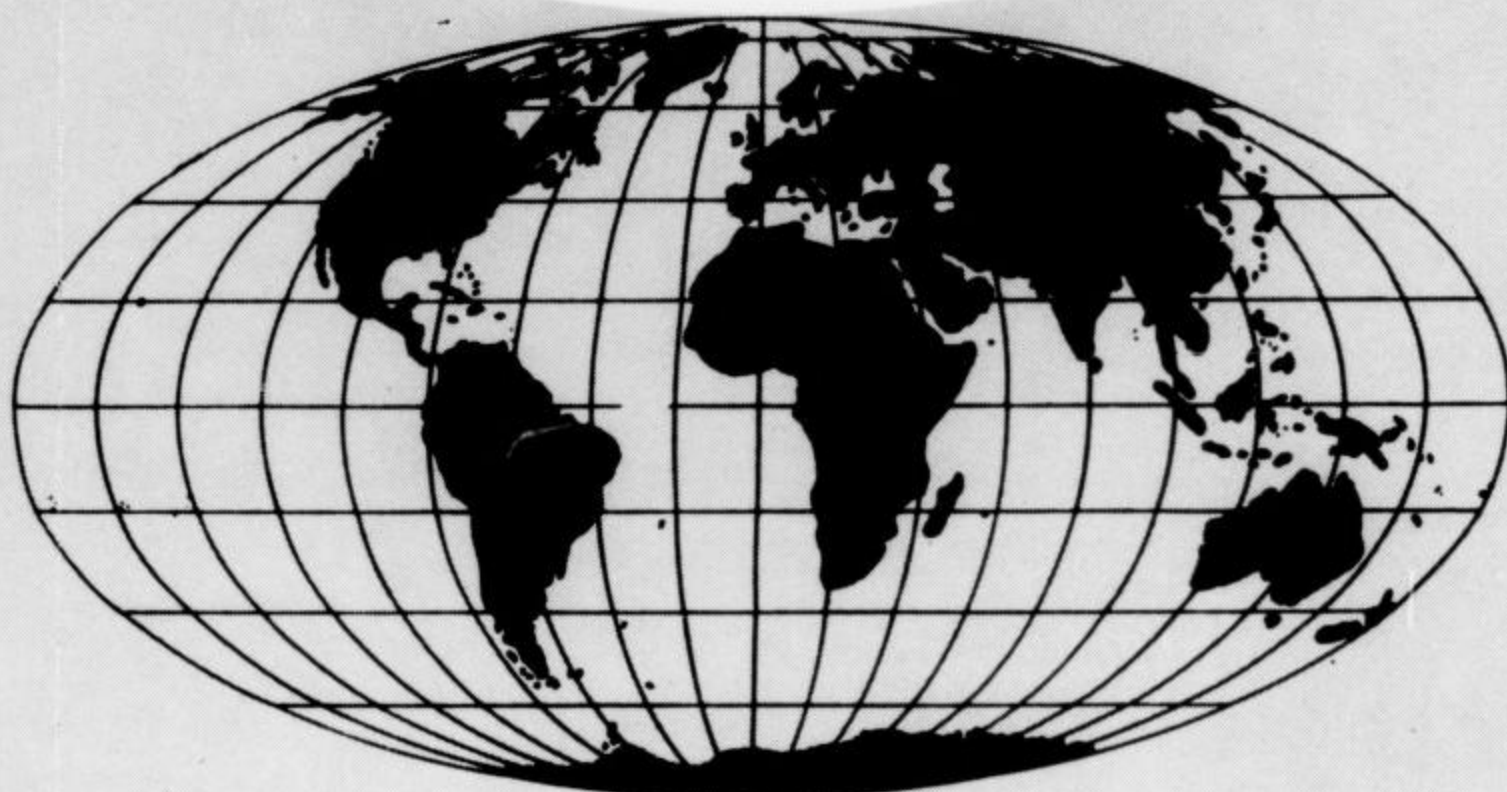


WORLD MARXIST REVIEW



Problems of Peace and Socialism

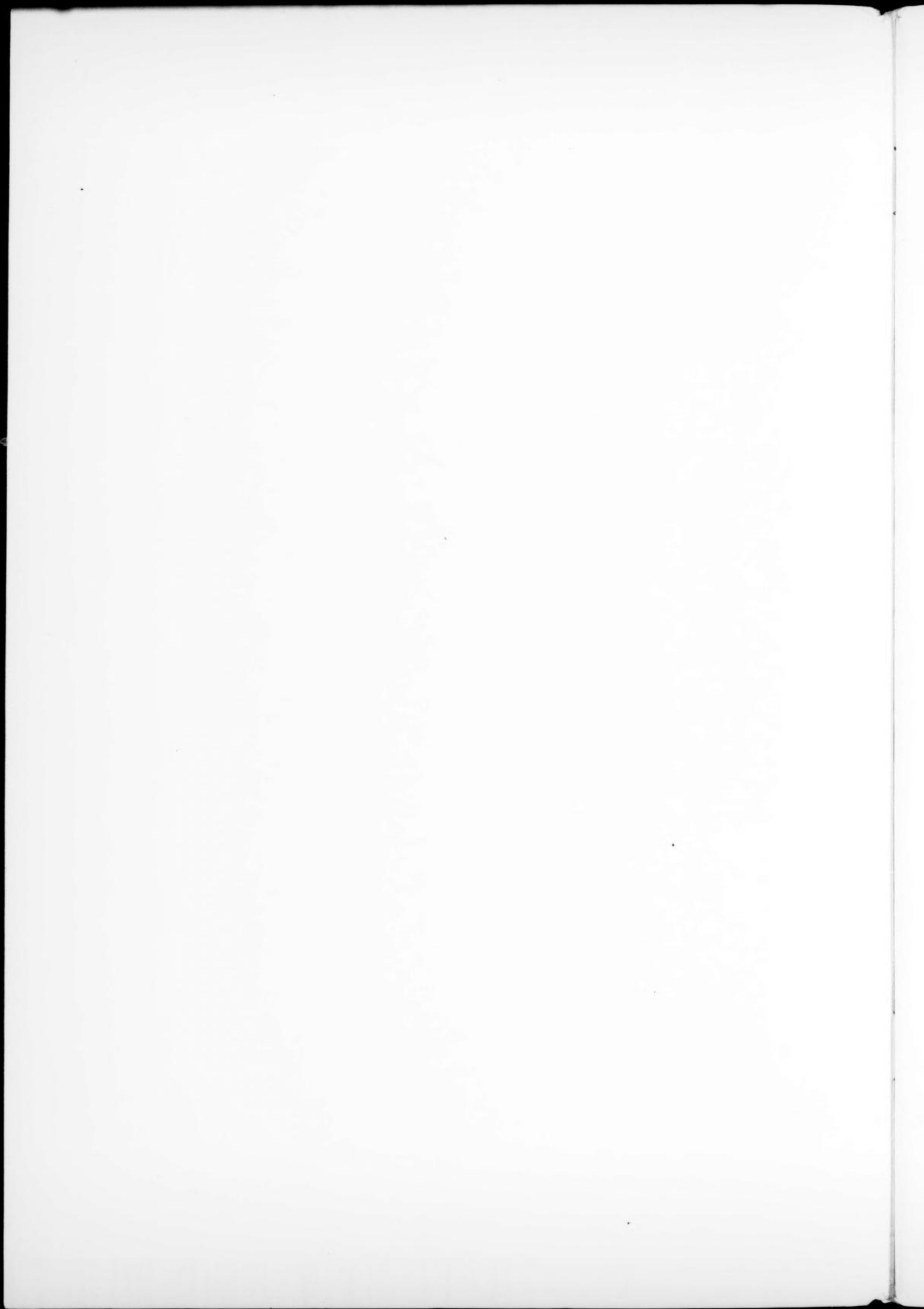
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Responsibility of the Communists to the Peoples

—E. Burnelle

Panama in the Fight for National Sovereignty

—O. Alba



WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW: Problems of Peace and Socialism

Theoretical and Information Journal of Communist and Workers' Parties

VOLUME 7

APRIL 1964

NUMBER 4

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Published by

PROGRESS BOOKS, 42-48 Stafford St., Toronto 3, Ontario, Canada

Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department, Ottawa, and for payment of postage in cash. **PRINTED IN CANADA.**



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WORLD MARXIST REVIEW is the North American edition of the monthly journal *Problems of Peace and Socialism* published in Prague. The North American edition is published by **PROGRESS BOOKS**, 42-48 Stafford St., Toronto 3, Ontario, Canada.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: \$3.50 a year. Single copies 35 cents. Bundle of five or more, 25 cents per copy. Outside Canada, add 15 cents exchange. In the U.S.A. may be obtained through **NEW ERA BOOKS**, 80 East 11th Str., Ste. 212, New York 3, N.Y. 10003.

PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM is also published in French, Russian, Bulgarian, Czech, Dutch, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Mongolian, Polish, Rumanian, Spanish, Swedish and Vietnamese. Subscriptions to these may be obtained through Progress Books, 42-48 Stafford St., Toronto, at \$3.50 a year.

The Responsibility of the Communists to the Peoples

Ernest Burnelle

THE end of 1963 and the beginning of 1964 were marked by important political developments.

First, on the international plane, there was the signing of the Moscow test-ban treaty, which was followed by the Soviet-U.S. agreement renouncing the use of nuclear weapons in outer space and by other useful contacts between East and West on problems of disarmament and detente. These were meaningful events. For the first time since 1945 countries with differing socio-political systems achieved agreement in an area affecting the vital interests of all—that of nuclear weapons. Never before had so many governments joined in displaying concern for reducing international tension and the danger of war.

Clearly, these developments are, in the final analysis, the result of popular pressure and the dedicated efforts of those who, faithfully reflecting the will of the masses, have worked indefatigably for peace. We have in mind heads of government such as Comrade Khrushchov and other leaders of the socialist camp; we have in mind also the active members of the working-class and democratic movements who, together with the working people generally, ensured the success of the anti-Bomb marches, demonstrations and petitions, and also those parliamentarians whose initiative helped to alert the public to the dangers of cold-war policy.

We know, of course, that so far only the initial steps have been taken. There is still a long way to go and, as the events of recent months (in Panama, Cyprus, Gabon and the Congo, for instance) have shown, much remains to be done before the goal is reached. Nevertheless, these initial steps are important. The camp of peace is the stronger for them.

I

We Communists can look back at the path traversed with a sense of gratification. For the international Communist movement has performed a useful and fruitful role in strengthening peace.

The Communist movement has asserted itself as a powerful factor cementing all the forces of peace and social progress on a world scale. It was this movement that immediately after the Second World War warned the public of the dangers with which the new aggressive plans of imperialism were fraught and underscored the decisive significance of the fight for peace. Assessing the postwar situation, it revealed the counter-revolutionary purport of the cold-war policy and exposed the imperialist design to divide the working-class movement.

Today, when we can already see the fruits of our political line, emphasis must once again be placed on the significance of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which advanced the Leninist thesis of peaceful coexistence. The Twentieth Congress helped Communists everywhere to work out ways and means of uniting the friends of peace in a broad anti-war front. It was on the basis of the ideas of that Congress that the world Communist movement elaborated the strategic line recorded in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

It should be stressed, however, that the ideological and political strength of the Communists, their growing influence among the masses, is due above all to the fact that *their aims—both immediate and ultimate—are essentially the aims of the mass of the working people*. In working for peace, happiness and well-being for the people the Communists are not motivated by egoistic considerations. Their goal is a decent life for all, not just for a privileged minority.

Needless to say, the fact that the aims of the Communists coincide with the true interests of virtually all humanity places a great responsibility on them—a responsibility to the peoples. Consequently, their every move must be guided by this responsibility, their every action must be worthy of the hopes reposed in them by the peoples. And the greater their opportunities for action, the greater is their responsibility to mankind.

What does this responsibility imply for the Communist Party?

As we see it, the Party must work in the most effective way for the revolutionary, socialist reorganization of the world, find the most fruitful methods of struggle, put forward the correct slogans and carefully define the main direction of its efforts, fully taking into account the balance of forces at the given moment.

If we examine the perspectives of our struggle on a world plane, the decisive task falls to the socialist countries and the Communist parties in power. To underscore this in the strongest terms does not mean minimizing the importance of the other contingents of the revolutionary forces. For it is a fact that the class struggle on the *international scale* is waged *between the two world systems*—socialism and capitalism. In the final analysis the outcome of this struggle will determine the course of the world revolution in the foreseeable future.

By employing the method of scientific analysis the Communist movement established long ago that the main arena of the struggle between the two systems in our time is peaceful economic competition. The success of the socialist countries in this competition promotes peace and progress, weakens imperialism and gives a new impetus to the struggle of the working people in all countries. In other words, it provides better conditions for the struggle waged by the workers in the capitalist world and equips them with new effective weapons which imperialism is powerless to resist. Hence to measure up to their responsibility to the peoples, the parties in power must above all successfully build the new society and forge ahead in the competition with capitalism.

But however great the role of the socialist states, freedom cannot be served up to the people of the capitalist countries from without; it must be won by the people themselves. We Communists are categorically against export of counter-revolution, i.e., against any actions by imperialism to prevent the people from freely expressing their will. But no less resolutely are we against the export of revolution.

Take our country, for example. At present the situation in Belgium is favorable for building up the democratic movement. Our people have already won certain gains in diverse spheres, for example in the struggle for immediate demands, the struggle for a democratic solution of the language (national) problem and for peace and peaceful

coexistence. The working people are moving leftwards; indeed, this growing militancy is an important factor in our struggle which underlies our successes. But none of this can be traced to external origins.

The leftward swing in Belgium is a result of the struggle of the working people and especially of the Communists, Socialists and Catholics united in the trade unions. It is a profoundly democratic process stemming from the masses, a process in the development of which an important role is played by the growing strength and influence of world socialism.

There undoubtedly still are crying shortcomings in the working-class and democratic movements in our country. But the first successes have been won, and this indicates that we are on the right road. That we are moving in the right direction is also evident from the anxiety with which the capitalists regard the mass actions. The monopolies are alarmed by the new consciousness evident in the workers' demands; they fear the policy of united action. Phrasemongering and invective no longer dismay the capitalists and their men in the bourgeois governments, for they know from experience that they have nothing to fear from idle doctrinaire talk. But they quake in their shoes when the workers combine for considered, well-prepared effort to build unity and organize concrete actions.

To measure up to their responsibilities, Communist parties like ours which function in the capitalist countries must, in our opinion, work for the unity of all working people, organize actions that will curb the power of the monopolies and hasten the victory of socialism. Guided by proletarian consciousness and a sense of responsibility to the people, the parties are advancing from success to success in the struggle for social justice.

Each day brings evidence that the principles and ideals of the international Communist movement are increasingly winning the support of the working masses. The reactionaries, too, are well aware of this. Hence the noise they have made about the difficulties caused in our movement by the profound differences between the Communist Party of China and other fraternal parties.

The capitalist press has gone so far as to speak of the "disintegration" of the world Communist movement. In reality, the Communist movement constantly derives new strength from the struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism and for a truly Marxist

line of political action. The debate under way impels us again and again to consult the compass of Marxism-Leninism in order to check up on our bearings and to declare uncompromising struggle against dogmatic-sectarian views wherever they exist.

The parties which have remained true to the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement have strengthened their positions and, consequently, have been able to initiate successful coordinated actions for peace, peaceful coexistence and competition between the two systems. We are convinced that in coming years the world Communist movement will effectively carry out its historical mission and win the respect and trust of larger masses.

Needless to say, it would be a mistake to underestimate the difficulties. The ideological stand and the activities of the leadership of the CPC have created an exceedingly complex situation and caused serious difficulties for the world Communist movement. At a meeting of our Central Committee at the end of last year we discussed the situation in the light of the experience of our Party and our working class and voiced our concern as well as our firm resolve to do everything in our power to strengthen the unity of the Communist movement on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles.

II

As we see it, it is normal for differences of opinion to arise in the Communist movement. Different viewpoints are inevitable in view of the complexity of the international situation and the specific national conditions, and also because of the different tasks confronting the parties.

There should, of course, be no disagreement as regards the *basic* tasks of the movement. But the conditions in which the parties function differ. Their background, influence and degree of maturity are not identical. Clearly, then, their points of view too may differ, not as regards fundamental issues, but when it comes to an appraisal of the international situation or the line to be pursued in their own countries.

Consequently, there is no reason for alarm if one or another party does not always agree with the remainder on current problems. At a time when the responsibility of the parties has greatly grown, discussion, exchanges of opinion and a striving to understand each other's position are essential for assessments providing a sound groundwork for concrete actions.

But the debate which has been going on for several years now between the Communist movement and the CPC is not a discussion of principles, not an exchange of experience, not a joint and mutually useful examination of concrete problems of the kind which nearly all Communist parties want. It is a polemic in which the CPC leaders have frequently had recourse to methods and devices unacceptable to Communists.

Take the attitude of the Chinese leaders to the working-class and democratic movement. Resorting to underhand methods and double-dealing, they encourage factional groups. In the last unsigned article (the seventh of its kind) published in *Jenminjhpao* and *Hungchi* in reply to the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Chinese leaders openly support factional groups that assail the line of 1957 and 1960 in many countries, including Belgium. Thus the leaders of the CPC have announced their intention virtually to deepen the disagreements in the Communist movement into a general split.

In the light of this, can the declarations of the Chinese leaders that they are striving to strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement and doing everything in their power to unite all anti-imperialist forces in a single front be taken at face value?

The political line of a Party is the sum of its ultimate goals and its immediate aims determined on the basis of the concrete situation, a blueprint of actions to be taken and alliances to be built. Little of this can be found in the Chinese comrades' approach to the basic problems of our time. Nevertheless, by analyzing the documents of the CPC and the articles carried by the Chinese press, every Communist can gain an idea of what is the line of the leadership of the CPC and where it is likely to lead.

In this connection we believe it is in place to draw attention to the way the polemic has been conducted by the Chinese leaders and their imitators in Belgium. The Chinese leaders evade serious discussion of the concrete problems of the day. Instead they keep on harking back to things that were cleared up long ago (for example, the counter-revolutionary uprising in Hungary or the personality cult). This method can only divert the Communists from a fruitful fraternal discussion of the really important and pressing problems.

Take, for instance, the attitude of the Chinese leaders and their followers in our

country towards the Moscow treaty (and, for that matter, all subsequent steps associated with it). The CPC leaders continue to claim that this treaty was a betrayal, that it benefits the forces of war and hurts the peace forces. But can any Communist concerned with the preservation of peace agree with this view? Today, when the favorable effect of the treaty has made itself felt in many areas of the world, the fallacy of this view is obvious.

The Chinese leaders refuse to subscribe to the Moscow treaty on the grounds that it does not ban all nuclear testing. But is not a partial ban a gain for the forces of peace, a step towards complete prohibition of tests? And are not the Chinese people themselves better off for not being exposed to the danger of radioactive fall-out?

The leaders of the CPC and their echoes stress the fact that the Moscow treaty did not end the danger of nuclear war once and for all. But has anyone ever claimed that this treaty is the final solution to the problem of peace and war? Of course not. The method used by the Chinese leaders in this particular case is a classical instance of compensating for the lack of weighty arguments by imputing to others views they couldn't possibly hold and then demolishing these fantastic views.

In their sallies against the Soviet Union the Chinese leaders revert from time to time to the Caribbean crisis of the autumn of 1962. If we were to believe them, this crisis was caused by the Soviet Union, not by U.S. imperialism and its ultra-reactionary elements. Essentially the same note was struck by the Chinese press when Comrade Khrushchov proposed settling all border conflicts by peaceful means. The story is repeated now in connection with the Soviet proposals in Geneva. It is amazing how blind the authors of these accusations are to the discrepancy between their position and Marxism-Leninism in the name of which they presume to speak.

The persistent efforts of the leadership of the CPSU to find a common language with the CPC leaders are well known. But these efforts were in vain. The Chinese leaders replied with an outrageous smear campaign against the CPSU. There is already talk in China about a *de facto* "alliance" between the USSR and the imperialists against the peoples. Thus the bulwark of world socialism (without which the victory of the Chinese revolution too would have been unthinkable) is to all intents and purposes

identified with the most reactionary forces of imperialism!

It should be noted, however, that the accusations levelled at our Soviet comrades are apparently also designed to serve as camouflage. For example, the allegation that the USSR does not help the other socialist countries build up their economy is, evidently, designed to cover up the disruptive activities of the Chinese leaders. This charge was recently repeated by the latter in a statement made to a French parliamentary delegation. The facts, however, give them the lie. In reality, the fraternal solidarity of the Soviet Union with the peoples of other countries has never been so strikingly manifest as in recent years. The USSR has rendered substantial economic aid also to the Chinese People's Republic. It has built in China 198 modern industrial enterprises, factory departments and other installations. China owes its automobile, tractor and aircraft industries wholly to the Soviet Union. At present the USSR is giving it technical aid in the construction of 88 industrial enterprises and other installations. Nearly half of the steel and half of the rolled metal produced in China is turned out by mills built with Soviet aid.

Such are the facts, and Peking has never denied them. But this has not prevented the Chinese leaders from hurling unfounded accusations at the USSR. Evidently they find it simpler to blame the Soviet Union and the Sino-Soviet economic relations than fearlessly and objectively to disclose the internal reasons for the difficulties they have encountered in building socialism.

Returning to the stand taken by the CPC leaders on the basic line of the Communist movement—the struggle against imperialism and reaction—it should be emphasized that the Chinese leaders have in effect revised the basic principle underlying this struggle. The decisive anti-imperialist force is the socialist world system and the struggle of the international working class in conjunction with the national-liberation movement. But the Chinese leaders single out the national-liberation movement alone, divorcing it from the international working class and the socialist camp and even counterposing it to the latter.

Such an attitude does not make for a lasting alliance among the anti-imperialist forces, for cooperation between the socialist system and the working-class movement in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement; it sows discord which weakens this alliance. Yet it is only to the

extent that the principle of the leading role of the working class in the national-liberation movements is observed that these movements will acquire a genuinely socialist character and lead the peoples to socialism.

There is an endless number of contradictions between the political line of the Chinese leaders and the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement. No wonder they opposed the Statement so stubbornly in 1960, no wonder they dragged out the discussion by resorting to procedural devices, and no wonder nobody knew until a few hours before the signing of the statement whether the Chinese delegation would subscribe to it or not.

Many comrades ask: why is it that the Chinese leaders have chosen to pursue so inconsistent and erroneous a line on international matters, on questions of the revolutionary movement? It is not for us to pass final judgment on this score. We trust that the position of the leaders of the CPC which stems from an erroneous political line completely at variance with the great responsibility the CPC bears before the peoples of China and the world, will eventually be critically examined by the Chinese Communists themselves.

Nevertheless it should be said already now that, as we see it, it is not only a matter of dogmatism in theory, as might have been thought some time ago. Besides dogmatism in theory it is a matter of a very definite political line, of a definite line of action, some aspects of which we have examined above.

We cannot escape the fact that this line of action runs counter to the tasks confronting the international revolutionary movement. The paramount task of the entire Communist movement today is to strengthen the unity and cohesion, the power and influence of the socialist world system, the main factor in the revolutionary struggle of the peoples. But do the actions of the CPC leaders which are aimed at denigrating the line of 1957 and 1960, the line of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses of the CPSU, further this aim? In our opinion the opposite is the case. Attacks against the Soviet Union and the CPSU only play into the hands of the ultra-reactionary element in the West. They injure the interests of peace and socialism, and interfere with the normal functioning of the Communist parties. The factional activity of the CPC leaders, far from strengthening the socialist camp and the entire Communist movement, weakens them in the face of the common class enemy. The politi-

cal course steered in recent years by the Chinese leadership discredits socialism and undermines its influence in the masses. It is no exaggeration to say that these actions are hindering the Communists from carrying out the line charted by the meetings of 1957 and 1960.

As one examines the activities of the CPC leaders step by step, one cannot but ask: what underlies these activities? Is it a variety of petty-bourgeois nationalism which is seeking to use the world Communist movement for its own ends? True, the Chinese leaders are indefatigable in advancing ultra-revolutionary slogans. But does not their practical activity contradict these slogans? Are these slogans not merely a manifestation of the petty-bourgeois pseudo-revolutionary phrasemongering often encountered in the past? These doubts are confirmed by a closer examination of the allies the Chinese leaders choose for themselves and the grounds on which the choice is made. Theoretical concepts apparently have little to do with it; the main criterion evidently is willingness to follow the lead.

It also seems to us that the position of the CPC leaders has been influenced by the imperialist provocations aimed at keeping China in a state of tension. Hostile acts engineered by the U.S. imperialists are practically a daily occurrence. Yesterday it was H-bomb testing in the Pacific which caused universal indignation in the Far East, today it is piracy in Chinese air space and systematic support of provocative moves by Chiang Kai-shek. We do not have the slightest doubt that the exposures made by the Chinese government in this respect are perfectly justified.

But piratical moves by the U.S. imperialists are only one aspect of the global struggle between the forces of war and the forces of peace. Another aspect is the ability of the socialist camp to prevent the intrigues of the ultras from plunging the world into the abyss. Then there is the peace movement, which is making impressive progress throughout the world. Although the Chinese leaders often speak of the strength of the socialist camp and the world peace movement, they ignore it when it comes to elaborating their political line. As can be seen from their public statements, they have no faith in the working-class movement or the peace movement. They do not believe that these powerful forces can compel the imperialists to give up their aggressive plans and agree to compromise.

The international Communist movement developed in struggle against underestimation of the potential latent in the masses, an underestimation which leads to isolation, sectarianism and adventurism; indeed, the parties matured in this struggle. As regards our Party, our own experience helps us to discern the roots of the sectarianism and dogmatism of the Chinese Communists' line.

Take, for example, the question of the Communist attitude to the trade union movement. This question was discussed for a long time in our country. When the Central Committee and the Eleventh Congress of our Party (1954) urged our members to work in the General Federation of Labor, not all were convinced that this was the right thing to do. Some comrades considered it sheer utopia. They pointed to the discrimination to which the Communists were subjected in the factories, stigmatized some of the leaders of the Federation for collaborating with the employers, underscored the absence of democracy and the harassing of Communists in the Federation, etc. All they said was true. The discrimination and hounding were only too real. The mistake of the Communists who were against the Party effecting a resolute turn towards work in the Federation was that they saw only the dark side of things. They forgot about the masses, the socialist-minded workers who, like the Communists, wanted to make the Federation a militant organization. They did not believe that anything could be done to help the trade union rank and file gradually to regain control of their unions, to win democracy and to make the unions a powerful means of defending the economic and political interests of the working people. These comrades underestimated the masses while paying tribute to them in words. On the whole they acted very much like the Chinese leaders act in this respect today.

Clearly, the road the Communists must take in order to set the masses in motion and lead them to achievements which multiply the strength of the masses and weaken their enemies is a long road requiring profound thinking and the ability to act.

At times, however, some Communists, daunted by the difficulties of the day-to-day struggle and the effort demanded by work among the masses, may yearn for a short cut. But time chastises those who think that the mass movement can be ignored. Policies which are not based on mass struggles are bound to lead to adventurism and defeat.

III

The line taken by the leaders of the CPC is divorced from real life and its problems. It is not determined by the tasks of the day, as can be easily seen from the example of our country.

For some time now the Chinese leaders have been conducting a propaganda campaign among active members of the working-class and democratic movement in Belgium, putting out a spate of publications with the avowed purpose of diverting this movement from the road it has reached by dint of unflagging, painstaking effort.

As we see it, interfering in neighbors' affairs does no one credit. In the given case interference is doubly out of place.

Political orientations, as we have said previously, are not ordained from above. They stem from the aspirations of the given people and the specific problems of each particular country. In any struggle the national conditions should be the point of departure. Hence the political orientation of the working class can be defined only on the basis of the aspirations of the masses, by the masses themselves. For it is the masses who wage the struggle and carry it to victory; it is their organizations that bear the responsibility for the outcome. The more democratic the working-class movement, the greater its experience and influence on the political life of the country.

But the leaders of the CPC refuse to understand these things. They make their biggest mistake when they try to impose on our Party, and on others, an alien political line.

The agency of Chinese policy in our country is the group headed by J. Grippa. What does this group represent? What is its source and where is it going?

The Grippa group started out with less than 200 members in 1963. Since then it has shrunk, for many have realized their mistake and have left it—some because they could not accept Grippa's crude anti-Soviet-eering, others because the group's platform is so obviously artificial. It can safely be said that apart from a few intellectuals and students, it has no support whatever in the Belgian working class.

Who make up this group? Some, like Grippa himself, are people carried away by an overweening ambition, people who never played any part worth mentioning in workers' organizations. Others were expelled at various times from the Communist Party for malpractices (embezzlement of funds, deceiv-

ing the Party, etc.). And there also are people like A. Gliner, who bear a grudge against the Party because it criticized their mistakes or shortcomings.

Was the emergence of this group, then, purely a matter of chance? I believe that there were certain objective reasons for its appearance. These reasons can be traced to the somewhat slow appreciation and implementation of the line charted in the theses of the Eleventh Congress of our Party, which called for effort to build unity and alliances in connection with the leftward swing which was then beginning to make itself felt. This delay was particularly noticeable in the Brussels area where there are relatively few workers.

This situation afforded a favorable climate for the Chinese leaders. As elsewhere, they embarked on a search for elements opposed to or not sure of the correctness of the line of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and showered them with printed matter, persuading them that the course steered was an erroneous one, more, that it would be altered since there would be changes in the leadership of the CPSU. In this way a group of people was gradually groomed to act as Chinese mouthpieces.

We are by no means inclined to overestimate the significance and influence of this group. In vain do the Chinese leaders count on Grippa and his followers becoming a "new Belgian Communist Party"—a hope openly expressed in the above-mentioned article in *Jenminjhpao* and *Hungchi*. The influence of Grippa and his followers is declining. Increasingly they are becoming discredited in the eyes of public opinion.

Nor could it be otherwise, for the group has nothing to offer the Belgian working class. Indeed, one cannot find in their numerous publications any attempt at a serious examination of the situation. And no wonder, for such an examination would inevitably reveal the growth of the workers' forces and the positive role played by our Party. Their polemics are artificially contrived. And even when they do essay to advance a policy acceptable to the working class of our country, the best they can do is to copy the conclusions of our Central Committee and our last Congress.

The Grippa group has not put forward a single new idea, a single new slogan or a single new proposal capable of serving as a stimulus to action. Its political impotence and the vapidness of its propaganda are the best evidence of the artificiality of the Brus-

sels split, which stems from sources alien to the Belgian working-class movement. It cannot hope to initiate any broad trend in the Belgian working class; its aim is merely to impede the work of the Communists, to create additional difficulties for them and to smear the Soviet Union. Its activities are basically anti-Party and anti-Soviet.

One of the areas which it is most anxious to subvert is the sphere of internal Party democracy, to which we have devoted much attention. The working people are becoming increasingly aware that ours is a party functioning on a democratic basis, a party in which supreme authority rests with the meeting, in which decisions obligatory for all are adopted by secret ballot, and in which the leading bodies scrupulously abide by decisions taken. Our Party has made a point of explaining to the public how it functions and has sought to set an example of democratic activity for all workers' organizations. The recent Party Congress decided to launch a campaign to elucidate and popularize our Rules. We wish to make our Rules known not only to our own members but also to large numbers of active trade unionists. The disruptive anti-Party slander should not divert us from the work we have decided to undertake in this area.

The difficulties which the splinter group is encountering in propounding its political line—an adventuristic line divorced from reality—compel it to resort to the most unconscionable devices ever encountered in the Belgian working-class movement. Its activities consist in the main of publishing fabrications, sowing confusion, and ascribing to the Party positions which it never held and which can only mislead the working people. We must be vigilantly on guard against the methods and actions of this group, but vigilance should not cause us to forget our main tasks.

Our main internal task is to carry out our program of work and the decisions of our last congress. As regards our relations with other Communist parties, we should not concentrate on the polemic with the CPC. Needless to say, it is our duty to criticize everything we consider erroneous in the political line of the Chinese Party. But the most important thing in discussions with fraternal parties—and we want to broaden these discussions—is to place the emphasis on problems on whose solution the advance of the international Communist movement depends. At times the Communist movement in one or another country—ours included—may fall behind and suffer from shortcomings. We

should work to overcome these through discussion and pooling of experience. We believe that we have much to gain from international discussions.

* *

The preponderance of the socialist camp and the peace movement on the world scene is becoming more and more obvious. And as our activities gain momentum, the dialectical connection between the various forms of struggle against capitalism and imperialism becomes clearer. Actions fought on one sector support the struggle waged on neighboring sectors. Our aims are logical and our struggle is the common struggle, and this cannot but enlist more and more fighters in our ranks and lead us from success to success.

The prospect we see is not building socialism in a world devastated by nuclear missiles. We must tie the hands of the imperialists and prevent them from carrying out their monstrous designs. We are confident of the outcome of this historical battle.

Our responsibility to history and the imperative need to ensure the maximum fruitfulness of the activities of our parties and our movement as a whole make it incumbent on all Leninists unflinchingly to combat the erroneous political line of the Chinese leaders. In this struggle genuine purity of Marxist theory will be achieved. In it our movement will be steeled.

To remove all obstacles on the road leading to communism is a duty which the Communist and Workers' parties owe to the peoples.

On the Eve of the XVII Congress of the French Communist Party

Roland Leroy

THE French Communist Party is preparing for its Seventeenth Congress which will be held in Paris on May 14-17. In the period since its last congress in 1961 events in France and in other parts of the world have substantiated the analysis made and the conclusions drawn by the congress on the basis of the documents of the 1957 and 1960 international meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties and an exhaustive study of the situation at home.

The opening of the congress will coincide with the sixth anniversary of Gaullist rule. The experience of the past six years has shown that the power of the monopolies has grown as we predicted from the outset: "Those who did not have the support of the people have seized power by force. Their leader does not stand above classes, as he claims. His support comes from elements of his own class, the big bourgeoisie.

"He is supported by the big banks such as the Union Parisienne Bank, the Lazard Bank and the Rothschild Bank" (Maurice Thorez, Speech at the Central Committee meeting on June 10, 1958).

The propaganda campaign carried out at

the time, unprecedented in scale, hailed de Gaulle as the savior of France, the man who would put everything right. It speculated on feelings poisoned by colonialism and chauvinism, on the desire for peace in Algeria, but most of all on the fear of civil war and disorder. It profited from the division of the working-class and democratic forces and succeeded in misleading a considerable part of the public.

The coup of May 1958, de Gaulle's accession to power, were needed by the monopolies—the unjust electoral laws and other restrictions on democracy no longer sufficed to impose their policy. The monopoly bourgeoisie saw this as a way out for overcoming French imperialism's growing difficulties.

We stressed at the time that this way out, even if imposed only temporarily, could not be a real and durable solution since the new regime would be unable to resolve the contradictions of capitalism and the basic issues facing the nation.

On the day after the plebiscite which brought de Gaulle to power, we said: "The reasons that impelled the electors to vote 'yes' are so varied that General de Gaulle's

policy cannot justify the contradictory hopes reposed in him. These contradictions are real. The decisions of the government will but bring them into clearer relief. And those Republicans deceived for the time being will reject that which will prove day by day to be a gamble and a fraud" (Resolution of the Central Committee, October 5, 1958).

Indeed, during the six years of Gaullist power the contradictions between labor and capital have intensified. The heaviest blow has been struck at the working class. Industrial output has gone up 30 per cent, but the wage increases won in hard struggle have not compensated for the steady rise in consumer prices. Working conditions are deteriorating; recent statistics show that 133 million hours were lost in one year alone due to industrial accidents; this is the equivalent of a year's work at the Renault plant.

The monopolies are taking advantage of the difficulties that have arisen in some industries to continue the drive against the living standards of the working people. The newspaper *Les Echos* commented in this connection: "In the private sector dismissals, and the fear of further cuts in personnel and in working time act as a brake on the fight for economic demands." The financial review *Enterprise* noted: "A certain level of unemployment can act as a kind of 'deterrent' to prevent the rise in food prices sparking off major actions for wage increases." The de Gaulle government, whose Prime Minister was a director of the Rothschild Bank, naturally acts in the interests of the capitalists.

During the period under review inflation has grown; the amount of money in circulation increased from 7,575,000 million francs in August 1958 to 15,542,000 million francs in August 1963. The Gaullist government claims that the rising inflation is due to "excessive consumption." This is false, for purchasing power has decreased. The real causes of inflation are the soaring profits (112 per cent increase for the 40 principal companies) and the vast unproductive expenditure (29 per cent of the budget goes for military expenditure).

To this should be added the drive against social security.

The working class is not the only victim of the Gaullist economic policy. Shopkeepers and artisans, intellectuals, small and middle peasants (whose number has decreased by 25 per cent in less than 10 years) and other non-monopoly sections of the population have also been hit.

The so-called "stabilization plan" has been devised by the government to intensify pressure by the state and the big capitalists on wages, salaries and welfare benefits; one of its aims is to create more unemployment as a lever of that pressure. The plan will enable the government to postpone revising agricultural prices; it maintains and aggravates the economic backwardness of entire regions.

At the same time the government has tried to "bring order" into public education and the higher schools. And notwithstanding assertions to the contrary, its policy in this sphere, far from being anarchistic or improvised, is coherent and, from its point of view, even intelligent, but reactionary nevertheless. The intellectual Malthusianism of the bourgeoisie naturally does not take the form of closing faculties or reducing the number of schools. The population growth and the economic requirements of the monopolies necessitate a certain increase in the number of students and in school building. But the Malthusianism is there. It is manifested in the restrictions that hamper the development of education, in the social selection of students; for students who come from the working class and middle sections the authorities have organized so-called short-term training of a purely vocational nature, which debars them from an academic career. The bulk of these students will, therefore, remain outside the traditional faculties (at present students from working-class and peasant families account for only 12 per cent of the total). Those who are in a privileged position because of wealth or because they enjoy the patronage of the authorities, will continue to have access to the universities. The purpose of this system¹ was revealed by the Minister of National Education who said that it was designed "to train neither too few nor too many to meet the requirements of the economy." That explains why the regime has allocated only 15 per cent of the budget for education, has restricted allocations for research, and that is why four-fifths of these allocations are earmarked for military research.

At the same time de Gaulle refuses to participate in the disarmament talks, to sign the Moscow Treaty, pursues a policy of proliferation of nuclear weapons, a policy of war preparation.

