technically either. For one thing, to solve it the structure of the engineering industry must be harmonized with the available material resources (and also with their prospective development). It should correspond with the available production plant and its nature, with existing research and design facilities, production experience and workers know-how. Besides, the structure of the engineering industry must be carefully balanced with respect to labor, because manpower is limited, and the group of engineering exports will have to be simplified and enlarged. At present, the range of exports is too varied, the range of machines too great, and cost of production excessive. Last but not least, output of specialized products of a high technical level, with progressive

parameters and a high performance efficiency is another vital condition.

Need we say any more about the importance of foreign economic relations and international socialist division of labor for Czechoslovakia? As we exhaust the resources available at the present level of science and technology, further development will call for more judicious planning. All factors of economic growth and all the effects the economic measures taken in our country may have on our foreign economic relations will have to be carefully weighed.

This means that the possibilities of economic cooperation between the Council member-countries should be taken into account much more thoroughly than heretofore when drawing up long-term plans. The emphasis should be on realistic planning. We must see to it that extended socialist reproduction proceeds harmoniously, yielding a high economic effect, particularly from the point of view of its structure in the framework of broad economic collaboration among the Council countries, or, more precisely, in the framework of the socialist world system. This approach will undoubtedly further the increasingly fuller satisfaction of the requirements of people in the socialist countries.

The importance of a sober-minded approach and of realistic plans governed by the possibilities and requirements of the Council member-countries should be emphasized, because plans serve as a point of departure in coordinating the economic development of the countries concerned. It is therefore necessary, by virtue of the national economies being strongly dependent on external economic relations, that the criteria and evaluations based on objective conditions and trends in the entire socialist community should be given the greatest consideration. Besides, we have to reckon with likely trends in the development of the external economic relations of the community and its individual members in relation to the world economy as a whole. The socialist policy of peaceful coexistence dictates this.

We cannot therefore avoid examining a question that has all too often led to over-radical conclusions, namely, the question of the maximum use of a country's domestic resources as a basis for its development. The "Basic Principles of International Socialist Division of Labor" contains the answer to this question:* The principle of the maximum use of domestic resources by each country is a correct principle. But it should

not be mechanically invoked for all the specific problems of economic policy in isolation from economic cooperation. To do so would warp the economy. One can no more one-sidedly stress the principle of the maximum use of domestic resources than one can one-sidedly advance the principle of a common solution of all problems.

Economic development should be based on a balance of the sum-total of produced and consumed values and, hence, on an equilibrium of external-economic relations. However, it would be unwise in each case to expand industry no matter what the cost. It was tendencies of this kind that had an unfavorable influence on the economy of some countries, Czechoslovakia included.

But the other extreme view — to solve all internal problems by common efforts only, or, to put it more bluntly, with the aid of other countries — is equally incorrect. *The right approach, clearly, is to coordinate one's own efforts with the common efforts and thereby one's own interests with the common interests.*

It is not enough to use only "national" criteria in charting the prospective development of a socialist economy and drafting changes in the structure of industry and in the specific organization of the production of individual items. What is needed are criteria of profitability for the whole economic community, because *the material structure of national consumption now differs, and will in time differ still more, from the material structure of national production. The solution of this natural and desirable contradiction is continuously stimulating the development of efficient international socialist division of labor.*

The desire to segregate one's economy from others and apprehensions that coordination of plans to attain maximum economic effect for the whole community will injure the sovereignty and independence of individual countries are out of place. The existence of the socialist world system paves the way for a new kind of economic development, which no country, big or small, could achieve by itself. Joint investigation of specific issues is bound to disclose possibilities for a more advantageous development of the raw materials, fuel and semi-processed materials industries. Joint discussion of the ways and means of satisfying de-

*The document reads: "Combination of the development of the national economy of every socialist country with the common efforts to strengthen and extend economic cooperation and mutual aid is the highway to the further advance of the socialist world economy."

mand will set the stage for the building of production plant and for its rational geographic allocation. This applies to the manufacturing industry and, in particular, to consumer goods production, which we still tend to under-rate and which we have relegated to the background in the mutual economic relations of Council countries. This is something, by the way, that could help us raise the profitability of production and improve living standards.

Joint discussion of these problems should promote greater savings in labor and in time. However, we must create such organizational, financial, price, material and other conditions as to be able to distribute the resultant savings in an equitable way among all the countries concerned. The *a priori* principle of sovereignty could obstruct the search for new potentialities of economic growth, progressive development of international socialist division of labor, and the development of new forms, institutions and instruments of this equitable distribution. It is therefore desirable that we recognize the advantages of the optimum economic solution, and look for such ways of obtaining it — of which there are very many — as will guarantee that sovereignty is not violated.

II

International socialist division of labor is a vital social factor of economic growth and of its economic effectiveness in the individual socialist countries and in the community as a whole. Frankly, this factor could be much more effective than it has been so far. Marshalling all the potentialities implicit in international socialist division of labor is an urgent matter.

For the modest results of this factor so far there are objective and subjective reasons. In our opinion, we should all lend ourselves to the job of eliminating the subjective reasons. This would encourage fuller use of the advantages implicit in the socialist world system.

The point here is that economic thinking and economic theory are still largely based on the national economies. They have not issued boldly enough beyond the borders of their state, although economic practice makes this more compelling. As a result, the organizational forms necessary for broad international socialist division of labor, specialization and cooperation at all levels of production and distribution have not been developed to a sufficient degree. We have not yet found the necessary and effective ways and means

of organizing joint production in its preparatory stages. This state of affairs can therefore be described as a search for optimum ways of solving the problem.

Of late international division of labor and the ways of developing it have been occupying the minds of our economists and theoreticians because there is a distinct objective need to improve the present forms of cooperation. This is felt by all concerned when drawing up long-term plans. It will be recalled that the conference of representatives of Communist and Workers' parties and heads of government of the member-states of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid in 1962 and 1963 laid special emphasis on problems related to the international socialist division of labor.

The June conference in 1962 was particularly important, for it worked out the common principles set forth in the "Basic Principles of International Socialist Division of Labor." We believe that these principles are much more than a mere summing up of experience accumulated in economic cooperation between the socialist countries. They are at once largely a program document. But for all their universality, the "Basic Principles" have yet to be fully applied in economic practice and also further developed.

It is only by combining practice and creative thinking that we can successfully develop international division of labor. We hold that the views expressed by Comrade Khrushchov about the necessity of gradually advancing to joint planning, working out a general pattern of international specialization and creating inter-governmental economic associations, are a splendid example of such unity and a useful contribution to the solution of the economic problems facing the Council countries. These views have become a subject of discussion, but we feel that so far the discussion has been too abstract. It is not based sufficiently on a concrete analysis of the economic situation of the community, on an analysis of its natural, economic and technological conditions and factors of economic development, nor, consequently, on a concrete analysis of our basic problems. Yet, such a concrete analysis is vital to any objective solution and to any joint action.

It is time to make a realistic appraisal of the facts, which is why we have posed a few problems concerning the Czechoslovak economy. But, what we have said applies to other countries as well. Suffice it to recall that the economic development of the European member-countries of the Council, ex-

cepting the Soviet Union, has outgrown the limitations of their domestic fuel and raw materials resources. Their further development depends very much on imports of fuel, mineral raw materials, metals, chemicals, industrial crops and other farm products, and even many foods, on the one hand, and on the sale of manufactured goods on foreign markets, on the other. The cardinal problem, in other words, is to provide for uninterrupted extended socialist reproduction in the European Council member-countries.

There is, we think, every reason to make a critical investigation and reappraisal of the following points. Are big imports of raw materials, fuel, materials and foods really necessary for the economies of the European member-countries? May it not be that the structure of their economies is too dependent on an extensive use of the basic raw materials and fuels? Are they making full use of their own resources, chiefly their cultivable land?

What we have in mind is a critical reappraisal of the economic structure of some of the European socialist countries, a structure that should not be based on the principle of unlimited resources of raw materials, fuel, etc. It should take into account the possibilities of international socialist division of labor, and the world division of labor as well, plus efficient use of fuel and top-level processing of domestic and imported raw materials. This would be in line with the modern trends in the world economy, in which scientific and technological progress is substantially changing the former interdependence of the output of basic raw materials and the output of the manufacturing industries.

However, even if we find optimum solutions for the problems raised here, the basic fact remains that *the domestic natural resources of the European socialist countries are insufficient, and will be insufficient, to meet in full the requirements of a highly developed economy, and that they will have to be supplemented with imports.**

In making this point, we contend that there are splendid opportunities for mutually advantageous cooperation between the European members of the Council. We could list some of the likely trends of this extended cooperation — coal extraction, extraction and processing of potassium salts, copper, magnesite sulphur, soda, etc., by concerted efforts. Still,

mutual cooperation along this line is not likely to ensure in full measure the desired harmonious process of extended socialist reproduction.

In the framework of the Council it is the Soviet Union that plays the key role in the exchange of fuel and raw and other materials for products of the manufacturing industries. In other words, the Soviet Union plays the key role in the exchange of consumer values necessary for a rational and continuous process of extended socialist reproduction. The following Soviet statistics on deliveries of some of the principal commodities from the Soviet Union to the European countries of the Community illustrate this point.

	million tons	1955	1962
coal		2.3	12.3
coke		1.5	2.5
oil		1.7	8.7
iron ore		8.8	18.4
rolled goods		0.8	2.6
aluminum			
(thousand tons)		30.0	68.0
grain		2.9	4.9

Soviet imports of machinery and equipment from the European members of the Council increased from 660 million rubles in 1955 to 1,459 million in 1962.

III

Long-term planning by the Council members has posed a number of problems, such as whether or not it is possible simply to repeat the proportions of previous years; whether or not (and to what extent) the countries can rely on their own resources; what role should be assigned to international socialist reproduction, and what role can and will be played by contacts with the capitalist world.

A feature of the economic development of the socialist world system, based on planning, is the tendency in the direction of coalescence. The economy of the socialist world system will not be simply a sum of the national economies. Ultimately it will become a qualitatively new, organic amalgamation. This tendency is consciously promoted by coordinating the plans of the Council countries, but, naturally, the coordination develops from the simpler to the more complex forms. This brings us to the question of joint planning.

One can argue about coordinated plans and about joint planning, and about the interpretation of the two concepts. But on no account should anyone counterpose coordinated

*Western Europe is in much the same position. The fuel and power requirements of Western Europe are covered chiefly by imports of oil, which, among other things, have enabled it to alter the structure, and the effectiveness, of West European sources of fuel and power.

plans and joint planning. There is no counter-posing in practice, and theoretical exercises to draw a line between the two concepts would be so much labor lost. The challenge is to find ways and means of effectively solving the basic economic problems for each of the socialist countries and for the community as a whole.

In the past we did this by means of bilateral long-term trade agreements. Later we coordinated the solutions of specific problems arising from our independently-framed plans. But that was only the primary form of joint planning, or, more precisely, its embryonic stage. It was, in effect, mostly a simple alignment of separate national-economic plans and, what is more, was done at the final stage of the planning. But generally speaking it was adequate enough for its time, because the economies of the various countries were much less dependent on external-economic relations than they are now. But it is no longer adequate, considering the economic potential we anticipate for the future. What we mean first and foremost is the common economic potential that will be developed by the Council member-countries and the growing dependence of the economic advance of individual countries on external-economic relations. This will call for joint planning in the full sense of the word, and we should set the stage for it by concerted and purposeful efforts. Would this gradual transition to joint planning imply an attendant degradation of internal planning in the separate countries? There is every reason to say that it would not.

On the contrary, there is every reason to say that internal planning will improve, because it will proceed at a higher level of knowledge. It will, therefore, be more realistic and have added opportunities to find the most effective measures to advance the economy.

As a preliminary, however, we shall have to define the substance of joint planning more specifically in order to avoid the fruitless discussions that may arise through an incorrect interpretation of it. Combined research in planning must be strictly scientific, and confined to the problem in hand, with variable solutions in respect to the time and space factors. It stands to reason that investigations of this kind should proceed from a scientific analysis of antecedent developments and from progressive technological and economic premises, and should contain objective estimates of the likely trends of further development. This research will not produce directives as is the case in planning within the countries,

will not be a law in the legal sense.* It will however, disclose the objective trends and thereby, so to speak, provide scientific markers for practical solutions and for thinking on the subject.

Research will do away with unrealistic conjectures, usually due to insufficient one-sided knowledge, and will show, on the strength of scientific cognition, the ways and means of attaining the maximum economic effect. We envisage a whole series of scientific investigations of, say, the fuel and power resources of the member-countries, distribution of power-consuming production plant involving considerable transportation of raw materials, supplying the countries with ferrous and non-ferrous metals, and the best possible solution of transport problems, etc. The investigations would make it much easier to coordinate our national plans, for they would be based on conclusions arrived at in joint research. Briefly, coordinating plans will become an important feature of the series of joint investigations.

The long-term fuel and power resources of the European Council countries were investigated some time ago. While the investigation did little more than sum up the propositions and tentative targets for the individual countries, it at once raised a number of complicated economic, industrial, transport, technical and scientific problems, the further study of which will unquestionably benefit all concerned. None of us have ever doubted the usefulness of this work, and it should be continued. Clearly, the present targets and estimates submitted by some of the countries are little more than a mechanical reflection and linear extrapolation of the basic trends of the past development and for this reason will have to be brought into line to make future forecasts more realistic. This fact, established objectively, should not be overlooked by any of the countries in their future planning.

Joint planning, as conceived above, could gradually encompass a larger set of problems as they crop up, particularly in view of the structural changes in industry caused by the scientific and technological advance. They could also be solved on a twofold and multilateral basis, depending on the specific features of the problem concerned. After all, international cooperation is designed to extend the wealth of forms, methods and or-

*Experience has shown that no legal act can ensure fulfilment of plan directives if the targets have been fixed without thorough preliminary consideration of probable development, and if not backed up with the necessary resources.

ganizations rather than to unify and stereotype them.

IV

Further extension of economic relations between the Council countries depends largely on cooperation in machine-building. However even a cursory glance at the present level of this branch, and at the mutual exchange of machines and equipment between Council members shows that all is far from well in this respect. Yet machine-building is a branch that has developed more rapidly than industry as a whole, and the solution in practically all the countries of some of the basic economic problems — *first and foremost* the question of raising productivity of labor and the question of approximating and levelling up the economies of our countries—depends largely on the development of machine-building.

Engineering output in the Council countries more than doubled between 1955 and 1962, whereas foreign trade in machines and plant increased only slightly more rapidly. So far, imports are not as big an item in the general consumption of machines by Council countries as they are, say, in the West European countries. In the European Economic Community trade in machines is increasing much more rapidly than their output. It follows that in the Council countries specialization and cooperation in engineering is still a far from properly utilized factor for raising the rate of economic development and making it more effective.

We believe that joint planning investigations, which could reasonably serve as a basis for coordinated long-term planning could be a point of departure for an intensive development of specialization and cooperation in machine-building.

Advance research pertaining to selected economic problems* would also facilitate realistic estimates of the future requirements of the main types of machines and equipment. In other words, it would make the long-term advance estimates of requirements more objective and thus help us find the most effective ways of satisfying these requirements by organizing optimum production with optimum distribution of large production programs among the Council countries based chiefly on

available supplies of raw and other materials, on the state of research and design facilities, on the available manpower and other criteria.

This would put an end to the present situation when the gradual development of international specialization and cooperation proceeds without the due coordination of plans, the cumulative result being that the general program of specialization is obscured.

The present state of affairs tends to atomize this highly complex problem of specialization and cooperation. In the circumstances, it is much more difficult, and takes much longer, to find the optimum solutions. Besides, it should be borne in mind that it is hard to make the various concrete solutions of specialization pay for all the countries concerned. Profit and economic effect for *all* countries will be obtained only through a large sum of concrete recommendations for specialization, because in this case the absence of profit for some countries from one or several recommendations will be amply compensated for by profits accruing for these countries from other concrete solutions. This is one reason why a general pattern of specialization for the Council countries is likely to yield the maximum of effect for each country and for the community as a whole.

All the European members of the Council are big exporters of machines and equipment. To make their participation in international socialist division of labor really effective (both for the economy of the country concerned and the economy of the socialist world system as a whole) it is essential that products made to cover requirements of other countries be manufactured in the best production conditions. This means that production should proceed at optimum capacity and in optimum series, with the highest possible labor productivity, on a high technological level and with high functional parameters. The compelling need to resolve these problems is illustrated also by computations of the productivity of labor in the various Council countries.

International socialist division of labor, a new and burgeoning undertaking, calls for experiment and, what is more, ceaseless experiment. The experiments should not be confined to ideas picked at random. They should be made in accordance with scientific rules and principles. Science will not develop without experiment, nor is any further major development of international socialist division of labor, and of planning, conceivable without it.

All this is doubly necessary because the

*The researches coming under our joint planning should not, we believe, follow a scheme for, say, only five years ahead. Nor should they be sporadic campaigns. They should be differentiated to suit the substance of the problem concerned. Research should be continuous and designed to yield progressively deeper knowledge of the objective laws governing the development of economic phenomena, and of their interconnections.

socialist world system and our Council for Mutual Economic Aid community are not isolated from the world economy. They do not develop in a hot-house environment, but face to face with the capitalist economy, with the

West European "integration," and in competition with the capitalist world. This obliges us to produce new and convincing evidence of the all-round advantages of socialism.

Reforms and Revolution

Ernest Burnelle

A FEATURE of the present stage of the world socialist revolution is the unprecedented spread of the emancipation struggle. More and more countries and whole regions of the world are being drawn into the revolutionary process ultimately leading to socialism. The variety of situations in which the movement for socialism takes shape and develops has increased greatly.

And with each step forward taken by humanity, new forms, methods and ways of transition to socialism emerge.

The success of the struggle of the working people for socialism in any country depends in increasing measure on how alert their vanguard is to the objective features of the development of the revolution in the given conditions, in the given areas. Hence the importance attached to this by the Communist parties, those of the developed capitalist countries included.

The situation in Belgium differs from that which existed in the countries at a lower level of capitalist development where the first socialist revolutions triumphed.

In our country the material prerequisites of socialism are far more mature, on the one hand, and its adversaries stronger and more flexible, on the other. Moreover, it has deep-seated democratic traditions which make themselves felt in all spheres of political life. The working class accounts for a large proportion of the population and is well organized. But its ranks are divided. These conditions as well as the international situation naturally affect the forms, ways and methods of the socialist revolution.

Belgian Communists believe that a feature of the struggle for socialism in their country (and possibly in other countries with similar social conditions) is the new role which reforms, i.e., changes in the existing economic, social and political institutions, are likely to play. We have in mind, of course, not patching up capitalism where its evils are most ap-

parent, but radical though perhaps gradual changes in the socio-economic and political structure of society which will eventually lead to the destruction of the foundations of the capitalist system, changes which we call structural reforms. As a specific form of revolutionary (in the scientific sense) mass activity, the fight for such changes can, we believe, play a crucial part in the peaceful, democratic development of the socialist revolution which we consider both possible and essential.

In this article we pose some questions bearing on the relationship between reforms and revolution.

I.

The transmutation by the Right opportunists of the working-class struggle for immediate demands into a policy of reformism gave currency to the idea that reform is the absolute opposite of revolution. "Ultra-Left" dogmatic concepts were a contributing factor accounting for the tenacity of this notion. Lenin, the master dialectician, however, referred time and again to the need to work for reforms in a revolutionary way, stressing that the contrast between reform and revolution is "not something absolute," that the dividing line between them is "not something dead, but alive and changing, and one must be able to define it in each particular case."* The independent economic and political struggle of the proletariat, he said, could turn "half-hearted and hypocritical 'reforms' effected on the basis of the existing social order into strong-points in the advance of the working-class movement towards the complete emancipation of the proletariat."**

True, in the first decades of the century when the development of the revolution depended mainly on the maturing of acutely critical situations, reforms played a comparatively insignificant part in the struggle for the

*V. I. Lenin, *Apropos of an Anniversary*.

**V. I. Lenin, *Meeting of Enlarged Editorial Board of "Proletary"*.

socialist reconstruction of society. Moreover, in those years the proletariat enjoyed the best chance of success in countries at lower or middle levels of capitalist development, where it was easier to initiate revolution than in Western Europe. There the reforms effected under pressure of the working-class movement — such as extension of the franchise, introduction of social legislation, etc.—were significant chiefly because they facilitated *preparation* of the revolution.

In conditions such as exist in Belgium today, however, reforms may acquire a qualitatively new meaning. Although capitalism is still strong, the working class has won in the course of years of struggle, and is still winning today, tangible social and democratic gains. In this sense it can be said that not only the material but also the social and political prerequisites of transition to socialism in our country have developed considerably in the past decades.

The growth of these prerequisites, the aggravation of the basic contradiction of capitalism and the new upswing in working-class struggle, the sharp change in the world balance of forces and the competition between the two social systems now under way have made the positions of the monopoly capitalists more vulnerable. All this makes the steadily growing mass movement increasingly effective, enabling our working class to wage a successful struggle for radical changes impinging on capitalist property relations and state power. In our conditions far-reaching reforms of an increasingly anti-capitalist nature and effected under pressure from a broad, militant mass movement may build up into a continuous process of revolutionary change.

In the present situation, we hold that the development of the revolutionary process *through gradual changes* is the most likely possibility, if not an objective necessity, stemming from the specific features of our social structure.

Needless to say, we do not rule out the possibility of the revolution taking a non-peaceful turn. Should the situation change sharply and the conflict be exacerbated to the extreme, civil war may well enter the order of the day. As we see it, however, such a contingency does not necessarily follow from the *present* situation or its basic tendencies. But history, while it makes the non-peaceful revolution unlikely, opens up other ways to socialism. This modification of the laws of the development of the revolution which our Party is taking into account is not wishful

thinking, not a matter of subjective desire; it is a purely objective process.

This general approach to the problem of revolution and reform in the conditions of a highly developed capitalist country such as Belgium, is based on an analysis of the realities of today both at home and in the world arena. Below we shall examine in detail the developments and processes which objectively impart to democratic reforms a new role in the revolutionary process.

II.

The specific features and requirements of socio-economic development in our country today are the prime factors which make the struggle for democratic reforms a possible form of carrying forward the revolutionary process. We have in mind the sharp aggravation of the contradiction between social production and private appropriation, the basic contradiction of capitalism; the growing objective need for socialist solutions, especially in connection with the technological revolution; and the development of state-monopoly capitalism with all its consequences.

From the standpoint of the material prerequisites, Belgium has long been ripe for socialism. This is evident primarily in the concentration and socialization of production. Modern mass production, the reorganization of the economy in connection with the technological revolution, and the growing internationalization of economic life make unified management and planning increasingly imperative.

The ruling monopoly bourgeoisie is aware of this need and of the inevitability of change. The "free play" of the blind forces of the market is fraught with the danger of serious economic and social convulsions, a fact of which the struggle waged by the masses and the competition with socialism are constant reminders. But the monopolies would like to limit the changes which have become so pressing by readjusting the traditional forms of capitalist economic endeavor with a view to concentrating still greater power and wealth in their own hands. Working to stave off the advent of socialism, which has become an urgent need for modern production, the capitalist system has devised a palliative in the shape of state-monopoly economic policy.

Capitalist society is now confronted with the need to mitigate at least some of the manifestations of the uneven development of capitalist economy, to modernize industry and to implement anti-crisis measures and to es-

to implement anti-crisis measures and to establish control over the market, and to do this it has recourse to state intervention. The technological revolution and automation confront capitalist society with formidable problems. In our country countless facts show that contemporary capitalist economy cannot do without "propping" on the part of the state.

As we see it, state intervention and regulation are turning from an auxiliary means of bolstering up the positions of the ruling class into an absolutely indispensable condition for the continued functioning of capitalist production.

From the foregoing it will be seen that these are not purely "technical" problems. All these issues are in one or another way connected with social policy. At the same time the further development of capitalist production directly brings to the fore a number of social problems: unemployment, the cost of modernizing industry and agriculture, the housing and transport crisis, the inadequacy of the old education and public health systems, etc.

Economic development, the struggle of the masses and the international situation, then, impel modern capitalist society towards change.

The monopoly capitalists, however, are out to effect these changes in their own way, to further their own interests, as *state-monopoly reforms*. It would be a mistake to assume that efforts in this direction are "automatically" doomed to fail. Unless the anti-monopoly forces advance a constructive alternative today and conduct a persistent, militant struggle to implement it, the monopolies may be able to carry out their program and overcome, to some extent and for a time, the present "uncertainty," temporarily strengthening their domination in new forms. This would be fraught with dangers for the working-class movement and for civilization in general, for behind the facade of the "welfare state" one can clearly distinguish the contours of authoritarian state-monopoly rule. In such an event the price the masses would be called upon to pay for a possible temporary improvement of their material conditions would be not only intensified exploitation but also the virtual abolition of democracy.

Hence it is incumbent on the working class to counterpose its own program of radical change to the state-monopoly reforms. Tackling the same processes and problems, it offers its own solution, its own, *democratic and socialist alternative*, in order to wrest the initiative from the monopoly capitalists and to compel them to carry out measures demanded

by the interests of the working people, of the overwhelming majority of the nation.

Moreover, the dialectics of development is such in our time, now that socialism is looking in "at every window" of modern society, that even state-monopoly reforms, though containing a threat to the people, create new openings for conscious, organized united struggle on the part of the working class and its allies for radical changes. Utilization of these opportunities is, in our opinion, an indispensable condition for the success of the revolutionary forces.

Needless to say, state-monopoly capitalism adds enormously to the strength of the ruling class by giving it concentrated form, and the monopolies and the capitalist state are taking full advantage of this to carry out urgent reforms painlessly for the big capitalists. But where the working-class movement is strong this is easier said than done.

The point is that it is impossible to extend state intervention and carry out pressing reforms, even though they may be in the interests of the oligarchy as a whole, without encroaching here and there on the interests of some groups of the ruling class. By aggravating the contradictions in the monopoly top crust these measures tend to cause "fissures" of which the mass movement can take advantage.

Moreover, in the conditions of today even minor reforms tend to make the overall positions of capitalism more vulnerable. This is evidence of the high degree of maturity of the objective prerequisites of socialism. At every crucial point, whenever any complex problem arises, be it measures against unemployment, slum clearance, better health legislation, improvement of the educational system, revision of tax laws, or the use of the natural gas imported from Holland, the alternative of an "optimal," socialist solution is always present. The immediate presence of this alternative — it made itself felt during the recent doctors' strike when the need for a socialist solution of the problem was the keynote of the conflict — tends to tie the hands of the ruling class. At the same time it enables the class whose historical mission it is to establish socialism to come to the fore as the advocate not only of the most progressive but also of the most constructive practical solutions.

The evolution of the managerial sphere from the private preserve of individual capitalists or trusts into a sphere of public concern, with the state playing a major role, has made management the arena of political struggle. This opens tangible opportunities for the working-

class movement to influence areas with a direct bearing on the functioning of the capitalist economy as a whole (investment policy, production programs, credits, etc.).

Thus, in order to bolster up its rule, the ruling class in our country has had to carry out in recent years reforms involving methods fraught with no little danger to the private-property system, maneuvering dangerously close to potential bridgeheads of successful mass struggle for socialism.

These, then, are the objective possibilities arising from the present socio-economic development of the country and the objective demands presented by this development. But is the Belgian working-class movement in a position to utilize these openings and meet these demands?

III.

The current processes in the working-class and democratic movement in the West today — though different from country to country and of varying force — give reason to speak of a new stage in the class struggle.

In Belgium the past few years were marked by the big strike of 1960-61 and by the successful strikes of the later period, by the mass movement for regional autonomy, by growing cooperation between Communists, Left Socialist and the trade-union membership, that of the Christian trade unions included, denoting a general shift to the Left of the working-class movement. There have been in addition, big strikes in France, Italy and Japan; a rising workers' movement in Britain, FRG, Norway and the Netherlands, peasant actions in Italy, France, the Netherlands and Switzerland, massive anti-fascist and anti-imperialist manifestations in France, Japan and Italy, a vigorous Negro freedom movement in the United States, and impressive peace actions in Britain, Italy, USA, FRG, Norway and other countries.

