

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW



Problems of Peace and Socialism

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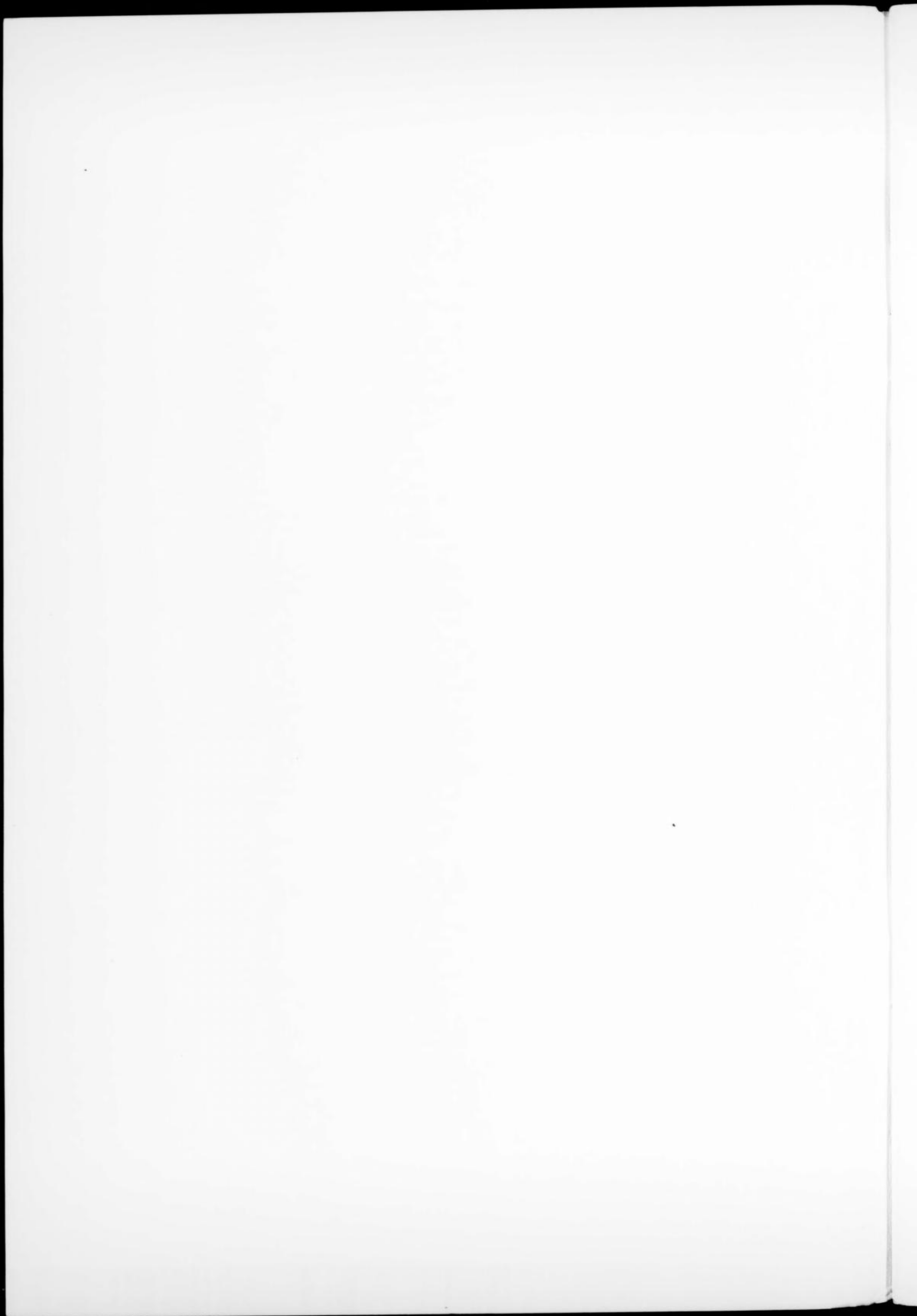
The CPSU after the 23rd Congress

Contemporary trade union problems

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WORKERS OF ALL
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The CPSU after the 23rd Congress

I. V. KAPITONOV

THE RAPID AND ALL-ROUND development of Soviet society makes it imperative steadily to improve Party guidance, deepen inner-Party democracy, give free rein to initiative and heighten the responsibility of the members of the Party. A feature of the work of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union during the past few years is greater emphasis on problems of inner-Party life. In this respect an important role was played by the Central Committee meetings held in October and November 1964 and by the subsequent plenary meetings of the Central Committee, and later by the 23rd Congress.