This policy, a dangerous one for France, is clothed in the threadbare garb of nationalism. De Gaulle obdurately defends the political and economic interests of French im-

perialism in defiance of his American, British, West German and other rivals; he seeks to play a bigger role in Europe and in NATO. And yet he tolerates and even encourages foreign capital investment in France, especially American, and, even more significant, he bases his foreign policy on the aggressive NATO coalition, on an alliance with the revenge-seeking Bonn militarists, encouraging their territorial claims and demands for nuclear weapons. War bases of the United States and the FRG are located on French territory.

De Gaulle policy with regard to the peoples who have recently won their independence is a neo-colonialist policy. We see this in the case of Vietnam, and in the countries of South-East Asia, as also on the African continent. The suppression of the anti-colonial movement in Martinique, Guadeloupe and Réunion and the military intervention in Gabon show up the Gaullist policy of "decolonization" and "cooperation" in its true colors.

Hence, the overall foreign policy of the Gaullist regime "is not a policy of national grandeur. Being aggressive and chauvinistic, it rejects every peaceful gesture, and opposes every step in the direction of peaceful coexistence. It turns our country into a bastion of the cold war and by continuing the nuclear tests worsens our relations with many states" (From the draft resolution of the Central Committee to the Seventeenth Congress of the Party).

For the purpose of carrying out this policy the Gaullist government has reinforced its authoritarian character. The establishment, under the Constitution of 1958, of a kind of monarchist regime, the vesting of all powers in the President of the Republic, reducing Parliament to a caricature while retaining it to sustain the illusion of the parliamentary character of the regime, election swindles, monopoly of the radio and television—all this enables the authorities to make inroads on still existing rights. At present this is being done in two very important areas of the national life: in the trade unions whose rights, including the right to strike, are being undermined by measures to turn them into mere appendages to the regime; in the Communes and Departments whose rights and freedoms are gravely curtailed by an administrative reform designed to place the very important social functions of the communes under the direct control of the state.

Thus the harm caused by the Gaullist policy in all spheres of life is now evident to

those who had illusions in 1958. The year 1963 saw the biggest number of strike-days in the past ten years. The working people are fighting for their demands, specifically for wage increases. Big protest demonstrations were held recently against dismissals and unemployment, for a shorter working week without reducing wages and for lowering the retirement age. United action by the different trade unions has been the keynote of most of the strikes, demonstrations and other actions.

In the countryside the peasants are holding demonstrations and other actions in support of their demands for a revision of agricultural prices. The results of the recent elections to the chambers of agriculture speak of the growing opposition of the peasantry to the agricultural policy of the regime, of their vigilance with regard to some of the leaders of the agricultural organizations who tried to contain the movement or to divert it from its course.

Teachers and students are carrying out joint actions in defense of the schools and universities and are joining up with other sections that champion the interests of science and education. Engineers and technicians are siding with the working people in their struggle, as was the case during the miners' strike last year.

The solidarity of diverse sections of the population against the Gaullist policy is becoming more and more apparent. And actions in defense of existing freedoms and their extension are multiplying.

Beginning with the mass movement for peace in Algeria and for the liquidation of the OAS, a movement which was marked by the powerful February demonstrations of 1962 in which millions of working people participated, the people are continuing the fight for peace and disarmament. In the course of 1963 the States General for Disarmament was convened, 80 meetings against the "striking force" and for disarmament were held in the Departments and regions, sponsored by some thirty organizations, including the Communist and Socialist parties. All this is winning new support for the peace movement.

A feature of these actions both in the economic and the social sphere—and the same is true of the fight for peace—is that they are gaining in scope, that unity is their keynote. In the autumn of 1962 the referendum revealed that Gaullist influence was on the decline; the parliamentary elections showed the need for uniting the democratic forces,

for promoting unity among Communists and Socialists. Since then headway has been made in this direction.

The Sixteenth Congress of our Party formulated the highly important proposition that "conditions are ripening for removing the present regime. The necessary social and political forces exist. These are the non-monopoly forces of society . . . and their organizations."

But if these social and political forces are to put an end to the one-man rule they must be organized and united, must have a clear and common perspective. This is the meaning of our draft program drawn up in 1959 and submitted for consideration to the public and to the workers and democratic organizations.

The principal object of the struggle of the working class and people of France at present is to end the one-man rule and establish genuine democracy.

To achieve this it is necessary, we stressed, to develop the struggle of the working class, of all social sections suffering under the monopolies, to channel their actions into a single stream, and thus give added strength to the fight against the Gaullist regime and for a genuinely democratic system.

With a view to providing the alliance of the working class, working peasantry, intellectuals and middle sections with a concrete platform our Party has elaborated a program calling for genuine democracy. It submitted this program to the other democratic parties and groups, expressing its readiness to discuss any proposals and suggestions that might be made, to take into account all useful suggestions, in a word, to contribute toward working out a common program.

As regards the political institutions the program emphasized that basic to the restoration of the sovereignty of the people was the formation of a strong and stable republican government based on popular support and agreement between the democratic parties and organizations on a common program. Such a government would be responsible to a one-chamber National Assembly, elected by proportional representation.

The program also provides for the freedom and rights guaranteed by law, for the free functioning of the trade unions and the democratic parties, for a democratic administration, abolition of the standing army, separation of the Church from the state, and of the Church from the school, democratic control of radio and television.

But if these measures are to be effective,

if they are to secure democracy, they must be accompanied by measures to curb the economic power of the monopolies.

That is why in the economic sphere our program provides for the rational exploitation of France's resources, for an atomic energy industry for peaceful purposes and for a big expansion of modern industry. To this end the Communist Party proposes and is now campaigning for the nationalization* of the big iron and steel enterprises and iron-ore mines, the atomic, oil, gas and chemical industries, the aircraft industry and air transport, the big banks and insurance companies—all virtually monopolies. The program provides for trade union participation in the management of the big state-owned establishments and national enterprises.

These fundamental reforms would make it possible to carry out a really progressive social and cultural policy. Here, too, the program contains concrete proposals relevant to different spheres of life (conditions of the working people, agriculture, education, the youth, sport, etc.).

On the other hand, this policy is inseparable from a dynamic policy of peace and disarmament based on the demand for resolving all controversial issues through negotiation, signing the Moscow Treaty, opposition to the various "national," "European" or "multilateral" striking forces. . . .

"This policy will enable France to disengage from the commitments of the military pacts, and to pursue a genuinely national policy based on peaceful coexistence." (From the Draft Resolution to the Seventeenth Congress.)

The democratic forces are with growing frequency taking joint action in defense of their demands, for freedom and peace. The programs of the various parties, trade unions and democratic organizations contain many points of similarity, all directed against the economic, social and foreign policy of the Gaullist regime.

In order to ensure the further advance of the democratic forces, which is essential if the conditions for their victory are to be created, that is, for establishing a new democracy, we need clarity regarding a common program. The absence of such a program makes it possible for the regime to speculate on the fear of a "return to the past," to take advantage of the division in the working-class and democratic forces.

The French political scene cannot, there-

*A number of proposals have been submitted to Parliament on the question.—R.L.

fore, be reduced to a mere contest between personalities, which is what some people would like it to be. A few months ago the mayor of Marseilles, Gaston Defferre, announced that he would contest the Presidential election next year. His candidature has been supported by some newspapers about which another Socialist leader had good reason to say that they had "often been among the bitterest enemies of the Socialists." The Gaullist forces, delighted by the Defferre maneuver, effusively thanked him. After this the Congress of the Socialist Party decided to endorse his candidature. Later, Defferre stressed that he had no intention of negotiating or coming to an agreement with anybody, that he intends to stand above parties, including his own party. Even more disturbing is the fact that he hinted in his public statements that if elected, not all his measures will correspond to the aspirations of the working people and democrats. He does not plan, for example, to nationalize the big monopolies in the immediate future or to restore the secular character of the schools. As regards foreign policy he favors "some striking forces." In the constitutional sphere he simply proposes that the Gaullist Constitution be carried out to the letter; he does not hint at establishing a regime of genuine democracy. He defines the functions of the President as those of "arbiter" in the event of the absence of a parliamentary majority, but does not say what this majority should be.

Pointing out that in these circumstances the French political scene should not be left with the perspective of electing only this candidate, we stressed our desire to "oppose to the candidate of one-man rule a common candidate who really represents the mass movement and the alliances of all the democratic parties and organizations without exception, for the purpose of establishing a new democracy." (From the Draft Resolution to the Seventeenth Congress.)

We specify that our Party will not support a non-Communist candidate in the first round of the elections unless there is clear understanding regarding a common program providing, in particular, for the establishment of genuine democratic institutions, as well as for means for carrying out this program" (Ibid.).

The attempts to use the candidature of Defferre as a brake to halt growing unity of action is viewed with anxiety by many Socialists and other democrats, and also by Communists.

The achievement of working-class unity is

now, more than ever before, of decisive importance. Our Party will do everything to develop united action in the fight for economic demands, for democratic rights, and for peace through participation in various joint actions with the Socialists and election agreements to defeat the candidates of one-man rule and reaction. At the same time we will continue to work for a common democratic program.

There are, of course, obstacles in the way of unity. The Socialist leaders speak of the ideological differences that divide us. In explaining how these differences arose, we seek, above all, to combat misrepresentation of the facts, pointing out for example, that we have rejected the view held by Stalin that one-party rule is an absolute condition for the transition to socialism. We have shown that this was an arbitrary generalization of the specific historical circumstances of the Russian revolution, and that the unity of the Communists and Socialists in France is necessary in order jointly to achieve genuine democracy and then to advance together to socialism.

Here it might be noted that we stressed in our program drawn up immediately after the establishment of Gaullist rule that the fight for democracy is an integral part of the fight for socialism.

We base our policy on the analysis made and conclusions drawn by the 1957 and 1960 meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties.

The progress made by the Soviet Union and the community of socialist states is exerting a decisive influence on world developments; the capitalist world is rent by growing contradictions; the working class in the capitalist countries is developing a powerful movement, it is now in a position to form alliances which will enable it to isolate and defeat the monopoly groups; the anti-colonial and national-liberation movements are accelerating the disintegration of imperialism.

To unite the powerful forces of peace in order to impose negotiations and peaceful coexistence on the imperialists; to rally the anti-monopoly forces around the united working class in order to establish a genuine democracy and advance towards socialism—these are our aims, aims which correspond to the Declaration and Statement of the meetings of 1957 and 1960.

In working to realize these aims we have had to contend with opportunist tendencies towards class conciliation, to combat formal-

ism and sectarianism. It is in this spirit that we are making big efforts to raise the theoretical and political level of the Party organizations, to improve their mass work. Discussion of the draft rules elaborated by the Central Committee will further this. The draft formulates, more clearly than do the present rules, the aims and principles of the Party, the rights and duties of members of the Party.

Preparations for the congress will also afford an opportunity to renew the leadership at all levels. The influx of new forces into the Party in recent years will make it possible to bring into the leading bodies the young functionaries who have developed in

the fight for democracy and against one-man rule.

We realize that our struggle is part of the common struggle waged by the progressive forces all over the world. We are opposed to the leftist and nationalist line pursued by the leaders of the Communist Party of China, to their disruptive activities and to any attempts at conciliation with this line.

Thus, in the period since the previous congress the French Communists, jointly with the other democratic forces, have helped to effect changes on the French political scene and will work to accelerate and deepen these changes.

Panama in the Fight for National Sovereignty

Orso Alba

THE NEWS of the events in Panama last January reverberated around the world. U.S. soldiers shot down unarmed demonstrators who came out onto the streets demanding the right to fly the national flag in the Canal Zone. Even international news agencies which never hesitate to distort the facts of the liberation struggle reported that the demonstration was a peaceful one. Imperialist circles in the United States hailed the action by General Andrew P. O'Meara, commander of U.S. armed forces in the Caribbean, as an "exploit" which, to cite President Lyndon Johnson, was performed to protect the lives and interests of North Americans. World public opinion, however, assessed this "exploit" as an act of aggression and brutality. The use of armed force against the people of Panama once again demonstrated to the world U.S. imperialism's determination to retain the Canal Zone at all costs.

The people of Panama want complete political independence for their country. To this end they are waging a struggle in the most diverse forms for restoration of territorial integrity and national sovereignty. All the forces of the nation are uniting in a popular movement which is steadily gaining ground. Objectively, this struggle is developing into a struggle for the return of the Canal Zone, for the evacuation of North American civi-

lians and military authorities from this zone, and for its control by the Republic of Panama. Of course the return of the Canal Zone does not necessarily mean its immediate nationalization. But U.S. imperialism is all too well aware of the fact that the national movement for the return of the Zone has its source in the strivings of the people to regain one of the country's national resources. The demand for nationalization, although not clearly voiced by all sections of the people, is present in all their actions.

Confronted with the brutal actions of the U.S. military, and because of the pressure exerted by the people, the Panama oligarchy (the big bourgeoisie and latifundists who rule the country in turn), headed by President Chiari, is in a way trying to keep in step with the times. The different classes and sections of the population are putting forward different demands, such as annulment of the 1903 treaty, abolition of the U.S. monopoly of the country's waterway, sovereignty over the Canal Zone, nationalization of the Canal, establishment of a neutral international status for the Canal Zone, evacuation of U.S. troops, establishment of diplomatic relations with all countries, etc. But all are agreed on the need for immediate talks between Panama and the United States to conclude a new agreement on the international waterway.

The tragic events provoked by the U.S. military authorities and the wave of patriotism that swept Panama pilloried North American imperialism in the eyes of the world. The solidarity expressed by the socialist countries and by people all over the world struck a telling blow at U.S. imperialism, stripped it of the cloak of "democracy" that concealed its predatory nature. Indicative of the crisis in U.S. foreign policy is the fact that a country whose government with rare exceptions invariably followed State Department orders has now accused the United States of armed aggression against the Panamanian people, of encroachment on the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of the country.

I

The struggle of our people for national independence and sovereignty should be seen in its relationship to world history. Panama arose as a state at the beginning of the 20th century, that is, when capitalism had reached its highest stage, the stage of imperialism. The movement for independence from Colombia was making headway. The United States, giving hypocritical assurances of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, decided to support the Panamanian separatists, not with a view to helping them win independence of course, but in order to grab part of the territory of the Panama isthmus and dig an international canal there. After Panama became an independent state, U.S. diplomacy imposed on it the 1903 treaty which gave the United States the right to build and afterwards exploit the canal in the 10-mile-wide Zone that cuts across Panama.

Thus, from the very first day of its existence Panama, a country whose economy was based on agriculture and where semi-feudal relations prevailed in the countryside, found itself dependent on the United States. This could not but give rise to antagonism between the two states.

As time went on the isolated areas of the country gradually drew closer, gravitating economically to the Canal Zone, and the Panamanian nation began to take shape. Consolidation of the nation took place on a background of closer economic ties. The contradictions with imperialism, notably U.S. imperialism, made the Panamanians more conscious of their history, language and culture, impelled them to work for its territorial integrity.

The United States received a handsome profit from its exploitation of the Panama Canal which, in addition to shortening the sea routes to Europe and Asia by linking the

Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, was of great strategic importance.

In the period between the two world wars the antagonism between the Panamanian people and the latifundists and big bourgeoisie—the allies of imperialism—continued to grow. The twenties witnessed an upsurge of revolutionary and patriotic movements. Strikes swept the country (for example the strike of tenant farmers in 1925) and the masses actively opposed the North American interventionists. Many were killed and wounded in the clashes.

While the people—factory and office workers, students and middle sections—were combating the national and racial discrimination practised by the North American authorities in the Canal Zone, the ruling classes — the latifundists and capitalists — were wrangling over the Canal Zone market, terms of employment, rentals paid by U.S. enterprises, their share in the revenue from Canal traffic, tourism, etc.

In 1936 a new treaty was concluded between Panama and the United States, under which the latter relinquished its right to act as guarantor of the "independence and freedom" of Panama and surrendered the right of intervention. The treaty, however, contained a special clause allowing the United States to use Panamanian territory for military maneuvers. This was tantamount to giving it the right to occupation.

It is impossible to enumerate all the consequences of the world economic crises and the U.S. crises for the dependent and deformed economy of Panama whose people lived in poverty, suffered from chronic unemployment and economic backwardness. The 1929 crisis and the depression that followed crippled the economy for years, and when the U.S. economy began to pick up, Panama found itself more and more dependent on the North American monopolies.

In the period immediately preceding the Second World War home production had sharply declined while U.S. imports rose steeply. During the war, however, when the demand for raw materials, agricultural produce and other goods greatly increased and the United States cut its exports to Latin America, a number of countries, Panama among them, began to develop their own national industries. The demand for labor, both home and foreign labor, the growing demand for home-produced goods, the expansion of trade — all greatly changed the pattern of the national economy. Home needs began to be met by drawing on the agrarian regions

which formerly had produced only for their own wants. Enterprises for processing agricultural products, and also a number of cement plants were built.

With the rise of the socialist world and the consequent narrowing of imperialism's sphere of influence, the United States began to lose many of its positions in the world. This was to have important consequences for Panama. On the one hand, Washington began to pursue a more ruthless policy towards Panama, to increase its economic and political pressure on the country, aided and abetted by the Panamanian oligarchy which intensified its terror and repressions against the working people. On the other hand, our people became more conscious of its main task in the struggle for progress and prosperity. Once again the country was swept by mass actions by students, workers and other sections in defense of national sovereignty. The principal demands advanced were extension of democracy and opportunities to put an end to imperialist domination, a domination which was preventing the reconstruction of Panamanian society. The 1955 treaty, signed when the country was ruled by the reactionaries connected with imperialism, made no inroads whatever on this domination and did not resolve the basic contradiction.

II

Present-day Panama is essentially an agrarian country. The half-century of North American domination in the national economy has produced a situation in which 37,500 of the 300,000 gainfully employed are without work (according to the 1960 census). More than half of the workers in the country, i.e., 52 per cent, are engaged in crop-raising and cattle-breeding; only 11 per cent are employed in the manufacturing industry, in building, in the electric power and gas industries, in mines and quarries; 2.7 per cent in transport and communications, 5.3 per cent (16,000) in the Canal Zone. Twenty-nine per cent of the gainfully employed are engaged in trade and services.

About 60 per cent of the workers are concentrated mainly in the two cities of Panama and Colon, both situated in the Canal Zone. Although the country boasts some highly mechanized industries (the cement industry, for example), these are greatly outnumbered by smaller enterprises. According to 1960 figures there were 2,239 workshops and industrial enterprises in the country; 64 per cent of these employed from one to two workers, 12 per cent — more than 10 workers, while only 0.3 per cent employed over 100 workers. Crop-

raising and cattle-breeding account for only 25 per cent of the national product, and the manufacturing industry for less than 10 per cent. The foreign-trade balance shows a chronic deficit, imports constantly in excess of exports. Thus, exports totalled \$21.2 million in 1960 (mostly bananas from the Chiriqui Land plantations, a branch of the United Fruit Company), whereas imports came to \$109.2 million. The United States accounts for 65 per cent of these imports. The gap between exports and imports is barely offset by income from the Canal Zone in the shape of the wages earned by Panamanian workers, and by the income from the sales of goods to the U.S. organizations and armed forces there. Despite the fact that the Canal Zone might be said to be the axis of the country's economy, its share in the national income decreased from 34 per cent in 1945 to 13 per cent in 1960; dollar income from the zone in the form of wages decreased from \$47.4 million to \$23 million in 1960, that is, by more than half. At the same time Panama's foreign debt increased from \$13.8 million to \$42 million between 1957 and 1962.

Such are some of the features of the structural crisis in the country's economy caused by U.S. domination. This crisis is expressed in the intensification of the class struggle, in the oligarchy's failure to find a solution to the problems facing the country, in the actions of workers, peasants, students and other progressives among the middle sections, and in the social and political movements of recent years; it is expressed in the growing contradictions among the oligarchy, which has split into numerous opposing groups, in the political evolution of some of its members.

Panama's adherence to the Alliance for Progress has not solved the economic problems facing the country, has not yielded any benefits. The Alliance program stipulates that the Latin-American governments shall provide "favorable conditions and political stability," in other words, give the green light to North American capital and abolish all protective measures for home production. The Alliance credits are earmarked not for development of home industry on the Latin-American continent, but to finance the budget expenditures of the countries concerned. The Alliance's program virtually perpetuates the ulcers in the Latin-American socio-economic organism caused by imperialism. At an agricultural seminar in June 1962, the head of the planning department under the President of Panama admitted that the program was a failure.

The oligarchy and imperialism have failed in their attempts to cope with the difficulties caused by the structural crisis in the economy, and equally so in their efforts to hoodwink our people. Class conflicts are frequent. Barely 100 plots of land have been distributed under the government's agrarian reform which is part of the Alliance program. The noisy propaganda around the "reform" has not prevented the land-hungry peasants from squatting on the estates of the latifundists, nor has it halted the process of the virtual taking over of their plots by the peasants who have refused to pay rent for them. Since 1960, following the famous hunger march of the people of Colon to Panama City, and the strike of the Chiriqui Land Company workers, the trade union movement in our country has gained in strength and is gradually overcoming the split. Last January, 59 unions supported the declaration (adopted in Chitre in October 1963) calling for solidarity with the strike of the bus drivers in the Canal Zone. Students are campaigning for a democratic educational system.

The popular actions are of a militant nature. In Puerto Armuelles, an area of North American investment, the agricultural laborers and tenant farmers are stepping up their fight against the monopolies which are plundering the national resources and pumping out huge profits. The destruction of the crops and of the peasant holdings on the orders of Markos Robles, presidential candidate of the ruling oligarchy, the murder of Rodolfo Aguilar, working-class and peasant leader, cannot halt the growing unity and the struggle in the countryside.

In the autumn of 1962 when students went on strike in defiance of the oligarchy, they barred the entrance to the university to a former president who was responsible for the shooting of patriots in May 1958. Their demonstrations clearly showed the gulf dividing the people from the oligarchy.

The oligarchy is steadily losing its grip on the people. The parties which support it are breaking up and new opposition organizations which in one way or another voice the public dissatisfaction are making their appearance. In the event of the independent forces agreeing to put forward a single list in the elections scheduled for May, the chances of one group of the oligarchy succeeding another will be none too rosy.

Such in general outline are some of the symptoms of the ferment heralding the need for revolutionary change in our country.

III

In order correctly to assess the events in Panama it is necessary to take into account, in addition to the internal factors, the impact which the changes that have taken place in the world has had on them. At their 1957 and 1960 meetings the Communist and Workers' parties assessed these changes as follows: "Our time, whose main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is a time of struggle between the two opposing social systems, a time of socialist revolution and national-liberation revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale." The Statement stresses that the principal characteristic of our time is that *"the socialist world system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society."*

Events of recent years bear out the correctness of the propositions noted in the documents of the two meetings. In July 1956 Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal as one of the sources of national wealth. Although it is true that the antagonisms between the imperialist powers — France, Britain and the United States — tied their hands to some extent, the facts remains that it was the warning delivered by the socialist camp, backed by the technological and military might of the Soviet Union, that brought home to imperialism that it would not be able to attack with impunity.

In January 1959 one of the epochal events of the third stage of the crisis of capitalism took place — the victory of the Cuban revolution. The efforts of the Cuban people, the aid rendered by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the support given by the working people of the world make it possible for Cuba, which is situated in immediate proximity to North American imperialism, to make rapid strides in its advance to socialism. The first socialist country in the Americas has become, in the words of one of the leaders of the People's Party of Panama, the beacon of revolution in Latin America. The example of Cuba, an inspiration to the people of Latin America, is another factor stimulating the struggle of the peoples fighting for national independence.

The United States has staged one provocation after another against Cuba. In August 1959, after a meeting of Foreign Ministers

of the OAS, Washington sought, though unsuccessfully, to organize intervention in Cuba. Its next step was to impose on a subsequent meeting in San Jose in August 1960 the statement about solidarity, representative democracy and the fight against the spread of communism on the American continent. This led to Cuba being expelled from the OAS in January 1962. The voting on this issue, during which the representatives of Mexico, Brazil and some other Latin American countries abstained was nonetheless a defeat for the State Department.

Thinking that their hands were now free to attack Cuba, the ultras in the United States financed and organized the invasion of the island in April 1961. But the imperialist mercenaries, underestimating the resolve of the Cuban people to defend their freedom, were defeated and beat an ignominious retreat. The U.S. government was compelled to recognize its responsibility for the organization of this dastardly attack. In October of the following year Washington officially declared a blockade of Cuba. The ensuing Caribbean crisis, brought on by the U.S. aggression, ended in the writing of a glorious page in the history of the Cuban revolution and afforded proof of the might of the socialist countries, which serves the interests of humanity and peace. The firm stand taken by the Soviet Union forestalled the invasion of Cuba and the unleashing of a thermonuclear holocaust. Mankind was saved from destruction in a new war. The U.S. government in the messages of Kennedy to Khrushchov pledged not to attack Cuba and to respect its sovereignty.

The course of developments shows that imperialism is steadily losing ground, while socialism is forging ahead. We are in the midst of a scientific and technological revolution, in the age of atomic energy, automation, cybernetics and the conquest of outer space. The development of nuclear and other weapons—the H-bomb, long-range bombers, intercontinental ballistic missiles—is fraught with the danger of imperialism involving mankind in a new war which can only spell wholesale annihilation. The question might be asked: why, then, did the imperialists not resort to world war at the time of the events in Egypt and Cuba? The answer is that a number of factors, namely, the policy of peaceful coexistence, the might of the socialist camp, the scale of the national-liberation movement, the struggle of the working class and the democratic movement in all parts of the world foiled the imperialist provocations. The peace

forces were able to prevent the outbreak of war and thus saved mankind from annihilation. This combination of circumstances has given a new impetus to the revolutionary movements of the peoples.

The People's Party holds that, in Panama, the policy of peaceful coexistence, the struggle for general and complete disarmament, and the first steps taken in this direction, have stimulated the fight against the oligarchy and imperialism.

This, then, is the international milieu in which the working class, peasantry, students and progressives generally are carrying on the fight in Panama. There is no doubt that "the new balance of world forces," as the 1960 Statement notes, "offers the Communist and Workers' parties new opportunities for carrying out their historic tasks in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism."

IV

As noted earlier both the internal and external factors mentioned in this article should be taken into account if we want to see things in Panama in their proper perspective. Clearly the objective and subjective conditions in the country have not yet matured for effecting revolutionary changes. But it is equally clear that we have entered a new tactical phase in the revolutionary process in Panama. The January events of which our people can be justly proud, clearly showed this. The situation showed that the correct tactics by the People's Party enhanced its vanguard role. The most important result of the action for territorial integrity, when the national flag was raised in the Canal Zone and the aggression of the U.S. government and the army was resisted, is the deepening of national consciousness and the determination of the people to achieve territorial integrity and the right to self-determination.

It will not be out of place here to consider why the big bourgeoisie and the latifundists associated with imperialism decided to take the stand they did in the January events, which, to some extent, coincided with that taken by the people. The main reason is that they had no choice in the matter. True, there are other factors which, although of secondary importance, nonetheless impelled the government to act as it did. These factors are the approaching general election, the failure of the government's finance policy and the refusal of U.S. credit organizations to grant new loans. There is also the fact that Washington's refusal to negotiate a new

Canal Zone agreement has caused a certain breach in the relations between the ruling oligarchy and the U.S. Administration. Lastly, certain changes have been noted in the attitude of those usually regarded as betrayers of the national interest. These people are showing a growing interest in home industry, and this can only lead to a clash of interests between them and U.S. imperialism. These varying degrees of contradictions should be taken into account when analyzing the anti-oligarchy and anti-imperialist movement.

It would be incorrect, however, to take an over-optimistic view of the antagonisms brewing between the oligarchy and U.S. imperialism. During the popular actions on January 9, 10 and 11, the ruling clique and groups of the "loyal opposition," and also the extremists in the National Guard toyed with the idea of staging a coup. In preparation for this they spread rumors about "plans" for a Bartholomew's Night against "good people," about arms having been smuggled into the country, and they called for martial law.

The people are exerting pressure on the oligarchy by supporting the government's charges of aggression against the United States filed with international bodies, specifically the Security Council and, possibly, the General Assembly, its decision to break off relations with the United States and its demand for a new agreement on the Canal. This support will continue, provided, as Victor Avila, student leader, declared to thousands of Panamanians, "the government maintains its vertical position."

The people subscribe to the following demands regarding the Panama Canal and other agreements with the United States:

- 1) abrogation of the 1903 treaty and its corresponding clauses granting the United States the use "in perpetuity" of the Canal Zone, and abolition of its monopoly to exploit the Canal. Abrogation of all subsequent agreements arising from the treaty;

- 2) withdrawal of U.S. troops from the Canal Zone, and the military base at Rio Hato, and withdrawal of all U.S. military units from the territory of Panama.

Whereas the government and its supporters have made the charge of U.S. aggression conditional on whether Washington agrees or not to revise completely all the agreements concluded with Panama to date, the people are insisting on the imperialist aggressor being called to account. The oligarchy's insistence on complete revision of all agreements is regarded as a maneuver to mask its true aims which have nothing in common with

those for which the people are fighting. In this respect a memorandum submitted on October 1, 1961 by Galileo Solis, Minister of Foreign Affairs, is revealing. There is not a word in this document about abrogating the 1903 treaty. The memorandum urges the government to request that the American authorities should "restrict" their activities to what is necessary to ensure the normal operation and protection of the Canal, and its maintenance, and that the Panamanian government attend to all "the rest" (but what is left?). The memorandum proposes replacing the "use in perpetuity" clause by some other bilateral agreement, and suggests that the clauses of such an agreement be revised "periodically, say, every 20 years, on the initiative of either side." The deletion of the "use in perpetuity" clause in this fashion is simply a fiction for, in practice, the sovereign rights of both sides to the national territory of Panama are recognized. Revision of the 1903 Treaty along these lines would merely satisfy the following demands: the right to fly the flag of Panama in the Canal Zone, extension of the jurisdiction of the Panamanian Post Office, of Panamanian justice, police and administration to the Zone, recognition of the Spanish language equally with English, increase in the annual payments for the use of the national territory and of the share in the revenue obtained from operation of the Canal.

Various public organizations, however, including the Committee for the Restoration of National Sovereignty, the Student's Federation, the Union of University Students and the National Coordinating Committee of Trade Unions are demanding that the Canal Zone be returned to Panama, thus clearing the way to nationalization of the Canal. In this event, Panama's sovereignty over its entire national territory would be restored and the Panamanian government would exercise full control in the Canal Zone; an end would be put to racial and national discrimination which is seen in the unequal pay received by Panamanians compared with the Americans, in the condescending attitude of the U.S. authorities towards Panamanians working in the Canal Zone; an end would be put to the discrimination against Panamanians in U.S. educational institutions in the Canal Zone; a single national educational system would be introduced. Panama would receive ports of international importance on both sides of the Canal and an inter-ocean water route that would serve world trade and stimulate the agrarian and industrial development of

the country. We would no longer have to buy our drinking water from the U.S. authorities, and the river Chagres would not only supply the Canal but would become a powerful source of electric energy for the whole of Panama.

An intense struggle lies ahead of us. The immediate task is to carry out an anti-oligarchy and anti-imperialist revolution. The Panamanian Communists have set as their task to smash the alliance of the oligarchy and imperialism and with this end in view are working to unite the masses.

Our Party, the vanguard party of the people, has led them in the actions against the criminal North American aggression. The Party has faith in the people, and it spurns the

provocations of adventurists. The entire course of developments at home and abroad shows that there is every chance of the revolutionary process in Panama developing without civil war. But we always bear in mind that it is imperialism, the classes that have outlived their day, that resort to violence and arms. In their fight for national independence and democracy the working class, peasantry, students and progressives in our country can count on the solid support of the socialist camp and their own strength. They are waging their fight in conditions when socialism and the forces of peace are winning victories for peaceful coexistence and human progress.

West German Social Democracy and the Communists

Erich Glueckauf

ALTHOUGH the working-class movement in Western Europe has won important social and economic gains in recent years, the basic problems are still far from having been solved. Moreover the old unsolved problems are being magnified and complicated by new problems, new contradictions arise which can be resolved only by the combined efforts of all the working-class and democratic forces.

1. First and foremost is the problem of safeguarding peace. Developments in Western Europe are taking an increasingly dangerous turn, as is evidenced, for example, by such facts as the formation of the Bonn-Paris military and political axis, the attempts to create a European nuclear force and by the striving of the West German imperialists and militarists for nuclear arms. At a time when the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is emerging as an objective possibility, certain circles in Western Europe, and primarily the German militarists, are doing their best to obstruct every effort towards a detente, to prevent the triumph of the principle of peaceful coexistence. To bar the way to this perilous trend, the democratic forces, and above all the working class and its organizations, must intervene.

2. The monopoly drive against the democratic rights of big sections of the population, now a permanent feature of political life in Western Europe, is intensified by the capitalist integration and the growing domination of the big monopolies; the latter want to exclude the people from participation in solving political and economic issues, to close all channels through which the masses could influence government policy. On the pretext of combating communism, the authorities are striking at the whole democratic and working-class movement including the Socialists, as is seen from what is happening in France, for example.

3. Big changes are taking place in the economy of the capitalist countries arising from the reorganization of the industrial structure in conditions of imperialist integration and intensified competition between the imperialist groups in the supra-national state-monopoly associations. The idea is to shift the burden of this reorganization onto the shoulders of the workers through new forms and methods of exploitation, intensification of labor and steadily rising prices cancelling out the paltry wage increases won in hard-fought battles. The rapid technological progress

heightens the worker's fear of losing his job and increases the threat of unemployment. All this highlights the need for such forms and methods of active and united mass struggle as would strengthen the position of the workers and their trade unions and restrict the power of the monopolies.

In these circumstances more and more workers are beginning to realize the urgent need for united action as the condition for the successful solution of the fundamental issues confronting the West European working class and the democratic movement as a whole.

The unity trend in this movement is stimulated by the new conditions of our time. The socialist world system is exerting an increasing impact on world developments. For the first time in history there is the tangible possibility not only of preventing world war but of excluding it from the life of society even before socialism triumphs on a world scale.

These changes have created new conditions for the struggle for socialism, the ultimate goal of the international working-class movement. Economic competition between the two social systems is now on the order of the day. The achievements of socialism in education, industry, technology and science act as a spur to the fight for peace, democracy and socialism in the capitalist countries. And if this tendency is already clearly evident today, how much more significant will it be in the future.

While it is true that the objective conditions facilitate the establishment of new relations between the Communists and the Social Democrats with a view to united action, it is equally true that a big role in this respect is played by subjective factors. Can one say that favorable subjective conditions for unity have emerged?

For many years after the last war West European Social Democracy pursued an official policy which might be described as a "turn to the Right." Fear of communism caused the leadership of the Social Democratic parties to drift farther and farther away from the socialist perspective, from the traditional socialist demands, from political and ideological independence. But the growing threat to democracy from the monopolies, on the one hand, and the success of the policy of peaceful coexistence, on the other, have made it obvious that the old policy of the Right-wing Social Democrats is heading for a crisis. There is a growing desire among Social Democrats for the restoration of independence in their movement, for a revival of its socialist spirit, a desire for unity.

As for the Communists, the international Communist movement has already drawn important conclusions from its analysis of the changes and the new alignment of forces in the world, conclusions which facilitate the establishment of contacts and cooperation between Communists and Social Democrats. Of particular significance is the conclusion that greater possibilities exist today for a peaceful socialist revolution in the advanced capitalist countries; that it is possible to effect far-reaching socio-economic and political reforms, and also to use Parliament for the transition to socialism, and that the struggle for democracy is a component of the struggle for socialism. This line, which accords with the conditions engendered by history for the advance to socialism in the countries of "mature capitalism," is a suitable platform for united action by Communists and Social Democrats both in the struggle for immediate goals as well as in the fight for socialism.

The Communists neither overlook nor underestimate the fundamental differences in principle between themselves and the Social Democrats on ideological and political issues. Our striving for joint action and the restoration of unity in the working-class movement by no means implies any reconciliation with the Social Democratic ideology. The Communists reserve the right to criticize the ideological and political course of the Social Democrats; but their criticism, actuated by the desire for unity, is aimed not at widening the gulf, but at bridging it. The Communists do not lay down any ideological conditions for the joint struggle for the tasks confronting the entire democratic and working-class movement. As is emphasized in the 1960 Statement: "... ideological differences must not hinder exchanges of opinion on the pressing problems of the working-class movement and the joint struggle, especially against the war danger."

* * *

Can it be said that the objective and subjective factors making for a change in the relations between the Communists and Social Democrats and a growing tendency toward unity exist in Federal Germany today, and if so, to what extent and with what prospects? To answer this question one must consider the exceptionally complex and contradictory processes at work in the labor movement in the FRG.

When German imperialism was defeated in 1945, good prospects for the creation of a new peaceful and democratic system opened be-

fore the working class and the peace forces throughout Germany. However, this national problem was solved in only one part of the country—in the German Democratic Republic. In the Western zones the key positions were seized soon after 1945-47 by the forces that had been defeated in the war. At that time there was a strong desire among the workers, including Social Democrats, as well as among other sections of the working population to put an end to the power of the monopolies and build a united democratic Germany. But the vital interests of the working people and the nation as a whole were not realized, largely because the Right-wing leaders of the Social Democratic Party, blinded by hatred for Communism, prevented the formation of a working-class united front.

The separate West German state formed in 1949 under pressure from the Western powers and in order to stabilize the power of the monopolies embarked from the outset on a path of militarism and revenge. Anti-communism, which had been the official ideology under Hitler, became the official ideology of the West German state. The Communist Party, the most consistent champion of peace and democracy, was declared the "internal enemy" and banned.

Adenauer's policy, pursued for 14 years, saw the Soviet Union as "enemy No. 1," and refused to recognize the GDR, with the ultimate aim of swallowing it up. The concrete expression of this policy was acceleration of the arms drive and the whipping up of chauvinism and revenge sentiment.

In these circumstances the question as to what path the Social Democratic Party of Germany will take in the future acquires first-rate importance. In the immediate postwar years the Social Democratic leaders advanced some sound ideas and proposals based on past experience. We recall that the Social Democratic Congress held in Hanover in May 1946, adopted a policy in which the following lesson from German history was drawn: "Not only the relationships but the economic base of political power must be changed. Only a complete transformation will enable the German people to build up their economic and social life and ensure freedom and peace."