True, we have not seen the violent clashes with the gendarmes that were once unfailingly an element of even the smaller strikes. But those "revolutionaries" who think back nostalgically to the past, fail to see the new character, the scope and effectiveness of the movement. Despite the differences in the scale of the movement from country to country, the late 'fifties and early 'sixties were unprecedented in the 20th-century history of the working-class movement, or at least they were comparable to the 1918-23 and 1945-48 periods in scale of the mass actions, particularly strikes, in the extent to which the working people participated in them, in organ-

ization and cohesion, and in political consciousness.

However, the 1918-23 and 1945-48 revolutionary struggles were the result largely of such destructive and relatively transient factors as the economic and political crises that followed the two world wars. Nowadays, the upsurge stems more from "ordinary" rather than "extraordinary" factors. The present upsurge is taking place in a "routine" environment, without war or a devastating crisis; the masses feel their interests are being violated, and not only their immediate and current interests, but also their basic and decisive interests as workingmen and citizens.

The tendency now in most Western countries is to deepen the content of the daily struggles in which demands for a radical reshaping of economic, social and political relationships, are coming to the fore alongside the immediate and direct ones.

Having won considerable gains in their struggle, and no longer haunted by the prospect of utterly hopeless want, conscious of their strength and dignity, the working people are now less inclined to accept palliatives that in effect do not change anything, especially when dealing with such grave problems as unemployment or inflation, the lag of living standards behind labor productivity, the problem of distressed areas, housing difficulties, or the threat to democracy and to individual freedoms.

The working class, the progressive section of peasants, petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals — either spontaneously or consciously — want to impart a radical, consistently anti-monopoly complexion to the changes now due and tackled (or retarded) by the governing class with state-monopoly methods. Reforms of a kind that some fifty years ago were unthinkable without their winning full political power are now being advanced by the working people.

Slogans of radical socio-economic and political reforms now possess a tremendous power of attraction. All the forces hurt by monopoly rule can be brought together on this platform. A broad democratic anti-monopoly coalition is indeed burgeoning in our country today in different ways.

This shows that the subjective factor too has undergone significant changes. Our working class is now able to struggle effectively for revolutionary reforms, working first for a weakening and then for the destruction of capitalism.

IV.

It stands to reason that the working class needs to win stronger positions in order to exert a continuous rather than sporadic influence and to make the reforms more far-reaching. Hence it is necessary to examine the specific aspects of the question of power in a country like Belgium.

The modern bourgeois state on the whole serves the interests of the ruling class. But it would be sheer dogmatism to oversimplify this definition and to see in it an automatic coordination of every action taken by the state with the will of all the capitalists. Decisions taken by the Belgian bourgeois state in the general interests of the ruling class often contradict the will and interests of separate monopolies. In many cases the bourgeois state has to reckon to some extent with the interests of the masses in order to preserve the foundations of the rule of the big monopolies.

This indirect link between the will of the ruling class and the actions of the state is a source of illusions about its "supra-class" nature. However, in certain circumstances these factors may create opportunities for greater working-class and democratic influence on the functioning of the state.

Furthermore, we should reckon with the complexity and ramification of the present political structure in the country, and the impact made on it by the working-class and democratic movement of the 19th and especially during the present century. Unlike most countries with a poorly and averagely developed capitalism, where power implies solely the centralized political power, which is predominantly executive and which imposes its will on all other bodies of government, Belgium needs a more differentiated approach to the concept of "power."

To be sure, in this case too the decisive role is played by the centralized political power controlled by the top monopolies. It has at its disposal the army and the police, the two bodies directly associated with the functions of force and suppression; these bodies are the least amenable to mass influence, and there is always the danger that they may be used against the people. But the central power is not a monolith. Some parts of it have a certain amount of independence. One of these — parliament — is, as a rule, more compliant than the others to pressure from below and can be used against the ruling class during an upsurge of the mass movement. This is particularly important for our country, where it is realistic to talk about the chances of forming a broad alliance of Left

forces (from Communists to Left Catholics) capable in certain circumstances of wielding considerable influence in parliament.

Besides, there are other bodies and levers of power which "normally" — that is, when controlled by big business — supplement the central power and add to its stability (hence, too, the difficulty of a revolutionary breakthrough by a "head-on attack"). At other times these are likely to become instruments in the hands of the opposition class and, within certain limits, to counteract the central power.

It will be recalled, for example, that many local authorities in Belgium, which include Communists and Left Socialists, are important not only for improving the conditions of the masses and promoting revolutionary agitation; they are also important points of support (especially in industrial areas) in the struggle for the cohesion of the anti-monopoly forces, for effecting democratic changes.

The masses are beginning to appreciate this fact. In the past, communal elections in Belgium rarely caused much interest among electors. The public thought about them only on election day, and even then only in a local sense. Now this has changed. The working people began in spring to display a lively interest in the elections set for October 11, and are preparing for them as for an important political event. To some extent, this is the result of the work done by our Party, which has been calling for bodies of local government that would respond to the will and aspirations of the masses.

It is likely that the demand for federal bodies of local government will again be put forward in some areas during the coming elections in the Walloon area and Flanders. Naturally, they will not be able to play a progressive role unless their composition and competence enable them to realize the aspirations of the public.

Expansion of the economic functions of the bourgeois state has called to life new organs — numerous state and semi-state national and local committees and administrations — to manage the nationalized industries, handle questions of investment, price regulation, public works, purchase of farm products, and so on. The monopolies want to keep these bodies out of the control of representative institutions, to act behind the backs of the people. This is a grave danger, for it nourishes authoritarian tendencies.

The general trend of activity of the bodies of economic management corresponds to the

interests of the monopolies. But the working-class struggle to use these bodies against the monopolies has been promising. What we said earlier about the state having to pursue a policy that would create the impression of service to the public generally, applies doubly to the economic bodies. The administrative boards employ many specialists wholly devoted to their professions, men who resent having to go against their conscience. The working class will help them break with subservience to the monopolies.

Lastly, we should also consider the fact that it is not only the system of government that is complex and ramified in our country. The state is no longer the only strong organizing force that it was when capitalism in Belgium was still poorly developed and the working-class movement was in its infancy.

By virtue of the long struggle for democracy and the growth of the working-class movement there has developed a complex and ramified system of organizations — political parties, trade unions, mutual aid societies, co-operatives, youth, student and women's organizations, cultural, educational and other unions. In our time, when capitalism has had to enter the lists in the battle for the minds of men against the socialist system, the bourgeoisie is compelled not only to suffer the existence of democratic institutions and societies but to form mass organizations of its own.

Mass organizations can, each in its own field, carry considerable weight. In the hands of the capitalists they can serve as an instrument of ideological and organizational control over the working people, ensuring the stability of the mass base of the regime. In the hands of the democratic forces they could become centers of opposition to the ruling class.

Thus, the problem of the struggle for power in our country has many features. To begin with, there are many channels of power which the working class can use in its struggle to change the complexion of state policy and promote democratic reforms. Many mass organizations and bodies exercising power, for instance, municipal governments, can in the course of the struggle be won from monopoly influence.

What has long been a source of strength to the bourgeoisie — flexibility and ramification of the state and public machinery — can now become a source of its weakness and enable the working people gradually to "surround" and then reconstruct and place

under their own influence many parts of this mechanism. As far back as 1881, Engels, speaking of the struggle of the exploited for political power, noted that "the oppressed class fights at first for a share of this power, and then for all the power, in order to win an opportunity to change the existing laws to suit its own interests and needs."*

At present, the proletariat and its allies in Belgium have good opportunities of fighting for this "share of power" and of gradually expanding this share with a view ultimately to gaining complete political control.

In the course of this struggle only a part of the machinery of state, the part most directly associated with functions of coercion, is likely to be abolished at once. The other parts may evidently be *reconstructed* in the course of the mass struggle and built later into the system of socialist democracy.

Needless to say, this is extremely important for the struggle for revolution. Every big socio-economic reform adopted under public pressure or effected by the masses is essentially an invasion of the sphere of power. Every step made in the direction of a new ruling bloc headed by the working class, every step that loosens the grip of the bourgeoisie, is in effect a most important reform. In other words, the influence which the working class and its allies exert by their mass struggle on the character and direction of the reforms does not have to be only sporadic in our conditions. Influence can be secured by winning certain bridgeheads of authority. It will grow as the tide of the mass movement rises, and develop into the decisive factor capable of restricting and eventually abolishing the power of the capitalist class.

V.

All this cannot be understood without taking into account the situation in the world today. Only in a world where socialism is already becoming the dominant factor of development, where the cleansing storm of liberation has swept continents once considered "dormant," where the strength of the socialist camp is compelling the imperialists to accept the idea of peaceful coexistence and is frustrating the attempts to export counter-revolution—only in such a world is it possible for the masses to present their demands so boldly, to have a deep inner conviction that the atomic age should also be the age of man's liberation. And only in a world where the spectre of socialism confronts the monopoly oligarchy at every turn, where peaceful

*Engels, *The Trade Unions*.

competition with the socialist camp is compelling it constantly to solicit the confidence of the masses — only in such a world is it possible for significant concessions to be wrested from the ruling classes and for the latter to display caution in resorting to the cruder forms of coercion.

Thus, the modification in the laws and ways of revolutionary development which our Communist Party takes into account in its strategy and tactics is the outcome of the *interaction of objective and subjective, internal and external factors*. In the conditions of today the Belgian working masses, uniting in a broad democratic coalition and waging a steadfast and intense struggle in parliament and especially outside parliament, can, without any radical change in the situation, gradually win more and more significant gains, far-reaching reforms that change the economic and political structure of society. Each of these reforms can become a springboard for further advance, for gradually gaining new positions and, instead of merely wresting a share in government from the monopolies, winning full power for a broad coalition of democracy and socialism headed by the working class.

Today's struggle is a component of the process that will be crowned by the conquest of power and the complete victory of socialism. Every successful or unsuccessful battle means a step forward or a step backward on this path, increasing or diminishing the possibilities of further struggle. This places a tremendous responsibility on the party of the working class, on the workers' organizations, on all present and future participants in the democratic coalition.

VI.

The objective possibility of using reforms as a stepping stone to the revolutionary transformation of society by no means implies, of course, that any kind of reform brings us closer to socialism. We have in mind *fundamental* reforms which upset the equilibrium of the old social and political structure and which infringe upon and sap the power of the big monopolies.

Immediately after liberation our Party drew up a broad program of such reforms. Later the theses of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth congresses further elaborated our program of structural reforms, adding the objective of reconstructing the *political* institutions through a broadening of democracy.

What are the basic objectives of the struggle for radical economic and political reforms in our country? We are fighting, above all, to

extend the *right* of the workers to be *kept informed* both in the enterprises and in parliament. We recall the importance Lenin attached to such information for the effectiveness of mass actions. To do away with the "secrecy" shrouding the financial operations and profits of the big monopolies, to be informed about the work of the price-fixing committees, to secure extension of the powers of the factory councils, etc.—all this is essential for ensuring the effectiveness of the struggle for economic demands, for activating the working-class movement and extending the sphere of its activity. At the same time the people's awareness of their right to exercise control and to be informed makes for unity and thereby spurs on the movement for greater democracy.

Secondly, we emphasize the need for concrete and effective measures to lessen the danger of an economic recession and to resolve some urgent problems confronting the country. This refers, among other things, to a public health system, nationalization of the fuel and power industry and the armament industry, and democratization of the National Investments Society that would place the public interest above private interests. We propose also to control the banks and holding companies, with the ultimate perspective of nationalizing credit. We propose a democratic reform of the transport companies (railways, air lines, etc.). We demand a radical reform of the educational system and nationalization of research.

To ensure the effectiveness of these measures they must be accompanied by an *annual development plan*, which would ensure to the workers and their families a bigger share of the national income, full employment and a rise in living standards, and which would include the farmers as well.

In the political sphere, we propose first and foremost a constitutional reform in the direction of federalism, for this alone will enable all areas of the country (Flanders, the Walloon area and Brussels) to draw closer together in the spirit of respect for the existing distinctions and would grant them new rights which the unitarian state now denies them. We are fighting for measures aimed at bridging the gulf between parliament and the working masses, voting rights for the youth (including those in military service) from the age of 18, etc.

We believe that reforms of this kind could change the situation in our country radically. At the same time, we are convinced that the possibilities for realizing these proposals are

greater than in the past. Once begun, the changes can be directed by the intervention of the democratic class forces, through diverse mass actions such as strikes, demonstrations and joint actions by public organizations, into channels undesirable for the ruling class and thereby facilitate the demolishing of the thin (from the standpoint of the material prerequisites) wall separating the present state-monopoly structure from socialism.

The ruling class, of course, will strive to restrict the reforms to the framework of state-monopoly capitalism. Here is a typical example. Some time ago the government was forced to set up a national investment society. The idea had been advanced by democrats, but ultimately when the society was formed it proved to have nothing in common with the original idea. Today the SNI is a feeble affair virtually controlled by the monopolies. The same fate may be in store for other projected reforms: after all, monopoly capital with its vast economic and political power has still plenty of room to maneuver.

The ruling class is trying to take advantage of the fact that every reform, being only a partial gain, may give rise to illusions among the masses. Under some circumstances reforms may look like "boons" handed down from above and create the impression that no further struggle is needed, that since the initial step has been taken, things will continue to improve of themselves. State-monopoly capitalism may even engender the illusion that the state stands "above classes," that it is seeking to atone for the "sins" of the selfish capitalists. And last but not least, every reform carried out by state-monopoly methods, behind the backs of the masses, through the agency of "technocracy" and in the interests of the ruling oligarchy, restricts democracy, detracts from the influence exerted by the working people on state affairs and from the possibility of their having a bigger say in other reforms. The struggle waged by the broad coalition of popular forces is aimed at avoiding this danger and at extending democracy.

The difference between "reforms" effected by state-monopoly methods and far-reaching structural reforms is, then, self-evident. The former tend in one way or another to consolidate the power of monopoly capital and to weaken the independence of the proletariat, the influence of its class organizations and its role as the new guiding force of society. The latter add to the weight and influence and strengthen the positions of the working class and its allies while at the same

time restricting and undermining the rule and power of the monopolies, the social and political foundations of capitalism. The first type of reform represents *evolution* in which no change of quality takes place; the second destroys the old quality and creates a new quality, and hence is a form of development of the *revolutionary process*, an important form of mobilizing the masses for the *revolution*.

Thus, the program of reforms for which the Communist parties are fighting is in character and objectives the *exact opposite* of the program advanced by the bourgeois and Right-wing Social Democratic parties in government.

But we will not get very far by merely opposing a democratic solution to each solution offered by the ruling class, even if we appeal to the masses. To limit oneself to this means for all practical purposes to reject constructive intervention in realizing government reforms, means giving the ruling class a certain amount of room to maneuver. It is not difficult to say "no" to a reform. It is far more difficult, but infinitely more effective, to organize the struggle, both in parliament and outside it, around each proposed reform in order to tie the enemy's hands and to steer the reform in a direction favorable for the working masses. Lenin taught us never to eschew any reform however meager and limited, but to wage a struggle on the basis provided by it, advancing slogans that impel this struggle forward to the "revolutionary denouement." In the light of what has been said about the objective tendencies forcing the capitalist state to resort to reforms, these reforms cannot but contain elements which, under popular pressure, can acquire a progressive significance. To find such concrete proposals whose realization would deepen the reform, accentuate its progressive aspects and suppress the conservative and reactionary elements, and bring it closer to the reform which the working class demands, to find the practical methods of fighting for these proposals—this is what is meant by intervening in government policy, treading on the heels of the adversary and acting as a new potential leading force of society.

This policy strikes some people as uninspiring, and has been labelled "reformism." In reality, however, this patient, persevering work by the proletarian vanguard has nothing in common with the traditional reformist policy. The heart of the matter is the *content* of the reforms, their actual significance, which

depends in no small measure on *how and by whom the struggle for them is conducted.*

VII.

In the first place, structural anti-monopoly reforms are only possible if backed by an active *mass struggle*. Even when forced upon the ruling class by the struggle of the masses, a reform of a purely administrative character and carried out by officials can, in the final analysis, serve to consolidate monopoly rule.

The role of the mass movement does not end, but only begins, when the authorities decide to carry through a progressive measure. Using all the different methods of class struggle, all the levers of influence at their disposal, the working people must establish control over the reforms, intervene in their realization and deepen them. Only in this way will it be possible to avoid the illusion that the measures taken by the state are "blessings" bestowed from above. On the other hand, precisely such struggle will make it possible to restrict the actions of the top monopolies and strengthen the positions and real power of the broad democratic coalition.

As we have said, parliamentary democracy provides definite channels for influencing the policy of the capitalist state. But these channels are obviously insufficient even for a powerful, united and organized movement of the working people to exercise genuine everyday control over all actions of the "top." Therefore, not only some of the existing institutions of social organization and power can be utilized and democratized in the course of the practical struggle for some specific reform, but also new ones may be created at different levels.

These new organs should be bridgeheads for developing the initiative of the people, putting forward concrete proposals on specific issues, rallying the forces round these proposals, exercising constant supervision and control over their realization, and mobilizing the masses against the maneuvers of reactionaries in the given field.

The direction reforms take will depend also on the *breadth of the front* of the reconstruction. An individual, isolated reform will permit the bourgeoisie to compensate for lost ground in other areas, to regroup its forces and assume the offensive. Also, it may cause disappointment among the people and an ebbing of the mass movement. This does not mean that reforms attain their aim only when carried out simultaneously all along the front. It means that the general movement forward needs to be backed up with the *pressure of*

the masses everywhere, that in no section, even after a reform has been carried out, is it permissible to mark time and lose the initiative. Hence the importance of conscious guidance provided by the vanguard, of general political coordination of the different aspects of the struggle.

Of paramount importance for using structural reforms to promote revolutionary reconstruction is *to link the struggle for reforms with the ultimate goal of working-class struggle — the abolition of exploiting classes and the victory of socialism*. Losing sight of this link leads directly to reformism. "Separate the struggle for reforms from the struggle for the final goal — that is the essence of Bernstein's preaching," Lenin wrote.* To this reformist policy Lenin counterposed the revolutionary policy, which uses reforms for the purpose of developing the revolution. "The German Communists," he wrote, quoting Engels, "are Communists because through all the intermediate instances and compromises not of their own making but wrought by history they clearly see and constantly pursue the final aim: the abolition of classes and establishment of a system ruling out private ownership of the land and all the means of production."***

There is no doubt that active participation by the masses, and the magnitude of the front of reforms are already imparting a definite direction to the latter. However, it is necessary not only to start correctly, but also to proceed in the right direction. This poses difficult tasks before Communists, before all leaders of the organized movement of the working people.

The most responsible and difficult task is to *develop the offensive*, to turn every reform into a springboard for an ever more resolute presentation and realization of further demands. Development of the offensive gives no respite to the adversary, prevents him from regrouping and taking the initiative, increasingly restricts capitalism's field of maneuver, restricts and saps the power of the monopolies, adds to the might and influence of the working people and their democratic organizations.

By following this road, the people of our country will not only sap the power of monopolies, the power of capital, but also completely abolish the rule of the present ruling class. The socialist revolution in Belgium will not and cannot be a simple sum-total of re-

*Notes of a Publicist.

**Notes of a Publicist.

forms, but the result of the mass struggle waged around these reforms, a struggle which will bring into power a coalition of democratic forces headed by the working class and, with this as the groundwork, lead to a radical reconstruction of property relations. In this way a new society building socialism will be created.

* * *

All that we have said here shows once again that the dogmatists' attempts to fit the objective processes of the development of the revolution into a single pattern have never been as dangerous as they are now. In our time, when social development, including the success of the world revolutionary movement, has so greatly changed and differentiated the conditions of the struggle for socialism, special attention must be paid to the new opportunities. And it is at this time that the CPC leaders are trying to impose on the Communist parties a doctrinaire conservatism and narrow-mindedness reminiscent of the worst errors of the past, errors repudiated and overcome by the international Communist movement.

To force upon the revolutionary forces of Belgium or of other developed capitalist countries the patterns of the first socialist revolutions, which took place in an entirely different setting, to denounce some or other forms and methods of the liberation struggle merely because of their being dissimilar to historical models or not in conformity with par-

ticular texts, is to discredit Marxism, whose strength lies in its scientific and concrete approach to reality.

The ripening of socialist revolutions in the developed capitalist countries has posed in a new way not only the question of the relationship of reform to revolution, but also a number of related problems, such as the relationship of democracy to socialism, the different ways in which the socialist revolution develops and the interaction of these ways, the influence exerted by the specific ways, forms and methods of revolutionary struggle on the forms of the future socialist organization of society, and so on. Every year of struggle adds to our experience, making it possible to add something new to the conception of these problems.

In this article we have attempted to deal at length with questions related chiefly to the initial stage of the revolutionary process within the framework of capitalist society involving, among other things, structural reforms. But in the very near future, we are sure, it will be possible and necessary to analyze the problem of the final solution of the question of power in the subsequent stages. Here we have posed this problem only in outline.

The interests of the working-class movement, the interests of the struggle for socialism, demand that the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory, which has been proceeding so successfully in recent years, should continue.

*In the Communist
and Workers' Parties*

COMMUNISTS IN THE FIGHT FOR UNITY

Against the Theory and Practice of Disruption

STRENGTHENING the unity of the Communist and workers' parties is the key condition for victorious revolutionary struggle against the combined forces of imperialist reaction, for peace, democracy and socialism. This explains why the 1960 meeting of the Communist parties emphasized that it was the supreme internationalist duty of every Marxist-Leninist Party to work continuously for greater unity in the world Communist movement, to admit no actions that might impair this unity. "The interests of the struggle for the working-class cause," says the Statement adopted by the meeting, "demand of each Communist Party and of the great army of Communists of all countries ever closer unity of will and action."

It should be said, however, that already at the 1960 meeting the delegation of the Communist Party of China objected to including into the Statement a point on the inadmissibility of factions and groupings, and only after its views had been resolutely rebuffed did it agree to a point denouncing actions in violation of unity. Subsequent developments demonstrated that this attitude of the CPC delegation was not fortuitous. The CPC leaders have, in effect, repudiated the program of the world Communist movement jointly drawn up by the Communist and Workers' parties at the 1957 and 1960 meetings, and have advanced their own "general line" which is a revision of the Leninist line laid down by the fraternal parties. The Marxist-Leninist parties did everything possible to avoid public polemics which gladden only imperialist reaction. When the violent attacks of the Chinese leaders compelled the Parties to defend the jointly elaborated principles, they sought to conduct the debate on the level of adherence to principle, in a comradely spirit, without violating the principles guiding the relations among the fraternal parties. The Chinese leaders were thus confronted by a combined front of the overwhelming majority of Marxist-Leninist parties.

Having suffered a fiasco in their attempts to impose an anti-Leninist "general line" on the world Communist movement, the Chinese lead-

ers took the course of undermining the organizational foundations of the parties and destroying Party discipline. Concentrating of late on causing a split in the world Communist movement, they have been working to form, under their aegis, an international front of pro-Chinese factions and grouplets composed of renegades, anarchists, Trotskyite adventurists and other anti-Party elements and, with their aid, to bring the parties under their sway and ensure for themselves the dominant position in the world Communist movement.

Chinese propaganda directs its main salvos against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. At the same time it is waging a struggle against other national units of the world Communist movement which vigorously uphold the general line of world communism and take exception to the Left-opportunist, reckless actions of the CPC leaders.

In so doing the Peking propagandists have no scruples about the means used to slander and discredit these parties and their leaders who enjoy prestige among the masses. And this is done with regard to such militant revolutionary units of the international Communist and working-class movement as the Communist parties of France, Italy, the USA, Britain and others, with regard to parties which, in the arduous conditions of police repressions, are waging a courageous fight against the forces of imperialism and reaction. A crusade is waged against outstanding leaders of the international Communist movement whose whole life has been given to the noble cause of communism, against people who have spent years in prison and in exile and who are brutally persecuted by reaction. In this way the Peking leaders, who call themselves the only consistent Marxist-Leninists and who have assumed the role of supreme judges over all other parties, are rendering a direct service to the reactionaries by their undermining activity.

The Chinese leaders aim at shattering the unity of the Communist and Workers' parties from within. Trampling underfoot the key principles guiding the relations among the fraternal

parties, they recruit supporters from among those expelled by these parties, traitors, place-seekers, morally corrupt people and even Trotskyites. Of late they have openly announced their support for the factionalist splinter groups established by them in a number of countries. The Chinese leaders arbitrarily declare Marxist-Leninist parties to be either "revisionist" or "non-existent," and they advertise as "genuine" parties the groups of adventurers formed and financed from Peking, which they palm off as the "new revolutionary forces" destined to "save" the Marxist-Leninist parties from "revisionist degeneration." In articles published in *Jenminjihpao* and *Hungchi* on February 4 and March 31, they tried "theoretically" to substantiate the inevitability of a split both in the proletarian parties and in the international Communist movement. "Unity, struggle or even splits, and a new unity on a new basis—such is the dialectics of the development of the international working-class movement," claim the Chinese theoreticians.

This thesis about the inevitability of a split is in glaring contradiction with the interests of the working class. It is designed as justification for their undermining, factionalist activity in the world Communist movement.

The Peking leaders also distort the Leninist concept of the majority and minority in the Party and use their own interpretation of this concept to justify splittism. The Marxist-Leninist parties consider the principle of submission of the minority to the majority to be one of the basic principles of democratic centralism. "Tactics determine the immediate activities of a Party," wrote Lenin, "and therefore a united Party can have only one set of tactics. These tactics must be those agreed by the majority of the members of the Party: when the majority has taken a definite stand, the minority must submit to it in its political conduct, while retaining the right to criticize and to advocate a settlement of the question at the next congress" (*Col. Works*, Vol. 10, p. 111 Eng. ed.). Lenin stressed that "unity is impossible without organization. Organization is impossible without the submission of the minority to the majority" (*On Unity*).

This is a must without which a party cannot be a united and organized force capable of ensuring the unity of will and action of its members. This was also recognized as axiomatic by the CPC leaders as long as they adhered to correct positions and opposed the anarchist tendencies which were manifest in the Party. It was none other than Mao Tse-tung who in an article "On Eradicating Erroneous Views" wrote: "Submission of the minority to the majority is one of the basic principles of Party

discipline. If its point of view is rejected, the minority should support the decision taken by the majority. If need be, the question can again be raised at the next meeting, but no actions running counter to the decision adopted can be admitted."

If one turns to the Rules of the Communist Party of China adopted by its Eighth Congress in 1956 and still valid today, one will see that submission of the minority to the majority is inscribed as one of the fundamental organizational principles of the Party. And the CPC leaders invariably abide by this principle in their own Party. However, whenever it concerns other parties, they all of a sudden become zealous advocates of the rights of the minority. "Where the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism are concerned," they claim, "the problem of exactly who is right and who is wrong cannot in every case be judged by who has the majority. After all, truth is truth. Error cannot be turned into truth because of a temporary majority, nor will truth be turned into error because of a temporary minority."

Though not very original, this sophistry is dangerous. To accept it means to repudiate Party discipline and to substitute factionalism for unity. If the minority can determine what is true and what is not true, this means that it can do what it pleases—refuse to fulfil adopted decisions, violate Party discipline and organization, create factions and groups—all under the false flag of "defending" Marxism-Leninism against "revisionism." This concept serves the Chinese leaders as a "basis" on which to justify their disruptive activity in the Communist parties.

The same unsavory aims are served by the Peking-inspired idea that it is admissible to have two Communist parties in one country, an idea which is unsound both theoretically and politically. If the two parties pursue one and the same aim and function on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, why should they not unite? Unification in this case would be a gain for the working class and the revolution.