The documents of this congress are a creative elaboration of the Leninist teaching on the Party as the leading force in Soviet society in all its work the CPSU proceeds from the objective laws of social development, guiding the building of communism along organized, scientifically substantiated lines. The Congress paid close attention to Party building and to inner-Party life, amending the Rules in keeping with the new conditions and focusing the attention of the Party Committees and members on active, creative questing corresponding to the new demands placed on the forms and methods of organizational and ideological work.

Equipped with the decisions of the Congress, the Party organizations have embarked on extensive activities to carry out the tasks facing them.

GROWING ROLE OF THE PARTY AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

The Program of the CPSU makes the point that the Party's role grows with the broad-

ening and deepening of the tasks of building Communism. This thesis, highly important from the standpoint of both theory and practice, was developed further by the 23rd Congress to meet the new conditions and tasks. In elaborating Party policy for the period ahead, the Congress, taking full cognizance of the magnitude and complexity of the socio-economic tasks, subjected to deep analysis the forms of organization, the rules and standards of Party life, and the methods employed by the Party and its leading committees in the light of the new conditions and requirements; this was done with a view to ascertaining whether they provided the maximum stimulus to the initiative and activity of the more than twelve million members. Congress worked out measures of fundamental importance aimed at further strengthening the Party and heightening the effectiveness of its work at all levels.

Bourgeois ideologues and some Right-wing Socialist leaders who tag on to their ideological concepts, in their time spared no effort in depicting the growing role of the CPSU as a reflection of its striving to reinforce, as they put it, domination by a part (the Party) over the whole (society), to add to its powers at the expense of the rights of the working people, and in particular of their mass organizations. Time, however, has refuted these inventions of our enemies who based their propaganda on the lie that Soviet society is dominated by the Party. True, the role of the Party as the leading force in building communism has grown, and it will continue to do so. But this growth has been accompanied by the growing role of the state and public

organizations — the Soviets, trade unions, youth organizations, associations of intellectuals, etc. The millions of Soviet people are building communism not only by investing their labor in creating material and spiritual values, but by taking an active part in running the state and in the social and production life of their working collectives. Let us cite a few examples.

A total of 2,010,540 members of village, township, district, city, area, regional and territorial Soviets were elected in the March 1965 elections, when more than half of these bodies (56.7 per cent) were renewed. Nearly four-fifths (1,638,958) of the deputies are members of the sub-committees of the Soviets—one of the most common forms of participation by the deputies in the practical work of the Soviets. Departments staffed by voluntary workers, groups of inspectors and instructors and diverse committees functioning under the Soviets, house, street and neighborhood committees in the towns and in industrial settlements, parents' committees in schools and residential areas, councils in hospitals and clinics, dining room and shop committees in catering and trading enterprises and other forms of public life organized around the Soviets have a total membership of more than 20 million.

What are known as permanent production conferences, members of which are elected in the factories, are a long-established form of trade union participation in management. At present in the enterprises, on the construction sites and on state farms there are more than 130,000 of these conferences with five million elected members, two-thirds of whom are workers. All told over 30 million workers, engineers, technicians and clerical employees took part in production conferences in 1965. These conferences endorsed over 1,500,000 suggestions concerning technological advance, improvement of conditions of life and work, greater productivity of labor, remuneration, etc. Three-quarters of these suggestions have already been carried out. Some 6 million voluntary activists take part in the public control bodies.

Many more examples could be cited. It can be said that never before have the Soviet people taken part in such numbers and on such a truly nation-wide scale in managing the affairs of society. But the Party aims at still broader participation; there still are many people not actively engaged in governmental or social activity. It is, therefore, one of the vital functions of the Party to draw every citizen into public life and to help him to cope with this work. The vast scale of this

activity is a manifestation of the growing role of the Party.