In 1947, i.e., before West Germany had been severed from the national body, when the separate state existed as yet only on paper, Erich Ollenhauer, the Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, declared that "the question of changing West German conditions, especially in the key branches of industry, is a matter of life and death for Ger-

man democracy." And he was right. But, why, despite this correct conclusion, did the Right-wing leaders begin their quick "march to the Right"?

With the establishment on the territory of Germany of two states with differing social systems, the contest between war and peace, between the dictatorship of monopoly capital and democracy was elevated to a higher, state plane. As distinct from the other capitalist countries, the working people were in a position to carry on the struggle against the monopolies for peace, democracy and social progress not only in the form of an "opposition." Moreover, the Social Democrats found themselves faced with a dilemma. Any independent course aimed at fighting for the goals it had advanced in 1945, 1946 and 1947 would not only have brought their Party into contact with the Communist Party, it would have led to relations with the German state in which the common demands of the German working class and the democratic, peace-loving forces had already been realized. On the other hand, an independent stand with regard to monopoly capital would have involved the Social Democratic Party of Germany in sharp conflicts with the Bonn state where the reactionary forces were again in the saddle.

In all justice it should be said that at one time the Right-wing leaders did try to find a way out of this dilemma by pursuing a policy known as the "third way." But in a Germany divided into two separate states the illusory nature of the "third way" soon became obvious. In a sense their "Plan on the German question" might be described as one attempt to find a "third way." Although the underlying purpose of the Plan was to undermine the new system in the GDR it nevertheless contained some sharp criticism of Bonn policy. The preamble correctly pointed out that there could be no immediate solution for the German problem, since political, social and economic development in the two parts of the country was moving in different directions, and inasmuch as both sections belonged to "two opposing military blocs." The Plan advanced several proposals for easing tension, including restriction of armament and withdrawal from military blocs. It was also suggested that meetings of representatives of the two German states could be held and bodies set up on which both sides would be represented. Through all these proposals ran the idea of a German confederation.

If, as is highly probable, some of the Plan's authors confidently expected it to be rejected out of hand by the GDR they were disappoint-

ed. The GDR displayed a readiness to discuss any proposal that might further the interests of peace and detente. Alarmed at this development, the West German monopoly bourgeoisie and its government decided that it was high time to put a stop to any attempt by the Social Democratic Party to pursue an independent policy. As Adenauer bluntly put it: "It is time to take up the truncheon and hit them (the advocates of the 'third way') over the head." The ruling circles were quick to see that contact established between Social Democrats, Communists, the representatives of working-class parties and organizations of the two Germanys, contact that could lead to ironing out differences and, possibly, to a common platform, would have a drastic effect on West German politics. The death knell of the "third way" was finally sounded one year after the Social Democratic Plan first appeared, when Herbert Wehner, vice-chairman of the Party, announced in the Bundestag that the Plan was no longer valid and that there was no alternative to the foreign policy of the Adenauer government, its military policy and its policy on the German question.

In the meantime changes had taken place in the top leadership of the Party. The influence of the "traditional" Social Democrats, including the late Chairman Ollenhauer, had waned, and political leadership had become concentrated more and more in the hands of politicians of the type of Wehner and Erler, men alien to the working class and who with the help of the Bonn state machine and its secret police are striving to crush the opposition in the Social Democratic Party. Another feature of the Right-wing leadership is the role played by the Social Democrat "millionaires," who are shareholders in big firms or who hold highly-paid posts in the monopoly amalgamations.

The leadership of the Social Democratic Party is dominated by a group which is bent on continuing the dangerous and discredited course charted by Adenauer and his followers. Witness the approval given by the Right Social Democrats to the Adenauer-de Gaulle pact, their demand that West Germany participate in the multilateral nuclear force and that Hitler generals should have the right to make decisions affecting the use of tactical nuclear weapons; Erler's statement that the Social Democratic Party recognizes no "ceiling" in the matter of military expenditure; the Wehner-inspired order forbidding Social Democratic functionaries to visit the socialist countries; the support for the "ultras," etc. All this explains why Baron Guttenberg, one of

the wilder warmongers, gave this testimonial to the Social Democratic leaders: "I consider it most fortunate that in this Germany we should have *this* Social Democratic Party."

These aspects must be taken into account if we are to obtain a clear understanding of the process of reappraisal that has been taking place for some time past in the West German working-class movement, in the trade unions, and also in the Social Democratic Party, a process which is evolving in the direction of unity.

* * *

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany closely follows the trends in the Social Democratic Party in order to take due account of all the facts in shaping its own policy of cooperation with the Social Democrats. The anti-communism of the Wehner-Erler group cannot divert the Communists from their search for contact with the Social Democrats at all levels, and, wherever possible — as has already been done in some places — for joint discussion and agreements between the organizations of both parties. The overwhelming majority of the Social Democrats stand solidly for peace. And as Max Reimann, leader of the Communist Party, pointed out in his report to the Party Congress in 1963:

"The bulk of the Social Democrats stand for social and democratic reforms as well. In the conditions of state-monopoly capitalism and the domination of militarism this brings the Social Democratic Party into conflict with the regime. In the course of the struggle for its demands the working class gains valuable experience. This makes it easier for us through comradely talks to help our Social Democratic comrades to rid themselves of their anti-Communist prejudices. After all, the influence of anti-communism, especially the slander of the German Democratic Republic, prevents the Social Democratic comrades from taking the initiative in politics and cooperating with the Communists. And this makes it harder for them to win their own demands."

What are the new factors in the Social Democratic Party which are acquiring increasing significance for the general development of the FRG?

1. The crisis of Bonn's "positions of strength" policy coincides with the crisis of the official "community of interests" policy pursued by the Social Democratic Party. That crisis can be resolved only by increased pressure from the membership and functionaries

of this Party who want a return to an independent policy of detente and peaceful co-existence, including peaceful coexistence between the two German states.

True, so far the "ultras" in the Social Democratic Party leadership are more vociferous than those sober-minded functionaries who, refusing to submit to pressure and intimidation on the part of the Bonn state machine and their own party bosses, are striving to popularize their ideas inside and outside the party. The discussion about Germany initiated by Walter Ulbricht in an interview with the West German weekly *Stern* evoked considerable interest in the Social Democratic Party inasmuch as the questions Ulbricht raised reflected the common concern for safeguarding peace through a detente and rapprochement.

The consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union, the sincere desire of the Soviet government to save mankind from nuclear extermination, which was displayed during the Caribbean crisis, made a deep impression on the rank and file of the Social Democratic Party.

The partial test-ban treaty signed in Moscow was opposed not only by revanchist politicians like Strauss, Jaeger, Brentano and War Minister von Hassel; Wehner and Erler also warned against signing it. And if the Adenauer government was ultimately forced to append its signature to the treaty, this was in large measure due to the fact that the bulk of the population, including the Social Democrats, regarded it as a stepping stone to further progress toward easing tensions and safeguarding peace.

The appraisal of the situation given at the Congress of the Communist Party in 1963 fully accords with the statement made by the Chairman of the State Council of the GDR to the People's Chamber on July 31, 1963: "The dividing line between war and peace in Germany by no means coincides with the borderline between the two Germanys. It runs through the middle of West Germany. It even runs through the West German government parties, and, in the Social Democratic Party, for instance, it divides the group of Right-wing revanchist politicians from the mass of members and functionaries."

Thus, in the fight for peace and for peaceful coexistence, possibilities are being created for working-class unity, for cooperation between Communists and Social-Democrats with the ultimate prospect of overcoming the split in the working class.

2. In no other capitalist country has the

monopoly bourgeoisie prospered since the war to such an extent as in West Germany. British, French, and primarily American, imperialism allotted to the countries defeated in the Second World War the role of a shock force spearheaded against the socialist camp. This has enabled the West German monopoly bourgeoisie to dazzle the working people with their "economic miracle," and the monopolies to proclaim Chancellor Erhard as the "man behind the economic miracle." Erhard in his turn has spoken about "prosperity for all," thereby providing the Right-wing Social Democratic and trade union leaders with a catch-phrase for idle talk about "the changing nature of capitalism," about social partnership, class harmony and the democratic nature of the Bonn state. It is common knowledge, however, that since 1961 the rate of growth of industrial production in the FRG has been declining. Capital investments and consumption have remained static for the first time since the war. Although the income side of the state budget for the first three-quarters of 1963 was less than planned, the draft budget for 1964 envisages a further increase in military expenditure—which makes the policy of "prosperity for all" even more illusory.

Erhard has ceased to talk about prosperity for all and is now urging "moderation." The "prosperity chancellor" is trying to stir up feeling against the trade unions, against their wage and social policy, against their demands for the right to participate in management, because these demands are regarded as a potential threat to the arms drive and the super-profits of the big monopolies. Etched starkly against the background of the sharpening class struggle are the contradictions between the Right-wing Social Democrat leaders, who for the sake of the "community of interests" policy want the unions to exercise "restraint," and the mass of the trade unionists who include the bulk of the Social Democratic workers as well. If Erler's reply in the Bundestag to Erhard's declaration was that the new government be given a "fair chance," the trade unions' reply was to hold big demonstrations in Mannheim, Stuttgart, Mulheim and elsewhere against the projected social legislation, the growing arms expenditure, the unlimited profits of the big monopolies and the emergency legislation intended primarily to stifle the trade unions in the inevitable struggle for social and democratic rights.

The Communist Party bases its trade union policy and its cooperation with the Social Democrats in the trade unions on recognition of decisions adopted by the majority of the trade

unions and the need for a joint struggle to implement these decisions.*

There is every indication that inside the organizations of the Social Democratic Party questions of defense and restoration of democracy, curbing the power of the monopolies, trade union participation in decisions at all levels of economic and state life, defense of the social and cultural rights of the workers are looming ever larger. Symptomatic in this respect is the program issued by the Bavarian organization of the party under the heading "More Justice." It declares that the prosperity is deceptive, that people are worried about the danger of nuclear war and that their attitude to the Bonn state is determined by the injustices they encounter in their daily experience. As distinct from the course pursued by Wehner, Erler and Deist, who have declared Marxism to be dead, the Bavarian program declares: "Man remains the pawn of nameless forces, he feels he is being used, bought and evaluated in terms of money. Economic power is being concentrated more and more in the hands of small groups. At the same time the concentration of economic power means greater influence on the political power. The history of the thirties has taught us what consequences this can have."

In the official bulletin of the Social Democratic Party in Bavaria published on June 13, 1963, social partnership is defined as a fiction, a "deliberate fraud." Such views are typical not only for the Social Democrats in Bavaria, they are widespread in many branches of the Social Democratic Party and find expression in the demand for a Social Democratic alternative to Bonn's policy. For example, the district conference of the Frankfurt Social Democrats adopted a resolution urging Chancellor Erhard to remove Minister of Internal Affairs Hoecherl, notorious for his anti-democratic measures. This struggle against the extremists in the government, now going on at all party levels, is evidence of a growing maturity of the opposition forces in the Social Democratic Party.

* * *

Of course many adherents of Social Democracy, whatever doubts they may have, still believe that the present policy of the leadership will succeed in bringing about a turn for the better. This belief is engendered by the fact that in the last election, and espe-

cially in the elections for the Landtags, the Social Democrats won a substantial increase in votes in some places. It would be wrong, however, to assume that this was due to the "community of interests policy" or the "turn to the right." The increase in the Social Democratic vote was particularly noticeable after the action taken by the GDR on August 13, 1961, and was due to the failure of Adenauer's policy and the hope cherished by the voters that if the Social Democrats took power they would pursue a different policy, a policy of peace, democracy and social welfare.

Many Social Democrats maintain that the "community of interests policy" is simply a "subtle maneuver" calculated to win power. True, they are well aware that so far this "maneuver" has benefited no one so much as the "ultras" and the monopoly bourgeoisie. But in the hope of a possible victory in the 1965 Bundestag election they are avoiding any consistent and principled effort for a new party policy.

The actual situation is—and a number of new factors bear this out—that since the formation of the Erhard government the chances of the Social Democrats winning a landslide victory in the 1965 election will be slim unless they abandon their policy of "wooing" the Christian Democrats and take an independent stand for a policy of detente and rapprochement between the two Germanys, for defense of the economic and social interests of the working people. To orientate on a majority of votes means primarily to orientate on the working class, which in Federal Germany comprises more than 70 per cent of the electorate. That is why we say that the policy of an "opening to the right" is deception of the working class. With this policy the Social Democrats will never win a majority in Parliament, nor will they be able to win the workers' votes away from the Christian Democrats or substantially increase their vote among the farmers and the urban petty-bourgeoisie.

In preparation for the election, the Communist Party proposes to initiate a discussion with the Social Democrats on how to defeat the parties of monopoly capital and what joint demands and election tactics are needed to ensure a Social Democratic electoral victory in order to implement a new, peaceful and democratic government policy.

The illegal status of our Party, however, creates obstacles to cooperation between the Social Democrats and the Communists. The Wehner-inspired decision forbidding party

*For more details about the trade union movement and the position of the German Communist Party see WMR No. 1, 1964, pp. 58-64.

functionaries to travel to the socialist countries or to establish relations with the Communists by any other means places difficulties in the way of overcoming the sectarian views still current in our party. But Wehner's ban will fail of its purpose if our party members—especially those in the enterprises and in the trade unions—follow the line adopted at the 1963 Congress, namely, to build up individual contacts with Social Democrats on a mass scale and work for talks and agreements between the organizations of both parties at all levels, from the lowest to the highest.

Anti-Communist prejudices and a hostile attitude toward the GDR in particular are still strong among the West German working class. But the anti-Communist sentiment, expressed at times in virulent form, should not prevent the Communists from seeing the immediate common interests and fighting for them jointly.

The closer the ties between the Social Democrats and the Communists in the joint struggle for the common interests, the easier it will be to hold discussions on questions of principle and on the perspective of the working-class movement. We should be tolerant, bearing in mind that it will take time for the Social Democratic masses to overcome their reformist illusions and to realize that class struggle is essential and that socialism will not come of itself.

It must be said that the "Outline of the History of the German Working-Class Movement," a fundamental work compiled by the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party, is extremely valuable for the workers in West Germany as well, inasmuch as it draws the right lessons from the struggle and experience of the German working-class movements from the time of Marx and Engels.

The question as to whether new factors making for unity in the working-class movement are appearing in Federal Germany as well may, thus, be answered definitely in the affirmative.

With all the ideological and moral support which the peace champions in Federal Germany receive from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, especially the GDR, and from the working class of the world, the main lever that can change the situation in the FRG is held by the West German working class. That lever is united action.

Our Party is striving, despite the ban and persecution, to achieve a greater freedom of maneuver in its political activity, to make use

of every opportunity to break through the wall of illegality. Whatever success we have achieved in this respect, especially in the past two years, is due to the firm orientation on unity with the Social Democrats, which has made it so much harder for the enemy to isolate us.

At each stage of the struggle for peace we must find new ways of developing working-class unity, of building up relations of confidence between the Communists and Social Democrats, between the Communist and the Social Democratic parties. We refer specifically to the possibilities afforded by the rethinking that has set in among all sections of the population in the FRG, and especially in the working class. This initiative is the more effective and enduring when it is the fruit of negotiation and agreement between Social Democrats and Communists and their organizations and when it leads to united action. But we are aware that some Social Democratic organizations still shrink from joint agreement and action. Hence we value every initiative on the part of the Social Democrats towards winning an independent policy, every initiative in support of the struggle of the trade unions and their social, democratic and peace demands, as a substantial contribution to the cause of unity.

At the same time the movement in the Social Democratic Party against nuclear armaments, against the "state of emergency" laws and for a policy of negotiations with the GDR, provides an opportunity for reaching mutual understanding on certain questions and arriving at talks and possible agreement, and also of ousting the extremists in the elections to the Bundestag, defeating the Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Social Union and ensuring the formation of a Social-Democratic government.

It is noteworthy that some leaders of the German and other West European Social Democratic parties who until recently rejected any possibility of a Social Democratic alternative to Adenauer's policy, and whose hatred for communism blinded them to the new phenomena in the modern world and in Germany, are now beginning to speak of the need for a "more flexible" policy. Willi Brandt, the recently elected chairman of the Social Democratic Party and its nominee for the Chancellorship, has recognized the need for a policy of peaceful coexistence "however risky that may be." Other politicians in Brandt's immediate circle have gone even farther and have violated the taboo imposed by the party leadership by advocating the setting

up of a joint commission of both German states to settle certain practical questions. This leads us to conclude that our relations with those Social Democratic leaders who only yesterday took a tough and intransigent position on the question of the possibility of agreement and peaceful coexistence should be determined not by the views they formerly held but by the conclusions they are now drawing from the new situation.

In February 1964 the Central Committee of the Communist Party sent a letter to the board and to all branches and members of the Social Democratic Party explaining why recent developments on the international arena as well as in Germany had made imperative a frank and comradely discussion between Social Democrats and Communists on the future political course of the FRG and the possible steps that might be taken on the German question. The Berlin agreement on passes concluded last December was not only a boon for the West Berliners but met with the satisfaction and approval of the population of Federal Germany. Our Party, therefore, welcomed the fact that in the negotiations with the GDR on the conclusion of this agreement, the West Berlin Senate, which is led by the Social Democrats, dissociated itself from the forces in the Christian Democratic Party and the Bonn government who obdurately resisted all efforts to ease the tension. West Berliners as well as the majority of the West German population are asking whether the time has not come for the first step to be followed up by further measures that could serve to normalize the situation in West Berlin and lead to a rapprochement between the two Germanys and to businesslike relations between them.

The very fact that this question was raised seriously alarmed the ultra-reactionaries. In a choice between a detente and a conflict, they unhesitatingly choose the latter, with all the risk this would entail for the German people and for all the peoples of Europe. The bellicosity of these forces

springs from their confidence that they have the backing of Wehner and Erler.

Hence in our letter to the Social Democratic comrades we candidly set forth our opinion that "The Social Democratic Party will gain nothing by continuing the present course steered by Wehner and Erler; it has everything to lose." We were equally frank as to our intention of supporting all Social Democratic proposals and measures aimed at a detente and mutual understanding in Germany, if only minimal at first. In accordance with the decision of our Party Congress in 1963, we declared in our letter that we stand for joint actions by all peace forces, so as to pave the way to a government which would exclude all advocates of a "policy of strength." We stand for a government headed by Social Democrats which could include trade union leaders and bourgeois politicians who believe in mutual understanding and who would abandon the Adenauer policy of rearmament and "cold war," and begin to implement a policy of negotiation. A comradely exchange of views on these questions, i.e., on questions of vital importance for our people, personal contact between the members of the Social Democratic and the Communist parties and also ties between leading bodies of the two parties—this is what is needed if the situation in the FRG is to be changed.

In a host of circulars and publications the enemies of the working class in the FRG, who are at once the sworn enemies of peace, have expressed concern about what they call the "new tactics" of the Communist Party. What these people fail to understand is that this is not a matter of "new tactics," but of the consistent application to the conditions in the FRG of the policy as outlined in the decisions of the meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties. The fact that the Bonn imperialist circles consider this policy to be so "dangerous" to their military plan and their offensive against the working class merely enhances the significance of these decisions.

Sweden—Some Urgent Problems of Agrarian Policy

Erik Karlsson

FROM the very birth of Marxism to the thirties of this century its opponents have assailed in particular the Marxian theory of concentration of production. While conceding the growth of large-scale industry, they insisted that small industry was likewise expanding. Although some aspects of small-scale production had disappeared in part or completely, they argued, new aspects were springing up, new areas of small industry were coming into being, and hence there was no polarization of capitalist society with bourgeoisie and proletariat at the opposite poles. To vindicate themselves they made a point of invoking the example of agriculture. The viability of the smallholder seemed unquestionable to them inasmuch as the nature of farm production allegedly favored the "union of personal labor and property."

As we know, Lenin in a number of his works adduced factual data from different countries showing that Marx's conclusions were fully applicable to agriculture as well. Still, faith in the viability of the small cultivator remained widespread up to the Second World War; in Sweden it actually determined official agrarian policy. Ever since the mass emigration to America in the second half of the 19th century the authorities had tried to prevent the exodus from the countryside, urging the rural population to remain on the land. Crises and unemployment in other branches of the economy provided arguments in favor of the small farm. The bourgeoisie was directly interested in creating a stratum of smallholders as a reservoir of labor power for the timber industry and as a bulwark of capitalism in the countryside which could be used to combat the rapidly developing urban working-class movement.

Today the situation is different. A deep-going crisis of small-scale production in practically all branches of the economy is one of the facts of life in the developed capitalist countries. The wholesale disappearance of smallholders, including those deriving their livelihood mainly from the soil, is a feature also of postwar Sweden. The flight from the

countryside to the towns has assumed serious proportions, causing far-reaching changes in social conditions and in the class composition of the population, so much so that petty-bourgeois ideologists have been taken unawares. As a result, some of these theorists, for instance the reformists, now extol large-scale farming and agricultural rationalization, while others are dismayed by the new trends and regard the problems of the day with profound pessimism.

Evolution of Agriculture in Sweden

At the end of the Second World War one out of every four Swedes, or 24.5 per cent of the total labor force, was engaged in agriculture, the timber industry, or fishing. By 1950 the percentage had declined to 20.3, by 1960 to 13.8 and by 1963 to roughly 10 per cent. At this rate probably not much more than five per cent of the labor force will have remained in the countryside by the end of the current decade.

Farm production showed an overall growth up to the fifties, but since then it has been marking time. Milk production has declined, while output of meat and eggs has increased only slightly. Crop raising, the reduction of the cultivated area notwithstanding, has largely remained at the previous level. In 1950-60 about 80 per cent of the agricultural output was accounted for by livestock raising, which consumes more labor than most other branches of farming. Although the rural labor force has declined by more than half in the past 20 years or so, Swedish agriculture supplies all the grain, milk, butter, eggs and pork the country needs and almost all the beef consumed. There are surpluses of butter, eggs and pork, and selling more of these items on the traditional Western markets is one of the problems of the day. Although less than one million out of her population of 7,000,000 obtain their livelihood in agriculture, Sweden is, as we have said, self-sufficient from the standpoint of production of the staple farm products.

These changes would not have been pos-

sible without rapid technological progress. In 1945-62 the number of horses declined by more than two-thirds, while tractors increased over sixfold. In 1945 harvester combines were a rarity, now they number 30,000. It should be noted that the mechanization has brought with it an increase in certain categories of agricultural workers. For instance, in 1961 42,000 workers were engaged in co-operative creameries, slaughter-houses, storage centers and other enterprises handling farm produce.

According to official figures, expenditure of labor per hectare of cultivated lands has declined nearly by half since the war; between 1952 and 1962 alone the drop was 40 per cent. Over the past 15 years labor expenditure declined roughly by one-third on the small farms, and by more than half on the bigger ones. Family farms with no hired labor effected a saving of 30 per cent, and farms employing hired workers, 60 per cent. The use of machinery has reduced the number of agricultural laborers from 26 per cent of the total agricultural labor force ten years ago to 17.5 per cent in 1962. At times labor productivity has increased faster than in industry; the average annual productivity growth between 1951-52 and 1958-59 was 4.4 per cent in agriculture and 4.2 in industry.

Yields of food and fodder grains per hectare have risen in the postwar period, amounting at present to three metric tons of wheat, 2.4 tons of rye and 2.1 tons of oats. Dairy herds have declined by one-quarter, but the numerical growth of beef cattle has compensated for this drop, while the number of hogs doubled. Average milk yield per cow increased from 2,550 litres to 3,400 litres in 1962, while butter-fat content rose from 3.62 to 3.9 per cent. The value of the agricultural output in terms of 1954-55 prices increased in this period from 3,500 to 4,000 million kronor.

Credits extended for the purchase of farm machines and intensive farming generally increased from 2,000 million kronor in 1945 to nearly 5,000 million in 1961. The farm debt grew to 28 per cent of the total agricultural income in 1960.

Crisis of Small Farming

The mechanization has been accompanied by far-reaching structural changes. In 1944 there were 202,000 farms ranging from two to 10 hectares of plough-land, and in 1961, only 141,000. Whereas the number of farms in the 20 to 100 hectare bracket has increased, the reverse is true of the 10 to 20-

hectare farms. Erosion of the smallest farms has been especially rapid in recent years. Whereas in 1944-56 an annual average of 2,500 smallholders was squeezed out, in the subsequent five years the annual rate went up to 6,000. Experts believe that the wiping out of the small farms is likely to continue and perhaps even more rapidly. The plight of the smallholders explains why more than 45 per cent of the male population over 50 years of age, and 21.6 per cent in the above-60 bracket, are now engaged in agriculture, whereas in other branches of the economy their share is respectively 28.9 and 9.6 per cent. Young people are reluctant to remain on the family farm. And the flight from the countryside is primarily a flight of the youth.

The mechanization really got into stride in the thirties. During the Second World War the process was halted, only to be renewed with redoubled vigor after the war. The technical advance has widened the economic gap between the big and small farms. The latter, (mostly those under 10 hectares), in the past too waged a losing battle against large-scale production, but with the coming of the new techniques their situation became hopeless. Hence the rapidity with which they are disappearing. The mechanization benefits mostly those who can use the saving on labor to cultivate new areas or find other application for the labor. The small farms, consequently, cannot keep up with the big units as regards labor productivity and other economic indices.

Sweden has experienced a high level of business activity practically without interruption ever since the war. Slumps have been relatively slight and shortlived. The rapidly expanding industry and other branches absorbed the influx of manpower from the countryside, and thousands of immigrant workers. The workers made many gains. There was a substantial increase in the real wages of both manual and clerical workers. Better housing became available. Social benefits were extended. These factors encouraged the flight from rural areas to the cities. A decline in industrial activity may slow down the process of extinction of the small farms, but it can hardly stop it.

Government Price Policy

Needless to say, the state has not been able to stand aside from the problems posed by agriculture. Already in the early thirties, because of the world economic crisis and the pressure exerted by the farmers, steps were taken to regulate prices. By and large these

measures, which gradually developed into a whole system of price fixing, were similar to those taken in some other West European countries.

The home market for farm produce is protected against foreign competition by high import duties, due to which Swedish prices are now considerably higher than world prices. Unlike other customs revenue, income from the agricultural duties is used primarily to subsidize the export of farm surpluses at prices considerably below those on the home market. Since the thirties domestic prices have been regulated by agreements between the authorities and the agricultural producers' organizations. Were it not for protection and Government subsidies, the elimination of the small farms would have proceeded still faster. Still, as we have seen, this policy does not save the small farmer, it favors the big farms first and foremost. The high purchasing prices benefit those most who have most to sell, i.e., the landlords and big farmers; the smaller the farm, the less it gains. In a word, the present price policy benefits least those who are in the greatest need of aid. For instance, the high price paid for cattle feed due to the import duties hit hard at the small farmer who, as a rule, buys his fodder; it benefits the big farmers who grow feed crops for the market.

What, then, are the prospects? Will the preponderant elements on the agricultural scene in the near future be the big capitalist-run farms, on the one hand, and an agricultural proletariat, on the other?

Available data do not suggest that this will be the case. The numbers engaged in agriculture have declined more as a result of the decline in the employment of farm laborers than of a decline in the number of farmers and members of their families. The agricultural laborers' union reports that its membership has declined by more than half since 1945 because land workers have been shifting to other industries. Owing to the mechanization many medium-sized farms which used to employ laborers no longer do so. Moreover, the size of the medium-sized farms operated without hired workers has grown considerably. Whereas 30 or 40 years ago a small farmer could not till more than 10 hectares without outside help, he now copes with 25-30 hectares by using machines.

Does this mean that the small farms are fated to go under and that the trend is towards a predominance of medium-sized farms run in the main without hired labor? This question suggests itself when we look at the

agricultural situation not only in Sweden but also in some other capitalist countries. Another question is: in view of this, what should be the farm program and policy of the working-class movement and of the Communists in particular?

Cooperation

The view is advanced that the only way out for the smallholder is cooperative farming and that all-round support to the cooperatives is the cornerstone of a correct and realistic farm policy.

In Sweden, as in other capitalist countries some forms of agricultural cooperation, primarily in the sphere of processing and marketing, are widespread. The farmer no longer sells his milk or other produce himself, nor does he make his own butter or slaughter his cattle. All this is done by cooperatives. The latter supply him with implements, and the cooperative associations have their own creameries (they are now the majority in the country), slaughterhouses, flour mills and even cellulose factories. Wholesale trade in livestock products is almost completely in the hands of the cooperatives.

The scale of the cooperative movement can be judged by the following figures. In 1961 there were 233,000 farms of more than two hectares (smaller plots should be regarded only as an additional source of income for their owners). At the same time, the cooperative organization for processing and marketing dairy produce had 227,000 members, the meat-packing cooperative, 250,000, the purchasing organization, 143,000, and the association of owners of timberland, 130,000.

Cooperatives handle the bulk of the export of farm produce, and have a hand in distributing the revenue from import duties. The central association of these cooperatives negotiates on their behalf with governmental authorities and has jurisdiction over a number of financial and other questions.

A feature of the Swedish agricultural cooperatives is that they do not extend to production proper. Membership in them is most beneficial for those who produce most for the market. Hence the boards of these cooperatives consist by and large of landlords and big farmers. Although this does not mean that the small farms gain nothing from the cooperatives, cooperation in its present form is utterly incapable of solving the basic problems of small farming. This is evident from the fact that the rapid decline particularly in the number of small farms in the past 25

years coincided with remarkable growth of cooperation.

Some people believe that the way out for the small farmers is cooperative crop raising and livestock farming. Why, then, did they not avail themselves of this avenue in these past decades of rapid growth of cooperation and decline of the small farms? The reason is not only the indifference of the present cooperative leaders. Why have we not seen a movement to set up large cooperative farms among the small farmers?

A closer examination of the question shows that the capitalist system prevents the development of cooperatives along these lines. If the small farmers in a particular locality were to form a producers' cooperative, the medium-sized farms would not join it, with the result that the cooperative's fields would be widely dispersed. And even if the cooperative farm could be run profitably, at least half, if not more, of its members would be redundant.

Genuine producers' cooperatives in the countryside are unthinkable without a radical agrarian reform which would hand over to the smallholders at least the bulk of the arable land, i.e., land farmed by companies, capitalists, land owned by the Church, landlords and the state. Needed for this, however, is a change in the balance of class forces. The experience of the socialist countries shows that the condition for the solution of the peasant question through cooperation is aid by the state. To think in terms of solving agrarian problems through cooperation irrespective of the form of land tenure and other social relations, apart from the balance of forces in society, would be utopian. As for the land question, it should be noted that the total area of all the farms of two to 10 hectares (and these account for 60 per cent of all farms of more than two hectares) amounts to only one-quarter of the total arable land.

Efficiency in Small-Scale Farming

Marxists do not confine themselves to analyzing the laws of social development and their consequences. Nor do they merely advance a program for the solution of social problems in the future. They pursue a policy in the interests of the working people, the small farmers included. What, then, should the agricultural policy be of the Communist Party?

Although the problem of the family farmer cannot be fully solved under capitalism, partial solutions easing his lot are possible. Moreover, the fight for improvements points the

way to unity between the working people of town and country in the struggle for the radical reorganization of society. The principal immediate demands of the small farmers are bigger allotments, facilities for improving the farms, lower prices for machinery, implements and feed, lower interest rates and better credit terms.

Some changes in the official agricultural policy were introduced by the Riksdag in 1947. It had become clear that the old line based on the proliferation of small holdings had to be abandoned. Something had to be done to improve matters. State bodies for raising the efficiency of agriculture were established to help the smallholders to acquire more land, including timber land, and to improve their land, farm buildings and equipment. The results, however, were less than modest, despite the laudable efforts made by many of the officials of these bodies. And it hardly could have been otherwise in view of their limited objectives and the lack of the economic wherewithal.

The Communists, reviewing this experience, criticized the official policy in the Riksdag and advanced a number of proposals. At the time of the farm price debate in 1963, a Social Democrat expert commented in *Stockholms-Tidningen*, that the protective tariffs for agriculture were costing the consumer roughly 1,500 million kronor annually. To this should be added the direct subsidies from the budget. We pointed to the gap between these sums and the annual state expenditure on agricultural improvement which amounted to a bare 25 million kronor a year (excluding overhead). As early as 1961 the Communists had urged a tenfold increase in this expenditure. Moreover, we stressed that the allocations for raising farm efficiency should be channeled primarily to the small farmers, since they gained nothing from the price regulation.

The Communists criticized the terms of reference of the state bodies for raising efficiency in agriculture already in 1947 when these bodies were first organized. According to directives, the object was to ensure rational use of the land of the small farms that had gone under. The Communists proposed that the small holdings be augmented by land belonging to companies, private owners not engaged in agriculture, the Church, some of the big estates, and also the state. We also urged cutting the interest rate on the state rationalization loans to the small farms and substantially increasing subsidies for the purchase of land and other means of produc-

tion. The Riksdag, however, rejected our suggestions both in 1961 and later on the pretext that state agricultural policy was being examined by a special government commission.

The Communist agricultural program, furthermore, calls for government action to reduce the prices fixed by the monopolies for machinery, implements, building materials, etc. The government has not moved a finger in this respect to this day. However, our proposals, and the discussion under way in the country on questions of agrarian policy, are increasingly gaining the attention of the public.

At its Congress last January the Party adopted a statement setting forth the Communist position on the question of whether agriculture should be maintained at a level adequate to the country's needs or whether we should rely on importing agricultural produce. The Party holds that Sweden must keep up its agriculture. Our yields are not far short of those in other developed European countries. Our agricultural technique and research are on a high level. Moreover, world agricultural prices are subject to fluctuation, owing to dumping, for instance. In addition, agriculture provides a substantial market for Swedish industry. Hence it is in the national interest to maintain a viable agriculture of our own.

In connection with our criticism of the government's agricultural policy the statement declares that the new directives concerning rationalization of small farming and the increased expenditure for this purpose should be aimed at raising the small farmer's standard of living and lowering the prices paid by the consumer for agricultural produce. There is a way out of the crisis of small farming and it must be vigorously pursued. But it is not enough to increase the holdings of the small farms. In this respect the following passage from the statement is of interest:

"No matter how fundamental structural changes may be, they are only one aspect of the process of rationalizing agriculture. It is necessary to foster agricultural cooperation, which is already finding expression in the establishment of timber-felling cooperatives. Instead of merely representing interest groups, the cooperative organizations should set about establishing 'meat factories', large dairy farms, poultry farms and other major undertakings, especially since the shortage of labor and cost of production will, increasingly, compel farmers to give up using draught-animals."

Increasing the size of the small farms and promoting cooperatives are thus stressed as the immediate prospect. It should be said that the strengthening of the cooperative movement is urged primarily in livestock raising, which, if it is to be conducted efficiently, requires bigger investments and should be on a larger scale than crop cultivation, where for the time being individual family farming may still be relatively profitable.

To this program our opponents advance two objections which are at first glance quite contradictory. First, they ask, would not enlarging the small farms and helping them to improve their means of production amount to encouraging capitalist farming based on exploitation of wage labor, and secondly, would not farms of 20-30 hectares or even two-family farms of 40-50 hectares prove unprofitable in the light of the progress in farming techniques?

Our reply to the first question is based on the Marxist definition of the difference between the big farmer and the smallholder as that between farming based on the employment of hired labor and farming by the family's own labor. The family farmer of today who cultivates 25 hectares is no less a working farmer than the smallholder of 50 years ago who barely coped with 10 hectares; the use of machinery does not make him an exploiter. The reply to the second objection was, strictly speaking, given above. Clearly twenty hectares will yield a better livelihood than ten. But we by no means claim that enlarging the farms will solve the problem for all time.

The fight for better conditions for the small farmer and for greater state aid to increase the efficiency of his labor is a realistic policy which, far from obscuring the issue, facilitates the future socialist solution of the agrarian question. Indeed, what alternative is there to the course we have outlined? Only the ultimate disappearance of the small farms, transfer of their ownership to companies and big farmers, the turning of large areas of arable land into timber land as is now being done, and a substantial reduction in agricultural output. Is this in the interests of the working people? Clearly not.

* * *

The agrarian problems are now very much the subject of political debate inasmuch as they affect the interests not only of the majority of the farmers but of society as a whole. As a result of the establishment of

trade blocs in Western Europe these problems, which are not confined to Sweden, will grow sharper. This is not a chance phenomenon

but an expression of the deepening crisis of the existing agrarian structure in the developed capitalist countries.

CENTENARY OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL

Unpublished Document Written by Marx and Engels

Below we print the hitherto unpublished draft of the amendments to the General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the First International drawn up by Marx and Engels and adopted by the General Council in the summer of 1872.

The original text of the Rules had been written by Marx in October 1864, and approved as the Provisional Rules by the General Council on November 1 of that year. In 1866 the Geneva Congress of the International endorsed the Rules and supplemented them with the Administrative Regulations. In 1871 Marx and Engels, acting on a decision of the London Conference, prepared a new revised edition of the Rules and Regulations in keeping with the decisions of the previous congresses of the International and the London conference. This 1871 edition was the final, official edition of

the Rules and Regulations of the International.

The draft was to be submitted to the Hague Congress (September 1872). The draft as a whole was not discussed, only the main clauses. The General Rules were supplemented by Rule 8 (No. 7a) and the Administrative Regulations by clauses tightening discipline and centralism in the organizations of the International (Clauses 2 and 6 in Section II).

The amendments and addenda printed below were written by Marx into the French edition (1871) of the General Rules and Administrative Regulations.

The document was prepared for the press by V. Kumina, of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Moscow.

Institute of Marxism-Leninism

C.C., CPSU

DRAFT OF AMENDMENTS TO THE GENERAL RULES AND ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION DRAWN UP BY MARX AND ENGELS (1872)¹

GENERAL RULES OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

1. This Association is established for the purpose of organizing common actions by the workers of different countries² aiming at the same end, viz., the protection, advancement, and complete emancipation of the working classes.

4. Each Congress appoints the time and place of meeting for the next Congress. The delegates assemble at the appointed time and place without any special invitation. The General Council may, in case of need, change the place and time of the Congress and with the sanction of the

majority of the Federations replace the congress with a closed conference having the same powers. However, the congress or conference that will be held instead must be convened within three months after the date fixed by the previous congress.

The Congress appoints the seat and elects the members of the General Council, three from each nationality, annually. The Council thus elected has the power to replace members who have resigned or who are unable, for one reason or another, to carry out their duties, and to coopt members in the event the Congress elects fewer members than stipulated by the Rules.³

At its annual meetings, the General Congress shall receive a public account of the annual transactions of the General Council. The latter may, in case of emergency, convoke the General Congress before the regular yearly term.