History has given examples of how owing to certain circumstances there existed in a number of countries not one but several parties which called themselves Communist, Marxist-Leninist. However, the same history, the requirements and conditions of the class struggle led to situations when these parties either merged into one, truly Marxist-Leninist party, or else the parties which used the name "Communist" as a screen for their non-proletarian aims exposed themselves. It was in the interests of unity of the working class, in the interests of its struggle against capitalism that the Rules of the Communist International,

adopted by all Marxist-Leninist parties, stated that there can be but one Communist party in each country.

The Chinese splitters and their supporters need the anti-Leninist idea of two Communist parties in order to legalize the factional, anti-Party groups formed by them in a number of countries. The Chinese press is doing its best to boost these groups, seeking to secure them a place in the ranks of the Communist movement. They are hailed as "new, revolutionary Communist" parties. For example, a group of splitters in the Belgian Communist Party headed by J. Grippa, who were expelled from the Party for anti-Party activity by the Fourteenth Congress in April 1963, held a "conference" of its supporters in Brussels in the summer of last year and elected a bureau headed by Grippa. This group, lavishly financed from Peking, is, according to the Chinese leaders, the "new Belgian Communist Party."

At the Seventh Congress of the Ceylon Communist Party held in April, Comrade Keunemann, its General Secretary, told how on orders from Peking the splitters tried to present a gathering convened by the anti-Party Sanmugathan clique, expelled from the Party, as the "Seventh Congress of the Ceylon Communist Party." "Our Party," Comrade Keunemann said, "has its own experience of the close and intimate connection between the Chinese 'theories' and the practical attempts to split our own Party and to sabotage the United Left Front. We know very well how the special views of the Chinese comrades were used by the anti-Party Sanmugathan clique as a banner in their struggle to split our Party and to oppose the United Left Front . . . We know the tremendous material, political and other support that the Chinese leaders have rendered these propagandists at every stage of their campaign. We must tell the Chinese propagandists that it is the members of the Ceylon Communist Party and not anyone in Peking or elsewhere who decide what is the Seventh Congress and who are the leaders and members of our Party." The Congress demonstrated that the anti-Party Sanmugathan-Kumarasiri group had failed to isolate the Party and its leadership from the working-class and democratic movement, that, true to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the Ceylon Communists are successfully fulfilling their role of revolutionary vanguard in their country.

What are the "new, revolutionary forces" which, according to the Peking propagandists, are called upon to "defend" Marxism-Leninism against "modern revisionism," and what is the

true nature of the forces on which the CPC leaders rely in their undermining activity?

A splinter group under the pretentious title "Anti-Revisionist Communists" has been active for some time in Austria. The group includes H. Parkas, now employed in the Albanian Legation in Vienna, and F. Strobl, both of whom were expelled from the Communist Party. The group started its activity by distributing leaflets and appeals to the members of the Communist Party signed by Strobl on behalf of the "Provisional Leadership of the Anti-Revisionist Communists of Austria." In October 1963 the group started issuing a news-sheet. The publishers of this sheet were recently received with great pomp by Mao Tse-tung in Peking. This group publicizes the line of the Chinese leaders in the international Communist movement. In printing and circulating slander it relies on material support from Peking.

In the USA the Chinese leaders render patronage to a certain Homer Chase and his sheet *Hammer and Steel*. According to a communication from the U.S. Communist Party addressed to all fraternal parties, Chase was expelled from the Party several years ago. "He is a renegade with Trotskyite views and now openly fighting the C.P., U.S.A., through the bourgeois press." The C.P., U.S.A. asked to regard the *Hammer and Steel* as a provocative publication and Chase as a provocateur. There is another publication called *Progressive Labor* edited by another renegade named Rosen.

In Australia the Chinese leaders are using E. Hill, ex-member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Hill was invited to Peking where he was received with honor and, upon returning home, stepped up his splitting activity, thereby placing himself outside the ranks of the Communist Party.

Disruptive groups have been formed with direct support from Peking and are carrying out their undermining activity in a number of Latin American countries.

These anti-Party groups, lauded by the Chinese leaders as Marxist-Leninist parties, are mostly tiny sects of middle-class intellectuals with no support among the masses. None has a positive program of action. Typical of all of them is that they concentrate on breaking the unity of the working class and its vanguard—the Communist parties. They virtually join hands with the reactionaries.

"We have repeatedly emphasized," says the statement of the C.C. meeting of the Communist Party of Germany, "that the police bodies of the reactionary Bonn regime are using Chinese materials in order to disrupt our Party which is fighting in the conditions of illegality. Despite this, the Chinese leaders still continue

distributing their materials in the Federal Republic.

"At a meeting of its Division IV, which specializes in the struggle against our Party, the Department for the Protection of the Constitution decided to assist the circulation of the Chinese materials since they consider that the latter help to sow confusion in the working-class movement. Similar instructions were given to the anti-communist organizations which are financed from the secret funds of the government."

Agents of the Chinese splitters, says the statement of the Communist Party of Chile, are sapping the Chilean working people's confidence in their own forces, sowing sentiments of sectarianism among them, in order to deprive the working class of its allies and narrow the electoral base of Salvador Allende (Presidential Candidate from the Popular Action front to which the Communist Party belongs—D.L.). They are trying, by means of all kinds of stratagems, to worm their way into the mass movements in order to divide their ranks by provocative actions. The aforementioned agents are trying to form their own pocket-size party which they will palm off as the party of the Chilean working class. This activity disguised by ultra-revolutionary phrases is counter-revolutionary beyond any shadow of a doubt, and it only plays into the hands of imperialism and reaction.

In Peru the anti-Party group is led by S. Paredes and J. Sotomayor. Taking advantage of the fact that Raul Acosta, General Secretary of the Communist Party, Del Prado and other leaders of the Party were thrown into prison by the reactionaries, these splitters with a handful of accomplices announced in January 1964 a self-styled "national conference" which represented none but the disrupters themselves. Later they announced a press conference for bourgeois journalists at which they condemned the "revisionist concepts of the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement" and "expelled" Acosta and other leaders from the Party. This served the reactionary press, and the Chinese press, as a pretext for noisy propaganda. Adventurers from the anti-Party group made an armed raid on the premises of *Unidad*, the Party paper, but were repelled by the Communist workers. The Fourth Conference of the Regional Party Organization in Lima unanimously opposed the splitters and expelled Paredes, Sotomayor and their accomplices. The departmental Party conference vigorously condemned the factionalists and their Chinese patrons. "Our Party, true to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism," wrote R. Acosta, "is closing its ranks around the Central Committee and its Political

Commission in the struggle against the disruptors and adventurers."

With wrath and indignation we Greek Communists have learned that certain pro-Chinese sheets (in particular, *Voix du peuple*, "organ" of the Grippa group in Belgium), evidently not without instructions from Peking, have been trying to rehabilitate the sectarian policy pursued by Zakhariadis when he headed the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece. The heavy losses suffered by our Party during the armed struggle against the Greek reactionaries and the Anglo-American imperialists in 1946-49 and in the subsequent years of the underground struggle, losses caused by Zakhariadis' adventurism and the anti-Party methods of leadership inculcated by him, are universally known. What blasphemy it is with regard to these victims to try to whitewash Zakhariadis and his clique, as is being done today by the advocates of adventurism and sectarianism, aided and abetted from Peking!

Recently publication of a *Bulletin of the Friends of the Young Countries of Asia, Africa and America* was begun in Greece. Judging by the materials in the bulletin, it represents an attempt to implant in our country pro-Chinese dogmatic views on the fundamental issues of our time, views that run counter to the political line of our Party and the Left movement, to the wishes and aspirations of our people.

Its publishers claim that the national-liberation struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America "exerts the decisive influence on the destinies of the world," that Greece, allegedly, belongs to these countries and therefore it is only from there that the Greek people can expect genuine leadership in their struggle. In other words, they would like to isolate our people from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, from the working-class and democratic movement of the capitalist countries, a line which could only lead to defeat for the revolutionary forces of Greece.

The ultra-revolutionary phrases of the self-styled "friends of the young countries" did not prevent them, in company with a group of Right-opportunists and revisionists, from supporting the bourgeois Center Union to the detriment of the Left during the last election.

One cannot but agree with the characterization of the undermining activities of the Chinese leaders given by Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Uruguay.

"Their (Chinese leaders'—D.L.) phrases," writes Arismendi, "are used as a screen by all those who, either because of their lack of faith in the revolution or merely because they were removed from the Communist movement owing

to the grave mistakes they made, want to don the garb of ultra-revolutionaries or the 'heterodox' and thus find an alibi which would conceal their guilt or their treachery. *The method chosen by the Chinese leaders—and this is a reflection of their fundamental mistakes—represents a pole of attraction which, like a magnet, attracts all those who are opposed to the Communist parties and would like to smear the socialist camp and the Soviet Union: beginning with the bourgeois nationalist and ending with the Trotskyite, with those who formerly supplied the enemy with information and with the angry philistine who talks much but does little; all are now trying to wrap up their paltry stock-in-trade in the garb of the Chinese revolution.* In this way, they want to obtain at least some banner in the struggle against the Communist parties. These people now pattern themselves after the Chinese in order to pour slander on the Soviet Union and the Party of Lenin. The Chinese comrades would be horrified if they would stop to think and would see what sorry company they have landed in, what scum they have unloosed like the sorcerer's apprentice in the fairytale!"

Unfortunately, the leaders of the Communist Party of China, in the heat of their factional activity, blind themselves to the fact that their attitude and their struggle serve the worst enemies of communism and of the international working-class movement. Neglecting their national and international duty, they refuse to combat the disrupters and splitters. Not only do they not expose them as renegades and traitors to Leninism, but, on the contrary, they are trying to create around them the aureole of "revolutionary Communists."

A situation without precedent in the history of the Communist movement has arisen, a situation in which one of the biggest ruling Communist parties, ignoring the elementary demands of proletarian solidarity and trampling upon the sovereign rights of other parties, openly interferes in their internal affairs, supports and encourages the struggle against these parties waged by all sorts of apostates and renegades, men condemned by the parties and expelled from their ranks.

While paying lip-service to the equality and sovereignty of all fraternal parties and to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other parties, the Chinese leaders at the same time issue an open call to all subversive elements in other parties to unite and form anti-Party underground groups allegedly for the purpose of "defending Marxism-Leninism" and the "common cause of the proletariat."

* * *

This reckless policy has caused, and is still causing, grave damage to the international Communist movement and to the Marxist-Leninist parties. True, the effect of this noisy propaganda should not be overestimated, and the more so the effect of the anti-Party groups which have emerged in some countries under the impact of this propaganda and with the direct organizational and material support from the Chinese splitters. It would, however, be wrong to underestimate the harm they are causing, especially in view of the fact that the falsehoods spread by the Chinese leaders against the socialist countries and the Communist movement are taken up and widely circulated also by the powerful bourgeois propaganda machine, and that the anti-Party groups receive financial and other support from without—from the Chinese splitters and, not infrequently, from bourgeois governments.

Our Party knows from its own experience of the struggle against the anti-Party sectarian methods of Zakhariadis how dangerous is petty-bourgeois adventurism, neglect of Party discipline, and any action aimed at disrupting the revolutionary forces. These actions lead to defeat and surrender in the face of our common enemy—imperialism. Therefore, bearing in mind the interests of the struggle for the unity of our own Party and the international Communist movement, it is impossible to pass over in silence the lessons which, we believe, are worthy of attention.

The first lesson to be drawn is that the struggle against the factionalists and splitters should not be waged by merely discussing the issue in the leading bodies, especially if there are factionalists on these bodies. The question should be taken up with the Party organizations, with the membership to whom the facts of the activity of the splitters and its pernicious effects should be made clear. Only in this way can the danger of a split be overcome, the splitters deprived of any support in the Party and the members rallied for the solution of the tasks confronting the Party. It is worth recalling what Lenin said in this connection:

"Indeed, it is high time to make a clean sweep of the traditions of circle sectarianism and—in a party which rests on the masses—resolutely advance the slogan: *More light!*—let the Party know *everything*, let it have *all*, *absolutely all the material* required for a judgement of all and sundry differences, reversions to revisionism, departures from discipline, etc. More confidence in the independent judgement of the whole body of Party workers!—they, and they alone, will be able to curb the excessive

hotheadedness of grouplets inclined to splits, will be able, by their slow, imperceptible but persistent influence, to imbue them with the 'good will' to observe Party discipline, will be able to cool the ardor of anarchistic individualism and, by the very fact of their indifference, document, prove and demonstrate the triviality of differences exaggerated by the elements tending towards a split" (*Col. Works*, Vol. VII, p. 116, Eng. ed.).

The second lesson is that factionalism and disruption can be defeated only by waging a vigorous, principled and uncompromising struggle against them. Any attempt to make unprincipled concessions and compromises, an attitude of centrism and conciliation can only serve those who are wrecking the discipline and organization and splitting the movement. In this struggle one cannot stand "above the issue," adopt the attitude of neutrality, for this attitude tacitly furthers the split, and, as it were, puts the two sides on a par, although the splitters represent an insignificant but vociferous grouplet who counterpose themselves to the Party.

Only a principled stand, not one of neutrality and non-interference, can be the foundation for rallying all the truly revolutionary forces, for uprooting petty-bourgeois adventurism and factionalism, and for the victory of the Leninist principles of organization.

The fraternal parties stand for a patient and comradely discussion of the controversial is-

ues, for bilateral and multilateral meetings and consultations. Most parties have come out in favor of convening, after thorough preparatory work, another conference of the Communist and Workers' parties with the aim of overcoming the differences and consolidating the solidarity and unity of world communism. In view of this we, like all other genuine Communist-internationalists, cannot but be surprised and indignant at the attitude of the Chinese leaders who want to postpone the conference for another four or five years. Does not their proposal come from their desire to aggravate the differences, to gain time to intensify their disruptive activity in the parties and in the Communist movement as a whole?

The factional activity which the Chinese leaders are conducting on a large scale creates the real danger of a split in the international Communist movement. In order to forestall the danger there is needed the joint effort of all the Marxist-Leninist parties, their firm desire and determination to act in the interests of strengthening the unity of each party and of the world Communist movement as a whole.

Therefore the Marxist-Leninist parties consider it their duty ideologically to expose the anti-Leninist concepts of the Chinese leaders, to wage a vigorous struggle against any splitting activities, and for unity on the inviolable foundation of Marxist-Leninist teaching and the jointly-elaborated strategy and tactics.

Dimitris LAKKAS

For a Conference of Fraternal Parties

IN ITS ONE hundred years of existence, the world Communist movement has experienced many attempts to break its unity, both from within and from without. Such attacks have come from the Right and the Left, from anarchists and reformists, from Trotskyites and revisionists—from opportunists of every kind.

Many a time the monopoly bourgeoisie have tried to find the means of dividing and weakening the world Communist movement. They have watched differences that arose in the movement with jubilation, in the hope that these will bring about its end. But each time they have been sadly disappointed. The world Communist movement has never failed to face up to the attacks and resolve the differences.

This was possible not only because all Communists throughout the world based themselves on correct Marxist-Leninist theoretical and ideological positions, but also because they followed sound Marxist-Leninist principles and

forms in resolving their differences; because they were always ready to discuss differences as Marxist-Leninists dedicated to the noblest of all causes, the cause of communism, because they upheld the unity of the world movement above national and parochial interests, because they always approached such problems fully realizing the historical responsibility devolving upon them.

If today, on the eve of the centenary of the founding of the First International, one takes a broad look at our movement, one is bound to notice its steady growth. At the same time, however, it must be said that it has now encountered a danger which is, perhaps, the greatest in the past hundred years, and which emanates from within the movement, owing to the actions of the CPC leaders who are undermining our unity on the international scale and on the scale of the national parties.

As in the past, monopoly capital and all re-

actionaries hope that the present differences in the world Communist movement will lead it to disunity and defeat. But our enemies hope in vain; they fail to realize that, despite the difficulties it has to contend with, the world Communist movement is now immeasurably stronger than in the past and has enough vitality to overcome these differences, too. No one has yet been able to halt the march of history, of which the world Communist movement is the most progressive force.

I

We have, regrettably, to state openly that the Chinese comrades, the leaders of a great socialist country, the leaders of a glorious party which enjoyed tremendous prestige and commanded the respect of all Communist parties, have now embarked on the road of directly splitting the world Communist movement to suit their great-power nationalist interests. It is they who bear the responsibility for the situation which has developed today in our movement. It is their undermining activity which has brought about results which even our worst enemies have never been able to achieve in the past, and which has created the danger of a split in the world Communist movement.

The experience of the Communist Party of Ceylon is proof of this. The Chinese leaders chose our Party to try out their splitting "experiment." As in some other parties, in our Party too there were unstable, weak and opportunist elements, corrupt and corruptible elements, disgruntled and dissatisfied elements with personal grievances accumulated over years. These elements, though numerically few, had ensconced themselves in the Party. They could not raise their heads because our Party was forging ahead. Our Party's general line was achieving positive results. We had succeeded in uniting the Left and working-class movement which had been disunited for 23 years. This was a turning point in the political development of our country. Our policy of "unity and struggle" with the national bourgeoisie paid dividends. Several anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks were fulfilled because of the pressure exercised by the Left and progressive forces on the national-bourgeois government. The strength of the United Left Front was so great and its prestige so high that the party of the national bourgeoisie had to appeal to the Left to join in a coalition with it in the government. These developments were undoubtedly victories for our general line, and our Party played an important role in these developments.

In these circumstances the vipers could not but lie low. The Chinese leaders were quick to locate these people and to contact them. The

support of the Chinese leaders gave them respectability: they were no longer fighting the Party leadership and the general line to avenge themselves or their accumulated personal grievances with the Party leadership, but to "uphold the banner of Marxism-Leninism"! In the eyes of the Chinese leaders, and according to Peking Radio, these are "great revolutionaries," "true Marxist-Leninists"!

Since these "revolutionary Marxist-Leninists" were a tiny minority, they were quick to enrol all renegades who had left or had been expelled from the Party over the years; some of these had been exposed as agents and provocateurs planted in our Party by the American imperialists.

These splitters hailed by the Chinese leaders as "revolutionary Marxist-Leninists" openly claim that Trotskyism is correct, and are in turn lauded by international Trotskyism as genuine Marxist-Leninist Trotskyites! Incidentally, it is not surprising that the so-called Fourth International has officially expressed agreement with the ideological positions of the Chinese leaders except, of course, their attitude to Stalin and some other issues.

The Seventh Congress of the Ceylon Communist Party held last April demonstrated the complete bankruptcy of the Sanmugathasan splinter group and of its patrons, the Peking leaders. This enables us to draw some conclusions. Pieter Keuneman, General Secretary of the Party, said in this connection:

"Our Seventh Congress meets soon after the Party successfully emerged from the sharp struggle waged against the unprincipled anti-Party group of splitters and renegades headed by Sanmugathasan and Kumarasiri who (and we say this with deep regret) were inadmissibly supported and encouraged by the leadership of the Communist Party of China. Our Congress should analyze this experience and draw the proper conclusions. This will help to arm our Party and the Left movement generally in the struggle against such inadmissible splittism. Our experiences can also be valuable to other fraternal parties that face similar attacks."

It is not only at our Party that the Chinese leaders have directed their "attention" and disruptive activities. There are several other fraternal parties in Europe, Asia and Latin America that have received the same "attention" of the Chinese leaders.

II

The actions of the Chinese leaders have emerged far beyond the limits of an ideological debate in the Communist movement to "correct" wrong ideological positions. That this is

so is demonstrated by their uncomradely and unwarranted, to say the least, interference in the internal affairs of the fraternal parties, their direct and indirect calls to split the ranks and form rival parties and groups, their material backing for such breakaway groups, factions and renegades who have been expelled by the Communist parties.

In the present circumstances, if the situation is left to drift in the direction it is drifting now, it can only result in a virtual split of our movement. It is the considered view of our Party that the only means by which this drift towards a split can be prevented is through an early meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties preceded by the necessary preliminary work.

Of course, there are difficulties. Some parties still have apprehensions about convening the meeting. They fear that it might aggravate the situation and affect inter-state relations between the socialist countries and that it will then be more difficult to avoid a split. We fully appreciate these views, but would like to say this: we don't have to summon a meeting of the international Communist movement in order to split it. All that is needed for this is to give free rein to the splitting activity presently pursued by the Chinese leaders.

The game of the Chinese leaders is clear—split each party and thereby split the international Communist movement. It is not because they care for the unity of the world Communist movement that the Chinese leaders oppose the convening of the meeting. They are afraid to meet face to face all national detachments of the international Communist movement to which they are responsible for their actions. They want a free hand in what they are doing and they do not wish to be disturbed. They evidently need time to deal with the parties piecemeal, one by one. In the opinion of the Chinese leaders an international meeting should be held about four to five years hence. This prompts one to ask: is this approximately the time the Chinese leaders need to complete their splitting activities? In countries where they cannot find opportunist and corrupt elements in the parties to be tools of their splitting activities, they can always find even worse riff-raff outside the parties, they need only to be declared by the Peking Radio to be "revolutionaries" fighting "revisionist cliques" and "holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism!" With the aid of these groups the Chinese splitters hope to strengthen their positions in the world Communist movement.

Some fraternal parties are apprehensive that a split will be inevitable if an early meeting of

the Communist and Workers' parties is held. But if all the parties sit down together and discuss our problems objectively, and if all the parties are sincere in their declarations about the unity of the movement, why shouldn't a meeting bring positive results?

Most of the parties, as we know, have denounced the anti-Leninist attitudes of the CPC leaders, and have come out in favor of an international meeting.

In our Party there were people who called for neutrality. We know that in other parties, too, there are comrades who support the idea of neutralism. That is their business. But the Ceylon Party from its own experience knows where neutralism in the struggle against anti-party and splitting activities leads. We know from experience that concessions to the blackmail of the disrupters make split unavoidable because the thirst of the disrupters is never quenched by such attitudes.

III

Our Party honestly has doubts as to whether the Chinese leaders actually want unity, whether they actually want to discuss common problems and the present serious situation in the Communist movement. These doubts are strengthened by some relevant references in the letter of May 7 addressed by the CPC to the CPSU. In this letter the CPC states that "there are two parties in some of the countries mentioned in your (CPSU) list. In Australia, for instance, there is a party represented by E. F. Hill and another by L. L. Sharkey. The former is a Marxist-Leninist party and the latter a revisionist party. A similar situation exists in Brazil. Obviously you and we differ as to which of these parties should attend the meeting."

Everything is clear: the cat is out of the bag!

In this letter the names of other "revisionist" parties and "cliques," including the Communist Party of Ceylon, are not mentioned because they are not relevant to the particular text. There are now many parties with whom the Chinese leaders disdain to sit together. It will not take long for the Chinese leaders to state that they cannot sit together with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which in their opinion is a "revisionist" party.

Do the Chinese leaders seriously expect the fraternal parties to agree to the CPC assuming the role of a supreme judge entitled to decide which party is revolutionary and which party is revisionist, which is not a party but a clique, and which party can attend the meeting and which cannot? Do they really think that the fraternal parties will agree that it is groups of splitters and renegades brought onto the politi-

cal scene by the Chinese leaders themselves who should be represented at the meeting? For instance, our Party will never agree to sit at an international meeting along with the renegades sponsored and maintained by the Chinese leaders. Nor will our Party accept the anti-Leninist idea that there can be "two Communist parties in a country." In no country will the working class accept (as has been shown in Ceylon) renegades and splitters as a "second Communist Party," even though such groups are lauded by the Chinese leaders.

And as the viper moves to the tune of the Chinese reed-pipe, it may be that there will be more fraternal parties in the same position as ours, in which we were placed by the splitters. If the Chinese leaders persist in this course of action—forming splinter groups of opportunists and renegades in each country and calling them "revolutionaries" and "true Marxist-Leninists"—they may eventually call their "own" international meeting with this motley crew.

Hence we maintain that a pooling of efforts by all the fraternal parties with a view to closing our ranks, joint and persistent struggle against the undermining activity of the Peking leaders, the preparation and holding of an international meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties, are the means which can forestall this course.

Although the Chinese comrades claim that they oppose an early meeting in the name of unity, they are doing so in the interest of a split. But we want a meeting for unity, not in the interest of a split. We are guided solely by the historical responsibility that rests upon us and which unites all brother parties.

The meeting should be held not in a spirit of aggravating the situation or for the purpose of expelling or excommunicating someone or other. It should only be held for the purpose of discussing the urgent problems: it should also discuss ways and means of strengthening unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, of ensuring strict adherence by all fraternal parties without exception to the jointly endorsed general line of the world Communist movement; it should, moreover, take stock of the developments since the last meeting in 1960, make correct assessments and, in the light of these, chart the path for our further advance.

The grave situation makes it imperative for the fraternal parties to launch a vigorous struggle for the unity of the world Communist movement, for reinforcing our ranks, against the splitters and factionalists.

H.G.S. RATNAWEERA

Struggle Against Splitters in India

EVERYTHING except the signboard of a parallel Communist Party has been hung out in India by the Left-sectarians as an integral part of the worldwide move of the CPC leaders to divide and split as many Communist parties as possible.

Anti-Party parallel work that had been going on for over a year came out into the open on April 11, when 32 members of the National Council of the Communist Party of India walked out of its meeting and issued a manifesto calling upon the membership to repudiate the Party's leading body elected by the last Party congress.

In the first week of April, the Left-sectarians held an anti-Party conference in Delhi on the eve of the National Council meeting and chalked out their course of splitting the Party. They released to the press their own "draft Party program" which contains harmful and sectarian formulations and even decided on the convocation of a rival Party congress; the National

Council has decided to hold the Seventh Congress of the Party later this year.

The monopoly press, only too eager to help disrupt the democratic and working-class movement, offers them wide publicity every day. By their walk-out the 32 factionalists have placed themselves outside the ranks of the Communist Party.

Upholding the Leninist organizational principle that nobody has the right to split the Party, the National Council suspended the 32 rebels from membership and removed them forthwith from all positions in the Party organizations. It, however, took a lenient attitude towards them, deferring the ultimate penalty of expulsion which is usual punishment for such a grave breach of Party discipline, in the hope that they may retract their steps and work under the discipline of the respective Party committees.

Ever since the leaders of the Chinese Party challenged the agreed decisions of the Moscow

meetings and called upon "genuine Marxist-Leninists" to break up the parties all over the world, splittism in India too has been looked upon by certain factionalist leaders as the "historical mission of the proletariat." A parallel center, a shadow Central Committee, parallel pseudo-Party committees, meetings of some members outside their units and open defiance of the decisions of the leading committees have been features for some time. The splitters are running five or six journals which systematically oppose the line laid down by the Party Congress and Party committees in national policies as well as the decisions of the National Council on the ideological dispute in the international Communist movement. The hard core of the splitters advocate the general line of the Chinese leaders which our Party and Communists everywhere have rejected as dogmatist and disruptive.

The West Bengal State Council in which the splitters have a majority has repudiated the National Council. Parallel State Councils have been formed in Andhra, Rajasthan and in some other states where the splitters are a majority. In Kerala a convention of splitters was called recently by the suspended members of the National Council who have captured one of the Party's dailies. Disregarding majority decisions, the splitters have been nominating rival candidates in parliamentary by-elections and for Parliamentary committees; they were defeated, however, by the official Party candidates who enjoyed the support of the majority of the party parliamentarians. As a rule, suspended members refuse to vacate Party offices and to hand over Party funds and records. In short, the splitters have violated all principles of Party organization and are in open rebellion against the Party's National Council and the Party itself.

Their activities reached a climax with the "discovery" and publication in a pro-imperialist weekly of the so-called "Dange Letters" alleged to have been written to the British authorities by the chairman of the Party when in prison some 40 years ago. Comrades who have examined these letters in the National Archives have denounced them for the forgeries they are; there are many inconsistencies and inaccuracies in the wording and there is even a spelling mistake in Dange's signature.