The 23rd Congress stressed that the work conducted by the Party among the masses should be truly creative work; what is needed is organizational skill, ability to show people on the basis of concrete examples the reserves still to be drawn upon in building communism and how the reserves can best be used. On the other hand it is the duty of all Party committees and organizations carefully to study and generalize the suggestions and the criticisms made by the people and to take steps to rectify shortcomings. When the people know that their views are listened to, when they find that their contributions are useful, social energy will be released to a still greater extent. The vast growth in the political and labor activity of the masses, the development of independent initiative, is proof of the growth of the Party's role.

For some time now the capitalist propagandists and those who echo them have become somewhat muted about the alleged danger stalking Soviet people arising from the growing role of the Communist Party. Instead they are propounding a different thesis—an invented one of course—to the effect that, as Soviet society develops, the tendency is for the role of the Party to decline. Actually, however, in a society building socialism and communism the tasks which must be solved in the interests of the new society increase all the time, as does the number of people actively engaged in building this society. And the only political organization capable of uniting the efforts of all the working people, of all state and public organization, of all the forces building the new society, is the Marxist-Leninist party.

The Party generalizes the best experience and makes it available to the entire mass of the working people. The dissemination of advanced views and ideas, of the most advanced experience in labor and everyday life, is a key element of Party work. At the same time the study and generalization of the experience of the people is a cardinal condition for the creative development of theory. Communism does not come into being spontaneously, it is built by the conscious, purposeful efforts of the masses. And this implies guidance of the efforts of the masses in keeping with cognized objective laws of social development.

Never before has theory and its creative development played such a role in the life of society as in the period of building communism. In turn, the growing social significance of theory is incontrovertible proof of the growing role of the Party which, in elaborating its policy, examines all the important changes in

social life and carefully studies the experience of the masses. Marxist-Leninist theory provides the groundwork for a scientific approach to guiding the country's economic and social life; it is a powerful weapon in combating subjectivism and arbitrary decisions, attempts to skip stages of social development, to ignore reality and its dictates.

A striking example of this approach is the economic reform effected in conformity with the decisions of the March and September 1965 plenary meetings of the Central Committee and approved by the 23rd Congress. This reform rests, on the one hand, on theory, on the economic laws of socialism, on the Leninist thesis concerning the need to build the new society with the aid of the enthusiasm engendered by the revolution and simultaneously on the basis of the material interest of its builders in the results of their labor. On the other hand, this reform is based on practical experience summed up and generalized by the Party and verified by the Party through public opinion. The economic reform was preceded by a broad, businesslike discussion in which various views were put forward and different viewpoints clashed. An important element in this was the economic experiment conducted at first in a small number of enterprises and in shops of the enterprises; but limited though it was, this experiment produced valuable results providing factual confirmation of the effectiveness of the new system.

Widespread work in which theory and practice were interwoven provided the basis for the Central Committee's decisions on the vital matter of agriculture. These decisions range from improving vast tracts of land through drainage in wet areas and irrigation in more arid places, supplying better machines and advancing techniques to human relationships and incentives designed to stimulate production effort, initiative and independence on the part of the cultivators.

Theory is the Party's guide in outlining the perspectives both for a whole historical period and for the immediate years. It draws fully on the experience and views of the masses, verifies its proposals against the collective thinking of the people. This applies also to the elaboration of the basic guidelines for the economic plans of our country. For instance, the compilation of the 1966 plan at the Kuznetsk Iron and Steel Works was preceded by the meetings held in all the departments in October 1965 to discuss the outlines of the annual plan. Critical remarks were made and many suggestions submitted. These were taken into account in compiling a draft

which was then examined by the management with the participation of heads of departments and sections, foremen and the best workers. Finally the draft and the ways and means of carrying it out were discussed at a production conference of the entire plant.