6. The General Council shall form an international agency between the different national and local groups of the Association, so that the working men in one country may be constantly informed of movements of their class in every other country; that an inquiry into the social state of the different countries of Europe be made simultaneously, and under a common direction; that questions of general interest mooted in one society be aired by all; and that when immediate practical steps should be needed [as, for instance, in case of international quarrels] the action of the associated societies be simultaneous and uniform. Whenever it seems opportune, the General Council shall take the initiative of proposals to be laid before the different national or local societies. To facilitate the communications, the General Council shall publish periodic reports.

7. Since the success of the working men's movement in each country cannot be secured but by the power of union and combination, while, on the other hand, the usefulness of the International General Council must greatly depend on the circumstance whether it has to deal with a few national centers of working men's associations, or with a great number of small and disconnected local societies, the members of the International Association shall use their utmost efforts to combine the disconnected working men's societies of their respective countries into national bodies, represented by central national organs *which, wherever possible, should be international in their composition*. It is self-understood, however, that the application of this rule will depend upon the peculiar laws of each country, and that, apart from legal obstacles, no independent local society shall be precluded from directly corresponding with the General Council.

8. *In its struggle against the collective power of the propertied classes the proletariat can act as a class only by constituting itself a distinct political party, opposed to all the old parties formed by the possessing classes. This constitution of the proletariat into a political party is necessary in order to ensure the success of the social revolution and the realization of its ultimate goal: the abolition of classes.*

The coalition of the forces of the working class, already achieved by the economic struggle, must also serve, in the hands of this class, as a lever in its struggle against the political power of its exploiters.

*As the lords of the land and of capital always make use of their political privileges to defend and perpetuate their economic monopolies and to enslave labor, the conquest of political power becomes the great duty of the proletariat.*⁴

9. Everybody who acknowledges and defends the principles of the International Workingmen's Association is eligible to become a member. However, in order to guarantee the proletarian character of the Association, not less than two-thirds of the membership of each branch must consist of wage workers. Every branch is responsible for the integrity of the members it admits.

11. *Workingmen's societies of resistance, adhering to the International Association will preserve⁵ their existent organizations intact.*

ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS

I

The General Congress

2. *Every branch or group of branches consisting of not less than 50 members may send a delegate to the Congress.*⁶

3. *Every branch or group of branches numbering more than 50 members may send an additional delegate for every additional 10 members.*⁷

6. Only the delegates of such societies, sections, or groups as form parts of the International, and shall have paid their contributions to the General Council, will in future be allowed to take their seats and to vote at Congresses. [Nevertheless, for such countries where the regular establishment of the International may have been prevented by law, delegates of trades' unions and workingmen's cooperative societies will be allowed to participate in Congress debates on questions of principle, but not to discuss, or to vote on, administrative matters.]

7. The sittings of the Congress will be twofold—administrative sittings, which will be private, and public sittings, reserved for the discussion of, and the vote upon, the *fundamental*⁸ questions of the Congress program.

8. The Congress program, consisting of questions placed on the order of the day by the preceding Congress, questions added by the General Council, and questions submitted to the acceptance of that Council by the different sections, groups or their committees, *and which it will accept*, shall be drawn up by the General Council.

Every section, group, or committee which intends to propose, for the discussion of the impending Congress, a question not proposed by the previous Congress, shall give notice thereof to the General Council before the 31st of March.

II

The General Council

2. The General Council is bound to execute the Congress Resolutions *and see to it that the basic principles of the International are strictly observed in every country.*

3. *The General Council shall publish a weekly report about its meeting.*⁹

6. *The General Council also has the right to suspend, till the meeting of next Congress, branches, sections. Federal Councils or Federations of the International. However, with regard to the branches that are members of a Federation, it exercises this right only after consultation with the respective Federation.*

In the case of the dissolution of a Federal Council the General Council shall instruct the branches of the Federation at once to elect a new Federal Council not later than within 30 days.

In the case of the suspension of an entire Federation the General Council shall immediately inform all the other Federations of this. If requested by a majority of the Federation, the

General Council shall convene within a month an extraordinary conference attended by one delegate from every nationality whose decision on the disputed question shall be final.

*It goes without saying that the countries where the International is prohibited enjoy the same rights as the Federations that exist legally.*¹⁰

8. All delegates appointed by the General Council to distinct missions shall have the right to attend, and to be heard at, all meetings of *Federal or local organizations of the International*, without, however, being entitled to vote thereat.¹¹

V

Local Societies, Branches, and Groups

2. *Conformity of the local rules and regulations with the General Rules and Regulations shall be established by the Federal Councils and, for branches outside the Federal Associations, by the General Council.*¹²

Printed according to the manuscript preserved in the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

NOTES

1. The amendments and addenda incorporated by Marx and Engels into the text of the Rules and Regulations are in italics. The original wording of the amended clauses is given in footnotes; deletions in the text are in square brackets. The basic text is given according to the London edition of 1871.

2. "to afford a central medium of communication and co-operation between Workingmen's Societies existing in different countries and"

3. "The General Council may, in case of need, change the place, but has no power to postpone the time of meeting. The Congress appoints the seat and elects the members of the General Council annually. The General Council thus elected shall have power to add to the number of its members."

4. "8. Every section has the right to appoint its own secretary corresponding with the General Council."

5. "11. While united in a perpetual bond of fraternal co-operation, the workingmen's societies joining the International Association will preserve"

6. "2 Every branch, whatever the number of its members, may send a delegate to the Congress."

7. "6. Every branch or group consisting of more than 500 members may send an additional delegate for every additional 500 members."

With the deletion of clause 5: "If a branch is unable to send a delegate, it may unite with other neighboring branches

for the appointment of one," the subsequent clauses have been renumbered.—Ed.

8. "general."

9. "3. As often as its means may permit, the General Council shall publish a **bulletin** or report embracing everything which may be of interest to the International Workingmen's Association.

"For this purpose it shall collect all the documents to be transmitted by the Federal Councils or Committees of the different countries and such others as it may be able to procure by other means.

"The **bulletin**, drawn up in several languages, shall be sent gratuitously to the Federal Councils or Committees, which are to forward one copy to each of their branches.

"In case the Central Council should be unable to publish such **bulletins**, it shall every three months send a written communication to the different Federal Councils or Committees, to be published in the newspapers of their respective countries, and especially in the International organs."

10. "6. The General Council has also the right of suspending, till the meeting of next Congress, any branch of the International."

11. "at all meetings of Federal Councils or Committees, district and local committees, and local branches, without, however, being entitled to vote thereat."

12. With the introduction of this new clause the subsequent clauses have been renumbered.—Ed.

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

A Congress of Growing Unity

(The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Sweden)

THE Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of Sweden, held on January 3-6 in Stockholm in the premises of the Riksdag (Parliament), was preceded by a long and thorough pre-Congress discussion. The number of delegates — 323 — was the highest figure ever for a Party Congress. Fraternal delegates were present from the parties in neighboring countries — Denmark, Finland, Norway, Poland, the Soviet Union, from the GDR and the FRG and also from the Communist Party of Austria. Congress received much attention from press, radio and television. An extra hall enabled visitors to listen to the speakers through a relay system.

The agenda included the following questions: the political report of the Central Committee and the organizational tasks of the Party; a democratic program of action; defense policy; housing and public health; the new Rules, and elections for the leading bodies.

In recent years, for the first time since the electoral victory of the bloc of bourgeois parties in 1956, the changed balance in the political forces has removed the danger of the country's policy taking a reactionary turn. This change has occurred thanks to the policy of the Communist Party aimed at building a united front of the working class against the bourgeois bloc, for a working-class majority in the Riksdag, and for far-reaching social and cultural reforms. During the struggle for these tasks the differences between the Social Democratic and Communist parties were relegated to the background.

Now that the main danger has been eliminated the differences will be bound to reassert themselves. The differences concern not only ideology but also, and to a great extent, the daily political issues and above all whether the government will carry out its policy in alliance with the financial magnates or against them.

The fact that much attention was paid to these and other differences does not, however, mean that our Party is going to abandon its political line aimed at achieving the coopera-

tion of the entire working class in the fight for peace, national freedom, democracy and a higher standard of living.

The pre-Congress discussion focused on problems of united action, the Party's attitude to the Social Democrats, to the formation of the Socialist People's parties in Denmark and Norway, the attitude to the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties and some developments taking place in the socialist countries, the current ideological debate in the international Communist movement and the question of Sweden's unilateral disarmament. These questions were reflected during the discussion on the Central Committee's report. The Congress discussion revealed unity around the assessments and proposals made by the Central Committee on these questions. The resolution, adopted unanimously, approved the political line followed by the Party—the line of unity, of working for peace, for peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition for the peaceful way to socialism. This signified rejection by the Communist Party of Sweden of the proposal for a new general line for the international Communist movement.

The discussion showed also a stronger unity in the Party.

In the period preceding the Congress 4,500 new members joined the Party. Overall growth, however, was only 1,600 members. Anti-communism made itself felt during the campaigns for new members, for a bigger circulation for the Communist press and for financial support.

The Congress laid down the basic lines of Party education, and urged that every effort should be exerted to win more members, to strengthen the youth organizations and to improve the work among women.

Important in this respect was the self-critical discussion of the Party work directly at the point of production and in the mass organizations. In most cases, it was noted, the unsatisfactory results in the past were the direct outcome of neglect of this sphere, and this had to be remedied.

The Congress adopted a program calling "for

an extension of democracy for the people, against big capital." This program, the Party's response to the upsurge in the working-class movement and the new demands necessitated by the structural changes taking place in the country, includes a *six-year plan of action* aimed at curbing the power of big capital and extending democracy. It advances four sets of questions on which there is an obvious unanimity among the working class and the working people generally: 1) struggle for a nuclear-free zone in Scandinavia, against the plans to manufacture Swedish nuclear weapons; 2) guaranteed jobs, a say by the workers in management, better pensions and childrens' allowances, higher wages and salaries, equal pay for equal work, a 40-hour week, etc.; 3) housing; 4) the health service. In order to tackle and solve these problems the entire strength of the working class should be mustered with a view to changing government policy, to turning it away from collaboration with big capital to opposition to this capital.

This line specifies the attitude of the Communist Party to the Social Democratic government. While supporting the latter against the bloc of the bourgeois parties, the Communist Party insists on it pursuing an essentially new policy vis-a-vis big capital.

Concentration of large-scale production and economic power in the hands of the fifteen families, the squeezing out of the small man, the problems arising from the allocation of industry, the considerable rise in the number of white-collar workers, the feeling of insecurity which they share with workers in industry in view of the technological developments, automation and the market rivalry — all call for a new policy by the government, for rallying all the forces of the working people and strengthening the Communist Party in every way.

The housing crisis and the inadequate health service are vital *social* problems. The Congress adopted a comprehensive program on these questions, which should be reflected in all our propaganda during the autumn general election campaign, in the work in the mass organizations and which should be formulated in concrete proposals, and submitted to the Riksdag, the regional councils and the municipalities generally.

The issue of national defense was thoroughly examined. Sweden's military expenditure is as heavy as Italy's and is growing year by year. Yet the military insist on purchasing atomic weapons; vast sums are spent on preparations for making our own atom bombs. This policy has given rise to dissatisfaction among the public, and this dissatisfaction was voiced by

many speakers who advanced the demand for unilateral disarmament.

The Congress decided, however, that the previous defense policy be adhered to, which means that Sweden should have the means with which to safeguard her neutrality, but that military expenditure should not be increased. This means also that the country should be ready to resist any possible occupation and ensure its freedom. Ultimately this implies struggle against squandering public money for military purposes, implies democracy in the army and a considerable reduction in military expenditure.

Other matters discussed were the agrarian question, the drafting of a new Constitution and issues connected with the allocation of industry in the country.

In addition to the main items on the agenda some 60 proposals submitted to the Congress were examined.

The amendments to the Rules, aimed at improving the organizational work of the Party, were in the main approved by the Congress. A commission was set up to work out the Party's program, and another to amend the Rules; these commissions will submit their proposals to the next Congress.

The elections of the leading bodies, by secret ballot, brought new forces into the leadership, in keeping with established practice. C. H. Hermansson was elected Chairman of the Party, replacing Hilding Hagberg, who for considerations of age, withdrew his candidature.

Opponents of our Party and the press had engaged in advance in all kinds of speculation about our Congress. In view of this the press comment on its work was not without interest. The general line of the comment was that the Congress showed the maturity of the Party and that it had great possibilities. The vigorous debate and the fact that the Congress was held in public were held up as examples to the other parties. A point was made of the desire of the Congress to stress the democratic aims of the Party, its upholding of the national dignity, and its adherence to Marxism-Leninism. Commentators were unanimous in saying that there was no place in Sweden for the so-called Socialist People's party.

The capitalist press foresaw difficulties for the ruling Social Democrats and their party, while the reaction of the Social Democratic press was marked by uncertainty and embarrassment.

The comment on the new Chairman of the Party, Comrade Hermansson, who, born in 1917, is one of the younger generation in the Party, was likewise dignified and serious.

Perhaps somewhat excessive attention was devoted during the pre-Convention discussion to the question of the generations in the Party. The matter was fully cleared up by the Congress.

Although the Congress was permeated with profound concern for the future, it was confident that the Party was now working in better conditions and that it was making headway. Of great significance are the seeds of cooperation and friendship which the Party has sown in the working class and the lessening of tension which it has achieved in the working-class movement and which makes for fruitful cooperation. At the same time differences of views can be aired in a down-to-earth atmosphere, without violating the spirit of unity now mak-

ing itself strongly felt in the policies of the parties of the working class in Sweden.

The optimism which permeated the Congress was the fruit also of the open and self-critical discussion and of the ideological work which have made their imprint on the propaganda and organizational measures of the Party. The current discussion in the international Communist movement has helped our members to obtain a better idea of many important problems which, in other conditions, would not have attracted so much attention.

And by far the most important result of the Congress was the firmer unity and greater clarity reached on all the issues bearing on the tasks of the Party.

Hilding HAGBERG

For the Unity of Anti-Colonial Forces

(The 3rd Congress of the Martinique Communist Party)

THE THIRD Congress of the Martinique Communist Party held in Morne Rouge on December 27-29, 1963, was attended by 166 delegates (139 men and 27 women) from 22 Party organizations with a membership of over 2,000. The delegates included 50 workers (19 of whom were agricultural laborers), 25 peasants, 22 handicraftsmen, 40 office employees.

The Congress keynote was: do everything that must be done to ensure the unity of the anti-colonial forces in the struggle for autonomy. Armand Nicolas, General Secretary, who submitted the report of the Central Committee, and speakers in the debate pointed to the spreading of the anti-colonial movement on Martinique.

Dogmatists, said Comrade Nicolas, were trying to divert the national-liberation movement to a dangerous path, to separate it from the international working-class movement and to distort the meaning of the aid rendered by the Soviet Union. Citing numerous examples, Nicolas showed that "the growing might of the socialist camp, especially of the Soviet Union, is decisive for the victory of the national-liberation movement. Without this force, without the aid of the USSR, the new countries would not be in a position to consolidate their political and economic independence."

The speaker showed how peaceful coexistence furthered the growth of the national-liberation movement. "The struggle of our people," he said, "is developing in a situation much more favorable than in the cold war period when French colonialism had intensi-

fied its reactionary and military measures. In the conditions of peaceful coexistence the pressure exerted by world public opinion is such that the colonialists can no longer do as they please with our people. In particular, this pressure thwarts the designs of U.S. imperialism against our country."

The Congress wholeheartedly welcomed the policy of peaceful coexistence pursued by the Soviet Union and denounced the anti-Soviet attacks and erroneous views of the Chinese comrades, which are at variance with the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

The Central Committee's report contained an analysis of the colonial policy of French imperialism on Martinique. Under pressure from the people, the French government has had to retreat and make concessions. At the same time it has recourse to demagoguery and subterfuges (so-called "plans") in order to deceive the people and save the regime of colonial assimilation. The colonialists talk about industrialization and agrarian reform, but in reality all they want is to preserve the rule of imperialist capital and the local big bourgeoisie. The country is kept in a state of backwardness and its natural resources plundered. Another danger arises from U.S. imperialism which is setting up enterprises under its control on the island.

In pursuing this policy the colonial authorities are breaking all records as regards lawlessness and repression (clamping down on democratic rights, trying leaders of the Party and the youth organization and passing severe

sentences, beating up the workers, provocations, etc.). The strikes and numerous demonstrations are proof of the stubborn resistance of the working people to these actions of the authorities.

Despite the rigging of the November 1962 elections for sending deputies to the National Assembly of France, organized with the support of the colonial authorities, the parties standing for autonomy won a majority.

The report shows that Martinique, which since 1947 has had the status of an "overseas department" of France, remains a colony and that the policy of assimilation cannot solve the country's problems.

Armand Nicolas then spoke about the solutions proposed by the Communist Party in its "Program for Autonomy." This program — a program for economic, social and educational progress and for the development of national life and democracy — sets the task of carrying out an anti-imperialist and democratic revolution in keeping with the specific conditions of Martinique. The program calls for an autonomous Martinique (with a legislative assembly and a government) which would enable the people to conduct their own affairs, carry through an agrarian reform, nationalize the sugar refineries and power plants, carry out industrialization, use the natural resources and establish trade relations with all countries. The demand for autonomy corresponds to the level of consciousness of the masses whose national sentiment is only now beginning to take shape. At the present stage of the liberation struggle autonomy will make it possible to achieve the broadest unity of the anti-colonial forces.

Much was said in the report about unity and the building of an anti-colonial front. In order to win autonomy the people suffering from colonialism (workers, peasants, small bourgeoisie and middle national bourgeoisie) must be united. Last December three political parties (the United Socialist Party, the Progressive Party and the Communist Party) together with other democratic organizations (the General Confederation of Labor, the Women's Union, the Communist Youth Union, the Anti-Colonialist Youth Organization, the Students' Association and the Martinique Patriotic Movement in France) signed a manifesto calling for autonomy. But the road to unity encounters such obstacles as anti-communism, the sectarianism of some leaders, differences concerning slogans, the maneuvers of the colonialists who have succeeded in corrupting a large section of the small bourgeoisie into supporting the policy of assimilation, the attitude of the lead-

ers of the Socialist Party, etc. The Congress considered the possibilities of surmounting these obstacles and establishing a broad and well-organized anti-colonial front.

Much attention was paid to such questions as building the Party organizationally and ideologically and strengthening its contact with the people.

The report noted that thanks to its activity and militancy the Communist Party is recognized as the leading force in the anti-colonial struggle. It acts as the organizer and motive force of all the popular actions. Despite the fact that the elections were falsified, the figures show that every fourth elector voted for the Communists. Since 1958 the Communist vote has grown appreciably.

To build the Party, the report stressed, means to strengthen its contact with the masses. And for this it is necessary to give every support to the demands of the social groups suffering from colonialism, especially the demands of the working people. Thanks to the Party, the people are better organized. Trade union strength is growing. The Communist Youth Union, too, is growing. At the same time, the report pointed out, not enough is done by the Party as regards work among women and peasants.

In the period since the previous Congress the Party has improved its organization. Many new branches have been formed, and much has been done in training and educating Party cadres. The publication of the Party's theoretical and political journal *Action* was launched and has attracted many readers.

The Congress endorsed the steps to plan Party work, to activate the branches and improve educational work.

The speaker also dealt with the internationalist tasks of the Party and its role in upholding the unity of the international Communist movement, based on the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, against the unwarranted attacks and erroneous concepts of the Chinese comrades. He hailed the militant solidarity of the peoples of France and Martinique, the Cuban revolution, and stressed that the ties linking the people of Martinique with the peoples of Latin America were becoming closer.

The Third Congress of the Party was a remarkable demonstration of proletarian internationalism. Greetings were received from over 30 fraternal parties, and fraternal delegations from France, Chile and Guadeloupe were present (Paul Verges, delegate from the Communist Party of Reunion, was banned from entering Martinique by the French government).

The Congress was also a demonstration of

the unity the Party. The political report, the "Program for Autonomy" and the resolution were approved unanimously; the leading com-

mittees of the Party and its General Secretary, Armand Nicolas, were also unanimously elected.

True Champion of the Working People

(The 30th Anniversary of the Iraqi Communist Party)

LAST March the Communists and the working people in Iraq commemorated the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the Iraqi Communist Party.

The first Marxist circles were formed in Iraq at the beginning of the thirties, chiefly in the southern areas where the port workers and peasants were concentrated. In March 1934 these circles combined to form a central organization known as "The Committee to Combat Imperialism and Exploitation." In 1935 the Committee took the name Iraqi Communist Party. *Kifah Al Shaab*, the Party's first national newspaper, was issued under the slogan "Workers of All Lands, Unite!", other slogans called for struggle against the imperialist treaties, against the foreign military bases, for democracy, for the vital interests of the working people, and national rights for the Kurds.

Ever since its inception the Communist Party has been forced to work underground. Despite the fact that the Party was in its infancy and that it had a limited membership, it quickly influenced the Labor movement in the country, and its members led successful strikes in the years 1936-37. The Communists played a leading role in organizing demonstrations in Baghdad against the threat of fascism and for the vital interests of the working people.

The imperialists and the reactionary rulers, alarmed by these activities, intensified their repressive measures against the Party, taking advantage of the activities of renegade and factionalist elements in the Party. The Party organizations were subjected to heavy blows. But in 1939, the efforts of the leader of the Party Yousif Salman (Fahed), its first General Secretary, succeeded in reorganizing the Party. A decisive struggle was launched against the opportunist and liquidator trends; these were defeated and the organizational, ideological and political unity of the Party was consolidated. A core of experienced cadres, steeled in the struggle, such as Zeki Mohammed Basim (Hazim), Hussein Mohammed al-Shebibi (Sarim) and others, was formed.

In 1944 the first conference of the Party, which worked out the immediate aims of the Party and of the national movement, was held.

The year 1945 saw the First Congress of the Party which approved its rules and worked out plans for organizing and leading the masses, organizing the workers in militant trade unions, and urging the other national forces to form political parties.

Ever since its inception the Party has devoted itself to the struggle against imperialism and the pro-imperialist monarchy, for democratic rule, and for the vital interests of the workers, peasants and other sections. The Party worked persistently and strenuously to persuade the other national forces and parties to combine in a united national front. It persistently advocated the just rights of the Kurdish people, played the major role in spreading democratic consciousness in the Kurdish liberation movement, deepening and consolidating the joint Arab-Kurd struggle against the common enemy, combating great-nation chauvinism (Arab) without being silent about the nationalist isolationist tendencies in the Kurdish national movement.

The victory won by the Soviet Union over fascism in the Second World War and the consequent weakening of the positions of world imperialism played an important role in spreading democratic consciousness amongst the Iraqi people. As a result more favorable conditions were created for the activities of the Communist Party.

After the war, the Party was in the vanguard of the workers, students and peasants in their glorious struggle against imperialist domination and the aggressive war plans designed to fetter our country. To mention but a few of those struggles, there were national uprisings in 1948, 1952, 1956. At the same time, the Party led the workers and peasants in class struggle for their rights. In 1946, 1948 and in the subsequent years, the workers of the railways, the port and oil industry, led by the Communists, held strikes, and revolutionary peasant uprisings took place in the Arab and Kurdish areas.

In the course of the struggles our Party suffered heavy losses and made many sacrifices. On February 14 and 15, 1949, the Party leaders Yousif Salman (Fahed), Zeki Basim and al-Shebibi were hanged by Nuri Said. Hundreds

of members and supporters of the Party were imprisoned or exiled. In 1953 many more Communists were murdered in the prisons.

However, the Party, because of its struggle, sacrifice and consistent defense of the peoples' interests, gained the sympathy and deep love of the masses. It became the strongest political party in the country. The Iraqi Communists played a particularly big part in forming the united national front in 1957 and linking it with the national movement in the army, thus facilitating the victory of the July 14 revolution in 1958.

After the July revolution the Party devoted its energies and efforts to safeguarding the independence of the Republic against the imperialist and reactionary conspiracies and for democratic rights.

During the Kassem regime our Party had rallied the people not only against the imperialist and reactionary plots as the main danger but also against Kassem's one-man dictatorship and for defending the rights of the working people and for the lawful demands of the Kurds. The fight to safeguard the national independence and the gains of the July revolution was linked with that for democracy. This was the general policy of the Party.

Seeing that their plots were ending in failure one after another thanks to the vigilance and the struggle of the people, to their national unity and the growth of the democratic movement in the country, the imperialists and the domestic reactionaries intensified their efforts to disrupt the national unity, feeding the suspicions and fears felt by the national bourgeoisie as a result of the growing strength of the Communist Party and the revolutionary mass movement. Meanwhile, the parties of the national bourgeoisie, both Arab and Kurd, stood behind Kassem in his policy of persecuting the Communists and the progressive workers' and peasants' organizations. But this policy ended in its catching up with these parties, in curbing their activities, in wiping out the democratic gains and, ultimately, in the war against the Kurds.

The Baath party played a vile role in undermining the united national front and in organizing the campaign of assassination, subversion and conspiracies. The agents of reaction and elements of the national bourgeoisie exploited certain tactical mistakes made by our Party. They deliberately exaggerated those errors, and launched a violent and hysterical campaign of slander against the Party.

Kassem's anti-communism paved the way for the success of the imperialist conspiracy carried out by the Baath party on February 8.

The Baath fascists installed the most abominable regime of terror. Thousands of Communists and democrats were murdered and tens of thousands were dragged off to prison. We lost the leaders of the Party, Salam Adil, First Secretary of the C.C., Jamal al Haidary, George Tello and Mohammed Abbali (members of the Politbureau) and the outstanding leader Mohammed Hussein Abo el Iss. Despite the enemy blows and the treachery of some renegades, the Iraqi Communists did not lose faith; they continued to hold high the banner of struggle. Amidst curses and shame the Baath rule collapsed. Its downfall meant the failure of the policy of anti-communism in Iraq. The leaders of the new coup of November 18, 1963, exposed some of the crimes of the Baath regime and dissolved its fascist national guard; anti-democratic policy, however, is still being carried out. Tens of thousands of the best sons and daughters of our people are still held in prison. Jail sentences against many new fighters have been passed by the military courts.

The Iraqi Communist Party considers as its most prominent and urgent tasks now: to heal the wounds inflicted on it, persistently to work for a united national front of all the forces that are opposed to imperialism and reaction and stand for democracy, and to support the struggle of the Kurdish people for their lawful rights.

The cease-fire in Iraqi Kurdistan was, in effect, the outcome of the failure of the chauvinist and aggressive policy vis-a-vis the Kurdish people. It was also the result of the Arab and worldwide movement of solidarity with our people. The cease-fire agreement is the first victory of the Kurdish liberation movement and the joint Arab-Kurd struggle in Iraq. It strengthens peace and security in the Middle East and furthers the efforts of the peoples of this area to put an end to the intrigues of the imperialists and their agents. Finally, it helps to cement the solidarity of the Arab peoples with the people of Iraq, both Arabs and Kurds.

The patriotic and democratic forces in Iraqi Kurdistan should now fully realize the need for unity and the importance of joint Arab-Kurd actions in Iraq. The Kurdish question is part of the general issue of democracy. Under the present military rule or under any other anti-democratic form of government, convenient loopholes remain through which the imperialists and their agents can torpedo the cease-fire agreement and again create an atmosphere of tension in Kurdistan. The imperialist oil companies have a stake in this.

Therefore, as long as the regime in Iraq continues to oppose democracy, the danger of

armed conflicts in Kurdistan remains. If the government really wants to settle the Kurdish question, it must observe the terms of the agreement and truly respect the rights of the Kurds.

The Iraqi Communists are fighting to end the present military rule and to establish a patriotic government of national coalition which will guarantee democratic rights (freedom for political parties, for trade unions and for the press), release of the victims of the fascist terror, genuinely free elections, ensure a democratic solution of the Kurdish question, and take a decisive stand against imperialism and the robbery effected by the foreign oil companies.

The Iraqi Communist Party, a unit in the international Communist army, has always held aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism. It has educated its members, supporters and the working people to support the great Soviet Union and its Communist Party. Fahed said: "The enemy of the October Revolution is the enemy of our national cause."

Basing themselves on the international and the national commitments of our Party, the Iraqi Communists have always pooled their efforts with those of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties to ensure the purity of Marxism-

Leninism and the line of the Moscow Declaration and Statement of 1957 and 1960. Our Party will continue its principled struggle against the splitters and adventurers, against all forms of revisionism and sectarianism in the world Communist movement.

Our Party and the working people in our country know full well that the national-liberation movement, including the liberation movement in the Arab countries, would never have won its historic victories without the October Revolution and without the mighty socialist camp in the vanguard of which stands the USSR. Our working people find in the Soviet Union a firm supporter and faithful ally both in times of hardship and of joy.

Nuri Said and the Baathists have disappeared into limbo, but the names of Fahed, Salam Adil and their comrades will live forever in the hearts of the revolutionary workers, peasants and intellectuals in our country. The Party of Fahed and Salam Adil is a source of pride for the broad masses of our people, Arabs, Kurds and other nationalities.

Despite the sacrifices, the struggle of our Party will be crowned with victory, for its cause is the cause of all the people of Iraq, a cause which is part of that of progressive mankind.

Aziz AL HAJJ

Communists in Parliament

TO APPRECIATE the role of the Communist members of Parliament in France the constitutional set-up should be borne in mind. French parliamentarism today is a far cry from the traditional variety still found in other European capitalist countries. The 1958 Constitution opened the doors to authoritarian one-man rule under which the executive has far more rights than the legislative branch. It is with the aid of this crude but effective (from the standpoint of executive authority) constitutional mechanism that the stability of government is ensured.

The prerogatives of Parliament and its legislative functions have been truncated by the present Constitution. Parliament is denied the initiative in regard to public expenditure; legislative powers may be vested in the government; the head of state is in a position to arrogate all power to himself; parliamentary control over the budget is subject to a number of restrictive regulations of which by no means the least important is the 70-day period allowed for the budget debate, after which the budget may be promulgated by decree; the agenda of

Parliament is decided by the government; the so-called "vote en bloc" enables the government to put a bill to the vote as a whole and prevent point-by-point voting on sections on which it might be defeated; for a vote of non-confidence a qualified majority is required, moreover, absentee members are considered to have voted for the government, and, lastly, the head of state has the right to dissolve Parliament.

This authoritarian nature of the Constitution has been accentuated by the Gaullist regime. Today the concentration of power in the hands of the head of state, especially in the spheres of foreign policy, defense and national institutions which he considers his private preserve, has reached the point where even Ministers learn of certain aspects of de Gaulle's policy only at press conferences or from his TV addresses.

The composition of the National Assembly largely suits the Gaullist regime, which wants a further curtailing of the prerogatives of Parliament. An example from the recent past will show how elections are run and how the

"plebiscite" and the bonapartist nature of the regime make the National Assembly a caricature of a Parliament, a crooked mirror which distorts public opinion.

In July 1963 the government, alarmed by the growth of popular discontent and the scale acquired by the struggle for economic demands (the number of man-days lost through strikes in municipal and nationalized enterprises exceeded eight million in the early months of the year), used its parliamentary majority to put through an anti-strike law. This law was adopted by 257 votes against 205. A closer examination, however, shows that in the general election the 257 deputies belonging to the government majority carried a vote of 6,594,423, or only 35.9 per cent of the total, whereas the 205 deputies in the minority represented 11,500,820 voters, or 62.7 per cent of the total.

These figures highlight, on the one hand, the difficulties of the parliamentary struggle, and on the other, the fact that the real weight of the democratic opposition in Parliament is the greater the more it relies on the actions of the masses and the better it expresses their interests and aspirations and uses Parliament to stimulate the popular struggle.

Besides the National Assembly, there is the Senate, chosen by an electoral college consisting of the members of the local authorities. The Gaullist regime has not been able to corrupt this chamber. Gaston Monnerville, President of the Senate, has repeatedly castigated one-man rule, and the Senate as a whole has nearly always been in opposition to the government, which, on instructions from the President of the Republic who tolerates neither opposition nor criticism, has replied by ignoring it. Ministers no longer appear before it to defend government bills, leaving this to the secretaries of state. As a matter of fact, plans are being hatched for abolishing this too intransigent chamber. In a strictly parliamentary sense, however, a refractory Senate does not interfere with government business to any great extent inasmuch as under the Constitution the last word belongs, if the government so wishes, to the National Assembly.

This, then, is the constitutional setting in which the Communist deputies and senators are working in Parliament to carry out the policy of the Party, namely, "to regroup all economic, political and social movements directed against the monopolies and one-man rule, movements which seek to abolish this rule, to curb finance capital and to extend

democracy" (Resolution of the Fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party).

The Communist members champion the demands advanced by various sections of society. They take part in the debates to expose the policy pursued by the government in general and on the particular issues involved in projected legislation. Their speeches are reported in the Communist press and at times published in information bulletins. The points they make are brought to the attention of the sections of the population concerned in diverse ways, depending on the means available to the local organizations.

Before taking part in parliamentary debates, the Communist members make a point of consulting with the spokesmen of the mass organizations concerned, with whom they maintain constant contact.

For example, during budget debates they pose not only major political and financial problems with a bearing on government policy as a whole, but also a multitude of other questions, big and small, reflecting the demands of the various social strata. This applies, in particular, to the demands of government employees, which can be satisfied only through legislative acts or departmental instructions. In a number of instances the constant pressure exerted on the government and the various Ministers has resulted in the full or partial satisfaction of demands.

In this way fruitful contacts are built between the Communist parliamentary group and trade union organizations of various orientations. The trade union papers comment on the Communist members' speeches and report the results of their activities.

One type of parliamentary activity is publication in the official gazette of questions to Ministers to which the latter are obliged to reply through the same channel. In this way questions are raised which affect a particular community or the workers in a particular enterprise, or have a bearing on one or another immediate demand. From November 1962 to June 1963, forty Communist deputies published 772 such questions.

The Communist groups in the National Assembly and Senate issue a bulletin which informs the members of the Party of their activities and keeps the working people in general posted on what their representatives are doing for them.

Thus there is a day-to-day link between the mass movement and Parliament. The mass movement stimulates parliamentary activity. And the efforts of the Communist members to make the voice of the people heard in

Parliament in turn give impetus to the mass struggles.

Each Communist deputy and senator is in touch with thousands of electors through correspondence, personal contact and public meetings. They consult with the authorities on behalf of their constituents, pressing for quick and positive action on complaints and petitions.

The Communist parliamentarian keeps in touch also with local elected officials (municipal councillors and mayors), leaders of trade unions and other workers' organizations, peasants', shop-keepers' and tenants' associations, mutual aid societies, etc. These links not only show these sections that the Communists are the true champions of their demands, but also help to open the eyes of the public to the connection between the shortage of schools, housing, hospitals, sports facilities, etc., and the overall policy of the government of the monopolies.

The Communist members sponsor legislation within the bounds of the limited initiative enjoyed by the Parliament under the Constitution. The bills sponsored by them are either designed to satisfy immediate demands or to show how one or another problem could be solved if there were real democracy. In 1963 nearly 40 bills were submitted, dealing with such questions as lowering the pension age, rents for business premises, rent agreements in the countryside, the jurisdiction of arbitration commissions, trade union rights, penalties for racial outrages, lowering the voting age, reducing the term of military service to one year, restoring the 40-hour working week, four-week paid holidays, etc. The Communist proposals at times coincide with those of other democratic organizations and this makes it possible to work out common positions on various questions.

We, of course, have no illusions as to the possibility of achieving tangible results in an ultra-reactionary Parliament through parliamentary struggle alone. But we hold that the mass struggle and its continuation in Parliament, the combination of these two forms of struggle, can force the government to give way, as has happened on more than one occasion.

In recent times the Communist deputies have submitted bills calling for the nationalization of a number of leading industries, thereby giving concrete expression to some of the demands set forth in the Party program and paving the way for legislative acts along these lines on the part of a future democratic Parliament functioning in the conditions of a de-

mocratic system. These bills have provided a basis for discussion with potential allies, and the capitalist press, too, has reacted to them.

The projected legislation calls for nationalizing the ore mines and iron and steel mills, oil prospecting and extraction, and the transportation, refining, storage and distribution of petroleum products in France, as well as three deposit banks, the commercial banks, the chemical and aluminum industries, insurance companies and industries associated with nuclear energy.

Some of the bills—for example, the draft statute for the French Radio and Television network—take cognizance of the demands of the democratic opposition. While rejecting the schemes of the financial and industrial tycoons to lay hands on the radio and TV, the Communist members of Parliament hold that state monopoly in this sphere should not signify placing it solely at the service of the President of the Republic, the government and the parliamentary majority.

The Communists' proposals are backed by facts and figures proving their feasibility. A case in point is the proposal for an annual tax on the stock-market profits of corporations and the equalization of old age pensions with the guaranteed minimum wage.

In this way the Communist parliamentary groups, working in close contact with the masses, are using Parliament to expose de Gaulle's one-man rule as an authoritarian regime serving the monopolies, to uphold the demands of the various sections of the population and to show how much the people would gain from the introduction of genuine democracy and the creation of a sovereign Parliament representing the national interest instead of the interests of the monopolies.

The Parliamentary rostrum is also used by the Communists to expose de Gaulle's adventurist and militarist foreign policy, his orientation on the West German revenge-seekers, his cold war and nuclear armament policy, and his refusal to sign the Moscow test-ban treaty.

At the same time Parliament brings together political leaders from the various parties — Communists, Socialists, Radicals, Republicans, Catholics and those who unconditionally support de Gaulle.

An element of cooperation has entered into the relations between the opposition parties. Both in the committees and the full sessions tacit and sometimes prearranged agreements are reached on a common stand against the Gaullists.

This trend can and should make headway

if only because the government of the monopolies, in order to carry out its policy of building up a nuclear striking force and ensuring super-profits for the big corporations, demands sacrifices from the non-monopoly sections of society, as can be seen from the "rigorous retrenchment plan" submitted during the debate on this year's budget. Schemes of this kind strengthen the resistance of the masses and underscore the need for democratic unity.

The increasingly authoritarian nature of the one-man regime, its sharp attacks against democratic parties, organizations and leaders, intimidation of the opposition, repeated encroachments on civil rights and the brazen monopolization by the Gaullists of the information media are all components of an offensive against all republicans and their representatives in Parliament.

Contacts between the different opposition groups are becoming increasingly common. In particular, a more cordial note is evident in the private exchanges between the Communists and Socialists on questions concerning the pre-

sent political situation as well as future prospects. It is symptomatic that the opposition has voted unanimously on most of the important issues discussed in recent months.