There is no doubt that the letters were forged by the British Secret Service to discredit communism. Yet the splitters have not scrupled to use this imperialist forgery in their character assassination of Comrade Dange. The splitters are trying to confuse the Party members and aim at capturing the Party leadership. The Na-

tional Council foiled the game of the splitters; it declared that there is no *prima facie* case against Dange and formed a commission to go into all aspects of the alleged "Dange Letters" and clear up the confusion created by the splitters.

The past 40 years of the Indian working-class movement afford ample proof of the position of trust held in it by Comrade Dange. He has spent a total of 17 years in prison, 13 of them under British rule; founder member of the Party, Dange started the first Communist journal in India and set himself to the task of building up the great working-class movement. He has been continuously in the leadership of the Party and the All-India Trade Union Congress, as well as the WFTU ever since its inception. In this we have the proof of his political integrity and devotion to the Party.

There have been differences in the Communist Party of India before, differences that sometimes crystallized into factional groupings. But never has there been such a split and rebellion against the Party as now. On all the previous occasions the differences were settled by discussion and by the subordination of the minority to the majority. Now that disruption is advocated by such a powerful ruling party as the CPC, the internal Party differences in India (as in many other countries) have taken on an entirely new character.

Ever since the adoption of the National Council resolution of November 1962 which denounced the Chinese aggression, the Chinese leaders have been trying hard to disrupt the CPI. There is ample evidence to prove this.

a) The congresses of a number of fraternal parties were used by the Chinese Party delegates in 1962 and 1963 to slander the CPSU, the Communist Party of India and other parties.

b) Crudest slander and an open call for a split was the content of the Peking *People's Daily* article of March 9, 1963, under the headline "A Mirror for Revisionists." The chairman of the CPI Comrade Dange, in his reply "Neither Revisionism nor Dogmatism Is Our Guide" refuted all the charges levelled against our Party.

c) Peking broadcasts beamed to India abuse the leaders of the CPI and call on the members to split the Party. Secretly printed Chinese propaganda leaflets are circulated also calling for a split.

d) The *People's Daily* wrote on February 4: "... the renegade clique headed by Dange has betrayed Marxism-Leninism ... This clique has usurped the leadership of the Indian Communist Party ... It is following the Nehru government's policy of hiring itself out to U.S. imper-

ialism . . . More and more Indian Communists have come to see clearly that Dange and company are the bane of the Indian Communist Party."

The Chinese leaders "substantiate" their interference in the affairs of our Party with theoretical arguments about the need to remove the present leadership. "If the leading group in any party adopts a non-revolutionary line," they say, "and converts it into a reformist party, then Marxist-Leninists inside and outside the party will replace them and lead the people in making revolution."

Justifying their support of the splitters in the Communist parties the article goes on: "In our opinion, it is simply a proletarian internationalist obligation which it is our duty to discharge."

e) We were shocked to learn about a speech by a leader of a fraternal Party following Mao Tse-tung's "general line" which openly trespassed into the internal affairs of our Party calling upon Indian Communists to set up another Communist Party. A "vacuum" of leadership in the Indian Party was invented and the splitters were urged to fill it by breaking the Party.

The disruptive activities of the anti-Party groups were encouraged; it was stated that if these circles, journals and new parties are really a "correction" of the old "revisionist" party, if they really hold aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism, that has been allegedly thrown aside by the old party, then they will be ensured a good reception from Marxist-Leninists in all countries.

Such statements, clearly, constitute naked intervention in the affairs of another Party; they directly assist factionalism to disrupt the working-class movement in another country. Small wonder that Comrade Sundaraya, one of the architects of the split, said in a speech on April 1: "The time has come when all patriots and revolutionaries should be joined together in a party capable of leading the popular struggle to victory . . ." Later, at a press conference Sundaraya said: "There are now two Communist Parties. Ours is the pure Marxist Party."

The Chinese leaders always gave lip-service to the equality of all Communist parties, big or small, in the international movement. But they treat the Communist Party of India with utter contempt, calling its elected leadership "a clique," "spies of the bourgeoisie," and "agents of imperialism." For its part, the Communist Party of India regards the Chinese Communist Party as a great party and holds it in high esteem. Our Party criticized the government of India which gave political asylum to the Dalai Lama after the defeat of the counter-revolution

in Tibet. When the Chinese government suddenly raised the insignificant border question with India and when in 1959 Chinese border guards shot several Indian soldiers, the General Secretary of the Party, the late Comrade Ajoy Ghosh engaged in correspondence with the Central Committee of the CPC on these matters. Comrade Ghosh repeatedly pointed out that aggravation of the border conflict was resulting in an anti-China campaign in India and in whipping up anti-Communist hysteria. On August 20, 1959, Comrade Ghosh wrote to the Chinese Central Committee: ". . . the campaign against China which is steadily gathering strength is a campaign against India's foreign policy, against India-China friendship, and also against the Communist Party of India. Continuation and accentuation of the present differences would gravely endanger India's foreign policy, help the Right-wing to take India towards America and would help the drive against the Communist Party of India."

When the border conflict worsened in September Comrade Ghosh wrote again: "I would earnestly request you that steps be taken for negotiations and exchange of views between the Chinese People's Republic and the government of India. Any delay will assist the very forces that seek to create hostility against China and pull India towards the Anglo-American camp. Such a development would do grievous damage to the cause of peace and Afro-Asian solidarity. Further, it would facilitate the Right-wing offensive against progressives in the Congress, against democracy, under the signboard of 'national security' and 'national interests'."

The Communist Party of India foresaw the danger and warned the Chinese comrades of the consequences. But all the requests and appeals fell on a deaf ear because of the great-power chauvinism of the Chinese leaders. Instead of listening to the difficulties of a fraternal Party working under difficult conditions, the Chinese leaders continuously pushed the border dispute to more and greater armed conflict.

From 1959 every action of the Chinese leaders on the border question, every statement made by their press and radio was a blow to the revolutionary forces and democratic movement in India. In the summer of 1959 when the the Communist-led Kerala government was attacked by reactionaries, when our Party was trying its best to mobilize the progressive forces inside and outside the ruling party in support of democracy, to defend the Kerala government, the Chinese leaders suddenly caused a tumult over the border and diverted the attention of the country from Kerala to the Himalayas. In December 1961 when the CPI

was in the midst of a general election campaign fighting against the concerted attack from the Right parties and the Congress whose main election platform was "India's national defense against Chinese aggression," the CPC leaders again ignited the quiet border, provoking a series of new incidents, which added grist to the anti-Communist mill of our opponents.

Their actions and press campaigns had the effect of instilling among the Indian masses anti-China sentiments. They gravely damaged the influence of our Party, an influence that had been growing steadily since the 1957 general election.

When Comrade Ajoy Ghosh pointed out the disastrous consequences of Chinese policy in a public statement some days before his death in January 1962, the Chinese leaders dubbed him as a man "trailing behind Nehru"! While the Indian reactionaries and the imperialist lobby screamed that "Indian Communists are the fifth column of the Chinese aggressors inside the country, and Chinese aggression is part of the international Communist aggression," the Chinese leaders attacked our Party from the other side saying "Indian Communists are the agents of the bourgeoisie and imperialism."

In October 1962, exactly when the U.S. imperialists precipitated the Caribbean crisis and the socialist world camp was in need of unity of all the anti-imperialist forces more than ever before, the CPC leaders pushed the border conflict to the point of a war with anti-imperialist India.

Therefore the Chinese leaders share with the Indian reactionaries the responsibility for the wave of anti-Communist hysteria, for the physical attacks on Party members and Party premises, for the calls to ban the Party, for the large-scale arrests of Communists and progressives, for the attack on civil liberties, for the removal of anti-imperialist and progressive Ministers like Krishna Menon and Malaviya from the government and the countrywide tide of chauvinism and swing to the Right that followed the Chinese crossing of the MacMahon Line.

The Right reactionary upsurge in India was primarily the result of Chinese indiscriminate slanders and attacks on India. Had it not been for this insane policy, developments in India today would have had a more progressive orientation.

The Chinese leaders have also been insincere in relation to the Communist Party of India. They spoke and acted without any consistency, as it suited best their opportunist policy. In April 1961, in their message to the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of India, the

Central Committee of the CPC said: "Together with the Indian people the Communist Party of India is waging an immense and grim struggle to safeguard and consolidate India's national independence, develop the national economy which helps to consolidate India's independence and improve the people's living conditions and defend the democratic rights and vital interests of the Indian people." (My italics—K.N.). Later when they did not like our Party policy, they turned around and abused our Party as a "bourgeois-imperialist agency." The *People's Daily* wrote on March 31, 1964: "Certain leaders of the Indian Communist Party, typified by Dange, have long pursued a revisionist line, hauled down the banner of revolution and failed to lead the masses in national and democratic revolutionary struggles. The Dange clique has slid farther and farther down the path of revisionism and degenerated . . . into tools of the reactionary policies of India's big landlords and big bourgeoisie . . ."

Now one may ask, when were the Chinese leaders sincere, in 1961 or in 1964?

A glance through a decade of our history will show that the dogmatic core of the splitters in the Indian Party have been consistently following a Left-sectarian line ever since the adoption of the Party program in 1951, repeating or copying the incorrect conclusions of the CPC leaders. They refused to see the growing and revolutionizing influence of the powerful socialist camp, the rapidly changing political situation in the country, and remained blind to the progressive role of India's national reconstruction. At Party congresses they fought for their sectarian line but were in a minority. They threatened to boycott the Party, to withdraw their candidatures from the panels of the new National Council at the Sixth Congress in 1961. Many fraternal delegates witnessed this shameful demonstration. Seeing they were in a minority they came back when the question of their seats in the National Council was raised.

In August 1962, when the National Council discussed and adopted the resolution on the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU in which the basic questions of war and peace, the peaceful transition to socialism, the personality cult, etc., were dealt with, some of the present splitters opposed the National Council line. The resolution was passed by a two-thirds majority. They opposed the National Council resolution of November 1962, which denounced Chinese aggression. Their representatives resigned from the Secretariat of the Party when it was implementing that resolution. Events since November 1962 have amply proved the correctness of the Party line. During the last one and a half

years many fraternal parties have condemned Chinese policy against India. The Chinese leaders slander the CPSU and other parties for taking a correct stand on the India-China border question.

The splitters are in a minority in the Party today. Organizationally, the present crisis arose because the minority refused to acknowledge the will of the majority. They resorted to bourgeois parliamentary methods like walkouts, boycott, sabotage from within, etc. Such things, they argue, are "normal" and permissible in a Communist Party in "extraordinary situations."

Has the minority the right to rebel against the majority in a Marxist Party? Lenin as early as 1904 strongly denounced such methods in the party of the proletariat. In his draft resolution on measures to restore peace in the RSDLP after the Menshevik split, Lenin said: "The Party Council, as the supreme institution of the Party, vigorously condemns all disruptive moves, no matter on whose part, all refusals to work, all withdrawals of financial support for the central Party treasury, all boycotts, which are only calculated to lower a purely ideological struggle of opinions, views and shades to the level of methods of gross mechanical pressure, the level of an unseemly scuffle."*

In the last years of his life Lenin summarized, as it were, the experience of the entire revolutionary movement and pointed out that all class-conscious workers should be aware of the harm and impermissibility of any factionalism whatsoever. The resolution drafted by Lenin and adopted by the Tenth Congress of the RCP (B) in March 1921, read: "The Congress orders the immediate dissolution of all groups without exception, formed on the basis of a particular platform, and instructs all Party organizations to keep a strict watch to prevent any outbreaks of factionalism. Non-observance of this Congress decision shall entail unconditional and immediate expulsion from the Party."

These Leninist organizational principles have been simply thrown overboard by the splitters in India who have levelled baseless charges against the National Council of the Party. Their main accusation is that the Party leadership has been striving for a general united front with the ruling party of India, the National Congress. This is the method of the Big Lie. The attitude of the Communist Party of India regarding the national-democratic front was clearly stated in the political documents of the Sixth Congress held in 1961. Our attitude to the ruling Party and other bourgeois parties was also specifically defined. There is not a single

fact to show that the Party has ever advocated a general united front with the National Congress. The recent wave of mass struggles in India were mainly directed against the reactionary policies of the Congress government. Generally speaking, the election strategy of the Party has been *to fight the Congress Party wherever there is a chance of victory for the Communists, for Communist-supported independents or for progressive Left politicians; and to support the Congress wherever there is a danger of victory for candidates of the extreme Right reactionary parties such as Swatantra, Muslim League, Jan Sangh, etc.* This policy was successfully implemented in the 1962 general election (and in many by-elections) and the Party and its allies improved their positions. This sound policy also helped to prevent the victory of many reactionary politicians belonging to the American lobby.

Some of the leaders of the splitters' group argue, contrary to the Party's correct line, that the Communists should join with arch-reactionary parties like those mentioned above to defeat the Congress. This is a striking example of unprincipled political blocs, of dealing a blow at the democratic forces for the sake of an artificial exacerbation of the situation in the country. Far from accelerating, this retards the development of genuinely revolutionary processes in the life of our society.

The Chinese leaders and the Indian splitters precipitated the crisis in the Party at a crucial period in Indian development, at a time when the working-class and democratic movement was overcoming the difficulties created by the Chinese aggression and surging forward in class struggle. The Right reactionary high tide of October-November 1962 has subsided and the Left has again regained the initiative. The counter-offensive launched by the Party against the imperialist conspiracy to stampede India into a war-bloc, to reinforce the internal reactionary process, and against the anti-people's policy of the government has registered many successes since the dark days following the tragic border conflict. The Bombay strike of August 1963, the great petition movement and demonstration in Delhi in September 1963, the ejection of two most reactionary U.S. lobby Ministers from the government of India, the campaign for the release of political prisoners, the national campaign of the toilers which is a stage-by-stage agitation and struggle for working-class demands, and the agrarian struggles in Kerala, Andhra and other states are only some of the successes of the growing democratic movement.

The Party was preparing for an all-India general strike as a culmination of the develop-

*Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 7, p. 148, Eng. ed.

ing working-class actions. The split in the Party, the likely spread of the split to some mass organizations and non-cooperation of some of the Lefts with the Party leadership and, above all, the splitters' efforts to launch a parallel mass movement can undermine the unity of action and weaken the struggle. The reactionaries, class enemies and imperialists would benefit from the split in the Party and the disruption of the mass movement. The splitters are stabbing the Indian working class and the entire democratic movement in the back.

The splitters in India are completely isolated from the international Communist movement, apart from their contact with the CPC leaders. Small wonder, the leading spokesman of the Indian splitters, Comrade Basawa Punnaya, fulminated at an anti-party press conference against Comrade Suslov and the CPSU along lines which are identical with those of the splitters all over the world. Newspapers and journals of many brother parties, including the CPSU, the C.P. of France, the C.P. of Italy and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, have published articles and reports against the Indian splitters, fully supporting the decisions of the National Council of the CPI. The only admirers of the splitters are the CPC leaders and their followers who engineered the split and who console them with moral, political and other support.

The history of the international working-

class movement teaches us that splitters of all sorts from Mensheviks to neo-Trotskyites in all countries, no matter under what garb they may appear, are doomed to failure. The outcome in India cannot be different. The Right reactionary forces in India with the support of the imperialist lobby, especially after Nehru's death, are mustering all their strength to effect a turn to the Right in the policies and composition of the government of India. At this crucial period, division in the Left front and especially a split in the Communist Party would be a national tragedy. The Chairman of the Party has issued a fervent appeal to the dissenters to realize the danger and act in the larger interest of the country and the working-class movement. In order to defend Party unity, he has requested the splitters to pull back, to stop their parallel work, to dissolve their committees and return to the fold of the Party. The splitters, however have again turned a deaf ear to this call.

The Communist Party of India will overcome the present difficulties and emerge stronger from the Seventh Party Congress which will be held in November in Bombay, the birthplace of the Indian working-class movement, of India's first Communist group and Communist literature. At the same congress the Communist Party will commemorate the centenary of the founding of the First International by Marx and Engels.

Kunhanandan NAIR

Party Congresses and Central Committee Meetings

Polish United Workers' Party

PROBLEMS of the unity of the socialist countries and of the world Communist movement figured prominently at the recently held Fourth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party.

In his report to the Congress, the First Secretary Wladislaw Gomulka stressed that the policy and development of the socialist countries, the development of the working-class movement in the capitalist countries and, increasingly, the trend of the national-liberation movement depended on the correct strategy and tactics of the Communist movement. The principles of this strategy and tactics were jointly elaborated and expressed in the Statement of the 1960 Moscow Meeting of the 81 parties and

earlier in the 1957 Declaration of the parties of the socialist countries.

These documents, which were unanimously adopted, charted the general line of the struggle for peace, freedom for the peoples, and socialism, thus creating a platform for the unity and solidarity of all the Communist and Workers' parties.

This collectively worked out and unanimously adopted general line of the Communist movement and of the socialist countries is now questioned by the Communist Party of China. True, the CPC does not openly oppose the content of the Declaration and the Statement. While invoking these documents and professing loyalty to their principles, the CPC has advanced its

own, incorrect interpretation of the basic problems, its own distinct political and ideological platform, and has launched a violent propaganda campaign and factional activities aimed at splitting the world Communist movement and the socialist camp.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the chief target of the Chinese attacks. Moreover, the Chinese leaders have done their utmost to confuse the issue and to make a fruitful discussion impossible. In presenting their case they ascribe to the CPSU and to other Communist parties views they have never held; these views are then denounced, to the accompaniment of calls to "distinguish between truth and falsehood," as "revisionism," "betrayal of Marxism-Leninism," "surrender to the enemy," and "cowardly pacifism."

However, the march of history cannot be reversed, Comrade Gomulka said. The world Communist movement has matured politically and ideologically. It has left behind the infantile disorders of naive Leftism, revolutionary phrasemongering and the personality cult. The recognition by the Communist parties that the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU was a watershed in the history of the Communist movement was neither an act of conventional politeness, nor evidence of "obeying the baton," as the Chinese leaders allege.

We, too, expressed this recognition because the Twentieth Congress' decisions fully met the requirements of the moment and rid the CPSU itself and the entire working-class movement of everything that had become threadbare and hampered further advance.

Since the time of the Twentieth Congress the Communist movement has grown stronger. Its political thinking has posed new problems and has overcome conservatism, and the parties have established closer contact with the masses. Any attempt to negate these achievements is doomed to failure.

Restoration of the unity of the Communist movement, above all ensuring a common line of action with respect to imperialism, and renewal of normal relations between the parties,

based on unity and solidarity, Gomulka pointed out, would conform to the vital interests of all the parties and of the socialist camp. This thinking has impelled a number of fraternal countries to call for a new international conference. The idea, however, is not to the liking of the Chinese leaders. In their May 7 letter to the C.C., CPSU, they declare that "it will probably take four or five years or even longer" to prepare such a conference. Moreover, they have withdrawn their agreement to begin the preparations this year.

This procrastination is most indicative. The Chinese leaders are against a conference because they want to see what time will bring them, what "success" will reward their splitting activities, what will be the shape of their relations with the imperialist states and their position in the world in the next few years.

The disagreements certainly cannot be eliminated overnight. An international conference will require patient and thorough preparation. But the question when this preparation should start and how long it should last, cannot be decided by the CPC alone. Preparations for the conference should be started after the majority of the parties have expressed themselves in favor of it. In the course of the preparations it should be possible to fix the date for the conference, in which all the parties must participate. Disagreement of one or several parties should not be regarded as an insurmountable obstacle to convening the conference.

It would be expedient to start the preparations in the near future, with the participation of parties representing the most important regions of the world. A committee of representatives of these parties could discuss the agenda and draft the document which, after having been discussed by the parties and between the parties, could be a basis for the future common decisions.

Our Party, Gomulka said, is ready to take part in this preparatory work. It will spare no effort to help restore the unity and solidarity of the fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Communist Party of Australia

The anti-Leninist stand and splitting activities of the CPC leaders were denounced at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of Australia, held in Sydney in June.

In his report to the congress General Secretary Laurence Sharkey said that the Australian Party was opposed to the views of the CPC leaders, who have digressed from the decisions

approved by all the fraternal parties at the Moscow conferences of 1957 and 1960 and who seek to impose their political line on the other parties.

These are dogmatic and sectarian views which, if adopted in Australia, would isolate the Party from the masses and frustrate the struggle for socialism. We reject the bigoted,

dogmatic views of the CPC leaders, who visualize the transition of every country to socialism only through armed struggle, Comrade Sharkey declared.

The CPC leaders, he went on, are meddling in the internal affairs of other parties. They support any splinter group, however small and insignificant. They have "recognized" the Hill

group, which has made itself ridiculous by claiming to be the Marxist-Leninist party of Australia.

Comrade Sharkey favored the earliest convocation of an international conference of the Communist and Workers' parties to be prepared by a drafting committee.

Communist Party of Germany

A resolution on the anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist attitude and splitting activities of the CPC leaders was adopted by a recent meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany.

The Central Committee regrets, the resolution says, that the Chinese leaders have rejected all the efforts of the CPSU, and the other fraternal parties to end the polemic and thus avoid exacerbation of the differences. The Central Committee finds it most regrettable that the CPC leadership should have left unanswered our letter of February 7, 1964, in which we again urged it to end the public polemic and to stop circulating in West Germany materials directed against the political line of our Party.

Instead, the Chinese leaders have continued their attacks on the jointly adopted decisions of the 1957 and 1960 meetings and have stepped up their slander against the CPSU and the other fraternal parties. They are now engaged in open splitting activities in the world Communist movement.

Despite the fact that we have long refrained from public polemics and have displayed the utmost reserve, despite the fact that we repeatedly pointed out to the Chinese leaders that the unlawful ban on our Party prevented us from replying openly to their attacks, they have continued their campaign and the circulation of their materials. Clearly this can only play into the hands of the imperialist enemies of the working-class movement. The Trotskyites, too, use the Chinese materials in their subversive work against our Party.

Our Party struggles for an independent national policy based on the vital interests of the people. This policy can be carried out only in an intense struggle against the NATO and revanchist line of the aggressive imperialist circles in the Federal Republic. If we were to follow the Chinese leaders' advice we would have to regard the struggle against German imperialism and militarism as a secondary matter. The Chinese leaders assign German imperialism to

the "intermediate zone" and regard it as merely an insignificant "shadow" of U.S. imperialism. Their "intermediate zone" thesis boils down to whitewashing German imperialism and belittling the war danger emanating from it. Acceptance of this thesis would demoralize and disarm the working class and peace-loving forces in the Federal Republic. Our Party rejects it as resolutely as it does the entire adventurist concept of the Chinese leaders.

In the guise of combating revisionism the CPC leaders have launched an offensive against the vanguard of the world Communist movement — the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, against its Central Committee headed by Comrade Khrushchov, and against many other fraternal parties and their leaders. In this offensive they indulge in vile insults, in absurd insinuations and slander. Using Trotskyite ideas and methods, they have started splitting activities in the international Communist movement and in non-party democratic organizations. In some countries they have gone to the length of setting up splinter groups opposed to the Communist and Workers' parties in these countries.

The ideology and policy of the Chinese leaders are now the main danger to the unity of the world Communist movement.

In view of these facts, the Central Committee holds that defense of the unity of the world Communist movement and of the Marxist-Leninist positions calls for open repudiation of the anti-Marxist views and disruptive work of the Chinese leaders. The Central Committee declares its full agreement with the resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU and with Comrade Suslov's report which refuted the pernicious views and practices of the Chinese leaders. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany supports the proposal of the CPSU, and other fraternal parties that a conference of the Communist and Workers' parties be convened and that it be prepared by all the parties represented on the drafting committee of the 1960 Meeting.

Rumanian Workers' Party

The enlarged plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party held in April discussed the report of the Party's delegation on their talks with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; the meeting unanimously adopted a "Statement on the Position of the Rumanian Workers' Party on Questions Concerning the International Communist and Workers' Movement."

The statement notes that from the very beginning of the public polemic the Rumanian Workers' Party fully supported the proposal that the debate be discontinued, that it had repeatedly called for its immediate termination, urging that controversial issues be settled in accordance with the standards of behavior in the relations between Communist parties jointly agreed upon at the 1957 and 1960 meetings. The Statement speaks of the steps taken by the Party in this direction; it notes that the Political Bureau of the RWP urged the Central Committee of the CPSU at the time of its February meeting, and also the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to cease publication of materials concerning their differences, that it had sent a delegation to China, Korea and the Soviet Union to discuss the matter, and sets forth the position taken by the leaders of the aforementioned parties in their talks with the Rumanian delegation.

Having discussed the situation brought about by the renewed intensity of the public polemic, which can only heighten the danger of a split in the world Communist movement and in the socialist camp, the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party considered it necessary to set forth its viewpoint on the basic problems of modern society and the development of the international Communist and working-class movement, and on the ways of preserving its unity.

The Statement examines the main features of our time, which prove the correctness of the assessment made by the 1960 Moscow meeting that we are now in the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism, that the main content, main trend and main features of development in the present era are determined by the socialist world system, by the forces fighting against imperialism and for the socialist reconstruction of society.

In the section dealing with peace as the vital concern of all mankind, the Statement again stresses that although the aggressive and reactionary nature of imperialism has not changed, the fundamental change in the balance

of forces on the world arena in favor of the forces of peace make it possible to avert world war.

"The Communists," the Statement notes, "regard it as their historical mission not only to abolish exploitation on a world scale, but also to deliver mankind from the horrors of another world war already in our time." Stressing that peaceful coexistence is the underlying principle of the foreign policy of socialist states, the Statement says that this "does not mean renunciation of a class policy, does not concern the relations between antagonistic classes, between the exploiters and the exploited, between the oppressed peoples and their oppressors, does not mean cessation of the struggle between bourgeois ideology and socialist ideology."

An important element of the fight for peace, the Statement emphasizes, is the fight for general and complete disarmament and everything must be done to achieve a detente and help resolve the disarmament issue. Therein lies the significance of the Moscow Treaty prohibiting nuclear tests in the atmosphere, outer space and under water; the Rumanian People's Republic was among the first countries to sign the Treaty. "The Rumanian People's Republic," the Statement says, "pursues a policy of fraternal friendship and cooperation with all the socialist countries, a policy of further strengthening the unity of the socialist camp, of solidarity and support for the national-liberation movements, a policy of furthering cooperation with countries with other socio-political systems on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence."

The Statement stresses the role played by the socialist world system as the decisive factor in the development of society, and the successes achieved by the Soviet Union in the full-scale building of communism, and by the Chinese People's Republic and the other socialist countries, Rumania included, in building socialism. These successes, the Statement goes on, were made possible primarily because the countries concerned fully availed themselves of their internal possibilities by mobilizing their own forces and harnessing their natural resources to the maximum. At the same time, however, their economic, scientific and technological progress was made possible by the relations of cooperation and mutual aid established between them. These fruitful relations have broadened out and have contributed tangibly to the successes of the socialist countries.

With a view to benefiting in full measure from these relations the Council for Mutual Economic Aid (CMEA) was set up in which cooperation is based on the principles of national independence and sovereignty, equality and mutual advantage, comradely mutual aid, non-interference in internal affairs and respect for territorial integrity, on the principles of socialist internationalism. The main form of economic cooperation between the member-countries is coordinated planning based on bilateral and multilateral agreements.

The Statement points out that the forms and measures proposed for promoting cooperation included a single plan and a single planning body for all the member-countries, the setting up of inter-state industrial and technical amalgamations, arrangements for enterprises that would be the joint property of several countries, inter-state economic complexes, and so on. The Rumanian People's Republic expressed its views on these proposals, pointing out that the transfer of many of the economic functions from the competence of one state to supra-national or non-governmental bodies was incompatible with the sovereignty of a socialist state and at variance with the principles underlying the relations between the socialist countries.