The plant was getting ready to go over to the new system of planning and material incentives. Consequently, preparations for introducing the new way of working proceeded parallel with the compilation of the plan. Problems connected with the reform were discussed in the course of three months at workers' meetings, shop conferences and other forums. More than five hundred suggestions were made concerning the utilization of basic assets and turnover funds, ways and means of increasing profits and improving organization of labor. There was also a technical and economic conference which examined in detail ways of making more effective use of basic assets and increasing profitability. The conference, which broke up into sections to discuss reports and suggestions concerning the transition to the new methods of planning and incentives, worked out recommendations relating to the realization of the suggestions and organizational and technological measures. This was an important link in the preparatory work as a whole.

The 23rd Congress, it will be recalled, adopted the directives for the 1966-70 five-year plan. In view of the immense importance of economically substantiated plans, the Party organizations were to the fore in compiling them. For this purpose they enlisted large numbers of industrial workers, collective farmers and office employees; they made sure that the suggestions submitted by the working people were taken into account in working out practical measures to promote production, and corrected those executives who did not pay enough attention to the views of their workers.

Guided by theory, the Party directs practical activities in keeping with the objective, law-governed development of society. This applies not only to home policy, but also to foreign policy, which is dictated by the interests of the progressive development of society, with a view to counteracting the forces of reaction and aggression. Implementation of this line is the concern of the whole people. This is highlighted by the readiness of our people to aid Vietnam, which is combating U.S. imperialist aggression. The consistent and well-grounded home and foreign policy of the CPSU, a policy which meets the interests of social development, enhances the prestige of the Party, heightening its influence in

all areas of the life of society.

The growing role of the CPSU calls for an organization of its internal life that provides maximum room for initiative and independence, for promoting independent thinking and action within the overall context of the Leninist standards and principles, which distinguish dedication to Party principle from lack of such dedication, planned action from anarchy, and conscious discipline from mechanical subordination. Hence the importance attached by the Party to ensuring that each member with his interests and his needs should be the centre of attention of inner-Party life.

THE VITAL THINGS ARE ACTIVITY, INITIATIVE AND ORGANIZATION

Having defined the immediate tasks, the 23rd Congress devoted attention to promoting the activity of the members and enhancing their sense of responsibility, organization and efficiency.

These problems are solved first and foremost by proper recruiting of new members: only those should be admitted who really rate among the advanced members of our society, who selflessly and untiringly work for the fundamental interests of the people, for communism, who are active among the people and rally them around the Party. Secondly, by enlisting all members in the day-to-day work of the Party and by creating conditions in which the energy, knowledge and abilities of each can be best utilized for the common good.

Congress underscored that life makes ever greater demands on each Communist. Indiscriminate recruiting—the acceptance of anyone who wishes to join regardless of who he is, his relationship to the masses, the role he plays in public life, whether he can really strengthen the Party—would only harm the Party. Some comrades, living as they do in an environment marked by increasing social homogeneity and moral and political unity of the people, at times tended to the view that matters such as those enumerated should not be raised when admitting new members. This was a mistake which could have had dangerous consequences in the sense of detracting from the role of the Party in the life of society.

Shortly before the Congress the Central Committee rectified some mistakes made by Party organizations here and there. For instance, in relation to the work of the Kharkov Regional organization of the Party in accepting new members and in providing for their training, the Central Committee criticized the fact that less demands were being made on

new members and pointed to the need to heighten the responsibility of the Party organizations and individual members in the matter of recruiting. This was a reminder of the need strictly to observe Lenin's counsel that "we must strive to raise the calling and importance of being a member of the Party higher, higher and still higher" for "we need new Party members not for advertising purposes but for serious work."

The problem of admission into the Party and work with new members have been examined at meetings of many regional, city and district committees and also at branch meetings. This is yielding positive results.

Endorsing the steps taken by the Central Committee, the 23rd Congress made it incumbent on all Party organizations more strictly to approach the question of Party membership. "It is imperative," the Congress resolution on the report of the Central Committee declares, "that the most advanced and conscientious workers, collective farmers and intellectuals taking an active part in building communism should be admitted into the ranks of the CPSU strictly in keeping with the Rules. And in the future too the workers should have the leading place in the social composition of the Party."