These contacts, common positions and improved relations reflect the progress made in building grassroots unity and, in turn, facilitate unity of action in the localities and enterprises. Closer contact between the opposition deputies helps to strengthen the democratic forces.

All this is only the beginning. The prospects, however, are promising. The idea of democratic unity, the growing realization that this unity is indispensable in order to put an end to the Gaullist regime, is exerting a powerful influence. The spread of this idea cannot be stopped.

The work of the Communist members of Parliament is aimed also at building the necessary alliances and charting the perspectives of democratic struggle. This is a task to which they are devoting all their energies.

Robert BALLANGER

Britain: Party Educational Work

I LIKE most other Communist parties, the Communist Party of Great Britain organizes the Marxist-Leninist education of its members on the basis of an annual plan. This is generally discussed and adopted by either the Executive Committee or the Political Committee and becomes the basis for the "school year," which begins in September and continues through to the following summer.

This year a number of political considerations of the greatest importance serve as background to the education work of our Party and determine some of its main features. These are the conflict in the international Communist movement over basic issues of strategy and tactics in the fight for peace and socialism; the crisis in the Tory Party and the prospect of a General Election, and, finally, the application of the decisions of our Twenty-Eighth Party Congress (Easter 1963), especially the decision to strengthen our Party numerically with the sights set at a membership of 50,000.

Priority in our education plan in this school year has been the organization of schools at district and area level and of regular classes in the branches around the new syllabus, called "Communism and the World Today." This deals with the basic questions under discussion in the international Communist move-

ment — "The New Epoch in which We Live"; "Problems of Peaceful Coexistence"; "Problems of Transition to Socialism"; "Problems of the National-Liberation Struggle" — from the standpoint of our Party, from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism.

The response shows that the syllabus has met a real need. No other syllabus has been so widely studied in our Party over the past few years. Over 8,000 copies were sold in the first few weeks. This is a far larger sale than for any other syllabus we have issued in recent years. A number of District Committees have organized special discussions on the syllabus — London, Scotland, South Essex, Surrey. There have been weekend schools in nearly every district, while — a development of great importance — special schools for our women members have been held in a number of districts (South Essex, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Scotland, London) as well as for comrades in the YCL.

One result of the concentration on this syllabus during the first quarter of the school year (September-December 1963) is a deeper understanding throughout the Party of the dangers of dogmatism and sectarianism.

The general principles of our approach to the Labor Party were elaborated at our Twenty-Seventh Congress (1961), while our

strategy and tactics for the General Election were elaborated at our Twenty-Eighth Congress. We fight for the mobilization of all working-class and progressive forces to compel the resignation of the discredited Tory government and to hold a general election now. In the election our Party will fight for the defeat of the Tories, the return of a Labor majority, plus Communist MPs (we are putting forward 35 Communist candidates).

In view of the complicated electoral system and of the refusal of the leaders of the Labor Party to undertake any discussions with our Party on a united parliamentary struggle against the Tories, a number of important questions of principle and of tactics will be debated increasingly as the campaign develops.

As part of the preparations for our general election campaign, our Party branches will be discussing a new syllabus — "The Communist Party and the Labor Movement" — in the second quarter of the school year (January-March, 1964). This deals with the rise of the Labor movement, the stages of its development; the role of the Communist Party; the Communist Party and the Labor Party, and the Communist Party and the Trade Unions.

Additional problems which we aim to tackle during the rest of the school year are the training of our new members, and especially of our branch secretaries, chairmen and committee members. The political education of new members, although recognized as most important and despite attempts over a long period and in many different forms to carry it through, still remains a difficulty. We have not yet found the correct way of organizing an effective system which begins with the new recruits and proceeds in an organized way to higher levels of Marxist-Leninist education. The main basis of our education is the branch class, where comrades at many different stages of political and theoretical development participate in discussing problems of theory. These

are often beyond the understanding of the newer members.

Special classes for new members have not been successful in the majority of cases. While we are continuing our efforts along these lines we are now emphasizing the need to see that every new member is provided with the special letter of welcome issued to all new members, which contains a simple explanation of our aims and organization — our program, *The British Road to Socialism*, and the syllabus for new members "Our Aim is Socialism"; older comrades are allocated to the new members in order to discuss this material with them and to explain any problems which may arise.

A further problem which will face us in an even sharper form as we grow is the education of our leading cadres, especially at branch level. We organize six separate schools lasting a week each during the school year. One of these is designed specially for branch officials. And while these schools are valuable for developing comrades, they cannot possibly embrace anything like the majority of our new branch secretaries and officials.

We are therefore seeking to solve the problem along two main lines. First, by arranging in a number of centers throughout the country two-day schools for branch committee members, each school to serve a number of districts adjacent to one another. So far five of these schools have been arranged at which it is hoped that between 100-150 branch officials will attend. Second, discussions are being arranged with all district committees in order to work out with them schemes for a permanent system of training for all branch officials. We can hope therefore that by the end of the school year there will be a big increase in the number of branch officials who will have been given some help in equipping themselves for their responsible jobs.

Jack COHEN

Factory Gate Meetings in Scotland

THE British ruling class use all means of mass communication to try and persuade the working people of the "glories of capitalism" and to saturate the people as a whole with continuous vicious anti-Communist propaganda.

It is therefore vitally necessary for our Party to grasp every available opportunity to present to the people our policy for the economic, social and political transformation of Britain and

at the same time answer ruling-class slanders on communism and the countries of the socialist world.

Our main weapons in this regard are our daily paper *The Daily Worker*, our weekly and monthly journals, leaflets issued regularly in hundreds of thousands of copies and public meetings in halls and other meeting places throughout the country.

We recognize, however, that to a large ex-

tent our literature is read, and our indoor public meetings attended, by politically conscious workers who, while of tremendous importance, nevertheless constitute a minority of the population.

We cannot be satisfied and will not be satisfied with speaking only to the advanced, politically conscious workers, and so we constantly strive to be in close touch with the mass of the working people through outdoor meetings using loud-speaking equipment.

These meetings are held in the streets and backgreens of working-class housing estates, at traditional open air meeting stances in the centers of towns and at factory gates, at pits and transport depots.

This latter type of meeting, known throughout the Party as the "factory gate meeting" is a particularly important form of activity of our comrades in the River Clyde valley in central Scotland.

The "Clyde" is a famous name in British working-class history, being the storm center of great class battles particularly in the period of the first world war and in the 1920's and 1930's.

This tradition of working-class propaganda established by John McLean and William Gallacher, renowned revolutionary figures, continues today.

Almost any day of the year, when weather permits, at one or other of the factories and shipyards members of the Communist Party can be seen in action.

The main shift in the factories and yards is from around 8 in the morning to 5 in the afternoon, with the mid-shift break from approximately 12 noon to 1 p.m. After lunch many of the workers go outside the factory to get a breath of fresh air. This is the Party's opportunity and at the entrance of the factory the loudspeaker apparatus is mounted on a motor car or van and the meeting commences.

The maximum time for such a meeting is 20 minutes and the chairman is, wherever possible, a comrade who works in the factory and well known to the workers. He speaks very briefly, usually limiting himself to announcing the subject of the meeting and the name of the main speaker. Again this might be a comrade who works in the factory or an adjoining factory, or one of the Party's fulltime workers. He takes the microphone for 13 to 14 minutes and explains the policy of the Party on a particular topic. Speaking at a factory gate meeting requires a particular technique. The comrade undertaking this task must present the policy of the Party in straightforward, working-class language, free of jargon and complicated argument. He must avoid trying to cover too many

issues or too many points so that he gets across one main idea to his audience in the few minutes at his disposal.

At the conclusion of the speaker's remarks the chairman asks for questions. Any number of workers from 20 to 200 attend a factory gate meeting and they gather round the speaker, their faces often smudged with grease and oil and their overalls grimy with the dirt of the factory. For the most part these men (and at certain factories women are in the audience as well) are convinced trade unionists, reasonably knowledgeable on political events, and the questions they ask are serious ones demanding honest and intelligent answers. The questions are often critical of Party policy or of the actions of socialist countries, and test the speaker's knowledge of world affairs as well as his understanding of local economic and industrial issues.

At times of international crisis or when there are important struggles developing in that factory or in industry generally, the meetings become bigger and much more lively.

During the Cuban crisis in November 1962, for example, the size of the audiences doubled and trebled. The majority of workers agreed with the estimate made by the Party of the "Cuban Situation" and we met with many expressions of support for the actions of the Soviet government.

On the other hand in 1956-57, during and after the counter-revolution in Hungary, the workers were often critical of the Party, displaying hostility to our comrades, and one or two of our speakers were physically assaulted by workers who had fallen victim to the anti-Soviet, anti-Communist propaganda of the ruling class. But we did not then, or at any other time of crisis for our Party, shirk our responsibility and desert the factory gates. On the contrary, we battled on, answered the questions of the workers, dealt with the lies and slanders of the capitalist propaganda machine, and ultimately in many cases won the respect of the workers if not entire agreement on our policy.

Today the factory gate meetings are very good because workers face many economic and social problems and are also very interested in political questions affecting Britain and the world generally. During August and September we had about 100 factory gate meetings in the Clyde area with a total audience of approximately 5,000. The factories and shipyards in which these workers are employed are key sections in the battle of the working people against the ruling class. Every day the class struggle is waged here by the workers and their organizations against the employers. We

know as Marxists that it is in the factories, at the point of production, that the most favorable opportunities exist for developing revolutionary activity. Further, we know that the ability of our class to inflict heavy blows on capitalism depends largely on the correct use of the power and strength of the industrial workers in the major industries of our country.

By conducting factory gate meetings, where we put before the workers the policy of the

Party on the main political events of the day, we are fulfilling our revolutionary role, strengthening our bonds with the people and rooting ourselves firmly among the industrial workers.

We are confident that in this way we can increase the membership and influence of our Party amongst this key section of the people of Britain.

G. McLENNAN

Growing Initiative of the Masses

In the notes published below the secretary of the Party Committee in the Gorky Automobile Works—one of the biggest enterprises in the USSR—describes some of the aspects of the work of the Party organization, work which, in one way or another, is typical of all Party organizations in industry especially since the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU.

The Number of Activists Is Growing

The experience of our plant which employs thousands of workers is proof of the beneficial effects of the Leninist line laid down by the Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses of the CPSU for releasing initiative, involving the working people in functions of management, and for the new democratic spirit in all aspects of Party and public life.

The new climate created by these congresses has made a deep imprint on all Party activity, a feature of which is that internal democracy as conceived by Lenin has been fully restored. One of the more significant forms of this is the voluntary activity of the members.

Let us take the work of our Party committee. There are in our plant 123 departmental Party organizations with a membership of over 8,000. The range of affairs in which the members are called upon to display initiative, to be trail blazers, is very wide and, what is more, it is constantly expanding. The times call for greater Party influence on the varied activities of the collective, for closer contact with the non-Party workers. For all this work, we carry on with only ten full-time functionaries.

How, in these conditions, should Party guidance be exercised? There is but one answer: through the activists. In recent years a body of some 600 activists has grown around the Party committee.

It should be said that it took us some time to find the right way to organize our activists. At first we tended to imitate the work of the full-time functionaries: volunteer instructors were attached to the primary organizations.

But the load involved in dealing with all questions in two or three branches tended to make the instructor lose sight of the overall solutions found by the factory Party organization for particular questions. Hence the task of studying and generalizing the work in one or another area on the scale of the whole factory was left out of sight of the activists.

In view of this we decided to organize the work of the activists in a functional way. And so we hit on the idea of sub-committees — an organizational committee, committees for educational work, for preliminary examination of applications for membership, and so on. We add to the number of committees whenever the need arises to examine narrower issues affecting the Party organization as a whole.

This has proven very useful. Just one example. We in the factory Party committee had the impression that everything was all right with recruiting new members. And, judging by the total figures, that was how it appeared to be. But the organizational commission headed by V. P. Alexandrov, a veteran Party member, decided to analyze the figures, to see how things stood in the various departments. He soon discovered that there were few Party members among the workers in the leading trades, that little interest was displayed in recruiting women members. Few of the foremen belonged to the Party.

These conclusions impelled the factory committee and the departmental organizations to take steps to put things right.

According to the Rules adopted by the Twenty-Second Congress of the Party, secretaries of primary organizations can be elected only

for two terms of office, i.e., for two years. As often as not this results in less experienced people being elected to the leadership of primary organizations. In cases of this kind the organizing committee renders no small assistance. V. P. Alexandrov and other comrades related their experience at the permanently functioning seminar of branch secretaries.

Public Control — a Potent Force

Restoration of the Leninist principles of Party and state control has played an important role in developing inner-Party democracy.

The permanent committees of Party control which verify the economic aspects of management, together with the auxiliary verification groups, have proved worthy successors to the Lenin workers' and peasants' inspection. The factory Party committee has 12 verification committees which check up on the functioning of the management; 187 of these committees have been formed by the Party branches. Their total membership is just under 2,000. The committees help the Party organization to keep an eye on the major problems of production: reconstruction, designing, quality, inputs and outputs, etc.

The bodies set up in accordance with the decision of the November (1962) meeting of the Central Committee to aid Party and state control have also proved their worth. In our plant there are 13 groups and 130 posts of aid to Party and state control. The controllers include 482 workers at the bench and 504 technical personnel, of whom 150 are women. Then there is the overall factory aid group under the chairmanship of V. L. Pilyugin, deputy foreman of the assembly line department and assistant secretary of the Party committee.

Mass scale and wide publicity — these are the source of the strength of Party and state control. Suffice it to say that 600 specialists took part in the verification campaign held last autumn to check on preparations for producing the new models of cars and trucks. The shortcomings revealed were immediately made public through the factory paper, special issues of *Komsomolsky Prozhektor*, and through the factory and shop wall newspapers. After they had been examined at a meeting of the Party committee, the results of this check-up were discussed by the activists.

Joint verification by the public and Party controllers of the economic activity of the management not only revealed untapped reserves but also gave an impetus to new initiative. For instance, in the model shop it was found possible to accelerate fulfilment of orders

for new models. The proposals made by the public controllers were discussed by the Party bureau and the shop trade union committee. Then, having considered all the possibilities, the shop undertook to complete the preparations for production ahead of schedule and to produce the first batch of the new model — GAZ-66 — by the 46th anniversary of the October Revolution. Their call was supported by other shops, by the Party committee, and by a meeting of Party activists. All joined in the emulation to fulfil the pledge, and as a result the first batch of new trucks rolled off the assembly line on schedule.

Output Is the Main Thing

Output, higher labor productivity — this is the sphere in which the creative powers of the workers and their initiative find the greatest expression. In this connection I would like to dwell on the initiative displayed by the workers in the forge-and-press department which afterwards grew into a new form of socialist emulation on the scale of the plant.

At the time of the Twenty-Second Congress shop foreman Alyoshin was asked by experienced press operators to raise the output norms. This example was taken up by another 1,300 workers. At the same time each worker made suggestions as to how and in what way this could be done.

Groups of engineers and technicians made a survey of the shop facilities and jointly with workers on the spot decided on what had to be done to raise labor productivity. After this, their suggestions were translated into individual and group plans. Thus a highly effective form of workers' participation in the management was found. One of the press-operators, Vinogradov, who suggested a method for adding to the durability of the stamps, was able to cut annual steel expenditure by about one ton, and his group completed the year's target in nine and a half months.

The Party committee, jointly with the trade union committee, suggested that in other shops, too, the emulation should be based on individual plans for raising productivity. Today over 43,000 workers, engineers, technicians and clerical workers are competing for fulfilment of the plans.

Mass verification of fulfilment of individual plans is held periodically in order to draw the entire personnel into the work of checking up on the progress of the emulation. About 2,000 people work as volunteers in the designing bureaus and bureaus of economic research and in rate fixing, helping the workers to carry out their rationalization proposals.

By taking part in building the material and technological basis of communism the people are broadening their outlook and education. Ten shops, 405 sections and 1,408 work-teams have won the title of communist labor groups and 12,000 workers have qualified for individual titles. In the nationwide emulation the plant has retained for three years in succession the Challenge Banner instituted by the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation and the Central Council of Trade Unions. Last year the plan for labor productivity was overfulfilled. The economy achieved over and above the plan as a result of lowering production costs averaged 29 rubles per worker.

28,000 Workers Are Studying

The worker who wants to be an active promoter of technological progress must have all-round knowledge of his job. At one time we had schools for improving skills with over 2,500 engineers acting as tutors on a voluntary basis. *About 40,000 workers have gone through these schools*, passed examinations and received certificates for their qualifications. We are now tackling another task — that of improving the general education of our workers, of combining education with work skill to achieve greater productivity per worker. For this purpose we have arranged schools of communist labor with the stress on the best experience and general and political education. Attendance at these schools is in excess of 11,000. Instruction is on a voluntary basis by engineers and technicians.

The Twenty-Second Congress of the Party and the June (1963) meeting of the Central Committee called for extending the scale of ideological education. An ideological committee consisting of 28 activists and headed by L. V. Sokolov, deputy secretary of the Party Committee, has been formed to coordinate and direct all the political education in the plant. The experience gained by propagandists is generalized and popularized by a methodological council headed by an experienced lecturer G. I. Kiryanov. Such councils and political classes function in 16 shops. In addition we have even-

ing schools and classes for Party education, a branch of the polytechnical institute, an auto-mechanical (special secondary) school, general educational classes, an institute giving refresher courses for engineers and technicians, schools of communist labor and universities of culture where a variety of subjects is taught. These facilities enable the automobile workers to broaden their knowledge, to become politically educated and to acquire their technical know-how. In the current school year over 28,000 workers are taking advantage of the educational facilities provided by the plant. The classes are conducted by more than 5,000 voluntary tutors; 860 lecturers work in the Party education groups.

Responding to the growing participation of the workers in public life the Party committee lends an attentive ear to the voice of the rank-and-file members. According to the Rules, the Party committee is obliged to report on its work once a year at the factory conference. But it is essential that the committee be well informed of what the members think about its activity. Hence the committee members regularly report on their work to membership meetings in the shops. Last August 250 members took part in discussing these reports. This enables the committee to check on the soundness of its line and to benefit from the criticism.

The new way of summarizing the results of the emulation acts as an antidote to those complacent ones who take things easy at first and then rush things towards the end of the month. Nowadays we have progress reports every ten days as well as the end of the month report. Preference is given to those who, other things being equal, work more rhythmically and smoothly and who fulfil the plan from one ten-day period to the next. This has also improved the coordination of the various departments.

Steady growth of initiative and activity of the masses has been the feature of the factory Party organization since the time of the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU.

Konstantin KATUSHEV

Exchange of Views

The Socialist World System of Economy and the Laws Governing Its Development

Below we print a summary of an exchange of views, held in Prague, on the basic laws of the socialist world system of economy. The symposium was attended by economists from eight socialist countries: Eugeni Mateyev and Stojan Shalamanov (Bulgaria), Laszlo Hay and Endre Molnar (Hungary), Wolfgang Berger, Willi Kunz and Hans Knabe (GDR), Dagvyn Tserenzhav and Damiranzhavyn Zagasbaldan (Mongolia), Stanislaw Kuzinski and Josef Pajestka (Poland), Barbu Zaharescu, Ion Rachmuth, Constantin Ionescu and Arvin Hutira (Rumania), Gennady Sorokin, Pyotr Alampiev, Oleg Bogomolov, Jan Kotkovsky and Serafim Pervushin (USSR), Miroslav Maruska, Jan Simek, Vladimir Musil, Frantisek Stransky and Bohuslav Maly (Czechoslovakia), and by Lene Berg, Andras Gedo, Alexei Rumyantsev, Vaclav Slavik, Alexander Sobolev and Gennady Pushev, representing Problems of Peace and Socialism.

The questions examined were: the objective necessity and specific features of international socialist division of labor, socialist planning, equalization of the economic levels of the socialist countries, the economic effect of the international socialist division of labor, and the relation between the national economic endeavor and the international specialization of production.

SINCE the rise of the socialist world system some 15 years ago many-sided economic, political and cultural ties have developed between the socialist countries. Their rapid economic advance as well as their achievements in other spheres are inseparable from the steady growth of fraternal cooperation and mutual aid within the socialist world system.

The development of the socialist world economy poses many new problems of theory. The symposium concentrated on the laws governing its growth, on ascertaining its basic trend. This, the speakers pointed out, is not a simple matter, for the ways in which the laws operate bear the stamp of the specific features of the given stage of development and of the social, national and other peculiarities of the countries concerned. Hence it is important not to lose sight of the decisive trend.

The newness of the problems posed by the rise of world socialism, the intricacies of its laws of development and also the distortions that have taken place in the treatment of these problems make a theoretical analysis of them particularly timely.

Experience has posed before Marxist thought the task of investigating and mastering the

laws governing the development of the socialist world system. This task can and must be solved by the combined thinking of the international working-class movement, the Communist and Workers' parties and, primarily, by the parties in the socialist countries which have already contributed much to the theoretical and practical elucidation of this problem. In particular, this contribution may be found in the papers read by the leaders of the Communist and Workers' parties and by the heads of government of the countries affiliated to the Council for Mutual Economic Aid (G. Gheorghiu-Dej, W. Gomulka, T. Zhivkov, J. Kadar, A. Novotny, W. Ulbricht, N. Khrushchov and Y. Tsedenbal) at meetings of the Council.

In his opening speech, A. Rumyantsev, Chief Editor of *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, pointed out that the purpose of the exchange was to continue the theoretical systematization and generalization of research pertaining to the international economic endeavors of the socialist countries.

Since it was impossible to discuss all aspects of the subject, he said, the meeting should concentrate on some of the laws of development, with the emphasis on the methodological aspect. A theoretical examination of the prob-

lems could hardly take in all the relevant circumstances, important though they may be, hence it would be better to concentrate on analyzing the laws of development in their pure form.

The economic laws of the socialist world system, Rumyantsev said, reflect the substance of the international socialist relations of production. Knowledge of these laws and their proper observance by the socialist community heighten man's ascendancy over his production relations. Conscious observance of these laws at national and international levels ensures that full freedom which is possible only in a truly collective association of producers where all social factors and relationships are consciously regulated.

All the speakers agreed that the theoretical examination of the problems of the socialist world economic system should be based on the agreed documents of the fraternal parties.

"The 1962 conference of the First Secretaries of our parties and heads of government of our countries," I. Rachmuth (Rumania) said, "is important not only from the standpoint of the economic cooperation between our countries but also from that of giving proper direction to research in this sphere."

F. Stransky (Czechoslovakia) spoke about the significance of "the basic principles of international socialist division of labor" adopted by the conference. These are universal principles, he said.

The application of Marxist economic theory in the practical cooperation between the socialist countries was discussed by a number of speakers. B. Zaharescu (Rumania) stressed that

although research should chart the way for practice, the two should always be closely linked; otherwise the research may get out of touch with reality.

Also stressed was the need for theoretical examination of the processes involved in the international socialist division of labor and cooperation between socialist countries, for only in this way can the perspectives of their economy be scientifically assessed.

"Our research concerns above all those problems to which the party documents have accorded priority," D. Zagasbaldan (Mongolia) said. "Hence we should also examine the general laws of development of the socialist world system in what may be called their pure form."

E. Molnar (Hungary) noted that in examining the problems of economic cooperation between socialist countries there is a measure of justification for abstracting oneself from the transient difficulties encountered in the course of the cooperation. Sound scientific abstraction in keeping with the actual trends helps to throw light on our perspectives, to reveal the objective trends and the consequences of going against them.

Marxist thought, Molnar said, should not be reduced to a mere commentary on development, its basic mission is to provide a guide in building socialism. We believe that the scientific investigation of the problems of economic cooperation, while proceeding from an analysis of past experience, should be projected into the future; it should chart the way and provide scientifically substantiated guides for expanding the cooperation.

I. THE OBJECTIVE NECESSITY AND FEATURES OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST DIVISION OF LABOR

In characterizing the laws, the speakers pointed to the *objective* nature of the international division of labor in particular.

"At a certain stage in the development of the productive forces," A. Rumyantsev said on this score, "together with the rise of capitalism, which led to the crystallization of national economies and markets within the framework of national states, and with the growth of large-scale industry, which inevitably transcended the bounds of the home market, international economic ties became indispensable for the existence and development of the economy of each country separately and for all the countries taken together. As regards production potential, output and the means of production required, present-day industry has outgrown by far the capacity of the national markets. It

needs a single world market and it is creating this market.

The resources and means available in the particular countries are often insufficient to ensure normal growth and maximum efficiency of large-scale production. There are industries which cannot be effectively developed on the basis of the home market alone even by countries whose resources, production potential and manpower are by no means negligible.

"The modern productive forces, the social character of which is clearly manifest, can best be built through the conscious, planned harnessing of all the resources on an international scale. As we know, it is the requirements of the expanding productive forces which in the final analysis necessitate the transition of society to communism, to complete socialization of the

means of production and internationalization of economic life.

"The international production relations of today are essentially a reflection of the historically conditioned types of international division of labor (socialist or capitalist) and the forms of economic intercourse engendered by them. (We leave aside the question of economic relations between countries belonging to different world systems.) International production relations, by creating objectively necessary economic links between countries, compel the latter to renounce their insularity and draw them into a worldwide economic orbit, ensuring continuity of the development of the productive forces on a global scale.

"The mode of the formation of international production relations and the nature of these relations always derive from the production relations in the countries concerned. International production relations consist of the same elements as production relations in the various countries and find expression in historically determined forms dependent on the relations dominant in the latter. Exploitation of wage labor, the social contradictions, the anarchic division of labor and competition under capitalism have as their concomitants contradictions between the national economies of the capitalist countries, an anarchic division of labor among them, anarchic competition, and exploitation of dependent peoples by the dominant countries, in particular through an unequal exchange of goods.

"With the emergence of socialism beyond the boundaries of one country, international *socialist* relations of production came into being. These constitute a new type of division of labor, of international economic intercourse marked by identity of the fundamental interests of all the socialist countries, by mutual aid and genuine equality of countries at varying economic levels and of unequal economic strength, by an agreed and mutually advantageous international division of labor designed to bring the lagging to the level of the foremost, by equalization at a higher level.

"A basic difference between socialism and capitalism is that the socialist revolution and the building of socialism turn the spontaneously evolved forms of the all-round interdependence of the present-day nationally divided capitalist production into what Marx and Engels described as 'control and conscious domination over those forces which, while engendered by men's actions in their mutual relations with one another, have hitherto governed and dominated them'."

B. Zaharescu devoted much of his speech to the superiority of the socialist world economic system over the capitalist system.

"This superiority," he said, "is manifested chiefly in the ability to ensure a higher productivity of labor. The quantity of productive labor depends on the share of the able-bodied labor force in the population, the ratio of people engaged in productive labor to those engaged in the non-productive sphere, the length of the working day, and the intensity of labor.

"The effect of these factors varies, but as society develops the total quantity of productive human labor increases more slowly than population. The reason for this is that as cultural standards rise people enter production later than they used to. At the same time the ratio of the labor force engaged directly in production to those indirectly engaged arising from the higher educational standards continues to change in favor of the latter. The working day tends to become shorter, while intensity of labor is determined by physiological limits.

"Nevertheless, thanks to the rapid growth of the productive forces which makes for a still more rapid increase in the productivity of labor, society has at its disposal ever greater quantities of material values. Under capitalism, however, a vast amount of human labor is squandered on purposes of little value to society; under socialism, on the contrary, the trend is for the non-productive expenditure of labor to decline.

"In Marxist economic literature insufficient attention is devoted to this aspect of the superiority of socialism over capitalism, and the stress is on the productivity of the individual worker's labor. Yet in comparing the two social systems not individual but social productivity of labor should be borne in mind, although the latter is, of course, closely linked with the former.

"Moreover, a dynamic, not static, view should be taken of labor productivity. The social productivity of labor in the USSR, the most developed of the socialist countries, is still less than in the United States, the leading capitalist country. Nevertheless the superiority of the Soviet Union's socio-economic system is indisputable if we take into account the difference between the historically conditioned levels of the two countries after the October Revolution. The Soviet Union, and the entire socialist camp for that matter, have surpassed the United States for rate of growth of labor productivity. *The superiority of socialism over capitalism is now demonstrated by the entire socialist world system.*"

E. Mateyev (Bulgaria) dwelt on the objective necessity and advantages of the international socialist division of labor.

"At the present stage in world history," he said, "the basic prerequisites have been created for the one-third of mankind that has taken the road of socialism gradually to effect an international socialist division of labor which, in the final analysis, will lead to a single integrated economy. These prerequisites, namely, socialist production relations, make such intercourse not only imperative but equally beneficial to all the countries concerned.

"In these circumstances there is no doubt that extension of the international division of labor, the constant and rapid development of economic contacts between the socialist countries and the cementing of their unity is an objective necessity.

"The difficulties encountered in expanding the productive forces can be overcome by ever closer contact between the socialist countries.

"If we examine, for example, the structure of the manufacturing industry the pronounced trend towards extending the international division of labor becomes apparent. This trend is connected, on the one hand, with the addition of more and more new types of use values to the social product and, on the other, with the need for specialized production on a larger scale.

"The tendency for the social product to be augmented by new types of use values is manifest in means of production as well as in consumer goods. The production process necessitates a growing quantity of primary materials and turns out an ever wider range of inter-related semi-manufactures. Most striking is the differentiation in engineering as a result of the rapid mechanization and automation and the growing specialization of instruments of labor. Moreover, the greater the advance in standardizing parts and sub-assemblies the more these become independent lines of output—a process to which Marx in his time drew attention.

"As regards consumer goods, the widening of the range is obvious and hardly calls for special examination.

"Owing to the more complex structure of the social product, on the one hand, and the larger scale of specialized production, on the other, it is essential to build bigger production units. When a country like Bulgaria—and not only Bulgaria—builds an engineering plant conforming to the requirements of modern technology as regards specialization and size, it will need export outlets for part of the output. And export, in turn, enables it to import other types of machines and parts.

"Provided all other conditions are equal, the more developed the productive forces the more essential exchange becomes. The tendency to extend the international division of labor in manufacturing industry creates conditions for mutually advantageous cooperation even between countries equally well endowed with natural resources and manpower.

"Never has research played so big a role and never has the training of skilled personnel for every branch of the economy been so important as now.

"At the same time the role of research is a powerful impetus to specialization and concentration. For the bigger the scale on which a new discovery is used the cheaper its introduction per unit of output and the greater the returns from investments in research and designing."

The advantages of the division of labor were discussed also by other speakers. *F. Stransky*, who reviewed the experience of his country, concluded that, with the exception of the Soviet Union, the European members of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid are becoming more and more dependent on import of fuel, mineral raw materials, metals, chemical products, agricultural raw materials and even staple foods, and on the sale on foreign markets of their engineering and consumer-goods output. The Soviet Union plays a decisive role in this exchange of manufactured exports for raw material imports, i.e., in the exchange of use values essential for ensuring constant and purposeful socialist extended reproduction.

"How, then, should we go about charting the economic perspectives of our countries?" Stransky said. "Should we merely perpetuate the proportions of the previous years? Clearly not. Can we go ahead by merely elaborating one and the same variant of the plan? Can we rely solely on our own resources? Can we afford to ignore the tangible possibilities opened up by the Council for Mutual Economic Aid? Many similar questions could be posed, questions which I believe cannot be answered in the affirmative."

"The objective conditions of modern technology and production generally," said *W. Berger*, "call for specialized output in quantities which in most cases exceed the requirements of the various people's democracies. The Soviet Union is the exception. On the one hand, it has a vast home market and, on the other, its level of development and its resources enable it to carry on production along the most up-to-date lines independently of the other countries. Needless to say, the Soviet Union too, stands to gain from coopera-

tion within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid. But the other socialist countries will gain immeasurably more. In urging joint action on the scale of the Council and participating in this cooperation the Soviet Union is performing its internationalist duty.

"The GDR, although industrially developed, is a small country when viewed against the global background; moreover, it is a country with limited raw material resources. Hence international division of labor is a necessity for it."

Comrade Berger stressed that the key economic task in the GDR was to achieve a scientific and technological level second to none in the leading branches, especially petrochemicals, secondary metallurgy, electronics and automation devices. To try to do this alone would involve an excessive burden of expenditure of both resources and time.

The speakers showed that socialist production and the need to make the best possible use of national resources impel the various countries towards closer cooperation. This is the dominant trend of socialism, which has abolished the antagonisms engendered by capitalist private property. The identity of the economic aims of the socialist countries and their striving towards a measure of economic unity derive from the nature of socialism which tends towards concentration and centralization of production in the interests of all members of society.

An agreed international socialist division of labor benefits all the countries concerned, enhances their potential and makes for the maximum saving of labor time, which is a national as well as the common aim of the socialist countries. It is a factor underlying the rapid economic advance of the socialist world system and of each of its members. International division of labor is not only an expression of the international socialist relations of production, it is also a new productive force created by socialism.

Many speakers noted the importance of the international socialist division of labor in the peaceful economic competition between the two world systems.

"In the context of the grand economic contest with capitalism, with its enormous research facilities and huge production capacity, the member-countries of the Council would be falling short of the mark by engaging in research and building industrial enterprises independently of one another because the diffusion would doom these enterprises to obsolescence before they were able to launch production," W. Kunz (GDR) said. "Moreover,

their output would duplicate that of other countries."

Speakers took as their starting point the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the nature of the modern productive forces and the very essence of socialism tend to bring the socialist countries closer economically, engender a tendency which, eventually, presupposes a single worldwide cooperative (Lenin). Needless to say, this process will be gradual, prolonged, complex and multiform. It will take the form not only of steadily developing economic cooperation between the countries but also of ideological, political and cultural approximation of the socialist nations in the course of which the distrust and national estrangement engendered by capitalism ultimately disappear and the spirit of brotherhood, friendship and cooperation triumphs.

The objective trend of the international socialist division of labor cannot, however, be examined in isolation from the concrete conditions of the present stage of world socialism and the specific features of each socialist country. What can be said about conditions and features today?

"The existence of numerous independent collective owners of modern means of production in the shape of the separate socialist countries is a basic feature that should be taken into account in examining the international socialist production relations," A. Rumyantsev said. "In each socialist country the decisive feature of property relations is the existence of one collective owner—the people. The socialist production relations are based on ownership of the means of production by the entire people, ownership free from the shackles of all forms of capitalist property.

"In the sphere of international economic relations the situation is different. Although the social ownership is identical in all the socialist countries, the property itself is national, state property. Extended socialist reproduction therefore takes place on a national basis.

"And this will be the case for a long time to come. It has its source in the historical circumstances of the emergence and growth of socialism, which in the first years develops on the material and technological base inherited from capitalism and in conditions when all the vestiges of the old social structure have not been completely eradicated. *Only by taking into account this objective fact, only by proceeding from it, will it be possible correctly to shape the international socialist production relations.*"

G. Sorokin (USSR) dwelling on some features of the socialist world economy, pointed

to the community of interests stemming from socialist ownership; this identity, he said, makes it possible to maintain correct proportions not only on a national scale but also on the scale of all the socialist countries. Within the national boundaries, in the sphere of state property, this is done directly, and in the world economy, indirectly through trade, credits, scientific and technical aid. When one of the countries finds it necessary to improve, say, the proportion of metallurgy to engineering, to increase the output of metal, the state channels the funds and the manpower to the construction of steel mills and thereby meets the requirements of the engineering industry. But on the scale of the overall system of socialist states other means have to be used to achieve the same result. Between the various national economies there is no free flow of material, financial or manpower resources. The typical form of contact here is equivalent exchange of goods; in a word, trade comes into play as a lever influencing the overall economic proportions.

J. Pajestka (Poland) examined other aspects of the relations between socialist countries.

"The formation of a community of socialist countries," he said, "poses questions which differ radically from those which appeared when planned economy first came into being.

"When the socialist economy emerged in the various countries the centralized national state directly guided economic matters, resolved the problems of income distribution, of developing particular branches, regions, etc. Quite different conditions attend the formation of the socialist community, which is a voluntary association of states based on the sovereignty and equality of each, on common interest, solidarity and cooperation."

All the speakers were in agreement that crystallization of a common economy based on common property and free of state frontiers is a matter for the very distant future. *Any attempt to create such an economy at present, any artificial acceleration of objective processes, far from being a step forward would gravely damage the common cause.* As Comrade Zaharescu observed, the job today is to harness the immense growth potential of each country through effective utilization of the internal resources and the advantages accruing from cooperation with the other socialist countries. Socialist production relations as such, he said, offer ample opportunity for the development of the socialist countries.

"The laws of social development in their pure form," A. Rumyantsev said, "indicate the basic trend and perspectives of the movement.

But they operate in specific ways at qualitatively different stages of development. The development of the socialist world system is a *natural historical process involving a succession of phases and stages which cannot be by-passed at will.* In working to strengthen and develop the socialist world system it is necessary to be guided by the perspective and to take strict account of the objective features of the historical stages of development, to see both the general laws and the forms in which they are manifested."

"I agree with Comrade Rumyantsev," K. Ionescu (Rumania) said. "The conditions at each stage of development should not be ignored. Marx pointed out that mankind sets itself only tasks for the solution of which the material prerequisites exist."

The objective trends of international socialist division of labor, speakers said, are asserting themselves. However, an important role is played by the subjective factor—the conscious, purposeful activity of the ruling Marxist-Leninist parties. For their policy to succeed it must be founded on Marxism-Leninism and take into account both the objective tendencies and the concrete conditions of each stage.

A correct policy is elaborated in the struggle against distortions of Marxist-Leninist theory, against dogmatic and revisionist views. Both revisionism, which extols anarchy in the economy, and dogmatism, which leads to voluntarism and adventurism, stem from petty-bourgeois thinking. Prompted by considerations of monetary expediency and sacrificing the fundamental interests of socialism the revisionists hold that the socialist countries should engage in anarchic competition not only with the capitalist countries but among themselves.

The dogmatists, on the contrary, in effect advocate autarchy and, consequently, insularity and exclusiveness. Even in the observance of the objective principle of large-scale socialist production, in an agreed international division of labor and in the specialization of production which it involves, they see an opening for one socialist country to impose its will on others, a violation of the independence and sovereignty of countries and a threat to their interests. To all intents and purposes they thereby equate the international socialist production relations with capitalist relations. By urging limitation of international economic exchange to foreign trade they reject direct coordination of production, oppose more far-reaching planning of relations between countries, thus tending to allow things to drift.