The Statement stresses that Lenin's thesis regarding the tendency "towards a single, worldwide economy regulated according to a common plan by the proletariat of all nations," refers to the time when socialism will have triumphed on a worldwide scale and when a "common plan" for "a single world economy" will have become the concern of the proletariat of "all nations."

Of course, if some of the socialist countries consider it expedient to introduce in their direct relations forms of cooperation different from those unanimously adopted by the member-countries, this question should be left entirely to the discretion of the countries concerned.

The Rumanian People's Republic is an active factor of economic cooperation between the socialist countries. With a view to making the most of the advantages afforded by the fact that socialism has become a world system, the Central Committee of the Party declares itself in favor of a quest for the best ways for the participation of all socialist countries in CMEA, of the broadest and most flexible forms and methods of cooperation that would attract and facilitate the entry of more and more countries as the world revolutionary process develops.

The Statement attaches particular import-

ance to the mutual relations between socialist countries, the basic principles of which were defined in the 1960 Statement of the Communist and Workers' parties.

Most alarming is the fact that the differences and the public polemic in the Communist movement is affecting the relations between the countries of the socialist camp. The Rumanian Workers' Party holds that even if the differences are not resolved in the near future and the polemic, most regrettably, continues, normal relations between the socialist countries should be maintained nonetheless. "Strict observance of the basic principles underlying the new type of relations between the socialist countries," says the Statement, "is the prime condition of their unity and solidarity and of the fulfilment by the socialist world system of its decisive role in social development."

Analyzing the role of the national-liberation movement in the world revolutionary process the Statement notes: "The socialist countries, the international working class headed by their Communist parties, the peoples battling for the conquest and consolidation of national independence, in short, all the revolutionary forces of our time constitute the anti-imperialist front." To dissociate the national-liberation movement in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America from the socialist countries and the international working class would greatly prejudice the interests of both the national-liberation movement and of socialism.

The international Communist movement, whose political and ideological maturity was reflected in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, is the most influential political force of our time. After noting that one of the most debated issues of the day is that of the peaceful or non-peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism and that this controversy has led to a tendency to absolutize both one and the other, the Statement points out that the possibility of one or the other way to socialism will depend in each given country on the concrete historical conditions. For the proletarian revolution to be successful it is essential that the working class and its party should master all forms of struggle without exception, that they be prepared for every contingency, be ready to pass from one form to another in accordance with the changes taking place in the concrete conditions of revolutionary development. The transition to socialism, however, whether in a peaceful or non-peaceful way, through civil war or without, can take place only as a result of a proletarian revolution and the establishment of the

dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another.

The closing section of the Statement expounds the Rumanian Workers' Party's views on the question of the unity of the international Communist movement. It points out that considering the diversity of the conditions in which the Communist and Workers' parties are working, the unity of the Communist movement should be examined in the light of the need to ensure, with due regard for this diversity and by collective efforts, solidarity on all questions of common interest, on all the basic problems of social development. This unity, it stands to reason, does not preclude the possibility of differences of opinion on questions of internal or international policy. However, the Rumanian Workers' Party considers it extremely important that the differences should not affect the relations between the parties, create irreconcilable contradictions or give rise to mutual recriminations and alienation from the family of Marxist-Leninist parties.

To ensure unity of action of the world Communist movement the standards and methods agreed upon at the 1960 Moscow meeting should be observed. If in the course of comradely discussion, the parties concerned cannot arrive at a common viewpoint on a particular issue, let the course of developments prove who is right; as for the parties themselves it is imperative that they should continue, in the interests of our common aims, to act in a spirit of mutual understanding and respect for each other.

The Statement then recalls the negative consequences which non-observance by the Communist International (in the latter period of its existence) of the correct standards of inter-Party relations had for the international Communist movement. Interference in the internal affairs of other parties, arbitrary replacement and appointment of Party leaders, passing censure on other parties, arrest of Party leaders and other repressive measures — such were the methods used in violation of the accepted standards. These methods, engendered by the personality cult, also affected the activity of the Information Bureau. They led to the expulsion from its ranks of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and, subsequently, to expulsion from the community of socialist countries of Yugoslavia, a country that is building socialism.

The Rumanian Workers' Party highly appreciated the criticism of the personality cult made by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and its decision consistently to observe the

Leninist standards in Party life and in the world Communist movement. The conclusions drawn then are fully applicable to the sharp differences in the Communist movement, which are fraught with the danger of a repetition of the methods engendered by the personality cult. Strict observance of the principle of the equality of all Marxist-Leninist parties, non-interference in their internal affairs, the right of each Party to resolve its own political and organizational problems, independently to chart its political line, tasks, the ways and methods of accomplishing them, to elect leadership, to brief its members on internal and international policy — these are basic to finding the right answer to the controversial issues, and for that matter to all other questions cropping up in the course of their joint struggle. In the great family of the Communist and Workers' parties no Party occupies or should occupy a privileged position, impose its policy or opinion on other parties. Every Party makes its contribution to the common treasure-house of Marxist-Leninist teaching, to enriching the forms and methods of the revolutionary struggle to win power and build a socialist society.

The Rumanian Workers' Party, the Statement goes on, considers incorrect the practice of making disparaging statements and accusations of anti-Marxism and anti-Leninism against fraternal parties and their leaders in Party documents, the press and radio, at meetings of international organizations, etc., of criticizing in an unfriendly and distorted manner the positions of other parties, and of passing censure at congresses or in Party decisions on the views held by other Communist parties. The fact that nearly all the fraternal parties find themselves involved in the polemic and that the tone has been set by the parties who by virtue of their services and revolutionary experience enjoy considerable influence in the world Communist movement may have particularly grave consequences. No Party has the right to act over the head of the Party leadership in one or another country, let alone the right to demand the removal or replacement of the Party leadership. Disrespect towards a Communist Party and its leadership can rightly be assessed as disrespect for the working class, for the people who place their trust in the Communist Party of their country and its leadership; this disrespect can only aggravate the relations between the parties, between the socialist states, can only injure the friendship between the people of these countries.

At a time when the Communist and Workers' parties are tackling tasks that have a decisive

bearing on the destiny of mankind, when their unity is more essential than ever before, the public polemic and the sharp forms it has assumed have caused confusion in a number of parties and in the ranks of the working people of some countries. Most dangerous is the opinion that a split in the international Communist movement and in the ranks of the various parties is unavoidable and even necessary as a precondition of unity on a new basis; no less dangerous is the support and encouragement given to the splinter groups that have appeared in some of the parties. It is also to be deplored that the materials of some of the Communist and Workers' parties contain a call to the fraternal parties to intensify the public polemic. This can only strain relations and add to the danger of a split.

In its Statement the Rumanian Workers' Party appeals to all fraternal parties, and in the first place to the two biggest parties—the CPSU and the CPC — to combine their efforts to prevent a split and preserve the unity of the socialist camp and the international Communist and working-class movement. As a first step in this direction the public polemic between the parties should be terminated at once. If this is not possible then the Rumanian Workers' Party urges that the differences be discussed in a principled and objective spirit.

"The Rumanian Workers' Party," the Statement says, "thinks that the CPSU, the CPC and the other fraternal parties should immediately begin consultation to set up a committee composed of the representatives of several parties to prepare for a meeting of the Com-

munist and Workers' parties.

"Such a meeting must be held only with the participation of all the Communist and Workers' parties and only after thorough preparation.

"The Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party believes that a meeting in which only some of the parties took part would prejudice the cause of unity, worsen the situation, lead to the isolation of some of the fraternal parties and widen the split in the world Communist and working-class movement."

The RWP holds that if the fraternal parties persistently and patiently explore the possibilities they will be able to achieve unity on the basic questions of social development. This unity will be regarded by the world as a demonstration of the strength and viability of Marxism-Leninism, of the ability of the Communist parties to resolve their differences in a comradely and principled spirit. This would greatly enhance the prestige and influence of socialism, would give a powerful impetus to the forces of the anti-imperialist revolutionary movement and would have a most favorable effect on the world revolutionary process.

In conclusion the Statement notes that what unites the Communist and Workers' parties far outweighs the differences of views, and it quotes the 1960 Statement of the Moscow meeting that "the interests of the struggle for the working-class cause demand from each Communist Party, and from the great army of Communists of all countries ever closer unity of will and action."

Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party

At a meeting held in December 1963, the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party passed a resolution on the differences in the international Communist movement and the position of the Party. However, the Central Committee of the Party did not consider it advisable at the time to publish this resolution in view of the fact that the MPRP and the other Marxist-Leninist parties had decided to terminate the public polemic forced upon the international Communist movement by the leadership of the Communist Party of China. The full text of the resolution was published recently by *Unen*, central organ of the Party.

Having discussed the differences in the international Communist movement, the resolution says, the meeting of the Central Committee

notes with profound indignation that the Chinese leaders who were the first to begin the polemic with the Marxist-Leninist parties on basic issues of our time, openly launched an offensive against the jointly elaborated general line of the international Communist movement set forth in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

The CPC leadership have departed from Marxism-Leninism and have revised the basic propositions of the Declaration and Statement concerning the common tasks of the Communist and Workers' parties in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism; they have evolved their own "general line" and are trying in every way to foist their views on the world Communist movement, views that are alien to Marxism-Leninism; to dictate their

will to the other Communist parties and socialist countries.

In their attacks against other Marxist-Leninist parties holding the same views as the CPSU, the Chinese leaders have switched from slander and groundless accusations to actions aimed at splitting the parties, at establishing factional groups in many of them.

An example of the gross interference by the CPC leaders in the internal affairs of the fraternal parties and other countries is their illegal circulation of printed matter containing their pernicious views. To this end they use all channels, even stooping to methods that are a violation of generally accepted standards of international relations.

The Central Committee of the MPRP shares the view that the differences between the CPC leaders and the world Communist movement have their source in the dogmatism and sectarianism, in the petty-bourgeois opportunism and nationalism of the Chinese leaders.

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party which has always pursued a policy of friendship and cooperation with the great Chinese people, the resolution goes on, emphatically rejects and denounces the clumsy methods employed by the Chinese leaders who are trying to impel our Party to accept their anti-Marxist line, to isolate it from the world Communist movement and its tried and tested vanguard, the CPSU, and to divert our people from the right path—the path of everlasting alliance and friendship with the great Soviet people and the peoples of the other socialist countries.

The Central Committee expresses its solidarity with and wholehearted support for the principled Marxist-Leninist stand taken by the CPSU and other fraternal parties. We fight for the ideological purity of Marxism-Leninism, for the unity and consolidation of the international Communist and working-class movement.

CURRENT PROBLEMS

Swedish Workers' Struggle for Economic Democracy

Fritjof Lager

THERE is scarcely another word that occurs so frequently in political debates and is invested with so many different meanings depending upon who uses it, for what purpose and in what connection, as the word "democracy."

This article deals mainly with democracy in economic life, which is, after all, its most important aspect. But by way of introduction I should like to make a few remarks about political democracy in Sweden.

To begin with, let me say that political freedoms and rights which are generally regarded as the basic elements of bourgeois democracy exist in Sweden; some of them indeed have existed for a long time, others have appeared only in the past fifty years. Sweden has a parliamentary system of government, the universal franchise for men and women who have reached the age of 21, a stable juridical system, freedom to organize, freedom of the press, a rather progressive social policy, universal

compulsory education, etc. True, a few survivals from the days of the absolute, the monarchy have remained, as for example, the monarchy itself and the State Church. The Constitution, adopted in 1809 and amended slightly in 1866 and 1918, is now being re-examined and is expected to be substantially revised in the course of the sixties.

Judging by the proposals advanced to date the bourgeois parties and the Social-Democrats are bent on limiting the constitutional reforms to the sphere of what is usually termed political democracy, leaving the economic sphere unchanged.

Dominant Force in Swedish Economy

Private ownership of the means of production is the distinctive feature of the Swedish economy. Sweden is a highly-developed industrial country. Less than 10 per cent of the working population are engaged in agriculture, and this figure is steadily declining. Sweden's

industrial development is based on her rich and varied natural resources (timber, ore, hydro-power) and her highly-skilled working class.

There are three forms of ownership in industry, trade, transport and agriculture: private, cooperative and state, with private ownership predominating. Municipal ownership also exists, but to a very limited extent. State ownership is confined chiefly to transport and communications (railways, postal, telegraph and telephone services), ore extraction in the northern areas, one iron and steel plant and a few small enterprises, chiefly in the woodworking industry. The state enterprises turn out less than five per cent of the total national product, and in recent years there has actually been a marked decline in state ownership. The cooperatives operate chiefly in the sphere of distribution, and account for about 10 per cent of total turnover.

The cooperative societies, however, own a number of industrial enterprises which satisfy the needs of their own trading network, in consumer goods mainly. Besides these, there are agricultural cooperatives which have their own slaughter-houses, canneries, creameries and some pulp and paper mills. The latter are rapidly growing, stimulating the establishment of companies to ensure more rational rafting of timber belonging to peasants.

The state, cooperative and municipal sectors together produce about 10 per cent of the gross national product. The remaining 90 per cent is produced by private capital, both small and large. As for their relative share in the gross product, nearly half is accounted for by 50 big industrial enterprises which in 1960 employed 47 per cent of all industrial workers. Some idea of the pattern of the Swedish economy may be obtained from the following quotation from a book* published in 1962:

"A group of interlocking economic interests consisting of three big banks, several large insurance firms, the biggest industrial and commercial companies and 15 banking houses comprises the kernel of Sweden's big finance capital. However, there are important distinctions within this limited circle of finance magnates. Some of the aforementioned families now play no more than an honorary and nominal role and in all probability will no longer figure among the finance dynasties. In the inner circle of finance magnates there is a small group of tycoons who by virtue of their power and influence form a group of dynasties consisting of only five families, the Wallenbergs, Wehtjes,

Johnssons, Bonniers and Brostroms — the five fingers of the iron hand of big finance capital."

Another aspect of Swedish capitalism worth mentioning is the tendency on the part of many big firms to open big enterprises in other countries. SKF employs 48,000 workers, 36,000 of them abroad; of the 27,000 workers employed by the Taendstickbolaget (match) concern, only 7,000 work in Sweden; half of the Ericsson telephone company's 32,000 workers are employed abroad, etc. It is a common practice for some of the bigger firms to keep only their designing offices, laboratories, and central accounting departments at home, with production proper being moved outside of the country, a tendency which emphasizes the features of Swedish imperialism, as represented by its big finance capital, noted above.

A handful of finance tycoons reigns in Sweden's economy. This vital area is not subject to public, state or municipal control. Society thus has no say in the utilization of the wealth created by the people or in economic planning. Democracy has not yet reached the point of production and plays no part in finance policy and associated spheres. It has barely begun to penetrate the sphere of relations between the workers and the employers, although this is precisely the area that directly affects the vital interests of the wage-earners, the conditions on which they are obliged to sell their labor power. Whatever progress has nevertheless been made in this respect is due primarily to the initiative and organization of the working people, and not to the opportunities afforded by legislation or parliamentary prerogatives.

Role of the Trade Unions and Employers' Associations

Organizations, especially those representing economic interests, play no small part in the life of Swedish society. The labor unions are very powerful. The biggest of them, the Central Trade Union Federation (CTUF) has a membership of over 1,500,000 workers belonging to 41 unions. The Central Federation of Clerical Workers (CFCW) has nearly 500,000 members, while the Central Federation of Higher School and Scientific Workers has some 60,000. The combined membership of these organizations is in excess of two million, a substantial figure for a country with a population of 7.5 million. The trade unions enjoy great prestige among their members.

The employers, too, have their associations united in the Swedish Employers' Federation (SEF). The state, municipal and cooperative

*C. H. Hermansson. *Monopol och Storfinans*. Stockholm, 1962. 347 pp.

enterprises, as a rule, do not belong to the SEF; they have their own central bodies for negotiations with the trade unions. True, there are exceptions; for example, the Luossavaara-Kiirunavaara AB ore-mining concern, the biggest state-owned enterprise in Sweden, belongs to the SEF.

The leadership of the big central federations — the SEF, on the one hand, and the CTUF and CFCW, on the other — conduct negotiations, engage in collective bargaining and make recommendations for the agreements (usually for two years) on wages and working conditions which the unions conclude at their own levels. In addition, the central federations conclude special agreements defining employer-worker relations, stipulating, for example, to what extent and in what way the employees of a given enterprise may be informed on matters concerning production planning, its results, profitability, etc. These rights, however, are, as we shall see, extremely limited.

All these organizations, trade unions and employers' associations alike, are highly centralized. The agreements concluded are binding on both sides, and violations are rare.

Within the bounds of the general agreements the workers in a given enterprise are able to some extent to amend and clarify some of their formulations, including those on wages. Since the war the Swedish workers have been extremely active in devising new ways of securing wage increases above the level stipulated in the general agreements. More than half of all wage increases won in the past ten years have been the result of agreement reached directly in the enterprises. Similar local agreements may be reached on other questions, but they seldom exceed the limits set by the central agreements. Moreover, the employers belonging to the SEF have no right to conclude local contracts if these conflict with the central agreements. Any violations incur heavy fines and the risk of other penalties.

The right to organize is now generally recognized, although exceptions to the rule may occur now and then. The right of trade union officials to carry on their activity in the enterprises has also been recognized, although the employers still refuse to give any undertaking not to victimize them for conducting union activity (negotiations, preparation for negotiations, etc.) during working hours.

There has been a noticeable tendency in the past ten years, both on the part of the central labor organizations as well as the employers' associations, to avoid legislative regulation of employer-worker relations. While working hours, annual holidays, labor protection and

similar questions are covered by law, the rights and obligations of the workers are still settled in the old way, through direct agreement between the two sides. The model for this type of agreement is the so-called basic agreement between the CTUF and the SEF concluded on December 20, 1928 in Saltjöbaden (a suburb of Stockholm—Ed.) for the avowed purpose of ensuring "labor peace," and setting forth the principles governing the relations between employers and employed.

Since then the legislative bodies have refrained from interfering in labor relations. Proposals for improving working conditions and satisfying other workers' demands submitted in the Riksdag, chiefly by the Communists, were rejected on the pretext that the possibilities of a voluntary agreement on these questions being reached between the central federations of the workers and the employers should first be explored.

What benefits do the workers derive from legislation and agreement? Let us begin with legislation.

Labor Legislation

The duration of the work-day is established by law and since 1960 the 45-hour week has been in force. (The possibility of reducing it to 40 hours is now under consideration). The employer, however, has the legal right to extend the working time by an additional 200 hours a year through overtime. In special cases another 150 hours a year can be added. All work performed above the 45-hour week limit is counted as overtime. For those employed underground or those who work in shifts and who have already won the legal right to work less than 45 hours a week, three hours a week overtime is the limit. Longer working hours can also be provided for in special agreements for certain categories of sales personnel.

Vacations are fixed by law at four weeks a year. The decision to increase vacations from three to four weeks was adopted in 1963 and will go into effect gradually. This year, for instance, workers will have three and a half weeks holiday, and in 1965, the full month. Holidays are paid by the employer on the basis of the workers' actual earnings.

As regards labor protection, the laws are of a specific and rather complicated nature. Although they provide for safety measures to be supervised by Union delegates, very little is done to give these delegates the necessary training, and the employers have no legal responsibility in this matter.

Existing labor legislation seriously restricts trade union rights. In 1928 a law on collective

agreements was passed making strikes illegal in enterprises where collective agreements are in force. In practice every collective agreement is valid until a new one is concluded, and if the old agreement expires before a new one is concluded, the former as a rule is prolonged until the new one goes into force. In this way the Swedish workers were virtually deprived of the right to strike outside the limits imposed by this law.

In order to protect the employers against any contingency that might arise if for some reason or another a gap should occur between collective agreements, a law was adopted making it obligatory for the trade union which decides to declare a strike in that period (i.e., without violating the 1928 law) to give the employer a week's warning.

This law is designed mainly to combat spontaneous strikes in protest against intolerable working conditions, against unsatisfactory job superintendents and foremen, or as an expression of protest or solidarity for political reasons. The Goeteborg dockers were recently penalized for "unlawful" strikes in connection with their refusal to unload vessels from the Republic of South Africa.

These laws also prevent the workers from organizing brief local strikes for the purpose of drawing attention to their demands and underscoring their determination to fight for them.

A special Labor Court consisting of five members — two from the CTUF, two from the SEF and a chairman (a high-ranking lawyer) appointed by the government — verifies observance of collective agreements and settles all disputes arising in this connection. Its functions include interpreting the collective agreements and establishing the legality of the actions of either side from the standpoint of the collective agreements. It can impose fines, but cannot pass prison sentences. The trade union organizations bound by collective or other agreements are liable to prosecution, as are union members. The kind of situation that can arise in this connection may be seen from the following example. As mentioned before, legal proceedings were instituted against the Goeteborg dockers who followed the example of the Danish workers and refused to unload South-African ships. Had the strike been organized by the union, the latter would have had to pay a heavy fine. But since the dockers declared that they were acting on their own initiative, the Labor Court issued summonses against individual workers. Nearly a hundred dockers were fined by the court on this occasion.

Contract Relations

The rights and obligations of the employers and the employed are set forth, as we have said, in the basic agreements concluded between the Central Federation of Trade Unions and the Employers' Association, collectively known as the Saltjoebaden Agreement.

This agreement, however, does not guarantee the right to employment. It merely obliges the employer to give the worker no less than two weeks' notice of dismissal or temporary layoff "for production reasons." This obligation, however, is annulled by the proviso that the employer need not serve a worker notice of dismissal or temporary layoff should the circumstances be unfavorable. In recent years workers have often been laid off "for production reasons" or dismissed without warning. The agreement does not provide any penalty for violations by the employers.

Centralization is the salient feature of the forms of negotiation stipulated in the general agreement. As soon as the agreement expires, negotiations are launched between representatives of the central federations. The leadership of the different unions is obliged to abide by agreements concluded between the CTUF and the SEF. The rank and file in the localities, however, are making their voices heard, especially in the matter of wages.

Another important agreement between the employers and the Central Trade Union Federation, in operation since 1946, provides for production committees to be set up in enterprises which employ 50 or more workers, consisting of representatives of the workers (members of the CTUF), office workers (members of the CFCW) and the management, the chairman to be appointed from among the members representing the employers. The functions, rights and obligations of the committees are set forth in the agreement.

In theory the purpose of the production committees is to keep the workers in a given enterprise informed about the production plans, distribution of profits and the personnel policy of the enterprise. But the agreement is so worded as to give the employer a loophole in all matters of any importance, and reduces the functions of the committees to merely passing on information, moreover within the limits set by the employer. The production committees have no right to make decisions. They may merely voice their opinion which is subsequently discussed in the unions by the workers of the enterprise and also by the management. Let us see how this works out in practice.

At a factory meeting attended by members

of the production committee, the workers may draw attention to some shortcomings, the lack of a canteen, let us say, something that comes solely within the competence of the management. The proposal is made that a part of the premises be repaired and adapted for the purpose. Everyone agrees that this should be done and the matter is then referred to the management. The management, however, ignores the whole business. The production committee may protest on behalf of the workers and other personnel concerned, but it has no power to compel the management to carry out the decision of the meeting.

The management is supposed to keep the committee informed of any important changes in production, and on the whole of course it does so. But even if it does not, nothing happens. In most cases the workers are informed of imminent changes in the enterprise (for example, plans to close it down, move to another place, change the character of production, etc.) only after the decision has been taken. It rarely happens that the production committee is informed before the decision is adopted or that its advice and opinion are taken into account.

For Genuine Economic Democracy

Thus the sovereign rights of the employer are in no way affected either by labor legislation, by the basic agreement or the agreement on the production committees. In an industrially developed society this situation is an anachronism. Hence it is only natural that the question of the workers' role in management and in production should be coming more and more to the fore. It figured prominently both in the Riksdag debates and during the collective bargaining in 1963-64.

These demands are being pushed along two lines. One is concerned with the question of guaranteed employment, which holds a prominent place in the negotiations for the main labor agreement, taking priority even over wage issues. The statement adopted by the CTUF at the beginning of November 1963 and which serves as a basis for negotiations with the Employers' Association, declares:

"Negotiations started between the CTUF and the SEF concerning guaranteed employment for workers and compensation in the event of dismissal or layoffs for production reasons should be completed within the framework of the central negotiations."

The other line of demands is expressed in the proposal that the capitalists be deprived by law of their ownership rights and prerogatives in certain key branches of industry so

that the workers may be given a say in the functioning of the enterprises in which their labor is invested.

A few words about the program which the Central Trade Union Federation has advanced on this question.

The right of guaranteed employment comes up against the sovereign right of the employers "to hire and dismiss workers at their discretion and to supervise the work and distribute it." This sovereign right, known in Sweden as Paragraph 23, has been a bone of contention for more than half a century. In all negotiations concerning general agreements, and also in parliamentary debates, the employers stubbornly refuse to consider any change in Paragraph 23. This year an instance occurred which is worth mentioning here. When the CTUF raised the question of the right of control in the enterprises, the Social-Democratic government advised the Riksdag not to ratify recommendation No. 119 of the International Labor Organization, inasmuch as this recommendation—toothless and cautiously worded though it is—upholds this right of the workers.

The demand for payment in the event of temporary layoffs "for production reasons" is as yet formulated in general terms. It should, however, include the obligation on the part of the employers to continue for a time, i.e., a few weeks or months, to pay wages to temporarily laid-off workers who are unable to obtain other jobs in this period.

Monetary compensation in cases of dismissal means that the dismissed worker should have the right to receive a certain sum to ensure him a subsistence minimum until he finds other employment.

In view of the fact that workers covered by collective agreements cannot collect sick benefits for the first three days of illness, when the general law on the sick benefit insurance goes into effect, the CTUF is demanding payment of benefits according to insurance rates from the first day of illness, the benefit to be based on the monthly earnings of the workers concerned.

None of the demands put forward by the CTUF this year in the collective bargaining—with the exception of that concerning paragraph 23—is directed against the foundations of the capitalist system. The demands advanced along the other line—in the Riksdag—are aimed precisely toward that objective. And the initiators of the proposals are the Communists. Their principal demands are:

1) nationalization of the big insurance companies. In recent years there has been a power-

ful concentration of the insurance business in Sweden. Apart from the state old-age pension fund and the Folksam cooperative organization, all the big insurance companies are in the hands of capitalists. The immense capital possessed by these companies (over 15,000 million kroner) exerts a considerable influence on the financial life of the country;

2) nationalization of the sale of oil and oil products. Sweden, having no oil resources of her own, is a big importer of oil. The trade in oil products is concentrated in the hands of American and British companies (Shell, Esso, British Petroleum, Gulf Oil, Caltex). Only two Swedish companies operate in this field: the IC/OK, a cooperative concern, and Nynaes Petroleum, a subsidiary of the Johnsson concern. However their share in the oil trade is negligible. The demand for the nationalization of the trade in oil and oil products is directed not only against finance capital in general but also against the grip which the foreign oil

trusts have on Sweden's economy and, consequently, on her policy;

3) more active state interference with a view to retaining public control over the natural wealth (ore deposits, forests) and ensuring their exploitation for the benefit of the public. This also entails building a state iron and steel plant in central Sweden in order, on the one hand, to satisfy the growing demand for iron and steel and, on the other, to find a permanent market for the ore extracted in smaller mines in this part of the country;

4) radical steps to counteract the rapidly growing speculation in land in the central areas of the country, support for municipal housing construction and transfer of houses to public and cooperative ownership.

These are the demands for which the working class of Sweden is fighting at present. They are the program of action at the first stage toward winning democracy in the economic sphere, the most important sphere of all.