F. Stransky and other speakers stressed the urgency of theoretical elaboration of the prob-

lems of the international socialist division of labor and its further extension, and the need to overcome the lag in economic thinking and theory behind practical requirements. *J. Rachmuth* and others pointed out that it is essential to proceed from the principles governing relations between socialist countries set forth in the joint documents of the fraternal parties. In the 1960 Statement, for instance, we read: "Guided by the principles of complete equality, mutual advantage and comradely mutual assistance, the socialist states improve their all-round economic, political and cultural cooperation, which meets both the interests of each socialist country and those of the socialist camp as a whole."

The Communist parties, *E. Molnar* said, are strengthening and extending economic cooperation in the socialist world consolidating socialist production relations on the scale of the entire system. Needless to say, this world system emerges in the process of solving contradictions. Building socialism in the various countries also has its internal contradictions. But these are not antagonistic contradictions and should be solved in a way consistent with both the general as well as the group and individual interests, with priority accorded to the public interest.

As regards economic cooperation within the socialist system and between the countries affiliated to the Council for Mutual Economic

Aid, here, too, transient difficulties are sometimes encountered. But these should be solved on the basis of the identity of the economic and political systems in these countries and from the principles of Marxism-Leninism by which the Communist parties leading society's revolutionary process of progress towards communism are guided. Community of interests makes it possible to overcome the difficulties to the advantage of all.

"The rise of the socialist world system," *A. Rumyantsev* said, "marks a qualitatively new stage in international production relations, a stage when the old economic links between countries which evolved spontaneously in the capitalist past are torn asunder by the revolution. Clearly this is bound to be a complex and at times even a painful process. The growth of socialism presents complex problems not only because it is taking place in the conditions of coexistence with capitalism, in constant engagement with it and in all-around competition with it. The different levels of the socialist countries also make themselves felt. Hence it is all the more important to examine thoroughly the laws of the socialist mode of production both in the particular countries and on an international scale. The socialist world can develop only through the most rational, coordinated joint economic endeavor on the part of all the socialist countries in their common interests."

II. THE PLANNED CHARACTER OF THE SOCIALIST WORLD SYSTEM OF ECONOMY

With the advance of the socialist world system, knowledge of the objective laws of the socialist economy and their utilization, particularly the law of planned, proportionate development, acquires growing importance. "The world economic system of socialism," says the 1960 Statement, "is united by common socialist relations of production and is developing in accordance with the economic laws of socialism. Its successful development requires consistent application, in socialist construction, of the law of planned, proportionate development. . . ."

The specific features of this law, stressed *A. Rumyantsev*, are manifested in the *conscious* and *voluntary* cooperation of the socialist countries, in the planned international division of labor without exploitation and social antagonisms. Conscious utilization of the law of planned (proportionate) development of the socialist world system implies evening up the different levels of the socialist countries, their

even development and, accordingly, the optimal proportions and most effective structure of their economy. The application, on the scale of the socialist world system as a whole, of the law of planned (proportionate) development presupposes that each national economy develops in accordance with the trend of the socialist countries to draw closer and, eventually, to merge into a "single worldwide cooperative." Therefore the conscious *coordination* of planning in the socialist countries is a must if their economies are to develop successfully.

G. Sorokin dwelt on the specific manifestations of this law in international conditions. Its operation in the international arena, he said, implies forming and maintaining proper economic proportions in the socialist world economy, maximum growth of production in each country and throughout the system, raising the technological level of industry, achieving a high level of labor productivity, all-round utilization of the natural resources and a

steady rise in living standards in all the socialist countries. In the socialist world economy specific ratios are taking shape between the first and second sub-divisions of social production, between industry and agriculture, between the extractive and manufacturing industries, between accumulation and consumption, etc.

The socialist world economy is expanding faster than the capitalist economy; it ensures a higher organization of labor and higher rates of productivity growth, and creates better conditions for raising living standards.

Growth of accumulation should be paralleled by a steady growth of consumption. Otherwise, there would be no incentive for greater labor productivity, without which accumulation would be gravely hampered. Steady and parallel growth of accumulation and consumption distinguishes this socialist proportion from the analogous proportion under capitalism.

The proportions of the socialist world economy are mutually conditioned and interrelated. For instance, the faster rate of growth of subdivision one simultaneously implies rapid growth of accumulation, rapid expansion of the extractive industries and the raw-material branches of agriculture, etc. In regulating economic proportions, account should be taken of all the principal branches of the national economy *at one and the same time*. Expansion of one branch to the detriment of another, yielding a temporary upgrade of the economy followed by a subsequent decline, is a sign of unplanned, unbalanced cyclical development.

In effect, the planned, proportionate development of the socialist world economy signifies coordinated development of the socialist countries and their active participation in choosing optimal economic patterns advantageous to each country and to the socialist system as a whole.

So far the proportions of the socialist world economy have not crystallized in full measure, which is explained by the different times at which the countries turned to socialism and by the different levels of their productive forces. Socially, the content of the proportions of the economy of the socialist world is similar to the national proportions. It can be presumed, said Sorokin, that the international proportions are a synthesis of the national proportions, but the former do not wholly coincide with the latter and exist independently. Thus, any temporary disproportion between industry and agriculture in one country can be compensated for by the surpluses of another, and any disproportion between the accumulation and consumption sections of the national income in the

relatively backward countries can be balanced by aid from the more developed countries, etc.

The mechanisms of forming and maintaining international and national proportions also differ. The level of socialization and development of the productive forces is not the same in all socialist countries. In those more economically developed it is easier to achieve and maintain optimal proportions by relying on the firm links between the branches of large-scale machine industry and the higher forms of socialist ownership. The proportions between the branches of social production and between the particular countries are established in conditions marked by varying degrees of concentration and socialization. This, naturally, complicates the process of forming and maintaining optimal proportions.

The speakers concurred in saying that economic laws are utilized on the scale of the whole system through *conscious and voluntary coordination on the part of the member-countries*. Needless to say, this coordination is a continuing feature. The planned coordination is constantly developing, beginning with the initial forms associated with the natural division of labor and its realization through international trade, all the way to higher forms of cooperation.

Bilateral trade and credit agreements, agreements concerning aid to countries whose development had been retarded under capitalism or which had been devastated during the war, etc., were typical of the first years of the cooperation when the socialist world system was only taking shape.

At the next stage there arose the need for coordinating their economic plans; this was met by the formation of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid which included a number of countries where the need for aid was acute. Today some of the countries are keen on still closer coordination of plans, in dovetailing efforts directly in production and taking other joint economic measures.

J. Pajestka spoke about the type of relations between the member-countries of the Council and the stages of planned coordination. It would be more correct, he noted, to describe the first phase of the relations between the member-countries as the period of planned cooperation. Nowadays the cooperation is beginning to assume new features. It can be gathered, Pajestka went on, that the principal economic changes will, evidently, be in the following direction:

1. transition from planned coordination of mutual deliveries to coordinated development

plans, particularly in the sphere of investments;

2. transition from exchange through foreign trade to more immediate contacts and relations, and

3. taking as the criterion, in selecting types of output to be developed, the economic effect that would accrue not to the particular countries but to the entire complex of member-countries.

These changes, which take place very gradually, are the sole way of effecting far-reaching reconstruction in the economic relations between the countries.

The need for a consistent, stage-by-stage deepening of the planned character of the socialist world economy was expressed also by other speakers. *E. Molnar* said:

We must look ahead and bear in mind that expansion of the productive forces and the growth of the socialist world system necessitate a deepening of the planned cooperation. In this sphere it will be necessary to go beyond the simple bilateral coordination of economic plans.

One of the typical aspects of public ownership, said *B. Maly (Czechoslovakia)*, is the planned way in which it is being realized. The forms and means of this kind of planning, which, eventually, will bring the process of production under the joint control of the socialist countries, should be constantly developed.

An important condition for passing over to a higher level of planned cooperation is full utilization of all possibilities inherent in its present forms which correspond to the specific conditions of the present stage. The "Basic Principles of the International Socialist Division of Labour" points out: "The experience of the economic world system of socialism shows that coordination of the national-economic plans is the principal means of planning the international socialist division of labor and of the ever closer pooling of production effort by the socialist countries at the present stage."

Until the building of socialist society is completed in the countries of the socialist camp, until adequate material prerequisites are created for the comprehensive internationalization of their national economies and as long as important differences remain in the levels of their economic development, said *G. Sorokin*, their cooperation takes the form of coordinated planning.

This coordination, *Sorokin* went on, is possible provided socialist production relations prevail in the countries and provided they have a comparatively high level of socialization of

labor and production. Conditions of free and associated labor, wrote Marx, call for "... harmonious national and international coordination of the public forms of production."

Today the coordination of economic plans is the form in which the law of planned development operates in the entire system of the socialist world economy, stressed *B. Zacharescu*. There is an objective need for coordinating the plans since at the present stage there are countries which took to socialism at different times and in which the socialist relations of production and the economy generally are at different stages of development. First the specialization of industrial enterprises and then combined production are to be covered by coordination.

The significance of coordinated planning was also stressed by *E. Hutira (Rumania)* who said that the proper solution of the questions pertaining to the development of the various countries necessarily presupposes the need for each to draw up a plan which, dovetailed with the plans of the other socialist countries, will enable the people of the given country to make full use of their material and manpower resources to advance the national economy and raise the standard of living.

The advantages accruing from the existence of the socialist world system and the cooperation with other socialist countries, primarily with the Soviet Union, make it easier for us, *Hutira* said, to make the most effective use of both material and manpower resources with a view to ensuring the further advance of the economy. Fulfilling its internationalist duty—that of steadily developing industry and agriculture—Rumania is making a growing contribution to the strengthening of the socialist world system.

In the specific conditions of the economic development of the socialist countries coordinated planning is the sole way to stimulate and harmonize the growth of the economic potential of each country and the deepening of the international socialist division of labor. *The development of the socialist world system necessitates coordinated planning* inasmuch as expansion of the productive forces and promotion of socialist production relations call for a greater use being made of those factors of the international socialist division of labor designed to ensure the gradual equalization of the national economic levels. By means of coordinated planning, utilization of the internal resources is rationally combined with the advantages deriving from the international socialist division of labor.

The various aspects of the coordination of plans were thoroughly examined.

J. Pajestka spoke about the essential features of the coordination. The solution which the member-countries have decided upon, he said, can be described as long-range planned specialization and coordination. The economic content of this solution is highly important for it determines the character of the cooperation and the method of regulating the relations between its participants.

The adoption of the principle of coordinated planning is explained by the fact that all the countries have a planned socialist economy. In the context of international cooperation, however, this solution has a number of new and highly essential features.

Underlying its very basis as well as the practice of coordination is the method of negotiation and mutual agreement on solutions in economic specialization and coordination, as distinct from the automatic operation of the international market relations. Cooperation between the Council partners is regulated not by some mechanism acting blindly in favor of some and to the detriment of others—for instance, in favor of the stronger and to the detriment of the weaker partners. It is realized through multilateral and bilateral treaties and agreements. And what is most important, in the process of coordinating the long-range plans every party to the treaty can study the likely effects which the proposed solutions for the division of labor will have in the given country.

Agreed solution of the problems of cooperation is a manifestation of the common concern of the partners for the successful socio-economic development of all countries taken together and of each country in particular.

Another feature, in our opinion, is the fact that attention is focused on long-term solutions, on coordinated investment.

In the recent past the necessary conditions for cooperation between countries were wanting in view of the nature of their economies. This was particularly true of the People's Democracies in Central and South East Europe whose economies were not mutually complementary and suffered from some common structural disproportions. At present the economies of the socialist countries are much more suited to cooperation. Now that the foundations for the all-round expansion of their industries and economies as a whole have been laid, the member-countries can choose the trends of industrial specialization, and adjust their production potential accordingly. Some

countries adhere to the view that without this their advance could be seriously impeded.

Coordinating economic structures and production would provide a solid basis for further extended cooperation. In the above-mentioned principle of examining all the problems of the coordination from the standpoint of its benefits to all the participants, we have a sound guarantee of the stability of the coordination, of the deepening of unity and the establishment of an economic community of the countries concerned.

However, it cannot be said that we have finally solved the problems of current contacts and short-term solutions. Especially poorly developed are the economic instruments designed to facilitate exchange and cooperation. Nor are the foreign-exchange system and the operational methods of the exchange mechanism fully adjusted. In my view, *Pajestka* said, trade between the member-countries should be based on methods different from the traditional methods of foreign trade with third countries. These should be more elastic methods, methods which are less rigid than those guiding their exchange with non-member-countries.

G. Sorokin touched on other features of the coordination. As a rule, he said, plan coordination extends only to those branches of production which play a major part in international economic relations, in building enterprises in which a number of countries have a stake, and in various kinds of research and technological endeavor.

Plan coordination rests on a scientific foundation and takes into account the structure and laws of development of the socialist world economy. In our view, he went on, the basic principles of coordination are:

—respect for the sovereignty of the countries, their purely voluntary participation in agreed plans and in carrying out recommendations;

—establishment of the objectively necessary proportions of economic development, no disproportions in the economy and the abolition of those disproportions that have occurred;

—all-round development of an efficacious international division of labor, equal distribution between member-countries of the benefits resulting therefrom. In this a more rapid rate of growth of foreign trade compared with national income could be taken as an adequate indicator of the deepening of the international division of labor;

—combining the international specialization of production with the comprehensive (multilateral) development of the economy of each of the member-countries; the most rational use

of the natural and economic resources of the countries in forming national economic complexes;

—gradual overcoming of the traditional differences in levels of economic development of the countries through maximum utilization of the resources of each plus the advantages of the socialist world system and the aid rendered by the more developed to the less developed countries;

—accelerating technological progress for the purpose of attaining a high technological level and higher labor productivity as compared with the leading capitalist countries;

—equivalent commodity exchange, mutually advantageous economic cooperation, equilibrium in balances of payments.

Socialist planning has shown that the main thing is not compiling plans but providing for their fulfilment. It can be said that internationally, too, mere coordination is not enough. It is essential, in our opinion, to verify fulfilment of plans for mutual deliveries, specialization and coordination of production, construction of jointly-financed enterprises, and the scientific and technological cooperation. The planning bodies have at their disposal many levers with which to stimulate fulfilment and overfulfilment; and of these the most powerful are economic levers or incentives. Broad utilization of the economic levers is absolutely essential in international planning, for it strengthens and makes more flexible the coordinated fulfilment of agreed plans.

Many speakers mentioned that the realization of the objective trend towards closer coordination requires time and a variety of forms. The choice of bilateral or multilateral forms of the coordination depends on the specific nature of the problems and conditions. The range of problems that have become mature for joint solution is widening. As *F. Stransky* put it, developing international cooperation produces a variety of forms, methods and organizational solutions; the trend is by no means towards unifying stereotyped patterns.

Both bilateral and multilateral coordination of economic plans reinforces the cooperation of the socialist countries, said *E. Hutira*. Experience shows that in the course of bilateral coordination it is possible to gain full cognizance of the requirements and specific aspects of the long-term development of our countries, while the drawing up of the plans for this enables us to take into account mutual economic interests. The meeting of the First Secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' parties and heads of

government of the member-countries in July 1963 stressed that bilateral consultations between the Council members create better conditions for the multilateral coordination of plans within the framework of the Council.

It was agreed that in plan coordination, cooperation and specialization it is necessary to proceed from the latest achievements of science and technology and to develop cooperation along the most progressive lines.

Particular attention, said *I. Rachmuth*, should be paid to the specialization and coordination aimed at utilizing the very best and latest technological equipment needed by the socialist countries but which is either not produced in these countries or is produced in insufficient quantities and of non-standard quality. Orders for this equipment should be placed also in those countries which have yet to catch up with the more developed countries and which, by specializing in this direction, will be able to narrow the gap between themselves and the more advanced countries.

This problem was discussed by *W. Berger* in the light of the experience of the German Democratic Republic.

Despite the fact that we are an industrial country, he said, our labor productivity is on the average from 20 to 30 per cent lower than in West Germany. Overcoming this lag as soon as possible is a political issue of tremendous importance for our struggle against West German imperialism. But what is the best way to do this? Our experience has shown that the introduction of the very latest technology in the leading branches is the key to the general and rapid growth of labor productivity. *We hold that in coordinating the plans it is necessary to concentrate on the decisive tasks in the most important branches of the economy, science and technology. Plan coordination should be focused on these key problems.* Joint work in the main directions would help us quickly to eliminate the tangible dependence on the imperialist concerns. Besides, this method would undoubtedly become a source of experience vital for further coordination and specialization.

We consider, said *Berger*, the thoroughly organized joint construction of key projects to be the principal method of attaining the highest technological level in the leading branches. Needless to say, each country will itself decide on its participation in carrying out such projects, he concluded.

F. Stransky, drawing on the experience of Czechoslovakia and especially of its machine-building industry, expressed a similar view

when he spoke about coordination in connection with the idea for a master-plan of international specialization advanced in Council for Mutual Economic Aid quarters. Specialization and coordination in such a branch as machine building is an untapped reserve for accelerating the economic growth of the member-countries. I am confident, he said, that joint planning of research would be ideal for intensive specialization and coordination in machine building and for the gradual elaboration and realization of the overall pattern of specialization. The latter would be in the nature of a program closely linked with international planning, with plan coordination, and would rationally supplement this work.

This would be a step ahead as compared with the past work in international specialization of machine building which was, in effect, carried out independently of plan coordination and without a general program.

It would enable us to determine our requirements in machines and equipment, to find the most effective ways of meeting these requirements through production organized along optimal lines, to allocate production programs to those areas where the material supply is best and also depending on the level of the research, designing, experimental and production facilities, manpower resources, etc.

Nowadays science is playing an ever bigger role in production, which means that planned cooperation and coordination of effort in the sphere of science and technology become paramount. This question was considered by *M. Maruska (Czechoslovakia)* who pointed out that the application of scientific knowledge in industry fully conforms with the law of saving labor-time which, as Marx observed, becomes the first of the economic laws in collective production. Rapid economic growth depends above all on the utilization of the latest scientific and technological data, on the utilization by industry of the basic achievements of the modern scientific and technological revolution.

Building the material and technological base of communism is distinguished not only for its rapidity of growth but also for the mass character of production. And this, too, calls for concentration of production, especially if we take into account the need for applying the latest

achievements of science and technology. The objective contradiction between the requirement for maximum production and the available material and technological facilities engenders the need to deepen the specialization and concentration of production on an international scale. Hence the present stage of development of the socialist world system requires that these problems be solved by joint effort.

Hitherto the scientific and technological cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the other socialist countries has for the most part been bilateral, and it has relied on the scientific and technological achievements and experience of the Soviet Union. Today, however, we see a dual process—the deepening of bilateral cooperation and coordination, on the one hand, and the gradual transition to multilateral coordination to solve the main problems of science and technology, on the other.

The basic demand here is the coordination of research work to ensure the speediest utilization of all the achievements of science and technology and their swift introduction into the economy of the socialist countries. Conditions should be created to orientate research in each country on those branches for which it is best suited and in so doing unnecessary duplication of research should be avoided.

At present the international cooperation and the division of labor apply not only to scientific and technological research but are beginning to extend to the social sciences, for there is a whole range of problems common to all the socialist countries, particularly in the sphere of economics; for example, price formation in the socialist world market, drawing up an overall pattern for international specialization, and equalization of the economic levels of the socialist countries. These problems cannot be studied by the researchers of any one country—they call for joint research efforts. Unless this is done research will not be ahead of practice as it should be.

The discussion revealed a common desire to see an all-round perfecting and deepening of the economic relations between the fraternal countries, and the fullest utilization of the existing forms of these relations.

(To be concluded)

Unity of the Working Class in the Capitalist Countries

Unity Trends in Spain

THE STRIKES of April and May 1962 placed the working class in the center of the Spanish political scene. Its role in the national life was highlighted again by the Asturian political strike in 1963 which marked a big step forward in building working-class unity. The Asturian miners set an example of united action. As our Party stressed at the time, the solidarity displayed by the Communists, Socialists, Catholics and other sections of the working people throughout this action showed the entire working class the way to a general political strike, the prelude to a nationwide strike capable of dealing a decisive blow at the dictatorship and ushering in democracy in Spain.

The unity of the Asturian strikers was symptomatic. It was in Asturias that 30 years ago, for the first time in the history of the Spanish working-class movement, the main trends of this movement—the Socialist, Communist and Anarcho-Syndicalist—united in the Workers' Alliance for joint action against the reactionaries. And although the armed uprising of the Asturian workers was brutally suppressed, the working class and the people of Spain came to see the imperative need for unity. Because of this the struggle in Asturias paved the way to the victory of the Peoples' Front on February 16, 1936. It laid the groundwork for the revolutionary rebuff to the fascists in July 1936, for the resistance to international fascism in the national-revolutionary war of 1936-39 and for the development of the peoples' democratic revolution in those years.

Today the growing cohesion of working-class forces in the Asturias once again holds out the perspective of unity and victory to our people, who for a quarter of a century now have been under the fascist heel. The Asturian example indicates that the initial steps are being taken towards overcoming the split in the working-class movement which has cost the workers a heavier price in Spain than in any other European country.

The task of our Party and all the democratic forces is to accelerate this process. And for this it is essential to pursue a political line conforming to the objective conditions, the

possibilities and the needs of the situation—a policy of revolutionary realism unencumbered by opportunism and passivity, sectarianism and dogmatism, parochialism and group interests, in a word, a policy of broad unity and democratic and revolutionary action.

Traditions of the Working-Class Movement

The *traditions* of the working-class movement are a cardinal element of the objective situation which must be taken into account in order effectively to build unity.

There is much that is negative in the traditions of the Spanish working-class movement. First of all, the diffusion which has been the bane of this movement for nearly a century due to a variety of socio-political factors, inadequate theoretical grounding and caudillist tendencies. Negative but fortunately not deep-seated are also the traditions of class collaboration fostered by reformist leaders and the nihilism characteristic of the anarchists. A petty-bourgeois pseudo-revolutionary rebelliousness associated, as a rule, with group interests and sectarian tendencies likewise laid its stamp on the Spanish working-class movement, influencing the outlook of a considerable part of the proletariat.

Nevertheless the positive by far outweighs the negative in the heritage of the Spanish working class, and it is this that gives it its strength. For social and historical reasons, the revolutionary traditions are stronger than the reformist traditions. Exceptional militancy, self-sacrifice and a keen sense of class solidarity are characteristic of the proletariat. Time and again the working class has displayed a high degree of unity in revolutionary actions. Mass initiative, readiness for independent action, the desire and the ability to organize, and, at times, a close link with the struggles of the peasants, are all features of the workers' movement. Internationalism and anti-colonialism are other positive traditions.

In recent decades, however, the working-class movement has borne the deep imprint of the tragedy which overtook it in the late thirties and the early forties. The fascists wiped out nearly half of the working class, and even

heavier losses were suffered by its revolutionary organizations. In a sense, it can be said that the working class has been formed anew, but under fascist rule, in an atmosphere of frightening — sometimes even paralyzing — memories of the days of defeat and terror.

Our Party takes cognizance of all this in elaborating its policy of unity. While drawing on the positive traditions of the movement and working to revive and develop them, we seek to uproot the negative traditions. Taking account of all the processes and changes engendered in the working class and the workers' movement by the defeat and the terror, the Communist Party exerted every effort to counteract demoralization, to awaken the class consciousness of the new generation of workers and to fortify their faith in their own strength.

But although the past as embodied in its traditions is of importance to the working class, *decisive* in working out its policy are the realities of today.

New Prerequisites for Unity

The strikes of 1962 and 1963 revealed a change in the thinking of the Spanish proletariat. The cumulative result of a process that has been going on for years, this change was conditioned by the facts of socio-economic and political life in Spain and the world as a whole.

What are the most important of these facts?

1. Capitalist development has nearly doubled the urban working class in recent decades. The total labor force in industry and in services is about 4.5 million. Large numbers of women have entered industry. As a result of the growth in the number of heavy-industry enterprises the degree of concentration of the proletariat is much greater. This has taken place against the background of ruthless exploitation to which the working class has been subjected by the monopoly bourgeoisie aided by the fascist dictatorship.

2. The distinctions between the veterans of the working class and workers who have come recently from the countryside, between workers and technicians, and between those from regions with surplus manpower (Andalusia, Castile, Galicia) and those from industrial areas (Catalonia, Basque country and Asturias) are being erased. This is expressed in refusal to backleg and in growing working-class solidarity.

Of very great importance for the growth of unity and of the movement as a whole is the entry into industry of a new generation of workers whom fascism has not been able to win over and who are free of the prejudices

stemming from the traditional division of the movement.

3. Ruthless exploitation, a low standard of living and absence of elementary civil liberties and of trade union rights all evoke growing protest among the workers, and protest is the initial stage in the *growth of class consciousness*. This process draws on the revolutionary class traditions of the past, on the memory of the great days of the revolution. At the same time, a powerful stimulus to the emergence of a new revolutionary spirit is given by the experience gained in the struggles fought during the years of the dictatorship. In the past 15 years the working class has employed all forms of struggle except the armed uprising, from such elementary forms as petitions to political strikes. As a result of these mass actions and the work done by the advanced people in the movement, the class consciousness of the Spanish working class has risen to a point where no opposition trend seeking to influence the workers' movement can risk advocating class collaboration.

4. The growth of class unity and class consciousness has found *organizational embodiment* in the Trade Union Opposition movement. This movement is the creation of the workers themselves within the framework of the "vertical" trade unions*, in which the Communists have been working since 1948. It stemmed from the experience accumulated by the workers and their revolutionary vanguard. Today the Trade Union Opposition is a movement of all working people in the enterprises based on workers' committees, union delegates and on the factory committees elected by the workers. It also works through a flexible system of contacts between the enterprises effected through the local, regional and provincial committees.

These committees are not only the mainstay of the Trade Union Opposition, a manifestation of united action of all trends in the working-class movement at rank-and-file level. They are *the embryonic form of a new, workers' democracy in industry, an organization capable of laying a new imprint on the trade unions and the working-class movement generally and influencing all areas of socio-political life*.

New though this development is, it is the product of the entire past history of the Spanish working-class movement. The dialectical negation of the prolonged division in the movement, it is paving the way to unity.

5. Developments on the international arena have also exerted a powerful influence on the

*The corporative unions imposed by the fascist regime which consist of both workers and employers, with leaders appointed by the government.

working-class movement, and in particular, on the unity trends in its ranks.

Every success of the policy of peaceful coexistence is a setback for Franco's fascist policy of intensifying the cold war and gives the lie to the official propaganda concerning the "danger from the East" and the "threat of encirclement" which the regime uses in order to justify the continued repressions and to perpetuate the civil war climate. The policy of peace pursued by the socialist countries thus helps to promote the workers' struggle for their economic and political demands.

At the same time this peace policy, the progress made by world socialism and the victory of the Cuban revolution are winning support for socialism among the working people and rendering invaluable assistance in combating the disruptive anti-communism. The young generation of workers on the whole reject anti-communism. Even the pro-Franco Monarchist circles have had to concede that the time is past when anti-communism could be used to advantage.

Moreover, the growth of working-class unity in the other capitalist countries of Europe, and especially the powerful actions undertaken by the workers of France, Italy, Belgium, etc., give added impetus to the working-class and democratic movement in our country and stimulate united action. The solidarity displayed by the democratic forces of these countries with the working people of Spain has a similar impact.

6. Lastly, the political line of the Communists which calls for unity and mass action is an important factor promoting cohesion and class consciousness in the working-class movement. Since 1956 this line has been expressed in the slogan of national reconciliation, which embodies the idea of joint struggle by all the anti-monopoly forces against the dictatorship,

Our tactics call for organizing and deepening mass actions to open up the perspective of a peaceful and democratic way out of the present situation through a national strike. In going over to these tactics, we took into account the scars left by the civil war and the fact that guerrilla action (justified though it may be in certain conditions) could not serve in the new circumstances as a means of overthrowing the dictatorship. The platform of our Party during the struggle against the dictatorship and its minimum program for the period immediately following the overthrow of Franco take full account of the interests of the masses and the position of the other democratic opposition forces.

The perspective of peaceful democratic de-

velopment which our Party envisages for the entire period of revolutionary change all the way to the victory of socialism and which presupposes a multi-party system both in the transitional period and after, is, in our opinion, an important factor making for unity.

* * *

As in the past, the Spanish working-class movement consists of several ideological and political trends. The relative weight of these trends, however, has changed.

The trend represented first and foremost by our Party wields the greatest influence. This is admitted even by our enemies. Then there is the Catholic trend, the organizational expressions of which are the Catholic Action Workers' Brotherhoods and the Catholic Action Working Youth. The Socialist Workers' Party, representing another trend, is weaker now than it was in 1936. Anarcho-syndicalism likewise exerts some influence, although its following has withered and is confined to particular areas. In the Basque country nationalist influences are represented by the Basque Workers' Solidarity Movement.

The ideological spectrum thus ranges from Marxism-Leninism to nationalism and militant Catholicism, with reformism, anarcho-syndicalism and petty-bourgeois radicalism in between. But, as the examples of the Asturias and Vizcaya* show, these ideological differences are not an obstacle to economic and political struggle for common demands.

These examples throw light on the processes under way among workers of all trends.

The Catholic Trend: Changes and Prospects

In working for unity of action with the Catholic workers' movement and stressing the exceptional importance of this effort, we are guided by two considerations.

First, the influence exerted by this trend has grown substantially in the last ten years. For various reasons, some of which are transient and connected with the existence of the dictatorship, while others are of a more permanent nature, the Catholic organizations carry greater weight in the working-class movement than ever before. To a considerable extent this is explained by the changed composition of the working class (Catholic influence is strongest among yesterday's handicraftsmen and peas-

*During the Asturian strike in the autumn of 1963 workers' delegates from all over Vizcaya met in Bilbao. Although they included members of Catholic Action Workers' Brotherhoods and the Basque Workers' Solidarity Movement, Communists and non-party people, they unanimously formed a working committee, drew up a program of joint demands and called on the working people of the province to down tools for ten minutes. Tens of thousands of workers responded.

ants, and among women). But it is also the result of Catholic inroads on other political trends—Socialist, Anarcho-Syndicalist, etc.

Second, and this is most important, we proceed from the qualitative changes of recent years in the Catholic movement.

When spokesmen of progressive and "social" Catholicism speak of their trade unions, they frankly confess to the taint of "yellow" unionism attaching to them and stress the need to get rid of this stigma. And they really are getting rid of it.

The theoretical positions of the Catholic workers' organizations have changed. In effect they now place class struggle above class collaboration. They recognize the strike as a means of defending the workers' interests and demand that the government recognize the right to strike. Still more significant are the changes in their practical activities, their participation in the strike struggles. This evolution towards class positions proceeds parallel with the growth of the militancy of the working class and other sections of the working people and gives a strong impulse to the new and deep-seated trends of renewal in Spanish Catholicism.

We Communists realized early on that the new currents of social Catholicism contained elements essentially different from the traditional tenets of Catholic trade unionism. Speaking at a meeting of the Central Committee of our Party in 1956, Dolores Ibarruri said: "We should not underestimate the role of this section of the workers united in the Catholic Action by regarding it from the viewpoint of thirty years ago. The Catholic workers are part of the Spanish working class. And their religious beliefs, their faith, their Catholic activities should not be a barrier between them and us."

Overcoming the sectarian resistance which some of our comrades offered at times, we began to cooperate with adherents of Catholic organizations with a view to upholding the immediate interests of the workers and promoting the anti-Franco struggle. The results were good. Members of the Catholic workers' brotherhoods and youth organization who likewise worked in the "vertical" trade unions (though with less risk than the Communists since their organizations were legal) increasingly came to realize the need for united action with us.

In many localities cooperation is no longer restricted to united action at rank-and-file level, of which the 1963 strike offered a good example. Points of contact are emerging between our views and those of the leaders of the Catholic

Action workers' organizations on many trade union and political issues. In particular, our views coincide as regards the need to set up a single trade union center and to orientate on the national strike as a means of overthrowing the dictatorship and ensuring a democratic solution of Spain's problems.

The Catholic workers' movement can be regarded as the vanguard of a progressive trend which is steadily gaining ground among the Spanish Catholics, in particular among intellectuals, professionals and middle sections generally. This trend has much in common with our views on such questions as the need for a democratic solution of political problems, for agrarian reform and better conditions for the workers and against the privileges of the oligarchy. There is also agreement on the perspectives of democratic development, including freedom of conscience and separation of the Church from the state (allowing, however, for state subsidies to the Church).

Furthermore, there is a measure of accord as regards the socialist future. As our Party pointed out recently, "socialism is gaining ground also among the Catholic masses." Some Catholic leaders declare that they fully accept the political and economic system of socialism, voicing their conviction that this system will triumph and their readiness to cooperate with the Communists provided the latter respect their religious views.

The root causes of these developments are many and their manifestations multiform (as a matter of fact, the problem calls for special study). In particular, religion and religious ethics obviously contain elements which could be a starting point in the evolution of many believers towards socialist convictions.

Needless to say, there are fundamental differences between our ideology and Catholic doctrine; the philosophical concepts of the two are diametrically opposed. Yet our positions coincide on many issues not of the hereafter, but of life here on earth. "I shall go with the Communists only until death," one Catholic who became our ally said, half in jest. "After that our ways will part. I shall go to heaven and they will go down to hell." This "credo" may, as Comrade Carrillo has pointed out, really become the basis of the relations between the Communists and all Catholics who realize the need to keep in step with history and to further its progress.

In cooperating with the Catholics for democratic and even socialist aims, we Communists are continuing (in a different situation of course) the policy we pursued in the years of the war against fascism. Spain was then the

first West European country where the Communists cooperated with Catholic parties in democratic governments—both in the government of the Republic and in the autonomous government of the Basque country which the Communists formed together with representatives of the Basque Nationalist Party. And in those units of the Peoples' Army where the military and political leadership was in the hands of the Communists, we guaranteed full religious freedom.

The religious beliefs of the Catholic democrats and the atheism of the Communists were then no obstacle to joint struggle in defense of the people and democracy. Still less can they be an obstacle today or in the future, considering the changes taking place in Spain and in the world, and the fact that the Catholic Church itself has revised, in the encyclical *Pacem in Terris*, its old attitude to Catholic-Communist cooperation. In Spain this encyclical has become the political banner of the Catholic anti-Franco opposition and has facilitated the dialogue between the Communists and the Catholics, especially in the working-class movement.

For these reasons, while upholding and disseminating our scientific, materialist ideology, we readily accept the Catholic "condition" that we respect their religious views. The broader the socio-political front of the fighters for socialism, the sooner and the less painfully will this great goal be achieved, the more democratic will be the forms of socialism, and the more fully will all the material and spiritual interests and aspirations of the members of society be met. Our Party sees its task in broadening this front and strengthening its unity, in making socialism the aim of all the working people and of all their organizations.

We can but welcome the fact that the road to socialism, along which we Communists are advancing under our sickle and hammer emblem, is shared, albeit under the symbol of the crucifix, by the Catholics (as is the case in Cuba) and, under the device of the crescent, by the followers of Islam (as is happening in Algeria). *For in the final analysis the decisive thing is to have a common aim—defense of the interests of the working people and the building of a new society which will make our planet a paradise for man.* And possessing a heaven on earth people will surely cease to search for it in the hereafter.

Communists and Socialists

The Spanish Socialist Workers' Party undeniably rendered a historic service by organizing a large section of the working class under the

banner of Marxism. But the theoretical weakness of our working-class movement referred to above laid its imprint on the Socialist Party from the very outset. (Some of its leading members actually prided themselves on never having read Marx). Since the turn of the century, side by side with its petty-bourgeois, narrow craft outlook and sectarian opportunism, the party developed a Right-wing reformist trend whose exponents were the liberal intellectuals who joined the party at that period.

Having imbibed these trends, the Socialist Party was incapable of pursuing a class policy in the epoch of imperialism. Time and again it trailed in the wake of the liberal bourgeoisie or else withdrew into the shell of parochial politics. The party failed to pass the test of the revolutionary events of 1917-20: it proved unable to lead the masses to revolution. This determined the objective need for a new, Marxist-Leninist party of the working class — the Communist Party.

Nevertheless in the years that followed the Socialist Party did not become entirely divorced from the revolutionary sections of the working class and its traditions. While being unable to direct the revolutionary movement of the masses, most of the Socialist leaders were sensitive to the mood of the masses and at times were disposed to follow them. All this saved the party from complete collapse at crucial moments and impelled it towards taking part in revolutionary actions. There is perhaps no other Social Democratic Party in the West with such revolutionary services to its credit as the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party.

Most of its leaders, however, failed to draw the right conclusions from the fact that the party's prestige rose whenever it pursued a policy of unity and participation in the revolutionary struggle. Their policy remained basically opportunistic, with the result that when the revolutionary masses finally broke with Social Democracy, as was inevitable, the influence of the Socialist Party declined. The masses began to search for revolutionary leadership outside their traditional party.

The Asturias uprising in 1934, notwithstanding the role played in it by the Socialist Party, marked the beginning of the end of Social Democratic influence on the masses. This process was climaxed by the national-revolutionary war of 1936-39. During those years the revolutionary consciousness of the working class and the masses generally matured. Under the impact of the struggle, of the activity of the Communist Party and the solidarity of the USSR with the people of Spain, large sections

were won over to the consistent revolutionary positions of the Communists. The direct influence of the Communist Party as an organizing force sharply increased—a fact which lays its stamp on all the processes under way in our working class movement today.

In the adverse conditions which the Franco dictatorship created for the democratic forces, the Socialist Workers' Party within the country revived only very slowly. Today it is growing, chiefly due to an influx of intellectuals, office workers and representatives of the middle sections. Moreover, some Socialist Party organizations make no secret of their differences with the older leaders of the party now in exile. The latter are criticized for their inertia, their inability to analyze developments in Spain; a complete revision of the official position of the party in the direction of a more radical and revolutionary orientation is already being advocated. Some socialist groups in the country who support the Trade Union Opposition favor the formation of a single trade union center and united action with the Communists. Their militant anti-Franco line is in striking contrast to the passivity still manifested by the emigre leadership of the party.

This does not mean that there are no Socialists in Spain who are trying to steer a general course of "liberalizing" the Franco regime with a view to gaining legal status for the party as quickly as possible and turning it into an official Opposition. (This Right-wing tendency has been particularly manifest in recent months.) But the situation in Spain is such that although such a turn of events might have some advantages for the Socialist Party, in the long run it would do it irreparable harm.

Our Party's position on the question of unity with the socialists is well known. We stand for close and consistent united action between Communists and Socialists as the basis for the unity of the entire working class and democratic movement in the struggle for its immediate and ultimate objectives.

In the past, and especially during the national-revolutionary war, we urged the immediate formation of a single party of the Spanish proletariat. We have not ceased to work for this goal. In the present situation, however, it is obviously easier for the Communists and Socialists to reach agreement on the question of *united action* than on the question of the need for a single working-class party. At the same time, the program of united action can be broader and more far-reaching than ever before, including the struggle for the overthrow of the dictatorship, for democracy and for the socialist renewal of Spain.

Comrade Carrillo, speaking at the last meeting of our Central Committee, put the question thus: "We cannot say that to abolish capitalism, Social Democracy must first be abolished as a party, moreover by force. Since it is a fact that Social Democracy has the support of a definite section of the working people and of part of the middle sections as well, it is essential in the interest of the revolution to get the majority of the members and leaders of this trend to abandon the policy of class collaboration and adopt an effective policy of struggle for socialism. But for this they must be offered a perspective other than that of their elimination and disappearance as a political force."

That is the perspective we see. For a number of years Communists and Socialists worked together in a single trade union center—the General Workers' Union (UGT)—and shared in the leadership until the Union was split by the Right-wing emigre Socialists; we fought side by side in 1934, together we built up the People's Front and worked together in it, and this cooperation paved the way to the peaceful development of the democratic revolution in Spain. Communists and Socialists, along with other trends in the working-class movement and democratic parties, jointly organized the resistance to fascism in 1936-39, fought and died in battle side by side, and notwithstanding the difficulties, cooperated in the government, in the army and in all other organs of power. Moreover—and this is particularly important and instructive—*this was a revolutionary government, the most progressive government Western Europe had seen since the Paris Commune*. Were it not for this unity and cooperation, the resistance our people offered to fascism would have been impossible.

Under the dictatorship, too, this cooperation, whenever it has been realized (against the will of the party leadership), has invariably been fruitful. In the past ten years the Communists and Socialists have on more than one occasion waged a joint struggle against the repressions, taking part together in workers' actions, in the Coordinating Committee of democratic forces which was set up in Madrid during the 1962 strikes, and especially during the recent strikes in the Asturias.

Our Party has done everything to stimulate the tendencies toward renewal within the Socialist Party, tendencies which promote working-class unity. But our political contacts with groups working inside the country have not prevented us from working to improve relations with the socialist leaders abroad.

We must admit that in the past our Party,

like the other Communist parties, often adopted an incorrect, sectarian attitude to the Socialists. But since the beginning of 1934 it has never been guided in its practical activities by the ill-starred theory, current for many years in the international Communist movement, that a concentrated blow at Social Democracy was the best way to combat reaction and ensure the victory of the revolution. And if in the past thirty years the implementation of our general line on this question was hampered by sectarian methods, these mistakes have been fully rectified in the past ten years, and especially after 1956. Even when we are attacked by the Social Democrats we reply by analyzing their mistakes objectively, by reasoned argument and not by invective. We have repeatedly proposed to the Social Democratic leaders to end the mutual recrimination, to give serious thought to the lessons of history and the present situation, and to initiate a real dialogue between our two parties. We believe that unity between Communists and Socialists is an essential condition for the abolition of the Franco regime, for the development of democracy in Spain and for the conquest of political power by the working class and the building of a new society. Realization of the need for unity and success in building it are facilitated by the fact that the issues uniting us—or capable of uniting us—are coming to the fore: namely, the struggle to preserve peace, for peaceful coexistence and for a peaceful and democratic development of the revolutionary process.

Today we have every grounds to say that we on our side are doing everything to pave the way to unity. It is now the turn of the Socialist comrades. If they have the interests of democracy and socialism truly at heart, the time has come for them, too, to change their position on many issues.

The Anarcho-Syndicalist Trend

The crisis of anarcho-syndicalism, a trend which for a long time exerted a powerful influence on the working class in some of the most important areas of the country, set in at the time of the national-revolutionary war. In the subsequent years the crisis deepened, reaching the point where the anarcho-syndicalist National Confederation of Labor split into two opposing groups—"political" and "non-political"—which for years were at loggerheads with each other.

More recently, under the influence of the working-class struggle in Spain and some pressure from without, these two groups were

formally reunited in the so-called Trade Union Alliance set up by emigres with the obvious purpose of acting as a counterweight to the influence of the Communist Party in the Spanish working class. However, the restoration of unity (more formal than genuine) cannot reverse the process of organizational disintegration which is undermining Spanish anarcho-syndicalism, nor can it halt the other parallel processes accelerating the disintegration. I have in mind primarily the *general decline* of anarcho-syndicalist influence. The young generation looks to communism for guidance and not to anarcho-syndicalism, although some sections of the youth, prompted by impatience and hatred for the Franco regime, sometimes resort to traditionally anarchistic methods of struggle. At the same time, there is a continued tendency on the part of many members and militants of the National Confederation of Labor to draw closer to the Communist Party, a process which began during the national-revolutionary war. While most of the anarcho-syndicalist leaders abroad have adopted a disruptive, anti-Communist position, ignoring the new situation in Spain, inside the country the reverse has been the case. This is confirmed among other things by a document sent from prison by a group of National Confederation of Labor members to the Congress of the Confederation in the autumn of 1961. It is confirmed also by the growing Communist influence in Catalonia, Aragon, Andalusia and other traditionally anarchist areas.

We realize that the National Confederation of Labor is a trade union organization and not a political party. Hence we do not suggest that workers belonging to the Confederation who join our party or support it, but who are bound to their traditional organization, should necessarily withdraw from the Confederation. The spirit of revolution and unity which is spreading throughout the country tends to bring the anarchist workers into the general struggle for socialism. Our Party, without ceasing to explain to the masses the fallacy of the theories and tactics of anarchism, continues to work for unity as it has done in the past, pursuing a policy which has already brought thousands of members and many leaders of anarcho-syndicalist organizations into our ranks.

For Trade Union Unity

Such are some of the objective and subjective factors influencing the movement toward unity in the working class of Spain. We believe that most of these factors, the dynamics of their development, are propitious to united

action by all trends in the working-class movement on a common platform that will serve as an effective instrument of struggle for a democratic and socialist Spain.

But it is also true that the unity of the working-class movement now beginning to take shape is threatened by dangers of various kinds: the political and ideological pressure exerted by international imperialism; the maneuvers of Spanish reaction the chief vehicle of which, following the collapse of the Falange, is the so-called "Catholic integralism." Some leaders would like to direct the working-class movement into channels advantageous to monopoly capital. They see the future of the trade union movement in establishing bureaucratic trade unions built on the hierarchic principle and led by men bound by a thousand threads to the employers and the capitalist state; or else in a pseudo-democratic version of the present "vertical" trade unions. Dangerous, too, is the anti-Communist sentiment with which many old Right-wing socialist and anarcho-syndicalist leaders are infected. They are bent on preserving the split in the working-class movement and are bent on seizing control of the movement at all costs.

Nor is working class unity in Spain furthered by the division in the international trade union movement, or by the patronage extended by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and by the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions (IFCTU) to the so-called Trade Union Alliance functioning abroad and which is based on an organizational structure that no longer exists in the country.

We welcome the anti-Franco attitude and the solidarity with the Spanish working people which, in common with the World Federation of Trade Unions, has been manifested also by the ICFTU and the IFCTU. However, we cannot condone the efforts of these two bodies to dominate the Spanish trade union movement, and we consider it our duty to warn the workers against these maneuvers.

Addressing the Congress of the emigre General Workers' Union, Omer Becu, Secretary of the ICFTU, declared: "The importance of the first few months after the return to Spain cannot be overestimated. The new trade union movement must take final shape rapidly; favorable opportunities missed in the beginning may be lost forever." The implication behind these words clearly runs counter to the genuine interests of the Spanish workers. Ignoring the present struggle for the demands of the prole-

tariat and for liberation from the dictatorship, the ICFTU leaders urge concentrating on "capturing the prize" in the future.

In the face of such positions inimical to the interests of the working people, our Party firmly upholds the principle of united action and of a single trade union center based on the present working-class Trade Union Opposition. We believe that all other parties, organizations or trends, which influence, or lay claim to influencing the working-class movement, should support and develop this mass united movement.

The Communists reject the practice of "maneuvering for position" to promote narrow party or narrow group interests, which seems to be the aim of a large section of the emigre leaders at the present time. Our Party does not aspire to undivided control of the trade union movement or of the working-class movement in general. Far from it. Nor does our Party shrink from a confrontation of its views with those of other trends within a single trade union center, and it is prepared to cooperate within this framework with all other political trends in order to put an end once and for all to the tragic split in the movement. In its policy toward a future united trade union center, the Communist Party of Spain will be guided by the interests of unity, exerting every effort to arrive at common positions with other trends working for the same basic aims. *At the same time, the Communists will be guided by respect for the autonomy and independence of any trade union movement founded on broad trade union democracy.*

In Spanish conditions united mass action and the struggle of the working people are the chief means of frustrating the resistance to unity still being offered "from above." There is a dialectical connection between this struggle and unity. That is why our Party, while fighting for unity by other means, is directing its main efforts to developing the mass struggle. Our basic line of policy is oriented on building up a united trade union center of the Spanish working class, on the struggle of the united working class for its immediate demands and for democratic political objectives; on a perspective of firm and lasting unity of all working-class forces and trends in the struggle for socialism. We are firmly convinced that our position is that new developing element in the life of the nation which is bound to triumph.

Santiago ALVAREZ

WMR COMMENTARIES

Greek Democrats Win Overwhelming Victory

THE victory won by the democratic forces of Greece in the general election on February 16 completely shattered the myth of the "omnipotence" of the Rights. The percentage of votes polled by the ultra-Right ERE (National Radical Union) in the 1961 election by means of terror and falsification of election returns dropped from 50.8 to 39.37 in the November 1963 election and to 35 in the February election. And this notwithstanding the fact that it had contested the election in a coalition with the Party of Progressives which received 3.73 per cent of the vote in November.

The overthrow of the reactionary government of the Rights, which had been the tool of foreign capital, was a hard-won victory. The Rights, who had been returned to power after the Second World War with the help of foreign bayonets, had clung to power with the aid of terror and repressions, emergency laws, discrimination and economic pressure on political opponents. Their dictatorship was thinly veiled by a semblance of parliamentarism. But the unceasing struggle carried on by the people steadily sapped the foundations of their domination with the result that neither the parliamentary majority the ERE commanded after the election swindle of 1961, nor the neo-fascist machinery of terror could save the corrupt Karamanlis regime from the wrath of the people.

The struggle of the people reached peak after the murder of Dr. Grigorios Lambrakis, Left MP. As Kostas Kolliannis, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece, noted in an article published in the February issue of *World Marxist Review*, of great importance was the fact that the Rights who had been buttressed by a neo-fascist machinery of state, were ousted from power without armed violence. This substantiates the Party's thesis that a police regime is not necessarily an insuperable obstacle in the way of peaceful democratic development, as the dogmatists claim. Events in Greece have shown that the development of extra-parliamentary united front struggle coupled with parliamentary activity can remove this obstacle and clear the way for the peaceful carrying out of fundamental social changes.

The Center Union's victory in the February election (52.77 per cent of the vote), was

unprecedented in the postwar history of Greece. What made this possible?

The long years of rule by the Rights had cost the people a heavy price; their return to power would have spelled a still worse plight for the country. The people were therefore determined to put an end to their tyranny, to prevent their return to office in any form, and particularly in the form of a coalition with the Center Union. The people feared that unless the Center Union managed to secure a working majority such a variant was more than likely. There had even been talk that, at a meeting presided over by the late King, the ERE and the Center Union had agreed in principle to such a coalition.

Taking into account the mood of the people, the Center Union announced that it would carry out a program ensuring democracy in the country. It pledged to "put an end to the regime of counter-revolution," to rid the country of "internal occupation." It condemned the policy of servility to the imperialist powers, said that it would uphold Greece's equal rights with its NATO partners, would pursue a foreign policy of peace. The Center Union denounced the ERE as an instrument of the oligarchy and promised to carry out the just distribution of the national income. It forecast "a long period of democratic revival."

Meanwhile the Center Union used its 50-day government formed after the November election as a test of sorts. Although it had carried out a series of measures which benefited the people to some extent, this government did not live up to the expectations of the working people on most of the crucial issues. Its position on such a vital matter as reduction of armaments, which directly affects economic development, and on the Cyprus issue was viewed with disquiet by the nation. Its efforts to vie with the ERE in anti-communism, which can only strengthen the position of the neo-fascist Rights, caused disillusionment among many.

Papandreou knew that the people were not over-enthusiastic about the policy of his "50-day government." In his election speech at Salonika he admitted that "only a few" of the people's demands had been satisfied, but tried to justify himself on the grounds that there had been "not enough time" to do more. In the workers' districts the Center's parliamen-

tary candidates went about saying: "Don't pay any attention to the official statements of our leaders concerning Cyprus. It is simply a maneuver to neutralize the Americans. The moment we form a government after the elections we shall resolutely come out in support of the Cypriots."

Part of the masses who voted for the Center Union took the leadership at its word. Others, while viewing the Center Union's promises regarding democratic reconstruction with scepticism, decided to give it a chance to honor these promises. Here it should be added that the electorate was also influenced by the Union's propaganda slogan: "Every vote cast for the EDA is a vote wasted."

The Lefts who supported the Communists, and the EDA (United Democratic Left Party), and their allies stressed that in the election contest on February 16 the democratic forces should join to defeat the coalition of the Rights. Consistent in their aims, and true to the policy of a united front of all democratic forces against the neo-fascist Rights, they did not put forward their own candidates in several election districts where this might have facilitated a victory for the ERE supporters. They rightly pointed out that the stronger the Lefts emerged from the election battle, the greater were the chances of the country's democratization.

During the election campaign the Lefts strengthened their contact with the masses. But, as the resolution of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party noted on December 15, 1963, they were unable to dispel the illusions spread by the Center Union, to persuade the masses who had voted for the Left candidates in the 1958 election that joint action by the Center Union and the EDA, or at least parallel action by them, would be the surest way of preventing the ERE from getting back into power, and of putting the country onto the highroad of democratic reconstruction, that this would not be achieved by giving the vote to the Center Union at the expense of the Lefts. Our mistakes and shortcomings were to blame for this to some extent and also the fact that part of the Left voters, fearing a return of the Karamanlis regime, swung to the Center Union which, of course, weakened the election strength of the Left.

* * *

The change brought about in the political scene beginning with the overthrow of Karamanlis in June 1963, and continuing up to the elections of November 3, 1963 and February 16, 1964, is the fruit of the long battle waged by our people, headed by the working class. The

main burden in this battle was shouldered by the Left. The change is a radical one, whether or not this is recognized by the Center Union leadership, which has been projected into the political spotlight by postwar developments. It heralds a new, democratic trend in the development of postwar Greece.

But this trend can be realized only with the support of the patriotic forces of the nation. It meets the aspirations of the people, has become an imperative necessity. Domestic and foreign reaction, the mainstay of the Rights, will therefore not find it easy to halt the process of democratization, no matter what obstacles they put in the way.

The reactionaries, even though they have been ousted from power, still control, to a large extent, the machinery of state and the neo-fascist machinery of repression. Backed by the Palace and foreign imperialists, they will make desperate attempts to retain their "strongholds," and to prevent democratic reconstruction. But even the most frenzied attacks by the Rights, by the domestic and foreign elements that support them, can be crushed provided the dynamic force of the broad democratic movement is brought into play.

Since the victory of February 16 the democratic movement has been sweeping forward. In this situation the Center Union's tendency to pursue a policy of compromise is an obstacle to democratization. The steady advance in this direction can be assured, our Party stresses, only provided the masses overcome the inconsistency and vacillation, if they say "no" to the tendency to incline towards a policy of anti-democratic compromise. Hence the comprehensive program calling for complete democracy put forward by our Party, by all Left forces that support the government's positive measures; that is why they are taking issue with the Center Union's anti-popular and anti-democratic tendency to compromise with the Rights.

Before February 16 the Center Union leadership pleaded the absence of a working majority and the instability of the situation as the reason for delaying the process of democratization. That is no longer valid, especially now that the masses are on the move, are awakening to civic consciousness.

A feature of the post-election scene is the shift to the right in the composition of the new government. This is clearly a retreat made under pressure from the oligarchy, the Palace and foreign interests (the press of the Right is already talking about the swing to the Right; the *Daily Telegraph* correspondent re-

ports that the Queen personally interfered in deciding on the composition of the new government). This has evoked the sharp criticism of the Lefts and even of some Center Union supporters. The concern felt by the democratic forces regarding the political implications of this shift to the Right has proved to be justified, as the first steps taken by the new government have shown.

Papandreou, when preparing the bill on the annulment of emergency measures, stated that he was opposed to legalization of the Communist Party, that he would insist on keeping the fascist Law No. 375 which qualifies political activity as espionage, and that he was opposed to the repatriation in large numbers of political emigres. Papandreou declares that he is establishing "true democracy" in Greece, that his doctrine is "freedom of opinion." But how does the refusal to legalize the party of the working class, Law No. 375, the statement that as regards repatriation "the same policy will be continued as under the ERE government"—how does all this square with his "true democracy" and "freedom of opinion"?

The statement issued by the Central Committee of our Party stresses that the promises made by Papandreou and other leaders of the Center Union to restore political and social democracy "is incompatible with the banning of the free and legal political activity of such a big party as the Communist Party of Greece, which has the support of hundreds of thousands of people."

The Central Committee demands the legalization of the Party, the complete restoration of democracy and equality for all citizens, a general amnesty and the repatriation of political refugees.

The people demand that Greece support the struggle of the Cypriot people. The influential newspaper *Vima* wrote in this connection that they were seriously alarmed by the reports about the establishment of a guided missile base on the island, about the arrival of a strong British combat force without the consent of the Cypriot government and despite Archbishop Makarios's emphatic protests.

The democratic constitutional demands made by the Greek people include the demand that trade union freedoms be restored. The working class, says the statement of 223 trade unions, demands the immediate removal from the leadership of the General Confederation of Labor of F. Makris, the General Secretary,

and his stooges, for they were not elected by the workers but had been appointed by the government of the Rights with the help of the secret police. The U.S. Embassy's intercession with the Minister of Labor to save the Karamanlis puppets in the trade unions, aroused bitter resentment.

Public sentiment can be gauged by the warning made by Dionisios Karantzios, a retired army colonel, in a letter to *Vima* which it printed on the eve of the elections. He proposed abolishing the outrageously high salaries, which in the case of some high officials reach 80,000 drachmas a month, and setting the maximum salary at 12,000 drachmas. "If such, or similar measures are not taken. . . then you may rest assured that the sentiment heard by the candidates of all the parties now touring the districts and villages of Thessaly, will become the general sentiment. ('We will vote for the Center Union,' they say, 'but if it will remain indifferent to our intolerable conditions then we'll give our vote to the EDA'). The last war which brought us into contact with the civilized world of Europe and America, with the tremendous progress in communication, and with different world outlooks and propaganda; also the unrest at home and particularly the activity of the EAM leadership (National Liberation Front), have, whether we like it or not, created a more demanding citizen. Now, even the poorest peasant wants more than just the traditional crust of bread and olives, the coarse woollen socks and the homespun cloak. Before it is too late the Government officials had better take immediate, bold and effective measures to remedy the present situation."

The Lefts have not only "created a more demanding citizen," i.e., have not only helped the people to see what are their rights. More important is the fact that they have helped them to realize that they must rely on their own forces, on joint struggle and organization if they are to win their demands. The people, who have gone through a grim school of struggle, have no intention of sitting back with their arms folded and pinning all their hopes on the good intentions of the Center Union leaders. They reject Papandreou's appeal, "give us your vote so that we can protect you." They are determined to decide their destiny themselves and also the question of democratization, so vital for Greece.

Dimitris PARCALIDIS

Communications and Comment

At a Peasant Congress in Germany

From Our Correspondents

Full satisfaction of the country's needs • industrial methods of farming • incentives — the guarantee of success.

THE technological revolution is changing industry at a rapid pace. But what about agriculture? What are the prospects for it?

This timely question was examined at the Eighth Peasants' Congress held over February 28-March 1 in Schwerin, North Germany. It was the biggest gathering of its kind in German history, with 2,340 delegates and nearly as many visitors, including a group from West Germany, taking part.

The main speaker, Walter Ulbricht, outlined the future trend of agriculture in the GDR. Two other speakers—Johannes Doepler, chairman of a cooperative in Dahlen, and Manfred Prosch, chairman of a cooperative in Sproeda—made suggestions concerning the different types of cooperative farms. In all, 53 delegates and visitors—cooperators and scientists—took the floor. Noteworthy was the business-like atmosphere of the proceedings, the lively debate, the frank criticism, and the informal relaxed tone of the discussion.

Naturally enough, the accent was on the future. But the future is prepared by the accomplishments of the present. The chief thing, said Walter Ulbricht, is that the republic is now in the main a country of large-scale agriculture. Some 7.9 per cent of the cultivated area belongs to state and other publicly-owned farms and 85.4 per cent to cooperatives. This means that on the scale of the country as a whole, collectivist labor is the rule.

This has led to notable advances in farm production. Productivity of labor is higher, and so are the yields of basic crops. The volume of production in the key branches too is higher. As a result, the republic now produces a substantial part of its food requirements.* All branches of agriculture fulfilled their 1963 plan.

*Here are a few figures showing the growth of productivity of agriculture in the GDR. Grain yield in 1958-62 reached 2.5 metric tons per hectare compared with 2.06 tons in 1934-38. Dairy cattle increased from 3.7 million in 1938 to 4.5 million in 1958-62; hogs from 5.7 to 8 million; poultry from 21.7 to 35.6 million. Today the GDR fully supplies its own milk,

The task now, Ulbricht stressed, is to achieve full satisfaction of the republic's food requirements by home production. To do this the efficiency of labor in the cooperatives must be further improved. So far many cooperatives (and some state farms as well) are not sufficiently modernized, and this impedes the full utilization of machinery and realization of accumulation.

In other words, the problems now facing agriculture in the GDR can be solved only by industrial methods of farming. How is this to be done?

The unanimous opinion of the Congress after a thorough discussion was that the best way was to go full steam ahead with the new system of planning and management outlined by the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party. As Ulbricht pointed out, what is needed is fuller observance in agriculture too of the economic laws of socialism, the use of incentives in the relations between agriculture and the other branches of the economy, as well as in the various cooperatives.

We asked Werner Schmidt, member of the agricultural department of the Political Bureau of the Party, what measures were envisaged in agriculture to make fuller use of the new system of planning and management.

"There are actually four measures, or rather groups of measures," Comrade Schmidt replied. "First, of course, it is necessary to draw on the latest scientific and technological achievements to promote labor productivity and thereby increase production. Second, more mechanization, the introduction of industrial methods of farming with simultaneous concentration on the basic branches. Third, increased soil fertility, and fourth, concentration of investments in the main lines of production."

Both during the Congress and after it had ended we talked with some leading personali-

sugar and potato needs; 98 per cent of its eggs; 94 per cent of vegetables; 86 per cent meat; 79 per cent butter, and 78 per cent food and fodder grains.

ties in the German countryside—chairmen of cooperatives and heads of agricultural departments of regional committees of the Party—who willingly shared their views with us.

One of these was Professor Karl Glemnitz, an economist. In 1961, after the Party called for scientific aid to the lagging cooperatives, the Professor relinquished his Chair in the Institute in Berenburg for work in the countryside. He chose one of the least successful cooperatives, a small, neglected farm in Bismarck, Neubrandenburg, where the soil was sandy and not very productive. That was less than three years ago. Since then the cooperative has made notable progress; income per hectare has more than doubled, and at the Congress in Schwerin it figured among the more promising farms. How was this done?

"Chiefly by introducing scientific methods," Professor Glemnitz told us. "How did we go about it? First, we worked out an overall plan for improving soil fertility. Using the cadastral survey,* we established exactly on what fields and plots one or another type of fertilizer should be used and in what amounts. Second, we revised the selection of crops, choosing those which, besides being more productive, would improve soil structure. Third, we introduced deep ploughing, in some places ploughing twice. And finally, we used herbicides."

The importance of scientific methods was stressed also by Franz Mellentin, head of the agricultural department of the Halle District Committee of the Party. He mentioned the names of several scientists in his district who had gone to work in the villages.

"But that isn't the main thing. The cooperatives in our district, and especially the backward ones, maintain contact with the young scientists in the research institutes. Moreover the farmers themselves are studying more than formerly. Modern methods and the growing role of machines and chemicals require completely new skills.** In other words, the intellectual level of the agricultural workers has to be raised."

We were told that not so long ago the question of whether agriculture could be run on industrial lines had been hotly debated.

*In this survey the quality of the land was assessed according to a 1-100 scale. This enables the cooperatives to cultivate the land with maximum efficiency.

**The number of tractors in the GDR countryside rose from 10,800 in 1950 to 66,500 in 1962 (tractors belonging to machine hiring stations alone). The number of grain harvesting combines increased for the same period from 2,100 to 10,200. In 1962 an average of 39.6 kg. of nitrogen fertilizer was used per hectare (as compared with 32.8 kg. in 1938), 33 kg. of phosphates as against 27.3 kg.), 72.9 kg. of potassium fertilizer (as against 48.7 kg.) and 118.4 kg. of calcium fertilizer (as against 78.1 kg.).

Many experts declared it to be impossible. But most of the scientists, and what is most important, the farmers themselves, thought otherwise. "Give us the tools," they said, "and we'll do the job. . . ."

The display of new machines on the square in front of the building where the Schwerin Congress was held served to illustrate that part of Ulbricht's speech when he said the job was to supply the farms with the best and latest machinery. We noticed that the exhibits drew a constant crowd of farmers and young people.

"Machinery and fertilizers—these are the things," said Herman Ulrich, Chairman of a cooperative in Teutschenthal (Halle Region). "This is the only way we can raise output while reducing costs. The trouble is that as yet there are not enough machines and fertilizers to go around."

The problem of lowering costs will be considerably facilitated when the cooperatives concentrate efforts on the main lines of output.

Helmut Mueller, a farmer from South Germany, put it in a nutshell when he said: "You can't make a botanical garden or a zoo out of a cooperative."

The cooperatives, we were told, have not yet reached the stage where they can specialize on a particular crop. The level of development in the various districts and cooperatives is still too uneven, and narrow specialization could lead to over-production of some crops and under-production of others. The main thing at present is for each cooperative to concentrate on a few basic branches. This will make it possible to mechanize production in each case, to raise labor productivity and, consequently, lower production costs.

This will help the farms to solve another problem—that of improving soil fertility. This was stressed by nearly all the speakers. Erich Ulrich, head of the agricultural department of the Schwerin District Committee of the Party, told us that the problem of improving soil fertility is one of first-rate importance since much of the soil in the GDR is poor. A large part of the Schwerin Region, for example, consists of sandy soil and marshland. Before the war, crop yields in this area were low and output was negligible. Now the situation is somewhat better. But if the structure of the soil is improved and if the proper amount of fertilizer is added, the results will be better still.

Another point emphasized by everyone we interviewed was the importance of the proper socialist organization of farming. Ernst Him-

pel, Hero of Labor and Deputy of the People's Chamber, cited the following example. Until quite recently the cooperative of which he is chairman (in Holzhausen, Leipzig Region) was considered practically hopeless. Today it is a thriving enterprise. The secret, he assured us, was organization.

"The first thing we did was to introduce a strict production and working schedule as in industry. Secondly, we got as many people as possible to take part in the management. At present most of the planning and verification of fulfilment is done by the farmers themselves. We have eight groups of experts in the different branches. These include veteran farmers, young people and specialists. Each group works out a production plan for its own branch (which is subsequently endorsed by the board) and sees to it that the plan is carried out. The group members usually work in different production teams, but they meet to review the progress in their particular sections, and, if need be, to take steps to remedy one or another deficiency. At the end of the season the groups that overfulfill their plans are awarded bonuses which they then divide among the people in their section in accordance with the labor performed by each."

That incentives are a prime condition for promoting production and raising efficiency was stressed by most speakers. Consistent use of incentives, said Comrade Ulbricht, in addition to raising personal incomes, helps to increase accumulations and the common funds of the cooperatives.

We had an opportunity to see for ourselves how this principle works out when we visited a cooperative in Dahlen (Leipzig Region), whose chairman Johannes Doehler, a member of the Central Committee of the Party and of the Agricultural Committee of the Council of Ministers, spoke at the Congress.

"Material incentives? That is not the complete formula," said Doehler. "Material incentive plus the material responsibility of each worker and each work-team is the principle we follow."

He cited the example of the pig-raising team in his cooperative. According to plan, the team undertakes to raise eight-month hogs weighing 120 kg. each. For every 100 kg. of weight the team is credited with 1.3 work-day units. If after eight months feeding the weight exceeds the 120 kg. average the hog-breeder gets in addition to the 1.3 work-days, DM 25 for every extra 100 kg. for the herd. On the other hand, if the weight of the hogs is below the scheduled level, the number of work-days is correspondingly reduced.

"We have found the principle of material incentive and material responsibility to be very helpful in maintaining labor discipline, and on the other hand, it is an excellent stimulus to the membership. Our farmers are well off, very well off indeed. Besides money payment for work-day units and some payment in kind (chiefly potatoes), they qualify for old age pensions, two weeks' paid vacations, sick benefits, special grants for weddings, the birth of a child, etc. Moreover, our members have facilities for entertainment, cultural activities, etc. . . ."

Living standards, and especially education, and recreation are well to the fore in the plans for improving life in the countryside. The importance of this aspect was emphasized by many speakers. The farmer of today is not what he was, say, ten years ago. No one who attended the meetings of the Schwerin Congress could have any doubts on this score. But much still remains to be done in this sphere—namely, to educate socialist-minded, efficient and highly-trained workers for the new countryside.

This question was especially emphasized by representatives of the rural youth at the Congress.

"Take care of the young people, give them a good polytechnical education and see that cultural life and recreation facilities in the village are adequate and you will have no need to worry about the new generation," Ursula Theine, a young woman from a cooperative in Merxleben, declared amid loud applause.

. . . Those were the main points discussed by the Congress. It wound up its work by unanimously adopting decisions on the new system of planning and management in agriculture.

Experts believe that within the next year or two it will be possible to introduce industrial methods of farming in the best cooperatives of the most advanced type, and by 1970 in all the other advanced cooperatives. A high level of output, a steady rise in labor productivity, and, last but not least, profitability—these are the guiding principles of the cooperatives.

The tasks of less advanced cooperatives where the degree of socialization of the means of production and the collective forms of labor are at a lower level, are, of course, different.

"The main thing for us," said Irma Wattenbach, chairman of a cooperative of the most elementary type in Gleicherweisen (Thuringia), "is to secure the highest possible yields and

in this way to augment our common funds."

If the projected measures are carried out, the German countryside will make another big stride forward. Output of the basic crops is expected to increase 19-25 per cent by 1970 compared with the 1962 level.

The Congress ushered in a new stage in the development of agriculture in the GDR.

The conditions are being created for giving it the benefit of the latest scientific and technical achievements. In solving this task the German people are making their contribution to the development of the economy of the socialist community as a whole.

V. ZAGLADIN
G. PUSHEV

Liberation Movement in the Portuguese Colonies

FOR five centuries Portugal has kept more than 11 million Africans in colonial slavery in Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea, the Cape Verde Islands, St. Thomas and Principe—a territory nearly 25 times the size of Portugal itself.

To camouflage the true nature of Portuguese colonialism, the Salazar government in 1951 proclaimed the colonies "overseas provinces." But this is a political fraud of the first water, for Portuguese legislation divides all Africans (officially classed as citizens of Portugal) into "uncivilized" and "assimilados," i.e., the "civilized," who enjoy a few of the benefits of Portuguese citizenship. For an "uncivilized" African to aspire to the category of "civilized," he must be able to read, write and speak Portuguese, possess sufficient means, live the "Portuguese way of life" and be politically reliable. For nearly 99 per cent of the indigenous population of the Portuguese colonies these requirements are unattainable.

The "uncivilized" African, regarded as a chattel, is completely at the mercy of the colonial administration. The most outrageous forms of slavery are practised in the form of "public works," labor in default of debts and taxes. Forced labor is widely employed. Every year 250,000 Angolans are sent to work on plantations and in mines belonging to the colonialists. Every year 400,000 inhabitants of Mozambique are drafted for compulsory labor. Every able-bodied man in Mozambique, unless he happens to be a landowner or can prove that he is working on his own land, is obliged to serve a six-month term of compulsory labor annually. Employers can inflict corporal punishment on their workers. Even women and children are not exempt from forced labor.

Under agreements with the South African Republic, Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Portugal supplies 150,000-200,000 Africans annually for work in ore mines. Traffic in African workers is one of

the main sources of foreign currency for Portugal; half of the wages paid the workers for their labor is pocketed by the Salazar government. Portugal is thus openly continuing the slave trade.

Chronic malnutrition, insanitary conditions, an almost total lack of medical attention, and, last but not least, the back-breaking, compulsory labor enable death to reap a rich harvest in the Portuguese possessions. Infant mortality exceeds 40 per cent, which means that one out of every two infants dies. The high death-rate combined with large-scale emigration is depopulating the Portuguese colonies. Entire provinces are derelict. The population of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea is declining at the rate of 100,000 a year. As a result of ruthless exploitation, poverty and squalor, the indigenous population is dying out. This is more than a matter of slavery, it is deliberate genocide.

The people have never ceased to fight against their oppressors. The strikes of the Lourenço Marques dockers, the organized action of the sugar plantation workers on the Cape Verde Islands, the strikes of railway construction workers in Tete, of bakers in Luanda, the crews of river-boats in Guinea and cooks in Batafa, the uprising on the St. Thomas Island and in the border regions of Angola—these are some of the landmarks in the turbulent history of the liberation struggle of the African peoples.

Alarmed by the growth of the anti-colonial movement, the Salazar government rushed reinforcements to Angola and Mozambique. All the Portuguese armed forces in Africa were placed under a single command. A special force of the PIDE, the Portuguese Gestapo, notorious for their atrocities in the home country, arrived in Luanda. Wholesale arrests of African patriots, executions and exile in concentration camps became the order of the day. Entire villages were wiped out by puni-

tive forces in the "suspect" areas, and local food supplies were poisoned, causing sickness and death for thousands.

The leaders of the national-liberation movement in the Portuguese colonies have tried time and again to gain independence peacefully. But the policy of the Salazar government has forced the people to take to arms. In February 1961 patriots stormed the police stations and prisons in Luanda (Angola) in an attempt to free their arrested comrades. In March of the same year large-scale armed action was launched in Northern Angola. It was accompanied by strikes and disturbances which swept the country. In August, 1962, the patriots in Portuguese Guinea joined in the armed struggle.

The colonialist forces launched a war of annihilation. In 1961 more than 50,000 Africans were slaughtered in Angola. By the beginning of 1963 the number of killed had exceeded 131,000. Hundreds of villages were razed with napalm bombs. More than 400,000 civilians fled to neighboring countries to escape the reprisals. Salazar's colonial war is causing untold suffering also to the people of Portuguese Guinea and other territories.

Nevertheless the flame of the struggle for liberation has not been extinguished. On the contrary, it has flared up anew. The struggle against the Salazar tyranny is spreading to more and more regions and assuming many new forms. The entire northern part of Angola and nearly half the territory of Portuguese Guinea is controlled by African patriots. The people of Mozambique, too, are taking up arms. In 1952 the sugar plantation workers in Ksinavane declared a strike against the forced-labor system. In August 1963, 3,000 dockers in Lourenço Marques struck for higher wages. The Salazar authorities put down the strike with characteristic brutality: 53 workers were killed and hundreds arrested.

In their sanguinary war against the African peoples the Portuguese imperialists are supported by their NATO allies who have military bases in the Portuguese colonies. Without the financial and military aid and the diplomatic support of the Western powers Salazar would never have been able to shed the blood of the peoples of Angola and Guinea for so long. The imperialists could hardly find a more convenient instrument for preserving their domination in the Portuguese colonies than Salazar's fascist regime.

The imperialist monopolies, in which the Portuguese participate only nominally, derive enormous profits by exploiting the natural resources and the people of the African colo-

nies. In the Portuguese colonies they have created a state within a state. Angola, for example, is virtually ruled by the Angola Diamond Company, an Anglo-American-Belgian concern. Its diamond fields occupy 90 per cent of the territory of this colony. Mozambique is run by the Mozambique Gulf Oil Company which has been granted an oil concession covering an area of 120,000 square kilometers, the equivalent of one and a half times the size of Portugal.

Oil deposits recently discovered in Mozambique and Angola are being exploited by big international companies, the Mozambique Gulf Oil Company, the American Petrol Company de Zambezi (closely linked with the Rockefeller and Mellon groups) and Petrofina, a French-Belgian subsidiary of Royal Dutch Shell. The oil of Portuguese Guinea is owned by Standard Oil. The Portuguese Companhia Union Fabril, in which the Portuguese monopolies play the role of junior partners, controls the entire economy of Portuguese Guinea as well as the copper mines of Angola. The Belgian Compagnie de Charbon du Mozambique controls the coal output of the Moatis mines. British monopolies reap lush profits from coal, cotton, sugar and tea. Angolan coal is in the hands of the West German Krupp concern. The main transport arteries also belong to international companies.

On its side, the Salazar government is doing its utmost to attract foreign capital to the colonies in order to obtain moral and material support for its colonial war. To this end it is offering the most advantageous terms for investments, granting new concessions and selling the natural wealth of Angola, Mozambique and the other colonies for a song.

The United States, France, West Germany and Portugal's other NATO partners are generously supplying Salazar with funds and arms. The United States, for example, has extended military aid to the tune of \$268 million. The napalm bombs with which the Portuguese punitive forces destroy African villages bear the trademark "Made in USA."

The Portuguese colonial troops are equipped with British armored cars, American armored carriers and West German trucks. West Germany has sent Salazar large quantities of automatic firearms, grenades, airplanes, small arms and radio equipment. Not only the imperialist governments but also the big monopoly associations are directly aiding and abetting Salazar's "dirty war." The Angola Diamond Company alone gave him a war loan of £1,250,000.