Urgent Tasks of Danish Trade Union Movement

Kjoeld Oesterling

APPROXIMATELY two and a half million people including over a million factory workers and nearly half a million clerical workers and civil servants are engaged in the various branches of Denmark's economy. Representing a decisive social force both by virtue of their position in the economy and their numbers Danish wage and salary-earners have built up some large and powerful organizations over the years. The first trade union federations—the printing and tobacco trades—were founded as far back as 1869 and 1871. Today the Danish Trade Union Federation unites 68 unions with a membership of slightly over 800,000. To this should be added six non-affiliated unions (31,000 members) and several office workers' organizations (13,000 members), also non-affiliated but which cooperate with other organizations in the so-called trade union cartel (the First Central Organization of Civil Servants with a membership of 37,000).

The influence exerted by the trade-union movement, however, does not correspond to its numerical strength and composition. Although the economic situation in the country has been highly favorable since 1957, especially in industry, the standard of living of the workers has not risen to any appreciable extent. The few

concessions won by the workers were bought at the price of overtime work (the working week is now two hours longer than stipulated in collective agreements), and the influx of women into industry (Denmark holds second place in Western Europe, after West Germany, for employment of female labor). All this has afforded the monopolies new opportunities for stepping up exploitation by discrimination in remuneration of female labor (women get less than two-thirds the wages of men), by taking advantage of the fact that many workers, to make ends meet, are obliged to do two jobs, and by intensification of labor (productivity in recent years has risen more as a result of intensification of labor and not because of new and more productive techniques or of a more rational organization of labor).

Politically, the postwar period in Denmark has been marked by the growth of state-monopoly capitalism. The machinery of state has been frequently used to put through "measures restricting consumption" and, subsequently, employment as a "solution" for Denmark's periodical currency crises (for a country which has practically no raw material of its own and which exports large quantities of agricultural produce and is constantly expanding its exports

of manufactured goods, foreign trade is, of course, a rather serious problem). The machinery of state is also used to tighten the screws on the public through tax and credit policy and redistribution of the national income in favor of the monopolies and the big farmers. This process has culminated in the present government policy of "block solutions," a complex of laws and measures aimed at freezing wages, placing further restrictions on the trade unions, compulsory savings schemes to include workers as well, and higher indirect taxes than ever before. And all this in a situation in which the government claims to be "powerless" to prevent prices from soaring, which was its chief argument in favor of the policy of "block solutions."

Against this general background the discussion now under way in the Danish trade union movement acquires exceptional significance. The Communist Party is also making its contribution to this discussion. We shall speak here of some of the problems discussed and the proposals that have been advanced for their solution.

Does the Present Trade Union Structure Meet the Needs of the Moment?

A question often asked at trade union meetings, at union study courses and in the union press is this: does the structure of Danish trade unions in its traditional form answer the requirements of today?

The trade unions fall into the following main types: 1) Unions whose membership consists exclusively of highly skilled workers; 2) organizations uniting non-skilled workers mainly (for example, the Union of Unskilled and General Workers which has over 250,000 members, or the textile workers' union); 3) unions of skilled and unskilled workers (i.e., the wood-working and printing industry), and 4) unions consisting chiefly of civil servants and clerks (e.g. shop assistants and clerks, with nearly 90,000 members, or the union of postal and railway workers, etc.).

There are no industrial unions proper in Denmark, i.e., unions uniting workers on the principle of "one enterprise, one union." Instead there is a rather widely developed system of "union cartels." Some of these cartels have a rather big membership. The building workers' cartel, for example, numbers 95,000 workers, skilled and unskilled, belonging to 11 unions, and the big central trade union organization of metalworkers—170,000 skilled and unskilled workers belonging to 21 unions.

In the course of the present discussion it has been suggested that in view of the growth of monopolies the time has come to form indus-

trial unions instead of preserving the old traditional structure. Others see the solution in a bigger number of trade union cartels and in expanding the sphere of their activities which today range from direct negotiations with the employers and the conclusion of standard agreements to the coordination of day-to-day trade union activities.

In this connection the relations between skilled and unskilled workers (including trained workers) constitute a special problem which is rendered all the more acute by the changed demands placed on the workers' skills with the introduction of new technology. Alfred Pedersen, ex-president of the unskilled and general workers union, has expressed the view that the unskilled workers would support the idea of industrial unions on the condition: 1) that all the workers in the given enterprise, whether working at the bench or in the office, should belong to the same union; 2) that the same jobs should carry the same pay regardless of the level of training of the worker, and 3) that unskilled workers should where possible have the same opportunities of employment as skilled.

One of the documents of a trade union conference held under the auspices of the Communist Party in February this year had this to say on trade union structure:

"The organizational forms of the trade union movement should be adapted to the needs of the present which is marked by the concentration of the power of capital and large-scale production, and ways must be found of overcoming the organizational diffusion of the trade union movement which is contrary to the demands of the time." However, it was noted further, "any movement toward forming cartels embracing kindred branches of industry and toward establishing industrial unions should on no account be effected from the top, but only on the basis of discussion by the union membership and in accordance with their decision."

Linked with this problem is another and perhaps more important one, namely, the problem of democracy in the trade unions, the influence of the rank and file, and the need to stimulate interest in trade union work and in the movement as a whole.

Democracy and the Trade Union Movement

Although the trade unions are democratic by their very nature and should therefore be one of the mainsprings of democracy, some of the union rules are surprisingly undemocratic. Of the many ways of restricting democracy perhaps the best known and most effective are the "chain negotiation" and "competent

bodies" rules which originate in the Courts of Arbitration Act of 1934.

Under the first rule, the employers can, if they so desire, bargain with several unions at once in negotiations on wages and working conditions, the final results of the voting being obligatory for all. Thus, the printing workers, for example, have on more than one occasion found themselves "adopting" proposals they had previously rejected.

Under the "competent bodies" rule, the leading union bodies may vote on behalf of members who did not take part in the voting whenever the percentage of votes cast in the locals falls short of the required minimum. Experience shows, however, that the opinion of the rank and file is frequently at variance with that of the leaders. Several collective agreements on a national scale were "adopted" in this way.

The existing practice of collective bargaining with nearly all the main issues and decisions being concentrated "at the top" also limits the opportunities for the rank and file to influence the course of the negotiations and to control them. At the same time, it affords new opportunities for "class collaboration" which some trade union chiefs not only practise but even justify on "theoretical" grounds.

This has always been a bone of contention between Left and Right in the trade union movement. The debate is still going on, and recent proposals to extend the powers and rights of the union leadership have met with considerable resistance. The Left has advanced counter-proposals to the effect that the unions, and especially union officials, should be able to play a bigger role in the enterprises. The Left also opposes the "competent bodies" rule.

Democracy in Industry. The Right to Be Kept Informed and to Have a Say in Management

The debate in the Danish labor movement centers around the so-called basic agreement, i.e., the general agreement between the Trade Union Federation and the Employers' Association, around the permanent Arbitration Court, and around other undemocratic rules and regulations restricting the workers' right to take action in defense of their interests.

In the course of the past 60 years (beginning with the agreement of September 1899) a system of regulations has been evolved which places restrictions on the unions and infringes the workers' right to take action. At times this right has been denied them altogether by government interference, and the present government policy of "block solutions" in practice amounts to banning strikes for a period

of two years. But the workers are standing up for their rights: over 200 strikes involving nearly 25 per cent of the organized workers took place between 1959-1961. Under the existing restrictive regulations, however, the permanent Arbitration Court for labor conflicts has in many cases imposed heavy fines on the strikers. The claim that the Arbitration Court is an impartial body is disproved by statistical evidence. It has handed down hundreds of decisions against the workers and only a few in their favor. This shows that the principles on which the Court functions are unsatisfactory. The statement issued by the above-mentioned Communist Party trade union conference declared that "the basic principles of all labor conflicts both in industry and at the level of the organizations should be: negotiations—mediation—action. This democratic form of action should be binding on all, including the government and the Volketing."

The basic agreement concluded some years ago after a long discussion and sharp criticism by the unions of the old regulations can be said to be a change for the better. However, the main stipulation of the 1899 agreement—namely, that the employers have the sole right to "manage and allocate work"—is repeated word for word in the new agreement and is used against the unions in another debate. We refer to the current debate on "democracy in industry," "industrial" or "economic democracy," as it is sometimes termed, i.e., the right of the unions and the working class to be informed and to have a say in management, and also the right to take part in deciding economic questions in the enterprises and on a national scale.

The right to participate in management and in directing the economy are long-standing demands of the working-class movement in Denmark. They figured in the program of the Social-Democratic Party as far back as 1913. In the interval between the first and second world wars, or more specifically in 1924, the Social Democrats drafted a bill—albeit of a very limited nature—providing for the establishment of industrial councils. The proposal, however, was never taken up.

The years of struggle for liberation from fascism cemented the unity of the Danish labor movement and heightened the workers' sense of responsibility and their confidence in their ability to guide the destiny of the nation. One of the demands advanced by the working-class movement was for the right to have a say in management, for "a broader economic democracy" and for corresponding organizational reforms. In May 1945 at the first meeting of

the leaders of the Trade Union Confederation it was said that "production of social wealth should be increased and for this it was necessary to have industrial committees in the enterprises." Further, in order to allay the apprehensions of the employers, it was stressed that the establishment of the industrial committees "should stimulate among the workers confidence and interest in production."

The postwar program of the Social-Democratic Party, "The Denmark of the Future," also speaks of the need for "new bodies to ensure planning and democracy in the national economy." The program explicitly said that the issue was one of production councils in enterprises of a definite size, sectional councils in the different branches or key sectors of economy, and national-economic councils to handle economic problems on the scale of the country.

Negotiations on the establishment of these councils, however, dragged out interminably. Ultimately, when the simultaneous talks on political unity in the labor movement became deadlocked—the era of cold war had begun—the Trade Union Confederation and the Employers' Association reached agreement on cooperation committees. This move, however, promised anything but a satisfactory solution. And sure enough, the confederation leadership, commenting on the agreement with the employers, had to admit that the cooperation committees had no powers whatever and that they were merely organs for cooperation, consultation and information. The same view was expressed by the Employers' Association which commented: "... the cooperation committees are not empowered to make decisions. . . . Consequently, they cannot be identified with production councils; their function consists in cooperating with and ascertaining the opinion of the workers *before decisions are taken by the employers.*" (My italics—K.O.)

The confederation leadership raised no objections, either theoretical or practical, to this statement. On the contrary, they wanted to turn the committees into vehicles for "class collaboration," as a means of campaigning for increased productivity without compensation (or with inadequate compensation) for the extra labor of the workers. No mention whatever was made of the workers' right to have a say in deciding economic questions or about democracy in production. It is not surprising that the workers quickly lost all faith and interest in the cooperation committees. It soon became clear even to the Right-wing leaders that the committees had lost all significance as a political argument in the debate on democracy in industry and on the right to a voice

in economic questions. The agreement was accordingly annulled as of December 1, 1963, a technical committee being set up at the same time to revise it.

But the workers' striving for democracy in the enterprises envisages something more than a mere "technical revision." The demand for completely new and more effective bodies is heard with growing insistency from all quarters in the labor movement; moreover, it is being tied up with the old working-class demand for production councils.

After a thorough discussion, the recent Communist Party conference on trade union work formulated these demands as follows: production councils should be formed both in state-owned and municipal enterprises (where this can be done at once), and in private enterprises; production councils should function alongside the existing working-class bodies as instruments of the workers' will. They should be elected by the workers in the enterprises, and, in the private enterprises, without the participation of the employers. The production councils should be given the necessary authority and opportunity to work effectively along the following lines:

the right to obtain information about and exercise control over production, including access to the accounts of the enterprise;

the right to participate in planning and organizing production, in deciding questions pertaining to hiring, dismissal and transfer of workers.

Emphasis is laid on the demand to safeguard the rights of union functionaries, on forbidding the employers to dismiss functionaries. (Under the existing regulations the employer can dismiss a trade union functionary provided he pays a small sum in compensation and if the workers do not take action to protest the dismissal, which has recently been the cause of many conflicts.)

The statement issued by our trade union conference goes on to say that the demand for full democracy and the right of the workers to participate in managing the enterprises cannot be realized without "abolishing the power of the monopolies through measures of a social nature and by nationalizing the big monopolies." This calls for a persistent struggle in defense of democracy against encroachments by state-monopoly capitalism. By way of example we may mention the proposals advanced by the Communists, with the support of the trade union membership, to counterpose the policy of "block solutions." On the whole, these proposals constitute a democratic alternative, they outline a democratic solution for the problems

which the government, by its policy of "block solutions," wants to resolve in favor of monopoly at the expense of the workers and to the detriment of democracy. It is precisely in this light that the urgent demands put forward by the Left in the trade unions should be seen. These demands are the democratic answer to the questions arising in connection with the growing production, the favorable economic situation and the soaring prices. Chief among these demands are: higher wages to compensate, on the one hand, for the rising prices, and on the other, to ensure the workers a bigger share of the increased production; equal

pay for men and women; a 40-hour week; limitation of overtime; four weeks' holiday with bigger holiday allowances; guarantees against unemployment; improvement of education in keeping with modern technological development; better conditions for trainees in the enterprises; more place in hostels for young worker-trainees; more and cheaper housing; a curb on the rising taxation; effective measures to stop the rise in prices and profits; collective agreements for shorter periods than at present (a term of one year is proposed) to allow for amendments in accordance with the changing conditions.

Exchange of Views

Problems of the National-Liberation Movement of the Arab Peoples

This was the subject of an exchange of views recently held in Prague in which Marxist theoreticians from the following countries participated: Syria (Khaled Bagdash, Zahir Abdelsamad, Omar Sibai and Mourad Kouatly), Iraq (Anwar Moustapha and Aziz al Hajj), Morocco (Abdelsalam Bourquia and Abdelsalam Wazani), Lebanon (Sawaja Sawaja, Jamil Haddad and Said Traboulsi), Jordan (Fuad Nassar and Farid Said), etc.

Below we print, abridged, part of the materials of the exchange.

I. ARAB UNITY

All the speakers stressed that the fight for the unity of the Arab people was part of their fight against imperialism, against the old and the new colonialism and for the social advance of their countries.

The problem of Arab unity, said Comrade *Fuad Nassar*, receives much attention from the Communist Party of Jordan. A little over a year ago we began to re-consider our viewpoint on this question. At the same time we also began to make a deeper study of the socio-economic changes now taking place in Egypt. The article "On Arab Unity," published in the February issue of *World Marxist Review*, reflected our Central Committee's views on the matter. It should be said, however, that this article is our first attempt in interpreting this question in a new way. When speaking about Arab unity we cannot separate it from the changes now taking place in the Arab countries and, in particular, from the socio-economic changes in Egypt.

We supported the Egypt-Syria union with

certain important reservations. We held, first, that the unity should be based on democratic principles; secondly, that the UAR government should pursue a national Arab policy directed against imperialism; thirdly, that this government should have closer relations of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Although our stand on the Egypt-Syria union did not fully coincide with that of the other fraternal parties in the Arab countries, it was, nevertheless, very close to it.

In our view, the failure of the Syrian-Egyptian union was most unfortunate, a step backward in the movement for Arab unity. The reasons for this lie, on the one hand, in the policy pursued by Nasser at the time and the attempt of the Egyptian bourgeoisie to establish domination over Syria and, on the other, in the conspiracy of the Syrian big bourgeoisie and reactionaries inside and outside the country against this unity.

One of the main factors that impelled the

Syrian bourgeoisie to oppose the union was the July decrees of 1961 nationalizing some of the big capitalist enterprises. The bourgeoisie turned to account the discontent of the Syrian people and the army with the Nasser policy and, jointly with imperialism, conspired against the Egypt-Syria union. The coup also had the support of patriots, a circumstance of which the Syrian bourgeoisie made full use. The Kuzbari government that came to power after the coup was a reactionary government. It hastened to rescind the nationalization decrees, abolished the gains of the workers, cut short the partial agrarian reform and returned to an anti-democratic and anti-communist policy. The Dawalibi government pursued the same policy. The various governments that succeeded each other in Syria took no really effective steps to promote the country's democratic development. Proof of this was the coup of March 28, 1962, which had been staged, according to its supporters, to "remedy the situation," and also the Baathist reactionary coup of March 8, 1963, which used as a screen the aspirations of the Syrian people for unity.

After the collapse of the Syria-Egypt union Nasser, as we know, tried hard to restore it. And while we denounced his action at the time, this did not blind us to the positive aspects of his policy, notably Egypt's support of the revolution in Yemen and Algeria, the UAR's advocacy of world peace and peaceful coexistence, and the important socio-economic reforms carried out in the country, particularly since July 1961. Although we have never considered these reforms to be really socialist ones, we have not denied their importance. These reforms serve the interests of the Egyptian people—workers, peasants and small bourgeoisie; they are directed essentially against the big bourgeoisie who together with the defeated feudal lords and big landowners were eager to establish an alliance with imperialism against the Egyptian people, against Nasser and against the Arab liberation movement generally.

Whereas before the publication in July 1961 of the decrees on nationalization and the introduction of subsequent measures, we could speak about expansionist tendencies on the part of the big bourgeoisie, now that these reforms have dealt a crushing blow to big capital in Egypt it would be absolutely incorrect to do so. We welcome the viewpoint recently expressed by the newspaper *Al Akhbar* that the reforms now being carried out in Egypt can, objectively speaking, lay the foundation for its development along the non-capitalist path.

What I have to say, said *Zahir Abdelsamad* (Syria), expresses the point of view of our

Party on Arab unity. Unity is the cherished desire among intellectuals, students, army officers, rank-and-file soldiers and small bourgeoisie in the Arab countries. And this is also true of workers, peasants and the working masses generally. You will hardly find a political leader in the Arab world who would venture to oppose the idea of Arab unity. Even among the big bourgeoisie whose economic interests could be affected by unity, there are groups who claim to be for unity and who profess to be working for it. In the minds of the working people the idea of Arab unity is associated not only with the struggle against imperialism and the reactionaries but also with the struggle for democracy and socialism.

Recent world developments, the speaker continued, have imparted a new meaning to the Arab unity slogan. The idea of national liberation and the establishment of an independent Arabia has become a national-democratic, socialist concept. The purpose of Arab unity as it is understood by the masses is no longer confined to gaining independence and establishing a single national state; Arab unity has become the synonym for a highly-developed national democracy as the harbinger of socialism. This new development, the result of the deep-going changes that have taken place in the world, is a sign of the times; it reflects the era of transition from capitalism to socialism, of the prestige enjoyed by the socialist world system which is becoming the decisive force of human progress.

The reactionaries and the extreme nationalist groups, seeing the problem of Arab unity through the prism of their own narrow interests, and bent on realizing their own concepts, are resorting to demagogic slogans designed to deceive and confuse the masses with false promises of freedom and socialism. The movement for Arab unity is not the product of transient circumstances and temporary considerations, it is not the invention of any individual, class, party or group; it is the result of historical conditions that have been taking shape over a long period of time.

Dwelling in detail on the history of the movement which had its beginnings in Syria, the Lebanon and Palestine, whence it spread to the other Arab countries, Comrade Zahir said that the idea of Arab unity has its objective basis and it can be realized. Though dwelling in different states the Arabs have the attributes of a single nation: they share the same territory, they have a common language (despite numerous dialects), a common culture which reflects their hopes and aspirations, common customs and traditions. These elements

constitute a basis for unity; they may manifest themselves to a greater or lesser degree, depending on the distance between the various countries. There is, doubtless, a greater affinity between the Arabs of Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco, for example than between those of, say, Jordan and Tunisia or Libya and Kuwait.

There are other factors, however, which impede the achievement of unity and prompt each country to preserve its independence. For one thing the level of economic development differs in most Arab countries; in all of them a bourgeoisie has emerged which seeks to protect its own interests and its own home market against the expansion and rivalry of the bourgeoisie of the other Arab countries; moreover the standard of living is by no means the same in all the Arab countries. Besides, whereas one country may have a colonial, feudal-type economy, in the other, merchant-usurer and compradore capital predominate. Some countries have a developing national industry, others have only one branch of industry, chiefly oil, controlled by imperialist monopolies. In some countries a state sector has appeared, a considerable part of the economy is state-owned and agrarian reform is being effected, whereas in others, the private sector still holds sway.

The imperialists would much prefer to see things unchanged in the Arab countries. That is why they are trying to prolong the existence of the small countries, as in the case of Kuwait, for instance. Having entrenched themselves in the Arab countries the British and French colonialists have no intentions of relinquishing them so easily.

But the factors impelling the Arab countries toward unity are undoubtedly stronger than those operating against it. The latter can be overcome provided the ways and means of achieving unity are realistic and if the objective conditions in each country are taken into account.

When the question of Arab unity arose, each class defined its attitude to it in accordance with its own interests. At the initial stage of the movement, just before the First World War, the banner of Arab unity was unfurled by the national bourgeoisie. But when the Arab countries gained independence and unity became a tangible possibility, differences arose among the national bourgeoisie. At one time the powerful Egyptian bourgeoisie, for example, strove for Arab unity through economic expansion and the conquest of markets in the other Arab countries. Here they clashed with the weaker bourgeoisie of the other Arab countries which fought to retain their own markets.

The reactionary compradore bourgeoisie and the feudal lords, as usual, supported the plans of their imperialist bosses for a "Greater Syria," and the "Fertile Crescent" alliance, etc.

As for the working class, the peasantry, the intellectuals, the students, officers and soldiers, they supported the national bourgeoisie in its anti-imperialist struggle but demanded that the fruits of national independence should be enjoyed not by the bourgeoisie only but by all, and that after winning political independence the country should go ahead with the tasks of the national democratic revolution with socialism as the ultimate objective.

The national bourgeoisie in most of the Arab countries are opposed to unity, for they realize that unity will weaken their positions and deprive them of some of their privileges. In most cases the influence of the national bourgeoisie in the Arab world has begun to wane. Nevertheless their role in the struggle against imperialism and reaction has not been played to the end.

The small bourgeoisie in the towns are beginning to acquire greater weight and to exert a growing influence on political life. They are pursuing a dual policy prompted on the one hand by their hostility to the feudal lords and the big bourgeoisie and, on the other, by their fear of the upsurge of the working-class and peasant movement. The masses of industrial and agricultural workers, as well as the poor peasantry are now participating in varying degrees and in different ways in the political life of the countries, are impelling them onto the path of social progress.

Many attempts were made in the past to unite the Arab countries. A study of these experiments could be helpful in drawing conclusions as to how Arab unity can be effected today. Many years ago, for example, Egypt and the Sudan were joined together, but the union fell apart owing to the resistance of the Sudanese people to the dual yoke of British imperialism and the Egyptian bourgeoisie.

During the Second World War the Arab League was formed on the initiative of the British who wished to create a body which they could utilize for their own ends. At that time the League and most of the governments of the Arab countries acted as a screen and an instrument for the realization of the imperialist and Zionist designs.

However, the Arab League cannot be judged by former standards, especially since after 1954 the nature of some of the governments changed (Egypt, Syria, Yemen), new members have joined and the changes taking place in the world have begun in one way or another to be re-

flected in the League itself. The Arab League has at times played a patriotic role. However, it has not yet been able to realize the hopes and aspirations of the people for full national emancipation, for democracy and social progress.

Within the framework of the League the governments of the Arab countries conclude cultural, economic and sometimes military and political agreements. The agreement on economic integration, the collective-security pact among the Arab states, and also the agreement for air-lines, transportation of oil and shipping were all concluded under the auspices of the League. However by no means all these agreements have been fulfilled, and some have been carried out in a distorted form. But while it would be wrong to say that the Arab League is the embodiment of the idea of Arab unity, it is, nevertheless, a step in the direction of the unity which is dictated by objective conditions in the Arab world today, and it may yet serve as a means of bringing the Arab countries together in many spheres.

One of the principal experiments in uniting the Arab countries was the union of Egypt and Syria which collapsed after three years and eight months. The factors which led to the union were numerous and diverse, moreover patriotic factors were intertwined here with those of a reactionary and imperialist nature. For some years prior to the union, Syria had been moving rapidly in a progressive direction. It had a national-front government which included patriotic and progressive forces ranging from the national bourgeoisie to representatives of the workers and peasants and, despite the resistance of the reactionaries, the people enjoyed democratic rights.

The Syrian reactionaries felt that the power was in danger of slipping from their grasp, the people were beginning to have a say in public affairs, the workers and peasants were fighting more and more resolutely for their rights and for a higher living standard, a worker-peasant alliance was gradually becoming a force for democracy and social progress. And so the reactionaries, in league with imperialism, changed their tactics. Realizing that open opposition to the national-democratic movement was useless, they began to work toward splitting the movement and weakening it, sowing the seeds of discord and accusing the Communists of plotting to overthrow the government in order to seize power. Egyptian propaganda inflated this lie to such dimensions that some patriots and socialists believed it and began to work for union with Egypt ostensibly to save Syria from the "Communist dan-

ger." Some of Egypt's patriotic actions and her struggle against imperialism facilitated the task of the advocates of Egyptian-Syrian unity and enabled them to win over the masses in Syria and force the waverers to support the line of unity or at least to adopt a neutral position.

On the face of it the union of Egypt and Syria appeared to be a democratic move; it had been endorsed by the parliaments of the two countries and preceded by a referendum. In reality, however, there was nothing democratic about it. The decisive role in the whole affair was played by the military.

While our Party supported the union after it had been set up, it made suggestions designed to eliminate some of the mistakes that had been made in its formation. Our view was that the conditions obtaining in Syria had not been taken into account, the democratic institutions had been abolished and Syria had forfeited its independent statehood;

the regime was a dictatorial one; elementary rights were lacking, newspapers and political parties and associations were banned, thousands were held in jail and prisoners had died under torture, among them Comrade Farajalla Helou;

a policy of economic expansion at Syria's expense was being pursued, work on building enterprises of vital importance to Syria had stopped, the frozen construction including a dam on the Euphrates, a nitrate fertilizer plant, and other projects all of which were to have been built under agreements with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries;

attempts were made to disband the Syrian army. Egyptian ways were enforced in most administrative bodies;

the slogan of anti-communism was proclaimed. The authorities cooperated with the reactionaries and persecuted the patriots;

Syria was used as a base for aggression against the Arab countries, in particular against Iraq and Lebanon.

It was the failure to rectify these errors that caused the Syria-Egypt union to fall apart. Our Party made it clear, however, that it was not the idea of unity that had failed but the anti-democratic methods of carrying it into effect.

Further attempts to unite Syria, Iraq and Egypt were made following the fascist coup of February 8, 1963, in Iraq and the coup of March 8, 1963, in Syria. Both coups, despite certain differences, had been engineered by the American and British imperialists. Their main purpose was to oust democrats, destroy the democratic and Communist forces and clear the way for the oil companies whose influence

had been severely shaken. Baath agents of imperialism in Iraq and Syria, such as Aflaq, Saadi and others, fulfilled this task in the guise of Arab nationalism and socialism. In Iraq their slogan of unity and socialism was accompanied by a crusade against communism.

Conscious of their weakness and isolation from the masses, who had not responded to their appeals despite all the talk about unity, freedom and socialism, the Baath leaders in Iraq and Syria made a pretence of espousing Arab unity. But the Cairo Declaration on the formation of the Federation of Egypt, Syria and Iraq, published after the negotiations, was anti-democratic and anti-communist in spirit and, in effect, justified the crimes perpetrated in Iraq and Syria. The Declaration ignored the rights of the people and vested the President of the Republic with well-nigh dictatorial powers. At the same time, it bore evidence of an attempt to avoid the mistakes that had been made at the time of the union of Egypt and Syria. Many of the criticisms that had been made by Syrian Communists and democrats were taken into account. For example, cognizance was taken of the conditions in each country, the stipulation was made that besides the central parliament and a central government there should be a local parliament and a local government in each country, and the prerogatives of the central and local governments were clearly defined.

The contradictions that developed in drafting the Declaration were so sharp, however, that the document was virtually shelved immediately after publication.

Two distinct trends should be recognized in the question of Arab unity: the bourgeois-nationalist trend and the revolutionary-democratic trend.

What is more, one finds different currents in the bourgeois-nationalist trend.

One, the so-called Nasser current, links the problem of unity with social progress (agrarian reform, nationalization, expansion and consolidation of the state sector, workers' participation in management of the enterprises and in profits). However, this trend proceeds from the assumption that Arab unity must be achieved under Egyptian leadership. In effect it is striving for complete and direct union through the liquidation of the present independent states, the establishment of a central authority and the merging of all social and political organizations into one movement subordinated to Egypt, and to the ideological course she pursues.

There is no doubt that by virtue of her comparatively high level of economic and social

development, Egypt can indeed play an important role in uniting the Arab peoples provided she takes account of the conditions and specific features of each country, provided she does not strive for expansion or seek to subordinate the other Arab countries.

Then there is the Baath trend, which visualizes Arab unity as a united Arabia embodying the yearning of Arabs for independence even if this independence is achieved by collaborating with imperialism and reactionaries and eliminating other peoples who have lived alongside Arabs for thousands of years.

The Baath concept of Arab unity and Arab nationalism is a vague, utopian nationalism inimical to the people, to the working class and to the anti-imperialist national-liberation movement. When the Syria-Egypt union collapsed, the Baathists declared in favor of exploring the possibility of a federation, of taking account of objective factors and the need for joint leadership in the government of a united Arabia. Later, however, they advanced the slogan of a Baath state and counterposed their concept of a single state to that of Nasser. They aimed at realizing their ideas through the union of Iraq and Syria.

The Baath trend follows the line of imposing unity from the top, completely disregarding the people. The Baathists want to assimilate the national minorities, forcibly to "Arabize" them, monopolize governmental power and sweep away all forces and groups opposing them.

But the Baathists, too, are divided. Some of them are anti-communist, others have no objection to the socialist tendencies. A sharp struggle is going on between these two trends. As a party, the Baath can be said to be on the way out. They are at sixes and sevens with one another and it would be hard to find two Baathists who have the same interpretation of party policy.

The third, Arab nationalist, trend, also has its rival groups and schools. Some draw their ideas from the arsenal of fascism, and among the adherents of this trend are those who collaborated with Hitler Germany, and who are now working for imperialist intelligence services. The gospel of this trend is racism and chauvinism; it holds that the Arabs, with their virtues and distinctive features, are a race apart, and that the entire Arab nation should unite on this foundation. Their concept of the nation ignores the existence of classes.

All three trends, despite their differences, reflect by and large the psychology of the small and middle bourgeoisie. The latter, responding to the changes taking place in the world, play an active role in public life; this is due both

to their growing political maturity and organization and to the absence of a strong and well-organized working-class movement in the Arab countries.

Alongside the foregoing, there are several other bourgeois-nationalist trends of a more democratic nature. Foremost among these is the Hourani group in Syria. Once part of the Baath movement from which it subsequently broke away, this trend also links the problem of Arab unity with socialism and considers that the days of the Right-wing bourgeoisie and feudalists are numbered; for them the future belongs to the people — peasants, students, intellectuals, workers and national bourgeoisie. For the Hourani group all Arabs, from the Atlantic seaboard to the Persian Gulf are a single nation whose unity should derive from democracy with due regard to local conditions, and not through one Arab country dominating others. It is sharply critical of Nasser's concept of unity. It includes a number of groups, some of which want to cooperate with all the progressive forces in the Arab world, including the Communists.

To this trend also belongs the movement represented by the National Union of Popular Forces of Morocco. For this movement unity of the Maghreb states is the paramount task, and it links the struggle for this unity with the struggle against imperialism and reaction.

In Iraq the Chadarchi trend stands for an Arab federation which would take cognizance of the specific conditions in each country, of the rights of non-Arab nationalities and ensure broad opportunities for political parties in all the Arab countries, and democratic rights for all. The adherents of this trend hold that federation is the answer to the needs of the Arab world today, that it accords with Arab tradition since the various countries were separated long ago and are now independent states with different economic, social and political regimes. Moreover the difference in population is so great that the smaller countries fear being swallowed up by the bigger. This trend also holds that the more independent the countries are and the broader and deeper the democracy in each, the more solid the core of federal unity will be. It does not, however, link unity with socialism, but proceeds from the principle that the state system and the unity should rest on a democratic foundation.

The best way to an enduring Arab unity is that proposed by the revolutionary-democratic trend in which there are also different currents.

1. The trend represented by Ben Bella and the National Liberation Front. The supporters of this trend are opposed to the method of

coercion, plotting or coups as a means of achieving unity. They believe that unity can be realized on a democratic and voluntary basis, and that it will be effected first between the Arab countries of North Africa. They want Algeria, which is now carrying out important socio-economic reforms, to influence its neighbors by force of example. They believe that Arab unity cannot be separated from social progress, from the struggle against imperialism and for better relations with the socialist countries. This trend does not take a hostile attitude to the local Communist movement.

2. The trend represented by Syrian independent socialists such as Ahmed Abdel Karim and Amin an Nafouri, who look forward to a future united Arabia achieved in a democratic way and pledged to democracy. Its supporters call for federal unity exclusively, with due regard to the local peculiarities of each country. They also urge friendship with the socialist countries for they realize that the aid of these countries is vital to the struggle against imperialism and for the prosperity of the Arab countries.

3. The Communist trend. The Communists hold that ultimately the mass struggle will end in the victory of socialism. Hence they see Arab unity in its relationship to socialism. Having made a careful study of the situation in the Arab world and of the changes on the international scene, the Communists hold that the anti-imperialist movement of the Arab peoples striving for unity is a progressive movement which facilitates the advance of these countries towards socialism and plays a big role in the struggle against colonialism old and new.

Any significant advance toward Arab unity at present can be made only by the progressive national forces, i.e., workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, army officers, soldiers, small bourgeoisie and the progressive people among the national bourgeoisie united in a national front against imperialism and reaction, for social progress and advance toward a free and democratic Arab unity.

Does this mean that unity can only be achieved under socialism? Clearly, socialism would accelerate consummation of the unity process, would help to remove some of the barriers now obstructing it. But Arab unity should not be made contingent solely on the victory of socialism, and vice versa. It may be achieved in one way or another between the individual Arab countries before socialism, just as socialism may be reached in some of the countries before the unity. But one thing is clear — unity cannot be achieved and its cause advanced

a single step without the participation of the anti-imperialist forces who stand for radical socio-economic reforms. Unity can be achieved by diverse means and in diverse forms which are difficult to determine in advance. It may be achieved between two neighboring countries in which the conditions for it are ripe, and which may be joined later by other countries. Or it may be effected between two countries not in direct proximity to one another, and so on. But in any case it will be achieved in accordance with the wishes of the people. The establishment of a state of national democracy in some Arab countries would make them the center of attraction and would promote the cause of unity.

The Arab world has some industrially developed countries, such as Egypt, for example. It has countries with similar branches of industry (Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and Jordan). Then there are purely agrarian countries which are obliged to import all the manufactures they need, either from other Arab or non-Arab countries. To this category belong Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Libya. This diversity tends simultaneously to separate the Arab countries from one another and to bring them closer. Together with the ceaseless imperialist plotting this diversity has been the main cause of alienation between the Arab countries. Yet, the Arab world has everything needed to build a strong industrial state with a highly-developed agriculture and a progressive social system. It has vast natural resources and big markets, exploited mainly by the imperialist monopolies. The emancipation of the Arab countries from imperialist influence and the establishment of progressive democratic regimes would make it possible to use these resources for the benefit of all the Arab peoples. It would likewise enable these countries to set up modern branches of industry.

The Communists hold that the best unity would be a federal association which would preserve the specific features of each country, with the local governments being vested with extensive powers. However, for the unity to be a success this is not enough. It must rest on a democratic foundation. The people must be guaranteed extensive democratic rights. The unity should be a voluntary unity, with the national, democratic and social gains of each country preserved intact, and with the specific features, traditions and customs peculiar to each retained. It should not prejudice the economic interests of any country but, on the contrary, should promote those interests. It should further the struggle against colonialism in both its old and new forms, against its eco-

nomic and ideological penetration of the Arab world; it should carry out far-reaching socio-economic measures (radical agrarian reform, expansion and consolidation of the state sector, a higher living standard, etc.), should pursue a policy of neutrality and non-alignment, friendship and cooperation with the newly independent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, closer relations with the socialist countries, above all with the Soviet Union; it should pledge support for peaceful coexistence and the struggle to eliminate the danger of nuclear war.

I should like to enlarge somewhat on what has already been said by the Syrian comrades, said *Anwar Moustapha*. In the complex conditions in which the revolutionary movement is developing in the Arab countries it is only natural that differences of opinion should arise on one or another question. Exchanges of views between Marxists are, therefore, necessary.

Marxist theoreticians in the Arab countries have been somewhat tardy in giving adequate thought to the problem of Arab unity. Only in 1955 did they first define their attitude to the subject, that is, when the times had put unity on the agenda of the day, expressed in the upsurge of the Arab liberation movement headed by Egypt, which became the center of attraction for all Arabs. The liberation of a number of Arab countries, first of all Egypt and Syria, created the conditions for practical steps towards unity. Beginning with 1956 Egypt headed this movement. However, the alliance between the Egyptian military rulers and industrial and financial capital resulted in their seeing the way to Arab unity in imposing their domination. This impelled them to adventurist methods, to attempts to impose union at all costs.

The Syria-Egypt union collapsed because of the anti-democratic policy pursued by Nasser and the reactionary imperialist conspiracy. It would be a mistake to ignore or minimize the role played by the reactionaries in Syria in the separatist movement. These forces exploit the popular discontent to suit their own ends which are directed against nationalization and agrarian reform. It would also be a mistake to ignore the gains won by the Syrian working people as a result of these measures.

Arab unity is part of the question of the national-liberation movement, of national democratic government and of social reform. Arab unity has a national democratic content, and its solution can begin with the national democratic revolution, by taking the way of non-capitalist development in conditions of the co-existence of national democracies. It would be

incorrect to associate unity with the victory of socialism throughout the Arab world. It is true that the problem of unity will be fully solved only when socialism has triumphed in all the Arab countries. But a revolutionary progressive union of two or more countries can be achieved as they advance along the non-capitalist road even before socialism has triumphed throughout the Arab world.

It is necessary correctly to assess the UAR's role in the Arab liberation movement also in order to achieve national unity in each of the Arab countries.

We consider it necessary to draw the attention of the participants in the exchange of views to a number of demands which, if realized, would make for the solid unity of the Arab peoples. First of all there is the aspiration of the Arab peoples for unity as one nation. Enemy No. 1 of the Arab liberation movement is colonialism in its old and new guise. A resolute struggle against imperialism and its agents is therefore basic to any union between two or more Arab countries. Democracy is the *sine qua non* of any sound and firm unity in the interests of the people. Imperialism, it should be noted, is conspiring against the gains of the Arab countries that have won their freedom, is trying to prevent their development along the non-capitalist path. We wish to stress the significant role played by Egypt in the Arab liberation movement, and the importance of the socio-economic changes now taking place in the UAR, changes which show that Egypt is taking the non-capitalist road. At the same time the fact that its political superstructure is lagging behind the economic base calls for criticism. The national-liberation and deeply democratic content of the slogan of Arab unity is closely interwoven with the demand for the complete liberation of the Arab countries from imperialism, for a national-democratic government in those countries and for anti-capitalist reform.

Comrade *Abdelsalam Bourquia*, Morocco, said:

We have closely followed the points made by the Syrian comrades, analyzing the complex situation in the Arab countries. This will help us better to understand the character of the different trends.

The Moroccans, like the Algerians and Tunisians, aspire to unity. This is not something new. This desire for unity goes back to distant times. It is based on unity of territory, language, culture, economic life, etc. When the French colonialists seized North Africa they created artificial borders and barriers between our countries. We share the view expressed by

the Syrian comrades that the Maghreb countries because of their common features and close relationships will in all likelihood unite before unity of the entire Arab world is achieved. But we should not close our eyes to the movement against unity in North Africa. Algeria has a democratic regime which has effected fundamental changes in the interests of the masses. In Tunisia sovereign power is concentrated in the hands of one man. Morocco still has a feudal semi-colonial regime which relies on the absolute power of the monarch. The situation in Libya is much the same. This difference in regimes (which results in conflicts and sometimes in the outbreak of war, as was recently the case between Morocco and Algeria), will make it very difficult, if not impossible, to achieve unity in the immediate future. We should therefore first of all prepare the ground for unity and to this end coordinate the efforts of the three or four North African states in the areas of economy, foreign policy and defense, that is, pave the way along which the countries will ultimately arrive at unity. We agree with the Syrian comrades that unity in North Africa can be achieved at first on the basis of a union between two of the countries which, later, might be joined by other countries.

We think it would be incorrect to consider that the movement for Arab unity will take place between the countries of the Maghreb, on the one hand, and between the countries of the Arab East, on the other, and that the process will be consummated with the union of the two groups of countries. There is much more in common between Algeria and the UAR than, let us say, between Algeria and Morocco, or between Tunisia and Libya. It would not surprise us therefore if Egypt and Algeria were to unite before Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. In any case, we are of the opinion that unity will be achieved not simultaneously between all, but gradually, beginning with the unification of two or three countries, it is unimportant whether in the East or the West, which will then be joined by the remainder of the Arab countries; that the process will be phased in accordance with the level of economic, political and social development and the type of state system in the country concerned. It is therefore not a matter of classifying the phases through which the unity movement will pass, but of defining the policy, the ways and means of achieving unity. All of us want to see unity achieved on a revolutionary democratic basis. But as I see it, for the time being this is still a matter of the future. We must be realists. We know of the attempts to bring

about unity that ended in failure.

There are, undoubtedly, democratic forces in Egypt, Algeria and the other Arab countries who should be helped to find the right way to unity. We must not pursue a policy of "all or nothing."

This does not mean, however, that we endorse all kinds of attempts at union, including attempts made by reactionaries. Such attempts should be emphatically rejected. In the event of Egypt and Algeria deciding to take steps towards unity the matter should be given serious consideration and everything be done to create the best conditions for union. In conclusion I should like to stress that Arab unity should be seen as a continuous process that crystallizes together with the development of the socialist forces throughout the Arab world.

I should like to say a few words about the positive contributions made by the Moroccan and Iraqi comrades, said Comrade Sawaya Sawaya. We agree with the constructive remarks and ideas that have been expressed. Still there are some points we should like to discuss. First of all, the attitude to Egypt. Comrades who have followed the press will recall that some months ago we took the initiative in this

respect. A number of articles have already appeared on the subject, including several which speak of our support of the positive steps taken by the UAR government in the sphere of nationalization and social reforms, of its foreign policy of peace and peaceful coexistence. At the same time we have criticized the UAR's policy on questions of democracy and its expansionist policy in the Arab East, particularly in relation to Syria. This aspect of Nasser's policy was particularly evident at the time of his alliance with the Egyptian bourgeoisie. Today we duly acknowledge the importance of the socio-economic reforms being carried out in the UAR.

There is still another very important point that should be noted, namely, the role played by the socialist world system and its direct influence on the changes now taking place in the UAR, Algeria and the other emergent countries. It is common knowledge that the UAR would not have been able to tackle the projects so vitally important for it, without the aid of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. The successes of the countries of the socialist community directly influence the trend of development in the Arab countries.

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Communications and Comment

The UAR: Its Progress and Its Problems

(Notes of a Journalist)

Some time ago a correspondent of our journal visited the United Arab Republic, where he interviewed political leaders and other people. Here are some of his impressions, chiefly related to the country's socio-economic problems.

THE political pulse of the United Arab Republic has probably never beaten as strongly as it did this spring. There were new economic reforms and social improvements. There were the elections of factory and office workers to boards of management in the enterprises. The state of emergency was raised and so were the emergency laws, followed by the release of most of the political prisoners. Then there were the elections to the National Assembly and a provisional Constitution was proclaimed, of which Article 1 reads: "The United Arab Republic is a democratic socialist state based on the alliance of the working powers of the nation."

As a kind of finale to these developments came the damming of the Nile and the Khrushchov visit. The enthusiastic reception accorded to the head of the Soviet Government spoke of the respect of the peoples of Africa for the Soviet Union, which renders disinterested aid to many countries of that continent.

On the Offensive

The social and economic reconstruction is becoming more radical in complexion and is spreading to vital areas of the country's life.

Egypt's initial economic reforms after the 1952 revolution were aimed chiefly against the foreign monopolies, a relatively small group of Egyptian capitalists, and against the big landowners. By the end of the fifties, sequestration and nationalization of the major capitalist interests, restriction of land-holdings to 300 feddans (1 feddan = 0.42 hectare) per family, "Egyptization" of the foreign banks and the big foreign companies, and finally the nationalization of the Suez Canal had all but ousted foreign capital from Egypt's economy and removed the country's wealthiest families from the commanding heights in economic affairs.

The state sector expanded, national industry developed rapidly and the country embarked on its first Five-Year Plan (1960-65). Among other things, this plan provided for:

- a) investments totalling E£1,697 million;
- b) a rise in aggregate annual output from E£2,525 million in 1960 to E£3,601 million in 1965;
- c) a national-income growth from E£1,282 in 1960 to E£1,795 million in 1965;
- d) a rise in consumption from E£876 million in 1960 to E£1,086 million in 1965;
- e) an increase in employment from 7,500,000 to 8,400,000 people.

A ten-year economic and social development plan (1960-1970) envisages investments totalling E£3,400 million including about E£1,200 million in foreign currencies.

For a time the Egyptian national bourgeoisie were willing, in the main, to go along with the Nasser Government's reforms. They expected the reforms to serve them as a stepping stone to aggrandizement and enrichment, and as a weapon against foreign competitors. This support tended to mislead the UAR leaders, who nursed the illusion that the national bourgeoisie would help in building an all-round national economy and in raising the standard of living. Besides, they had not yet worked out a conclusive enough program for the future, nor had they charted a clear enough course of development. These issues were still in the discussion stage.

"In the late fifties our politicians, our press and the public generally," a Cairo newspaperman said to me, "were still deeply immersed in discussing the problems of our development. Many felt that the capitalist way would not solve the problem. But there was little or no clarity yet as to what road to choose. Some said it should be the road of 'Arab socialism.' Exponents of the Marxist outlook challenged this view and urged scientific socialism. Others were strongly influenced by the Fabian and even by the utopian Saint-Simon and Fourier brand of socialism, and still others advocated a 'socialism' based on state control rather than public ownership of the means of production. The views of the British Labor Party had fol-

lowers, and many envisaged the state as a kind of economic 'regulator'."

But the realities had the final say. It was farthest from the minds of most Egyptian capitalists to put money into developing the national economy. The private sector was more inclined to stake its capital in trade and the secondary, more "profitable," branches.

The logic of events compelled the UAR leaders to restrict the bourgeoisie still more, and to reinforce the state sector. President Nasser's government mounted an offensive against the big and middle bourgeoisie. It struck its first blow in 1960 by nationalizing the Misr Bank, Egypt's biggest private bank, which had a finger in nearly all the country's industries.

Then came the July 1961 reforms, officially known as the Socialist Laws. All the banks and insurance companies were nationalized, and many private companies were turned into mixed enterprises, with at least 50 per cent of the shares held by the state. Income tax paid by the bourgeoisie was steeply raised, claiming as much as 90 per cent of the incomes exceeding E£10,000 a year. No individual was allowed to own stocks and shares worth more than E£10,000.

A new agrarian reform law restricted landed property to 100 feddans per person and not more than 200 feddans per family. All excess land was nationalized and distributed among the fellahs. By the way, this law has now been amended to read that by 1970 land ownership shall be limited to 100 feddans per family instead of per person.

Measures were devised to improve the lot of the working people. A 42-hour working week was introduced, and 25 per cent of the net profits of all state-owned and private enterprises were set aside for the employees, with 10 per cent directly distributable in cash. Two representatives of the factory and office workers were elected to sit on the board of managers.

The July laws were a painful blow to the bourgeoisie and had a far-reaching effect. The working people, the bulk of the nation, gave them enthusiastic support. But there were malcontents, too, chiefly among the disgruntled bourgeoisie and among the employees of private companies, among the professions, stock exchange operators, etc. The accent was on class struggle rather than "class peace," a struggle that grew in intensity as the offensive against the exploiters gained pace.

Class contradictions became more acute when 276 private and mixed companies were nationalized in August 1963. The government waived its contracts with private firms concerning ex-

ploitation of mines, and put them under state control. The new measures involved many of the food, textile, chemical and drug factories which belonged mostly to the middle bourgeoisie.

The press and the country's leaders emphasized that the socio-economic policy of the government was aimed at *building up an independent economy, restricting and ousting foreign capital, abolishing feudal landownership and improving the lot of the people.*

The Ultimate Goal — Socialism

After the July laws the UAR leaders stressed that abolition of exploitation and the building of a socialist society were the chief task. "We must build a new society," President Nasser told a mass meeting in Cairo on July 22, 1961. "We must build a new state. . . . We must create a new democracy and a new state with new political, economic and social systems."

As the economic reforms grew in scope and the class contradictions became more acute there were fewer references to "Arab socialism" and "Egyptian socialism," so popular only a short time before. Instead, there was talk of "scientific socialism" and the "Egyptian road to socialism." The goal of building a socialist society on a scientific foundation is recorded in the Charter of National Action, passed in the summer of 1962, which is for the present the country's basic program-document.

"Scientific socialism," the Charter reads, "is the suitable style for finding the right method leading to progress." The document, however, does not elaborate on the concept of "scientific socialism." Nor does it say that it means Marxist scientific socialism. Furthermore, at one time the Egyptian press accentuated the differences between the "Egyptian road to socialism" and scientific socialism as conceived and defined in Marxist-Leninist theory.

The following principal points of the "Egyptian road to socialism" may be deduced from the Charter and various public statements of the UAR leaders:

- a) transfer of the means of production to public ownership;
- b) decisive role of the state sector in economic development;
- c) centralized scientific planning, providing for rapid growth of industry and doubling the national income in ten years (1960-1970);
- d) small and middle private ownership of land and emphasis on agricultural cooperatives.

This program has won strong backing among the working people, because it reflects their aspirations. But a considerable number of obstacles stand in its way, stemming from various

specifically Egyptian features. The Cairo leaders are conscious of the difficulties that stand in the way of socialist development, that it will give rise to many new problems, and that they will not be able to cope with the difficulties without solid backing from the working people.

"The only road for us is the socialist road," Kamal Rifaat, the Deputy Prime Minister, told me. "Socialism, and not a 'special' but scientific socialism, is our ultimate goal. That is laid down in the Charter. It will be based on the transfer of the means of production to the people. However, every country advances to socialism in its own way. Our way is shaped by Egypt's international situation, its place in the family of Arab nations, and the distinctive features of Egypt's development, its way of life and the character and traditions of its people."

Many leaders note that the broad alliance of the working people—the workers, fellahs, soldiers, intellectuals and "non-exploiter" bourgeoisie—is today the motive force of the Egyptian revolution, but they add that in future the role of the working class in the country's political life and the building of the new society is bound to increase.

The Initial Results

According to official figures the state now controls more than 80 per cent of the means of production. The big and medium industries and transport are wholly nationalized. So are the banks, insurance companies and real estate companies. The government has a firm hold on foreign trade, for it is nationalizing import and export companies. Imports are by now entirely monopolized by state-operated agencies. Seventy-five per cent of the exports are also state-controlled. In particular, the state has monopolized the export of cotton, which is the chief item of revenue, and it is envisaged that by 1970 all export operations will be solidly in government hands.

The sum of E£1,380 million was invested in economic development over a period of eleven years, of which E£1,035 million was invested in the last five years (1958-63), three times as much as in the preceding six. Average annual investments for the 11 years amounted to E£125 million, and in the last five years to E£200 million. Average annual investments in industry and in power generation climbed from E£4,500,000 (1952-53) to E£92,400,000 (1962-63).

The state sector holds the lead in industry. By now, some 90 per cent of the industrial enterprises have been nationalized. Allocations to the state sector in the 1964-65 budget total nearly E£1,160 million, or 81 million more than

in the previous fiscal year. Of this sum about E£425 million are earmarked for the First Five-Year Plan, with 155 million going to industry.

In terms of value industrial output has more than tripled (from 313,000,000 to 952,600,000) in 11 years (1952-63). The increase in the past 12 months alone was 15 per cent, with the state sector increasing output by 19.2 per cent compared with 8.4 per cent for the private sector. Small-scale private enterprises accounted for a mere 10 to 11 per cent of aggregate output.

The key industries, such as textiles and foods, accounted for 34.5 and 23 percent of overall output, respectively, against 39 and 27 per cent in 1952. Output of the iron and steel industry increased sixfold in the 11 years, that of the oil industry by 150 per cent, the textile industry by 240 and the chemical industry by 250 per cent. Machine and electrical engineering made a substantial advance, their output increasing eightfold. The UAR today manufactures its own motor cars, refrigerators, transformers, tractors, TV sets, diesel engines, washing machines, railway cars, etc. Egyptians say proudly that their country is now the most industrially developed in Africa.

Growth of the national income is one of the best indications of a country's economic progress. According to official figures, the national income has climbed from E£806 million to E£1,531.9 million in 11 years (1952/53-1962/63 fiscal years). Average annual production per head of population has risen from E£37.5 to E£55, or 47 per cent. The share of industry in the national income has increased from 15.7 to 22.6 per cent, while that of agriculture dropped from 34 to 27.8 per cent.

But agriculture is still the main branch of the economy, despite the priority rates of industrial development. In cash terms, the share of industry in the national income has climbed from E£127 million to E£347.6 million (including power generation), while that of agriculture climbed from E£272.4 million to E£426.4 million.

It will be recalled that foreign capital had always been prominent in Egypt's economy. Before the 1952 revolution foreign investments totalled approximately E£734 million. Today, the foreign-monopoly interests have been reduced almost to nought. Foreign capital in the development of the UAR is confined to loans, licences for the manufacture of certain commodities and oil concessions.

"We do not rely on foreign capital, which would want to exploit us," President Nasser said in one of his speeches. "We prefer to receive loans, because the profits from foreign capital invested in small and medium enter-

prises would mostly be shipped abroad. We think it is more desirable to receive loans repayable in 5, 10, 12 or more years."

The following lists the countries giving economic aid to the UAR.

Credits granted by the socialist countries (excluding military credits) since December 1957:

USSR	E£189 million
Czechoslovakia	E£ 29 million
GDR	E£ 12 million
Hungary	E£ 12 million
Poland	E£ 7 million
Yugoslavia	E£ 7 million
Total	E£256 million

Credits granted by the capitalist countries.

United States	E£ 55.2 million (in free currency) and E£ 37 million in Egyptian pounds (farm surpluses)
FRG	E£ 93 million
Italy	E£ 88.9 million
Britain	E£ 28.4 million

Total E£474 million (including loans of E£ 64 million by the World Reconstruction and Development Bank and the International Monetary Fund)

Total foreign loans — E£730 million.

The picture is somewhat different as regards oil concessions. Some time ago the UAR government decided to grant oil-prospecting concessions involving some 20 per cent of the country's territory to ENI, the Italian state-controlled company, and to three U.S. firms. Egyptian economists believe their country has made a good bargain. The concessions are for a term of 30 years, renewable for another 15. The companies concerned undertook to invest some \$80 million in prospecting, which they are conducting jointly with the Egyptians. All expenses are paid by the foreign companies. Wherever oil is found, the UAR is entitled to develop the oil jointly with the foreign companies on a 50-50 basis as regards both output and profit.

Economic progress, we know, does not necessarily improve the standard of living, unless accompanied by relevant measures extending the social rights of the people. The UAR has not been idle in that respect. Here are a few of the measures taken to improve the lot of the working people:

a) arbitrary dismissal of workers is prohibited;

b) 25 per cent of the net profits at all enterprises are set aside for their employees;

c) in all enterprises workers are represented on the board of managers (9 members) by four elected members;

d) a 7-hour day is in force;

e) a minimum wage (25 piastres per day) has been set for state-operated and private enterprises alike. A minimum wage of 18 piastres has also been set for farm workers (whose working day has also been limited to 7 hours);

f) it is prohibited for persons to have two or more jobs, the purpose being to increase employment;

g) pensions have been introduced (the pension fund consisting of two per cent deductions from wages).