In their valiant and unceasing struggle the

peoples of the Portuguese colonies have the support of the working class of Portugal headed by its Communist Party. "The Portuguese Communist Party," Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary of the Party, declared in one of his speeches, "always has given and always will give its active support to the just struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies for their national independence. Our Party is conducting a consistent campaign against the colonial policy of the government, it is leading our people to the struggle against that policy, organizing resistance, collective desertion and mutinies in the army against the war in Angola and Guinea, and giving every possible assistance to the liberation movement in the Portuguese colonies."

Protest demonstrations of every kind are spreading throughout the country. The people are refusing to bear the burden of Salazar's military expenditure. Large numbers of soldiers are deserting, refusing to be a party to the dirty war against the African peoples. Instances of soldiers refusing to fire on the rebels are becoming more frequent. Desertion has assumed such proportions that the government has instituted the death penalty for soldiers who refuse to kill the patriots of Angola and Portuguese Guinea.

The struggle against the colonial policy of Salazar is being joined by people of democratic and anti-fascist sentiment from all sections of society. Leaders of the democratic opposition like General Humberto Delgado, Professor Ruy Luis Gomes and many others have vigorously condemned Salazar's colonial policy. Portuguese patriots in a number of Latin American countries have formed organizations in support of the just struggle of the African peoples for freedom and national independence and for the overthrow of the Salazar regime. At the end of 1962 they united in the Patriotic Front of National Liberation.

A conference of the front held in January this year reaffirmed the right of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies to self-determination and independence. It was resolved to intensify the struggle against the colonial policy of Salazar's fascist government, and against the colonial war, in particular, and to establish closer cooperation between the Front and the national movements in the Portuguese colonies.

The embattled peoples of the Portuguese colonies derive great strength from the solidarity of the socialist countries, which consider it their internationalist duty to give every support, both moral and material, to the national-liberation movement.

Substantial help is being rendered the peoples of the Portuguese colonies by the countries of Africa that have already won their freedom. "The evils of Portuguese colonialism are realized by all African states without exception," President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana declared in one of his speeches, "and it is important that the differences of approach which we have on other problems should not prevent our mobilizing the full strength of African opinion against what is taking place today in those parts of Africa controlled by Portugal."

This appeal met with an immediate response at the Addis Ababa conference of the heads of state and government of the African countries. In its resolution the conference called upon the big powers to suspend all aid to Portugal and suggested that all the African countries should break diplomatic relations with Portugal; it appealed for an effective boycott of foreign trade with that country, set up a committee of nine African states to coordinate assistance to the patriots of the Portuguese colonies and opened a special fund in aid of the peoples fighting for their liberation.

Confidence in the victory of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies is fortified also by the fact that their cause is espoused by all the revolutionary forces, by all who prize peace, democracy and humanism. It is not by chance that the question of Portuguese colonies continues to figure on the agenda of so many international forums. It was discussed at the General Assembly of the United Nations and in the Security Council, at the conference of the International Labor Organization, at the World Trade Union Congress and the session of the World Peace Council.

The struggle for the liberation of the Portuguese colonies is being waged on a broad front. It is sweeping away the last bastions of mediaevalism.

Mario DE SILVA
W. SHEPPARD

Against the Persecution of Democrats

DEFENDING TRADE UNION RIGHTS

The reactionary rulers in some countries are furiously attacking the working class and its organizations fighting for their rights. The materials published below tell about the struggle of the working class in various countries, the casualties claimed by the struggle and the significance of unity for attaining its aims.

THE struggle of the working people for their economic, social and general democratic demands is gaining momentum. In 1956 over four million workers fought strikes in the capitalist countries in Europe; in 1961 the number of strikes reached the massive figure of 37 million. The growth of the mass struggle is acquiring big political significance as the working class is dealing increasingly telling blows at world imperialism.

The struggle for extending democratic rights is an integral part of the class battles waged by the working people. One of the arenas of this struggle is the International Labor Organization, in which 108 governments are represented and the very establishment of which in 1919 reflected the growing weight of the working class.

In 1948 the International Labor Organization adopted convention No. 87 "On the Freedom of Associations and the Defense of the Right to Organize," which proclaimed the right of working people to organize in trade unions and that it was inadmissible for governments to interfere in their affairs, to dissolve or ban trade unions. Shortly afterwards another convention—No. 98 "On the Right to Organize and to Collective Bargaining"—was adopted. This convention prohibits restriction of the rights of the working people to form their organizations and rejects all forms of victimization for union membership or union activity.

Although the ILO conventions are restricted in character and only partly meet the demands of the working people, their significance should not be underestimated. The point is that they have been ratified by the governments of many countries* which thereby have officially undertaken to abide by them.

Yet, in defiance of all legal norms, the conventions are frequently and arbitrarily violated in capitalist countries. In many of them veritable crusades are launched against trade unionists.

In the United States the notorious Taft-Hartley Act is aimed against the right to strike. Fascist laws operate in Spain and Portugal. In Federal Germany workers are liable to be fined for taking strike action. In Japan, France and other countries there are laws prohibiting strikes in communal services. In the United States, South Africa, in some Latin American countries and in countries still under the colonial yoke, the "colored" workers suffer from discrimination in the matter of jobs, wages and skills grading.

In some countries progressive trade unions are denied the right to represent the workers. When appointing delegates to the annual ILO conference, the governments as a rule show a preference for Right-wing union spokesmen.

In Madagascar, for instance, there are three trade union centers: the Trade Union Federation of the Madagascar Working People (the FISEMA affiliated to the WFTU); the Confederation of the Working People of Madagascar and the Comoro Islands (affiliated to the ICFTU), and the Malagasy Autonomous Trade Unions. In the 1961 elections, of the 558 shop stewards 224 were elected from the first of these bodies, 64 from the second and the remainder from other organizations. But the government has never sent FISEMA representatives to ILO congresses. Moreover, the leaders of this organization are not allowed to leave the country and take part in international trade union conferences.

To counter the imperialist lawlessness and the constant violation of trade union rights, the World Federation of Trade Unions set up in 1961 an International Trade Union and Legal Commission composed of representatives of the national trade union centers, both those affiliated to the WFTU and those not, of lawyers (representatives of the socialist and non-socialist countries) and of representatives of the WFTU Secretariat.

The Commission, a consultative body, keeps an eye on trade union rights and their observance, examines and makes timely proposals concerning the international conventions adopted by the ILO.

*Both conventions were ratified by the governments of 49 countries. Fifteen countries ratified convention No. 87, and fourteen countries—convention No. 98. The governments of thirty-one countries have not ratified either of the conventions.

Both in its aims and its composition this Commission is a new departure in the trade union movement. The cooperation of the trade union representatives and lawyers signifies a merger of the experience of the struggle of the working people with the experience of legal actions in defense of trade-union rights on a national and international scale.

The Commission is guided chiefly by the "Charter of Trade Union Rights" adopted by the WFTU in 1954 and the "Program of Trade Union Actions for the Defense of the Workers' Interests and Rights" endorsed by the Fifth World Congress of Trade Unions.

The Commission is now conducting an inter-

national probe with a view to gathering and disseminating detailed information concerning infringements of trade union rights. This will make it possible to arrange a broad exchange of the experience gained in the struggle of the working people for their rights, to further international solidarity with the trade unions and the victims of anti-labor repressions.

In this way the International Trade Union and Legal Commission is making a contribution to the worldwide struggle for trade union rights and democratic freedoms, to international solidarity, for social progress, national independence and world peace.

José MOIX

THE WORKING CLASS IS THE CHAMPION OF DEMOCRACY IN THE SUDAN

THE working class in the Sudan has never ceased the struggle it began immediately after the Second World War. A major part in this struggle is played by the railway workers union in Atbara—a big industrial center. As early as 1946, under the difficult conditions of illegality, the workers started a resolute struggle for higher wages and the right to organize. In view of the scope of the movement, the British administration of the railway lines could not openly reject their demands. With a view to diverting the workers' movement and placing it under its control, the administration suggested the setting up of "Whitely Councils" which would comprise representatives of both workers and employers with the British manager as chairman. Realizing the purpose of this maneuver, the workers turned down this idea and carried out an active struggle which culminated in the famous railway strike of 1947. Thanks to the solidarity and aid rendered by other national forces, the strike continued for 33 days and ended in victory. The colonialists were compelled to recognize the organization established by the workers themselves, which at that time was known as the "Workers' Affairs Organization."

Inspired by this victory, the workers launched a struggle for labor legislation. Another victory was won when labor legislation was enacted in 1948 which guaranteed the right to form trade unions and to strike, and other rights which benefited all working people. With the direct participation of the unions, other democratic organizations uniting the peasants, students, women, youth, office employees, lawyers and part of the civil service were formed.

Ever since their inception these trade unions have waged both economic and political strug-

gles. They defeated all the efforts of the colonialists to turn their movement into a reformist one. In this respect the militant workers showed a high level of political consciousness in exposing and defeating the splitting activity launched by the Right opportunists after their efforts to kill the revolutionary spirit of the movement had failed. The outcome of this struggle was the consolidation of the unity of the working-class movement, which ensured it further success.

In 1950 the General Federation of Sudanese Trade Unions was formed, which included all unions; total membership was 150,000. The formation of the Federation was a landmark in the history of the working-class and the entire national-liberation movement. It was acclaimed by the national parties and the press for they clearly saw the role played by the workers in the struggle against colonialism.

The unions became schools of political action. They introduced methods of struggle never known before in the country: public meetings, strikes, demonstrations, protest marches, etc. This helped to broaden the mass movement and to deepen the political alertness of the people.

The Federation's newspaper *El Talia* (Vanguard) did much to educate the workers in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. For this purpose other means and methods were used: meetings of solidarity with the international working-class movement, contacts with the workers' movement in the African and Arab countries. The Federation also introduced the tradition of celebrating May Day in the country. These celebrations became a real school of struggle against imperialism, for freedom, democracy and world peace. All this opened the way for the Federation to join

the World Federation of Trade Unions. By its actions the Federation also helped the democratic organizations of youth and students to find their way to the corresponding international organizations. These contacts equipped the working-class and mass movements with valuable experience which they used both before and after independence.

Thus, the working-class movement, though still young, headed the struggle of the people. On its initiative the Sudanese National-Liberation Front was formed in 1951. The political slogan issued by the Front — "Evacuation of Colonial Forces and Self-Determination" — ousted the slogans of the bourgeois and reactionary parties which called for either unity with the then royalist Egypt or independence within the British Commonwealth.

The working-class movement advanced the issue of democracy as an important demand in the struggle for independence and for its consolidation. The struggle for trade-union and democratic rights, the successful actions in April 1952 and the mass campaign of 1955 compelled the new Parliament to annul, at its first session, a number of reactionary, anti-democratic laws.

Thanks to its splendid revolutionary traditions the working-class movement has stood firm in the face of the repressive measures of the bourgeois and reactionary governments after independence and the continuous efforts of the U.S. imperialists and their agents to cause a split in its ranks. When in 1958 the imperialist-engineered coup installed a naked dictatorship in the country, the reactionaries at home and abroad hoped that their dreams would at last come true and the workers' movement would be smashed. The trade unions were banned and seven of their leaders (among them Shafee Ahmed El Sheikh, General Secretary of the Trade Union Federation and Vice-President of the WFTU, and Gassim Amin, one of the founders of the trade-union movement) were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Many trade unionists were sent to concentration camps.

At that time some Left opportunists suggested that "illegal" unions should be organized. But the workers, undaunted by the repressions and refusing to adopt opportunist tactics, replied with mass actions. In this struggle they enjoyed the powerful support of the international working-class movement and the WFTU. This wide solidarity campaign impelled the International Labor Organization to inquire into the case and to support the Sudanese workers. Under the impact of international solidarity and the struggle of our workers the

dictatorial regime was forced to lift the ban on the unions. At the same time it tried to curtail their rights by introducing in 1960 legislation which deprived them of the right to form a trade union federation, the right to strike, etc.

Last August the trade unions held a conference in defiance of the anti-democratic laws that forbade such a meeting. Despite efforts of the government (which also used the services of the opportunists) to divert the conference from its main tasks through persuasion and intimidation, the workers courageously upheld not only their own rights and interests but also the interests of the people as a whole.

The conference advanced the following demands: lift the ban on the railway workers' union, replace the 1960 labor legislation which restricts trade union liberties with the 1948 legislation; the right to form a general federation; a 45 per cent wage increase; end the state of emergency introduced in 1958; a policy of neutrality and non-alignment; a struggle to stop atomic tests. It denounced the colonial oppression of the Aden workers, racial discrimination and neo-colonialism in all its manifestations and called for vigorous struggle against them.

The opportunists were defeated. The conference opened new horizons to the mass movement. A similar conference was held by the peasants' union in El Gazira. Three months later, the workers won their basic demands. The peasants, too, achieved some increase in their share of income (from 40 to 43 per cent).

The entire history of the working class in the Sudan shows that it is the leading force in the struggle for the democratic development of the country. It has always fought against imperialism and home reaction, against all forms of neo-colonialism; in the past five years of military rule it has displayed a high degree of political maturity and courage in the struggle for democracy, against imperialist "aid," military pacts and war bases and against neo-colonialism, for economic development, for peace and peaceful coexistence, for a national-democratic system of government instead of military dictatorship. It is the only social force which has helped and is still helping the other progressive national forces to organize themselves.

The working class in the Sudan correctly assesses the international situation and the changes now taking place which create favorable conditions for the people's struggle against imperialism. It sees the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the socialist world system and the struggle

of the working class in the developed capitalist countries as a single revolutionary process which determines the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society. It realizes that the final victory of our people can be secured only in close unity with the forces of socialism, freedom and world peace.

Possessing these revolutionary features, the working class in our country is exerting a strong influence on the mass movement. It is

fighting for broad national unity on the basis of an alliance with the peasants and all working people. It has frustrated all attempts made by the imperialists to turn our country into a military base and to entangle it in aggressive military blocs. It is steadfastly fighting for a democratic system which would make our republic an active force in the struggle against colonialism, imperialism and war.

Ibrahim MUSTAFA

FREEDOM FOR THE POLITICAL PRISONERS

(Letter from a Mexican Prison)

A WAVE of repressions was precipitated in Mexico in 1959 in connection with the strike of the railway workers. Five years ago, on March 29, many people, including the author of these lines, were thrown into prison. On their behalf I am writing this letter.

At that time over 5,000 people, mostly railwaymen as well as several hundred workers belonging to other unions, leaders of the workers' and peasants' organizations, leaders of the Communist Party and the now defunct Worker-Peasant Party were held for several days in military camps converted into concentration camps for the occasion. Hundreds were brought before the courts, and at least 10,000 railwaymen lost their jobs.

From among those who appeared in the court 27 are still held in prison. Among them are leaders of the railway workers' union Demetrio Vallejo, Gilberto Rojo Robles, Antonio Sanchez R., Jesus E. Traujo, J. Guadalupe Lopez, Alejandro Perez Enriquez and others. Valentin Campa and myself belong to the leadership of the Communist Party. Kept behind bars together with us are members of the former Worker-Peasant Party, Alberto Lumbreras and Miguel Aroche Parra, who are now in the leadership of the Socialist People's Party.

David Alfaro Siqueiros, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, and the journalist Filomeno Mata (now released on bail), who were condemned by another court, are held in the same prison. Their sole "crime" was that they directed the work of the Free the Political Prisoners Committee. Alfaro Siqueiros received an 8-year sentence. The court of appeal confirmed this verdict, although the Supreme Court is still examining his appeal.

The proceedings on criminal charges instituted against the leaders and rank-and-file members of the railway workers' union and

leaders of the political parties who were arrested on March 28, 1959, ended on August 10, 1963, when the verdict was announced. This fact alone is a violation of the law and of the Constitution, for they rule that, in the case of criminal action, the accused must be indicted not later than within one year. We were sentenced to terms ranging from four-and-a-half to 16 years, and to fines from 7,500 to 35,000 pesos. The total term of imprisonment for all the accused is 218 years, and the total of fines 442,550 pesos.

The Prosecutor condemned us on the charge of committing crimes of "social dissolution," wrecking the national economy and communication lines and resisting the authorities. He qualified as criminal offences the strike struggle waged by the railwaymen between 1955 and 1959, as well as the strikes and other actions of the blast-furnace workers, students and tramway workers in Mexico City.

In passing sentence, the judge declared that had there been no Communist "interference" these actions would not have been of an agitational nature. In other words, he recognized them as criminal only because Communists took part in them. To "prove" the guilt of the Communists the judge adduced fantastic arguments. Inasmuch as the Communist Party, which advocates socialism, is too small a party to have deputies in Parliament who would decree the establishment of socialism in Mexico, there is no doubt, he said, that it has to resort to violence to attain its ends. In this way it was "proved" that the Communists engage in subversive activities, commit the crime of "social dissolution" and disturb the peace. The following "evidence" was adduced: documents adopted at congresses and meetings of the Communist Party since 1954 and published in the press; news items and editorial articles from the newspaper *La Voz de Mexico* and from the then existing paper

Noviembre; slanders in capitalist newspapers and letters written by various persons; the published documents of the railway workers' union, and views expressed by Lombardo Tolendano on April 30, 1959, when, in an attempt to justify government repressions, he deliberately distorted some facts and invented others.

It is perfectly clear that we are victims of the political repressions unleashed by the reactionary government of Adolfo Lopez Mateos. But contrary to all facts, the President of the Republic and the official candidate to this post, Gustavo Diaz Ordaz, claim that we are simply criminals. No wonder, then, why these gentlemen say that there are no political prisoners in Mexico.

We have appealed to the Supreme Court.

And we are confident that the broad national and international campaign of solidarity will force the government to release us.

We have been in prison for the past five years, and we urge revolutionaries and democrats all over the world to express their solidarity with us and send their protests to the President of Mexico and the Supreme Court demanding our release, and to take all actions which are considered most suitable.

Availing ourselves of this opportunity, we wish to express our gratitude for the expressions of solidarity we received.

Jose ENCARNACION PEREZ GAYTAN

February 12, 1964

*Preliminary Detention Prison
of the Federal Region.*

TERROR IN HAITI

"KILL MORE!" — such is the quintessence of the policy of terror carried on by the pro-feudal and pro-imperialist Duvalier government.

"Papa Doc," as Duvalier calls himself, came to power through undemocratic elections in September 1957 with the active support of the military junta which had engineered a bloody coup a few months earlier. The coup was followed by a campaign of merciless persecution which Duvalier's assassins intensified in the course of the election campaign of 1957.

The "spiritual leader of the nation" has retained and developed this inherent quality of his policy. One of his associates admitted, for example, that he was ordered "to kill 300 people annually." Hardly had he come to power than Duvalier set about exterminating those who opposed him in the elections. In broad daylight "Papa Doc's" killers arrested and murdered people, whose bodies were conveniently found the next day with either planted leaflets or explosives. More than once the Duvalier agents planted bombs and firearms in the homes of people and afterwards used the "discovery" as a pretext for butchering the victims.

In defiance of both national and international public opinion Duvalier and his men resort to the meanest of provocations against those who refused to bow to them, those who voted for other Presidential candidates — Louis Dejoie, Daniel Fignolie and Clement Jumelle; against the Communists, Catholics and even some of their refractory allies. Antoine Templier and Antoine Martin were eliminated in this way; the brothers Charles and Ducasse Jumelle, Clerveau Rateau, Dr. Charles Rousseau and many others were shot.

Poverty is growing in the country, prices are rising, while production is declining. Despite the Duvalier demagoguery about "patriotism" his government is doing everything to tighten the grip of the U.S. monopolies on the country. Thus, on orders from Washington the law safeguarding the national industry was postponed, enslaving agreements were concluded with foreign companies, (for instance, with HAMPCO), and the state-owned enterprises were transferred to foreign interests (Haitian Tobacco). Such is the far from complete result of the reactionary policy of bartering away the national wealth by the government.

The people, naturally, cannot tolerate this state of affairs. They are uniting and waging the fight under the leadership of the Party of People's Unity and other progressive organizations. The Duvalier clique is opposed by people from all walks of life: professors and students, workers and peasants, Communists and people of other political outlooks. Hence the repressions affect all sections of the population and all spheres of political and social life.

Jacques Stephen Alexis, well-known Haitian writer arrested in April 1961 together with four comrades, was brutally beaten and thrown into prison. The government is still silent about his fate. In Haiti people are executed without trial, the prisoner can expect anything. Democrats and writers everywhere are demanding the immediate release of Jacques Stephen Alexis. But to this day this brilliant man of letters, ardent patriot and the pride and glory of our Motherland is kept behind bars. Men of culture, democrats and progressives all over the world should protest against this crime

of the Duvalier government, against its suppression of man's inalienable rights.

In 1963 the terror became even more outrageous. Many officers died at the hands of the Duvalier assassins. In April the homes of officers who sought asylum in foreign embassies were looted and burned. Police agents set fire to the house of Lieutenant Francois Benoit and shot his mother, his father, father-in-law, child and servants.

Today the homes of all who oppose Duvalier are plundered and set on fire. Nor are their relatives spared. The "spiritual leader of the nation" personally takes part in executing and torturing political prisoners.

Recently the workers and peasants in the north-east of Haiti went on strike against the take-over effected by the U.S. Hacor Company with the support of the government. The trade union federation, too, took a stand against the take-overs, calling for solidarity with the strikers. But the government, obediently following the U.S. nod, imprisoned most of the trade

union leaders in the area, including members of its own militia.

Somewhat later the trade union federation held a strike of solidarity with the dismissed workers of the tobacco plantation. The victory won by the strikers infuriated the government. The federation was dissolved and most of its leaders arrested. Trade union officials Ulrick Jolly, Claude Francois, Leon Gabriel, Alcuis Cadet, Guerrier, Leon Thebaud and others have been held in prison since November 1963. But the terror will not make the people of Haiti give up the struggle for democracy and human rights. To put an end to the Duvalier dictatorship, to fight to the end for the victory of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution — such are the aims which the Party of People's Unity sets before the people. Sooner or later victory will be won. The solidarity of the revolutionaries and democrats of the world will render great help to the democratic and revolutionary struggle of the people of Haiti.

Manuel JEAN-JACQUES

WORDS AND DEEDS

MUCH is said in Lebanon about freedom and democracy. But words are not enough. The facts of life, far from bearing them out, refute them. They show that after the big victory won by the democrats in the municipal elections in Tripoli and Mont-Liban, the government inaugurated a campaign of persecution and arrests in other parts of the country to prevent the democrats from putting forward their candidatures.

Shortly before the general election the Beirut military tribunal passed a judgment by default on two Communist leaders, Nicolas Chaoui and Hassan Craitem, condemning them to three years' imprisonment. They were charged with "poisoning" relations with the UAR. The charge was based on the declaration they signed in protest against the murder of the Lebanese patriot, Farajallah Helou, by the secret police in Damascus. It should be pointed out that tribunals in Zahly and Tripoli which originally investigated this case acquitted the accused.

The two Communists, well known to all Arab people, are staunch fighters for the independence of Lebanon, its progress and well-being, against imperialism and its agents, and for democracy and peace.

Why, then, was the sentence passed? Of late some newspapers have reported new sanctions prepared by the authorities, in view of the forthcoming general election, against the political parties which have been dissolved and deprived of legal status.

Every obstacle is raised in the way of the Communist Party. It can be gathered from the press that there are some people who would like to make its work even more difficult. Our people know full well that the Communists champion the fundamental interests of the country and uphold their vital demands.

The Communist Party has always campaigned against *laissez-faire* economy practised in Lebanon, as a result of which anarchy is evident in all spheres of economic activity; the country is becoming a market for foreign capital and the foreign companies operating in it regard it as their happy hunting ground. The huge and steadily growing foreign-trade deficit is a sign of economic insecurity. The Communists have always insisted on the need to build and develop a national economy. This demand is supported by sections of the national bourgeoisie and by the people who suffer from poverty and the high cost of living.

The Communists played an important part in frustrating the numerous attempts to hitch the country to the chariot of imperialism. The people remember the role they played during the 1958 events and also in exposing the abortive coup engineered at the end of 1961 by the fascist People's Social Party.

The sympathy of the people can be won only by strengthening the independence of the country and meeting the vital needs of the people. For this it is necessary to adopt an

uncompromising stand against the plots hatched by the imperialists and their agents, to pursue a policy supported by all the national,

democratic and progressive forces of the country.

Ali BACHIR

Reviews

Four Decades of Struggle

THE volume of selected works of Johann Koplenig*, leader of the Communist Party of Austria, published recently in Moscow in the Russian language, covers a period of some forty years. The articles and speeches collected here examine from a Marxist-Leninist standpoint some fundamental problems of Austria, the struggle of the working class and the history of the Communist Party throughout these years. A prominent place in the book is occupied by the period following 1945 and the struggle for progress and democracy in the postwar. The book is supplemented by a biography of Koplenig written by E. Zukker-Schilling, member of the Central Committee of the Party.

The path traversed by the Austrian working-class movement after the First World War was far from smooth. The Communist Party which came into being at the time of the fall of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, did not become a mass party for some time. A large part of the working class remained under the influence of the reformist Social Democracy whose Right-wing leaders fostered the illusion that the country would evolve "painlessly" into socialism within the framework of bourgeois democracy and without the dictatorship of the proletariat. As I. Koplenig repeatedly points out, the specific ideology of "Austro-Marxism," which clothed reformist policy in pseudo-revolutionary phraseology, was chiefly responsible for the influence reformism exerted on the Austrian working class. The relative weakness of the Communist Party in the early period of its existence was, among other things, the result of sectarian mistakes, not the least of which was its refusal to participate in the parliamentary elections after the First World War. Another reason was the factional strife which went on for several years and ended only in 1924 when a revolutionary leadership was formed headed by Comrade Koplenig. These and other problems associated with the gradual consolidation of the Party are examined by

Comrade Koplenig in his lectures "On the History of the Austrian Communist Party" delivered in the National Party School and now published for the first time in the volume under review.

Since 1924, the Communist Party of Austria, numerically small though it is, has developed as a Marxist-Leninist party which, at all stages in its history, has been a reliable compass for the working class.

After the ebb of the revolutionary tide of the post-war years which the reformist Social Democratic leadership failed to utilize to turn Austria toward socialism, the danger of fascism arose. In point of fact fascism reared its head in Austria some years before it appeared in Germany, thanks to the reactionary Christian Social Party led by Seipel and, subsequently, by Dollfuss and Schuschnigg.

We, Czechoslovak Communists of the older generation have not forgotten the revolutionary actions of the Viennese workers in July 1927. Outraged by the decision of the Supreme Court acquitting the fascist thugs who had shot down unarmed workers in Schattendorf, the Vienna workers held a protest demonstration which was fired upon by the police. Nearly one hundred workers were massacred. Koplenig's articles dealing with these events remind us that the Communist Party, alive to the peril of fascism, offered to form a united front with the Austrian Social Democrats. It was prepared to withdraw its own candidates from the parliamentary elections on condition that the Social Democratic leadership take steps to combat the fascist threat. This proposal, formulated in the speech by Comrade Koplenig in March 1927, was rejected by the Social Democratic leaders on the pretext that the Communist Party was a small party, and that working-class unity was, allegedly, fully guaranteed within the framework of Social Democracy. The Social Democrats betrayed the workers who had demonstrated in July 1927 against fascism, and the Communist Party, which consistently fought for the workers, did not wield sufficient influence to consummate the

*Johann Koplenig, *Selections from Articles and Speeches*. Politizdat, Moscow, 1963. pp. 311.

workers' action. Comrade Koplenig was prosecuted for participating in this demonstration. His speech from the dock is included in the book (p. 22-29).

The biggest anti-fascist action taken by the Austrian working class occurred in February 1934 when the Dollfuss government sought to disarm the armed detachments of the Social Democratic Party. These detachments took to arms without waiting for the permission of their leaders. Their struggle, fought at a time when the working class was seeking united anti-fascist action, had worldwide repercussions. It showed that the working class was strong enough to bar the road to fascism provided it acted in a united front. The stand taken at the time by the Communist Party in support of the Schutzbund detachments caused many Social Democrats to join the Communist Party.

The experience of the February armed struggle of the working class, the thirtieth anniversary of which we observed this year, is examined by Comrade Koplenig (p. 30-37). He shows that the artificial barriers raised by the Social Democratic leaders between the Communist and Social Democratic workers were swept away during the February battles. Tribute to the fighting experience of the Austrian Communists was paid by Comrade Koplenig also in his speech at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern (p. 38-54.).

The situation in Austria at the time was complicated by the fact that Hitler and his fascists took advantage of the unpopularity of the Dollfuss regime. The keynote of their chauvinist propaganda was the demand that Austria be joined to Germany. The old pan-German illusions about the Anschluss as "a historical step forward" retarded the development of national consciousness in Austria. At that time the Communists rendered an inestimable service to the nation by alerting the people to the need to uphold their national and state independence.

Austria's age-old right to independent nationhood, a right which the Communist Party alone had championed at the time when it was still illegal, was upheld by the majority of the people after the country was liberated in 1945. From this conviction springs their present striving for the democratic, progressive and peaceful development of their country. The struggle waged by the Communist Party, some 1,400 of whose members lost their lives during the dark years of fascism, was a valuable contribution to the liberation of Austria and the restoration of its sovereignty. Although the Communists have not succeeded in winning

over the majority of the working class, they have nevertheless become an important factor in Austrian politics. Today, as in the past, the Communist Party is the only party which is showing the people the way to progressive, socialist development.

Comrade Koplenig's post-war writings, and particularly those published after the conclusion of the State Treaty in 1955 which enabled Austria to develop as an independent and neutral state, indicate the basic line of policy pursued by the Communist Party to this day. It proceeds from the principle of proletarian internationalism, defense of the unity of the international Communist movement, the application to Austria of the theoretical conclusions arising from the decisions of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses of the CPSU and of the international meetings of Marxist-Leninist parties in 1957 and 1960.

Although Austria is a small country its position as a neutral state bordering on the socialist countries plays an important role in European politics. Koplenig quite correctly emphasizes that the development of Austria as a neutral state maintaining normal relations with the socialist countries is proof of the viability of the idea of peaceful coexistence of the two systems.

The Austrian Communists, of course, are well aware that the country could not occupy the international position it does without constant struggle on the part of all the progressive forces. Koplenig points also to those forces which in both foreign and domestic policy jeopardize the neutrality and peace of the country. West German imperialism has managed to regain some of its former positions in the Austrian economy. And it goes without saying that the German imperialists have not given up the idea of an Anschluss. Then there are the neo-fascist forces in Austria itself which are carrying out the old pan-German chauvinist program dear to the hearts of the German imperialists.

In 1958 the Communist Party drafted and adopted a program document entitled "The Austrian Road to Socialism." Several of Koplenig's speeches about this document are included in the present volume. They deal primarily with the idea of the peaceful transition to socialism as applied to present-day Austria. Koplenig emphasizes that this possibility is closely linked with the radical change in the balance of forces between socialism and capitalism on the world arena. The peaceful transition to socialism, as the Austrian Communists understand it, has nothing in common with

the old reformist concept of "capitalism gradually evolving into socialism." This transition is unthinkable without struggle, without revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. But in Austrian conditions given the present alignment of forces the prerequisites exist for the revolutionary process to take place without civil war.

The Austrian Communists have in recent years elaborated a number of questions of theory connected with present trends in their country. One of these is the attitude to the nationalized sector. The Communist Party supported the demand raised by the workers employed in the nationalized enterprises for an opportunity to participate in the management of the enterprises, and for the exclusion of representatives of home and foreign capital from the top bodies.

The present line of the Communist Party was drawn up at its Eighteenth Congress in 1961. In his report to that Congress, Koplenig criticized the present government coalition system

in Austria, which is the mainstay of big capital, and posed the question of introducing a new system of government, "a government of democratic renewal," which could emerge as a result of united action of the working class and all the progressive forces of the Austrian people.

Some of Koplenig's more recent writings and speeches deal with questions of the international working-class movement, viz., the article "Lenin and the International Working-Class Movement," a speech at the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU and a lecture on the Twenty-Second Congress delivered in Innsbruck.

This volume of selected articles and speeches by Johann Koplenig, which gives an insight into the forty years' struggle of the Communist Party of Austria, is a valuable handbook for anyone desirous of learning more about the rich revolutionary history of that country.

Pavel REIMAN

British Social Democracy in Office

IN *The Labor Government 1945-51** D. N. Pritt makes a detailed study of Right-wing Labor's aims and policies in the early postwar years. The author — a lawyer whose worldwide activities on behalf of political prisoners of imperialism and reaction are well known — was himself a Member of Parliament from 1945 to 1950, having been re-elected as an independent after his expulsion from the Labor Party for his Left activities. In this book he faithfully records how the Right-wing Labor leaders' support of monopoly capitalism and their intense hatred of the Soviet Union led them step by step to armed repression in the colonies, surrender to United States monopoly capitalism, the cold war and increasing preparations for hot war; and along with these policies abroad, at home to the wage freeze, repression of strikes, and the restriction of the social services which they had themselves expanded and improved in their early years in office.

The author shows how the massive Labor victory at the July 1945 general election reflected the intense desire for change — a mood which, although for the most part not consciously socialist, was largely inspired by the Soviet Union's contribution to victory over fascism.

But this mood was not shared by the Labor leaders.

Nevertheless, Labor's election manifesto contained many promises of important changes — the nationalization of certain industries; vastly improved social services; and in foreign policy: "We must consolidate in peace the great war-time association of the British Commonwealth with the USA and the USSR," and "we must make sure that Germany and Japan are deprived of the power to make war again."

This was the declared policy which won the election, bringing to parliament many Labor MPs "with real socialist principles and hopes"; but, D. N. Pritt adds, "the gradual reshaping... to which their leaders subjected them in order to turn them into well-disciplined, anti-Soviet, anti-communist, and non-socialist lobby-fodder, was one of the saddest things I watched in the following four-and-a-half years". (p.31.)

Many of the promises of Labor's election manifesto in regard to home policy were in fact fulfilled by the Labor Government: but they were fulfilled in forms which reflected the basic Right-wing subservience to monopoly capitalism and rejection of a class approach.

The National Health Service and National Insurance Acts, for example, marked an immense advance in the general conditions of working people. But the scheme was on a

**The Labor Government 1954-51*, by D. N. Pritt. (Lawrence and Wishart, 1963, 467 pp.)

contributory basis, so that the workers paid by deductions from wages a substantial part of the cost of their benefits. Moreover, the benefits were fixed at low rates, and the drive for higher rates, when successful, led to the imposition of higher contributions—so that the insurance contributions have become practically a poll-tax on the people, the net proceeds of which form an ever-growing “insurance fund” available for governments to borrow from to meet their needs.

It was however in carrying out the promised program of nationalization that the Labor Government's subservience to capitalist interests was most clearly marked. D. N. Pritt shows that the compensation given to former owners of nationalized industries was “ridiculously generous,” securing wealthy owners in their wealth and power, burdening the nationalized industries with heavy debt charges and leading to heavy losses. Control of these industries was handed over to “personnel of capitalist outlook, training, and conviction, with no idea of workers’ or of any socialist control.” Privately-owned industries were undercharged for the products of the nationalized industries, which “were run at a loss in order to increase the profits of the owners of private industries.” (p. 43.)

In striving to overcome the postwar shortages of food and raw materials of all kinds, the Labor Government took a number of useful short-term measures aimed at ensuring the proper distribution of what was available and controlling imports and investment. But here again the monopolies remained in control—their representatives manned the controlling committees. Such “planning of the economy” as the 1945 election program had promised took the form of economic forecasts which were remote from what actually happened, because no steps were taken to intervene in the normal processes of capitalism. Moreover, the Government's foreign and colonial policies plunged Britain into repeated balance of payments crises, leading to devaluation of the pound in 1949, inevitably followed by rising prices and a “wage freeze.”

From 1948 onwards it advocated a “stand-still in wages and profits”—using much the same arguments as Tory Governments have always used to cover up a rise in profits at the expense of wages. But although at first the Right-wing leaders succeeded in getting trade union approval for the wage freeze, it was defeated by militant action.

Even more discreditable than the home policy was the colonial policy of the Labor Government. D. N. Pritt records its consistent

imperialist policy—the use of British troops to help the Dutch against the Indonesian liberation struggle; the partition of India when the independence movement compelled the abandonment of direct rule; the particularly brutal war in Malaya; the imprisonment of leaders of the liberation movement, etc.

These and many similar incidents illustrate the Labor Government's approach to the “Empire.”

D. N. Pritt writes (p. 53) that in 1945: “In the field of foreign policy, which affected all our history, our domestic politics, and the hopes of peace in the world, the principal problem was that of our relations with the USSR.” From the start Prime Minister Attlee and Foreign Minister Bevin showed their hostility to the Soviet Union, in spite of Labor's election manifesto. Refusing to repudiate Churchill's Fulton speech, the Attlee Government more and more openly sided with the United States against the Soviet Union, against every attempt to settle disputed questions by negotiation. Partly because of its financial dependence on the USA, partly because hostility to the Soviet Union was its own policy, the Labor Government marched step by step with the American imperialists—although at times, as over the American threat to use the nuclear weapon during the Korean War, attempting to avert the worst consequences.

The Labor Government's attempts to bolster up British monopoly capitalism and to protect its interests abroad, its bitter hostility to the socialist world, its subjection to American imperialism and its aggressive policies, and the gradual worsening of conditions in Britain as a result of this course, led inevitably to Labor's electoral decline and finally defeat in 1951.

In his final chapter, D. N. Pritt asks: “What went wrong?” Part of his answer is that “The Government, overwhelmingly Right-wing in composition and outlook, far more conscious of the supposed ‘enemy on the left’ than of the real enemy that the electorate had sent them to power to conquer, accepted the capitalist *status quo*, political and economic, as if it were a law of nature, and never really sought to alter the class structure of the nation, to attack the seats and sources of power, or even to weaken the ruling class.” And he adds: “What in truth the story of this Labor Government teaches us is that, in this country above all, with its wily and deeply-entrenched ruling class, we can only win socialism through a determined party of the working class, fully understanding and accepting the class struggle, and resolved to carry that struggle through to victory.”

Before long, Britain will face a general election with the possibility, after twelve years of Tory rule, of a new Labor Government. The conditions of today, in Britain and the world, are vastly different from those of 1945; but the outlook of the Right-wing Labor leaders who will take office in the likelihood of a new government is little different from that of those who manned the postwar Labor Government.

Nevertheless, the Communist Party, the Left in the Labor movement and the peace movement in Britain are stronger today than they were in 1945.

D. N. Pritt's book will help in the further undermining of the illusions of the "Welfare State" and "managed capitalism" which held back the movement in the postwar years.

Emile BURNS

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the titles are given in English)

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