Education is free at all levels. The number of junior schools has increased in 11 years from 5,296 to 7,700 and enrolment from 1,135,000 to 3,253,000. Next year about 80 per cent of the children of school age will attend classes, and by 1970 the enrolment will be 100 per cent.

The latest measures promoting workers' participation in industrial management and distribution of profits have created considerable interest. I had a chance to see how this is worked at the Nasr Motor Works, one of the most modern UAR enterprises.

New Industries in the Nile Valley

Only recently the Cairo suburb of Kheluan was known chiefly as a seaside resort. Today, it is an important industrial center, the core of Egypt's heavy industry—with an iron and steel works and plants making aircraft, locomotives, radio and television sets, automobile parts, medical drugs, etc.

The Nasr Motor Works, Egypt's first automobile plant, stands on the fringe of the desert, a few kilometers from Kheluan. Though it is still in the completion stage, a fair number of Nasr cars are already cruising the streets of Cairo and other Egyptian towns.

"We make cars, tractors, buses, lorries, and engines under licences issued by Fiat of Italy, Dietz and Blumhardt of West Germany, and IMT of Yugoslavia," Nasr's commercial director, Mr. al Bakir, told me. "We employ over 5,000 workers, but as soon as the works is completed we will have 12,000.

"According to the July 1961 law two representatives—one factory and one office worker—were elected to the 7-man board of managers, but now that the board consists of 9 members, five are appointed by the government and four are elected by the employees.. We held elections recently, and frankly speaking, the electors had a hard time choosing among the nearly 70 nominations approved by the Ministry of Labor. There was no question of organized campaigning, because all the nominees were members of the Arab Socialist Union or the trade unions. To my surprise, three of the four people elect-

ed were representatives of the administration. The workers have no experience of their own in management and planning, and evidently thought it wiser to pick the more experienced people.

"How do we implement the law under which workers are entitled to 25 per cent of the net profit? To begin with, when the fiscal year ends, the board of managers calculates the sum for distribution and submits the calculation for approval to the General Organization of which our works is a member. Last year, our net profit was E£400,000. Consequently, the share of the employees was E£100,000. As you probably know, 40 per cent of this sum, or E£40,000 is distributed directly.

"All employees, from director to janitor, are entitled to a share. But the most anyone is entitled to is E£50. The share is proportional to the wage. The wage of an unskilled worker is E£180 a year, while mine is E£3,000. But whatever falls to my share in excess of E£50 is redistributed among those who do not reach the fixed quota. An unskilled worker at our plant receives about E£16, or a month's pay on the average, in addition to his annual wage."

"It seems to us," Mr. al Bakir concluded, "that profit-sharing has acted as an incentive in raising productivity of labor and in fulfilling plans."

The Private Element

The fact that the state sector has grown so much in the UAR economy does not mean that the private sector has abandoned the field. It still yields nearly 60 per cent of the national income, and this in spite of the government measures to restrict it.

In industry, it is true, the private sector consists chiefly of small-scale enterprises and workshops, which have little bearing on the overall industrial development.

Retail trade, too, is almost entirely a private field, although controlled by the state. The state is unable to run the thousands of small shops in the towns, especially Cairo, where tens, if not hundreds, of thousands of people are traders. Attempts are being made to establish cooperatives, especially wholesale cooperatives.

Yet it is the countryside that is the stronghold of the private element. The 1952 and 1961 agrarian reforms have, it is true, considerably shaken its hold. Nearly one million feddans of land were requisitioned from the big landowners. Of these, 631,300 feddans were parcelled out to 267,000 families, or more than one million people, in lots of two and five feddans for a certain compensation.

Farming is in the hands of some 17 million

people, mostly land-poor or landless fellahs. Before the 1952 revolution, 11,000 proprietors, or 0.4 per cent of the population, owned farms of 50 feddans and upwards. Altogether, they controlled nearly two million feddans, or more than 33 per cent of the cultivated land. Each feudal proprietor owned an average of 180 feddans, while 2,647,000 peasants (95 per cent of the landowners) held title to 35 per cent. Tenancy, share-cropping, and corvée rent were widespread.

Average annual income of the families affected by the land reform rose from E£27 to E£150. After the compensation to former landowners for requisitioned land was abolished, peasants annually pay the state about E£1.5 per feddan to cover expenses incurred by the state in carrying through the agrarian reform.

On the face of it, the 100-feddan (42-hectare) limit per family now in force may appear to be modest. But considering the local conditions, with two crops a year harvested in most areas, it is a source of substantial income, especially if the highly profitable cotton and rice are cultivated.

It follows, therefore, that the landowners are still strongly entrenched in the countryside. To this day, they produce most of the marketable crop, especially cotton.

Land hunger is Egypt's most neglected and most lingering ailment. Of its one million square kilometers only 40,000 sq. kilometers are arable. So even if all the cultivated land were handed over to the peasants this would hardly improve the situation because there would be no more than one-fourth of a feddan per fellah.

Egypt has long been attempting to wrest land from the desert, but the job was tackled in earnest only recently. Under the five-year plan the country is to develop 521,000 feddans of new land, and to irrigate 1,740,000 feddans by 1970, thus enlarging the cultivated area by more than 25 per cent. Of this land 1,200,000 feddans will be won from the desert by virtue of the Aswan Dam.

The state encourages cooperatives in every possible way. Before a fellah gets a plot of land he has to join a cooperative. Most of the cooperatives are consumer and sales cooperatives, and only a few are producer cooperatives (today, there are some four thousand cooperatives). The cooperative supplies the fellahs with fertilizers, selected seed and loans, and helps them sell their crops, many of which go to the state at guaranteed prices.

The government takes other measures, too, to intensify farming and raise its productivity. Among other things, it is planning to increase

production of chemical fertilizers. But it is difficult to achieve good results in view of the dominant position of private property.

The simplest solution, one might presume, would be to nationalize the land.

"But we have to consider the sentiment of our peasants," one Egyptian leader told me. "They are deeply attached to the land, which they regard as the guarantee and source of their livelihood. For ages, the landless fellah dreamed of a plot of his own. We cannot deny it to him by proclaiming the land state property. We know how dangerous the big landowners are, but cannot afford to take any radical measures at the present time, although the time for further reforms is doubtlessly ripe and we shall soon have to do something about it."

The revolutionary process involves not only economic and social reconstruction, but also a remoulding of outlook. This remoulding, naturally, is very difficult, and, as we see from UAR's example, doubly so in countries long colonially oppressed. Colonialism leaves an imprint not only on the economy, but also on the mentality of people. The economic effects are relatively easy to erase, the spiritual effects are more lasting. For years, the colonialists rode roughshod over the peoples in the colonies, and corrupted them ideologically. This is a matter that has been troubling the leaders of the new countries for years.

To change the outlook of the fellah is not an easy matter. It is only now that he is making the acquaintance of the cinema, radio and television, and getting a glimpse of the modern way of life. New schools are going up in the countryside, and also health centers where treatment and medicine are free. Pure drinking water is being provided, and concerted efforts made to root out the diseases which have plagued the countryside for centuries. Slowly but surely, the fellah is joining in the building of a new society. No longer does he look with dread on the landowner and village elder, who were once his undisputed masters.

A School of New Life

No account of the United Arab Republic would be complete without mention of the Aswan Dam, Africa's greatest building site. Much has been said about Aswan's economic importance, for when completed it will add the very substantial annual sum of more than E£200 million to the national income. The Nile will irrigate another two million feddans of land once the 111-meter dam straddles the river, while the power station of 10,000 million kwh will provide the fuel for dozens of new factories.

The aid of the Soviet specialists in building the Aswan High Dam is further proof of the help of the socialist camp to the newly-independent countries.

"The Aswan project is not only a technical school for us," Sidki Soliman, Minister for Aswan Dam Affairs, said, "it is also a school of new human relations, the school of a new attitude to labor. The enthusiasm of the builders derives from the knowledge that they are working for a lofty aim, the good of their people. This new sense of responsibility is a powerful incentive. Many of our workers have only now come to realize that work is not only a source of livelihood, but a source of satisfaction and pride.

"We have not only learned new technical skills from our Soviet comrades," the Minister added, "but have got to know them as a new breed of people, quite different from those who once ruled Egypt. The years of our common work have tempered Arab-Soviet friendship. It is as strong as the Aswan rock."

Some 30,000 Egyptian workers, technicians and engineers are employed at Aswan. Many of the workers came to the site directly from the villages. The only "machines" they knew before were the primitive devices used for thousands of years to raise water from the numerous canals. They have learned modern techniques and, what is more important, have been infected with the spirit of construction, without which any advance along the socialist road is inconceivable. Aswan is doing more than changing the course of the Nile. It is changing also the outlook of the Egyptian working man.

The Big Danger

The economic structure of the United Arab Republic has been altered from top to bottom. In the economic sense it is safe to say that the big and middle bourgeoisie have been virtually abolished. Foreign capital no longer rules the roost. But the reactionary element has not been completely displaced. The old bureaucratic apparatus is still extant, though efforts are being made to replace it with people of a more radical, revolutionary turn of mind.

In his speech to the National Assembly on March 26, President Nasser said that the structure of the machinery of state does not correspond to the needs of the revolutionary process.

"We have to confess," he said, "that despite all efforts it (the government machinery—*Ed.*) has not been developed to the extent that would enable it to extend its services to the society. It still holds itself superior to assuming autho-

rity and unwilling to realize that it should be the servant of the masses."

At middle levels the administration is still influenced by people who oppose many aspects of the reconstruction. Among other sectors, this applies to the government propaganda agencies and ideological bodies which, one would think, should now be concentrated on disseminating revolutionary socialist ideas.

The Press has been nationalized. Yet only a little while ago one could read in some newspapers cheap, anti-Communist articles reminiscent of bourgeois propaganda. The explanation perhaps is that ideological evolution is considerably behind the economic and social progress.

The revolutionary process, clearly, has not encompassed the whole of the bureaucratic machine, and the old ways still persist. Progressive undertakings are not likely to make headway if the situation is not radically improved in this respect. The problem of educating revolutionary cadres is, therefore, a pressing one. Many of the people I met deplored the fact that while "the country is fairly well off for specialists, it has few revolutionaries."

The training of new revolutionary cadres is hampered, however, by the influence of bourgeois, often frankly pro-imperialist, propaganda. Cairo bookshops are stocked with reactionary publications, many of them hurling anathemas at the reconstruction. Western films predominate in the cinemas. Until recently, dissemination of Marxist literature was impeded. In the past the experience of socialist construction in other countries was given little or no play in the Egyptian press. It is, therefore, pleasing to note that works by Marx, Engels and Lenin are now on sale in the Dar Al Shark, one of Cairo's finest bookshops.

The reactionary influence has suffered decline, although there are still plenty of people who would be only too glad to turn the clock back and call a halt to many of Nasser's progressive undertakings. This is true of those sections of the bourgeoisie who have lost their privileges but are still active. Due to the shortage of trained personnel the ex-proprietors of nationalized enterprises often stay on in a managerial capacity, which gives them the opportunity to put spokes in the wheels.

It should be noted, too, that while the bourgeoisie may have lost their capital, the compensation law provides that ex-owners of shares and enterprises receive up to E£50,000 in 4-per cent state bonds payable in 15 years. Besides, they have retained their real estate—mansions, country estates, etc., some of which, according to *Al Ahram*, are valued at hundreds of thou-

sands of pounds. Reactionaries have also retained a foothold in the army and police, although to a lesser extent than in the political and economic machinery. It was they who urged the anti-communist measures which, if the truth be spoken, were taken by the UAR in the past.

The Best Guarantee

The working people are Nasser's most loyal supporters and allies in implementing the progressive measures. They are also the best guarantee that the progress will be continued. Experience has shown that little would have been done without their active and, what is most important, *conscious* participation. The problem of the day—and attempts to solve it are now being made—is to deepen this political consciousness, to draw the people into the revolutionary process.

The government has taken steps to enable the people to share in the administration. According to the Charter, not less than 50 per cent of the seats in all elective bodies go to workers and peasants. This provision has been faithfully practised, as was shown by the elections to the National Assembly last March. Today, 53 per cent of the National Assembly deputies are workers and peasants. In the UAR, it is true, the category "workers and peasants" is somewhat broadly interpreted. Anyone engaged in farming and owning not more than 25 feddans of land is considered a peasant, and anyone engaged in production, irrespective of trade or office, is considered a worker.

Measures are being taken to organize the people politically. The Arab Socialist Union, the only mass organization in the country, has been founded to guide socialist construction. The Union has a membership of more than five million. President Nasser is its Chairman, and Vice-President Hussein al-Shafei is its General Secretary. The UAR leadership is eager to promote the civic spirit of criticism, and the leading newspapers have taken up the challenge by discussing the vital problems facing the country.

Political life is being made more democratic. There was a time when Communists were arrested and imprisoned. Today, to judge by what the UAR leaders say, and by the Provisional Constitution, this is no longer done. A distinct consolidation of the democratic forces, of all the working people, is taking place. Efforts are being made to ensure broader popular participation in the country's political life.

Proof of the democracy of any undertaking is the consistency with which it upholds the

interests of the people. The facts show that the economic and social measures taken by the Nasser government are beneficial, and their importance for the country's progressive development is not to be underestimated.

* * *

The United Arab Republic is a striking illustration of the new trend in world development—the striving of the newly-free countries to embark on the non-capitalist road and build a society where exploitation of man by man will forever be ruled out. People all over the world are coming to realize that socialism is the right road to take, that socialism will

deliver them from poverty and hunger. The non-capitalist road, as followed in the young states, the UAR in particular, may not be the shortest road to socialism, but it paves the way for the subsequent transition to socialism.

We have touched here upon only a few of the problems. Social and economic reconstruction in the United Arab Republic has its difficulties. Not always are these difficulties tackled with the needed determination. There are still many retarding factors and many problems to be solved. But it can be affirmed that the United Arab Republic is stepping out along the road of economic and social progress.

M. KREMNYOV

The American Institute of Marxist Studies

A SIGNIFICANT development in the intellectual life of the United States occurred in April 1964, with the formation of the American Institute of Marxist Studies (AIMS). For too many years, and especially since the end of World War II, it has been almost impossible to secure a fair hearing for Marxist ideas. Under the influence of McCarthyism and the cold war, Marxist scholars were denied the opportunity to present their viewpoint on leading issues confronting the American people. The main channels of communication were closed, and even in many universities, Marxism was equated with "un-Americanism." The leading scholars in the United States refused even to discuss Marxism for fear of being called "Communists" and of being made to explain their willingness to consider Marxism worthy of discussion before Congressional and state legislative witch-hunting committees.

The late C. Wright Mills, the noted American sociologist, declared that all social science for the past century was a dialogue with Marx. But in the United States it has been closer to a monologue and a diatribe on the part of anti-Marxists.

In the last few years, with the gradual receding of the cold war and the revulsion against McCarthyism, this deplorable situation has begun to change. More and more American intellectuals today, while in the main not agreeing with Marxism, do agree with what C. Wright Mills wrote in his posthumously published work, *The Marxists*: "The intellectual value of classic Marxism, and of Marxism more generally, is not merely historical. It has a direct intellectual relevance today. Marx's work contains comprehensive statements about the elements and the structure of society to which attention must be paid—entirely apart from

politics or ideology." Today there are scores of universities in which courses are offered in Marxism and socialism, and it is not at all unusual to find American students reading, in preparation for their courses, *The Communist Manifesto* by Marx and Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* by Engels, and *The State and Revolution* and *Imperialism* by Lenin.

In recognition of these changes in American life, and to foster their further development, the American Institute of Marxist Studies was founded. It is an association of men and women seeking to improve and extend Marxist scholarship in the United States. The Institute is non-programmatic and non-political. Its work is research, bibliography, study, discussion, symposia; it will provide library service, consultation and knowledge. It seeks to change diatribe into dialogue and to help produce such a dialogue among Marxist and non-Marxist scholars.

The Institute will appeal to four types of people:

- those who think Marxism is valid;
- those who do not think it is valid, but who find it illuminating;
- those who may not themselves find it particularly illuminating, but who agree that it is important and must be taken seriously;
- those who do not hold any particular position toward Marxism, but who feel that its *de facto* illegalization is harmful to scholarship and contemptuous of civil liberties.

The Institute will operate in four areas in particular: Bibliographical, Educational, Research and Public Relations.

Bibliographical:

1. The Institute will publish a bibliography of Marxism, concentrating on materials in English but not confined to that language. This

will be annotated. It will publish a bibliography of books (non-fiction) and articles published in the United States. This will be issued quarterly and will include a yearly index. It will contain selected books and articles—annotated—in all fields. The works selected will be both Marxist and non-Marxist. They will be those considered most illuminating, informative, and challenging.

2. The Institute will also publish Marxist bibliographies in all fields of human thought and learning. These will be issued in separate, modestly-priced volumes. They will be annotated and each will contain a concluding section entitled, "Suggestions for Needed Research."

Educational:

The Institute will conduct a systematic study and careful analysis of educational programs "about communism" as required or recommended by public and private systems at elementary and high-school levels.

Systematic study and careful analysis will be made of the anti-Marxist literature that has deluged the United States during the cold war period. Similar consideration will be given the growing literature dealing seriously and effectively with Marxist concepts and theories.

The Institute, through correspondence with respective teachers of courses in Marxism and socialism in the universities, will seek to be helpful to them.

A library will be established in the Institute which will serve as basic research tools for the organization, and will be open to students and scholars generally.

Forums will be sponsored in various cities. A Yearly Conference will be held for reading and discussion of papers on significant social, scientific and philosophical problems. The papers will be published as the Institute's Yearbook.

Research:

Research will be focussed mainly, but not exclusively, on problems in the United States. Empirical, theoretical, philosophical and analytical work will be undertaken and discussed. Special attention will be given to younger scholars. Research will be undertaken also in specific areas upon request from individuals, groups, organizations, trade unions, etc.

Public Relations:

All the efforts of the Institute will converge in the direction of securing a fairer hearing for Marxism. By stimulating the widest possible debate and expression of views, the Institute will seek to achieve a unifying effect and establish a meeting ground for dissenting and critically-minded scholars.

The American Institute of Marxist Studies

is already operating from its headquarters, 20 East 30th Street, New York City, under its National Director, Dr. Herbert Aptheker, a noted American historian and lecturer and a leading spokesman for the American Communist Party. Its National Honorary Chairman is Dr. Harry F. Ward, a veteran progressive religious figure and a long-time champion of socialism, whose 90th birthday was recently celebrated. The Chairman is Professor Robert S. Cohen, a distinguished American scholar, and the Secretary-Treasurer is Vincent Hallinan, an outstanding progressive lawyer and political spokesman. Among the founding sponsors are James Aronson, editor of the progressive weekly journal, *The National Guardian*; Mrs. Charlotte A. Bass, the distinguished Negro woman leader; Mrs. Shirley Graham Du Bois, wife of the late world-famous Negro leader, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, and an outstanding scholar in her own right; Dr. Scott Nearing, a veteran American advocate of socialism; Professor Dirk J. Struik, Professor Emeritus of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Professor Joseph P. Morray, a leading scholar specializing in international affairs and an authority on the Cuban Revolution; Rabbi Robert F. Goldberg of Hamden, Connecticut; and Dr. Philip S. Foner and Dr. Howard Selsam, American Marxist scholars.

One hundred and fifty scholars from Atlanta to Seattle—in forty universities and as many different professions—have joined the founding sponsors in supporting the American Institute of Marxist Studies. Their own views differ greatly, but on two things they stand united: to enhance challenging scholarship, and to change vituperation into reasoned discussion.

The Institute was publicly launched at its first symposium held on April 23, 1964. The subject was "Marxism and Democracy." The main paper was presented by Professor Robert S. Cohen of Boston. The discussants were Dr. Herbert Aptheker, Professor Charles H. George, Department of History, Northern Illinois University, Professor Gaylord C. LeRoy, Department of English, Temple University, and Eslanda G. Robeson (Mrs. Paul Robeson), anthropologist and lecturer. The proceedings will be published as AIMS Monographic Series Number One.

It would be naive to expect that the American Institute of Marxist Studies will not encounter obstacles, or that it will not be subject to attack by reactionary forces in the United States. But there is also not the slightest doubt that its influence will grow, and that the American Marxist view will enter, in its own name and person, the great discourse now reshaping the entire globe.

Philip S. FONER

Against the Persecution of Democrats

CIVIL WAR IN COLOMBIA?

FOR SEVERAL months now the news from Colombia has been disquieting. According to agency dispatches, the Army General Staff has been concentrating a punitive force of some 15,000-20,000 men comprising infantry, specially trained anti-guerilla units, artillery, helicopters and paratroopers in the mountainous Marquetalla area. Needless to say, this is being done with the full support of the Pentagon. Not long ago the Bogota papers carried a UPI Washington dispatch which, quoting an army spokesman, said that "the U.S. Army has trained Colombian officers in anti-guerilla tactics . . . The Colombian army had been supplied with helicopters and special-operations experts . . . In one way or another, the U.S. will maintain a special force in Colombia until July."*

Washington has had a hand from the very beginning in planning the military offensive against the Marquetalla peasants. Colonel Fajardo Pinson of the Colombian General Staff declared in public that "Operation Marquetalla" was inevitable since it was impossible to resist the pressure exerted by the U.S. military mission on the Colombian authorities. And ex-War Minister General Pizarro announced that the U.S. government had allocated \$17 million for "Operation Marquetalla" and other military plans. Moreover, it is an open secret that there are many U.S. instructors and Puerto Rican paratroopers with the government forces in Marquetalla.

Why have the Colombian reactionaries, in league with U.S. imperialism, decided to undertake large-scale military action against the peasants of this area?

Marquetalla is an area of more than 4,000 square kilometers in the Andes inhabited by some 20,000 peasants. Only a few years ago it was a wild jungle country. During the terroristic dictatorships imposed on the nation by the reactionaries, much of the jungle was cleared and brought under cultivation by guerilla detachments. When in 1957 the military dictatorship was overthrown and the new government promised to restore peace, the guerillas decided to turn the region into an agricultural area in order to help strengthen the national economy. In view of the bitter lessons of the past, however, they warned the authorities that under no circumstances would they give up their

freedom or the land. Essentially their case was this: "We have always been peace-loving, hard-working people. We took to arms only to defend our rights. If we are offered an honest peace, we shall devote ourselves to peaceful labor. But experience has taught us that the guarantee against being crushed by a new tyranny is ability to rebuff the aggressor. Therefore we shall not give up our arms. We shall till the land, but we shall also maintain our self-defense organization."

For some time the oligarchy had to accept this state of affairs, and a period of relative peace ensued, violated only by provocations engineered by some officials and bandits hired by the latifundists.

Marquetalla is not the only area with an organized peasantry and militant history. Others are Pato, Guayabaro, Rio Chicito, Sumapas and Tecendama, to mention only a few. In these areas the peasants are carrying on an active fight for their demands. And since they have already waged an armed struggle in one or another form, they are following the lead of the Communist Party which quite correctly calls for popular mass self-defense. The ruling classes have lost their ideological hold on the masses, who no longer blindly follow the traditional parties at the polls. The people of these regions are offering the rural population of the entire country an example of staunch and unflagging revolutionary action.

Needless to say, the reactionaries are not reconciled to this state of affairs. If they accepted it for a time, it was only to gain a breathing spell. Already in 1961, Senator Urtado, one of the wilder spokesmen of reaction, launched a propaganda campaign for military action against the peasant districts. He described them as "independent republics" controlled by "Communist bandits." The object of this campaign was to incite the top officers of the army to embark on a "crusade" to bring the regions which Urtado claimed were under alien political control back under Colombian "national sovereignty."

The "independent republics" myth is used by the reactionaries to conceal their anti-communist plans. In reality the government encounters no obstruction from the organized peasantry in any of the areas in question so long as it refrains from ravaging them again. The civil authorities are supported by the population

*As we go to press, Prensa Latina reports that fighting has broken out in the Marquetalla.

provided they work in the public interest. Only those who advocate a military occupation regime ruling by fire and sword are rebuffed.

From the beginning the General Staff made it clear that it proposed to conduct a "mopping-up operation" in Marquetalla. Later, when this evoked a wave of protests at home and sparked off a broad international solidarity campaign, the military tried to reassure the public that all it proposed to undertake was a "military-civilian" campaign to bring "amenities of civilization" to the outlying areas. Nothing could be more transparent, however, for one can hardly visualize any need for massive troop concentrations merely to distribute tinned milk and government propaganda tracts.

An anti-communist crusade against Marquetalla would usher in ruthless persecution of all the opponents of the oligarchic regime. U.S. imperialism, which has not forgotten the lessons of the Cuban revolution, is just as interested as our internal enemies in overrunning the areas where the peasants have set up their own self-defense organizations—an embryonic form of a new social organization. As for the latifundists, they see in the existence of these areas a call to all peasants to resist their oppressors and to fight for social and economic justice. Moreover, a massacre of the peasants would give the latifundists an opportunity to seize their land. The military on their part are eager to take advantage of the situation that a crime of this nature would create to compel recalcitrant sections of the ruling classes to agree to the kind of dictatorship which existed from 1953 to 1957.

The facts give the lie to the government and the military who are trying to represent the Marquetalla operation as a joint civilian-military undertaking. To begin with, troops have occupied the schools in the nearby communities of Planadas, San Luis and Gaitania and turned them into barracks. Schools elsewhere have been closed—ostensibly for the sake of the children's safety. In Puente Ata soldiers under the command of Second Lieutenant Luis Ed-

uardo Cortez tortured a peasant to death. Recently soldiers of the Caisedo Battalion murdered Comrade Jose Salazar. The officers in charge of the operation have banned the wearing of ponchos, fearing that the peasants might conceal weapons under them. All males over 12 must have a permit to leave their homes during the day, and to obtain one they have to pay a heavy fee. At night no one is allowed to go out. Spies and informers have been planted everywhere. A blockade of Marquetalla has been proclaimed and the troops seize all food supplies intended for the area.

It is obvious that oligarchic rule in the outrageous form it has assumed in Colombia cannot maintain itself by peaceful means. To prevent the people from expressing their will, it has to have recourse to violence. As for the Marquetalla operation, the oligarchy has resorted to it as a means of concealing its inability to rule, which is manifest in its recent defeat at the polls, the soaring cost of living, the systematic violation of the law providing for semi-annual readjustment of wages, the scandalous abuses connected with the "agrarian reform," the increasing corruption among the officialdom, etc. Through punitive operations in the name of "Christian civilization" it hopes to stifle the protest of the masses and prevent them from taking revolutionary action conforming to the spirit of the time.

The masses, however, think differently. This is evident from the powerful solidarity movement in support of the people of Marquetalla. The organized peasants of other regions have declared that they will not stand by and allow Marquetalla to be attacked. The use of force by the government may unloose a new guerilla war on a scale difficult to foresee. In the light of past experience and the present situation, attempts to intimidate the people may give rise to a revolutionary situation, all the more so since many of the pre-conditions for such a situation already exist.

Jose Cardona HOYOS

NEW BOOKS

(Books listed here are in the language of the country of publication unless otherwise indicated)

- MARX and ENGELS. *Works*. 2nd Ed. Vol. 32. Moscow, Politizdat, 1964. 804 pp.
- LENIN. *Collected Works*. 5th Ed. Vol. 45. March 1922—March 1923. Moscow, Politizdat, 1964. 729 pp.
- A mai kapitalizmus problemái es a munkasozs-taly*. (Problems of Modern Capitalism and the Working Class.) Budapest, Kossuth Könyvkiado, 1964. 799 pp.
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