This corresponds to the nature of our Party and to the role and place of the working class in socialist society. It follows from the Program of the CPSU which states: "Since the working class is the foremost and best organized force of Soviet society, it plays a leading role also in the period of the full-scale construction of communism." This cannot but be reflected in the composition of the ruling Party. Its ranks are being replenished more and more by workers: whereas 40.6 per cent of those admitted to candidate membership between the 20th and 22nd congresses were workers, the percentage between the 22nd and 23rd congresses was 47.6.

The best collective farmers, state-farm workers and skilled machine operators are joining the Party. The rural organizations are steadily growing both in numbers and in quality.

The Party, needless to say, attaches much importance to enlisting the intelligentsia. The best of our engineers and technicians systematically augment its ranks. Of non-manual workers joining the Party, engineers, agronomists, doctors, teachers, designers and researchers account for more than two-thirds. The number of Party members in art workers' organizations is growing. This shows that the intelligentsia is rallying around the Party, selflessly serving the people, whose interests are best of all expressed by the Party.

Selecting new recruits is part of the day-to-day work of the Party organizations. In the course of their educational and organizational activity they train people and surround themselves with non-Party activists, draw them closer to the Party and enlist many in their own activities. In the process people are able to put their talents and abilities to the test, eventually realizing that their place is in the Party, that it is their duty to fight for its ideals not outside the Party but in its ranks.

As good as this method of training and verifying the Party's replenishments is, it nevertheless is not enough to pass final judgment on whether a man is really fit to be a member. It is necessary to continue the training and the testing in the branch; the recruit should work in the branch as a probationer and thus acquire a thorough knowledge of the Program and Rules, of how things are done in the Party, so that he should find application for and be able to verify his own abilities. Not all candidate members, however, qualify for full membership. This points to the importance of the probationary phase, and the Party organizations are taking steps to ensure that this phase should be utilized better than hitherto. At the same time members bear greater responsibility for the recommendations they give to new full and candidate members. The 23rd Congress extended the length of membership required of seconders from three years to five. A recommendation for admittance to the Party is a political guarantee that the applicant is qualified to be a Party member. The Congress decision aims to ensure that seconders themselves should have a good Party grounding.

To heighten the demands made on new members the Congress decided that people under 23 would be admitted only through the Communist Youth League, which provides a Communist upbringing and a good schooling in public life. Some 40 per cent of the new candidate members admitted in the last six months came from the Youth League. Fifty-three per cent of our members are under 40. In this we see the continuity of generations in Soviet society, evidence of the ardent acceptance by young people of the militant traditions of the Party, of its revolutionary spirit.

No small part in recruiting is played by the way applications are handled. It is important for the Party organization to know the opinion of those who work with the applicants, not only the opinion of Party members but also of non-Party people. Applications are therefore examined as a rule at Party meetings open to all who wish to attend. The voting procedure established by the 23rd Con-

gress is also designed to ensure that these opinions are fully taken into account; an applicant is considered admitted if not just a simple majority, as before, but not less than two-thirds of the members attending the branch meeting vote for admission.

More effective work among the masses, with the non-Party activists, and a stricter approach to admittance help to improve the quality of the membership. This is evident from the example of the organizations whose activities have been surveyed in recent times. Take the Communist Party of Lithuania. In the Kaunas city Party organization 50.9 per cent of the candidate members admitted in the first half of 1965 were industrial workers, whereas the corresponding percentage in the first half of this year was 53.8. Of the office workers accepted in the first half of this year 84.1 per cent were specialists of one kind or another as against 78.6 per cent in the corresponding period last year.

A similar picture obtains in many other organizations. In the Dniepropetrovsk Region the percentage of workers among the candidates admitted in the first half of this year rose to 54, compared with 51.2 for the same period last year, in the Karaganda Region from 51.6 to 55.0, in Kamerova Region from 55.2 to 59.2, and in Yaroslavl Region from 46.7 to 59.8 per cent.

In admitting new members the Party organizations proceed from the fact that while it is an honor to be a member of the Party, the responsibilities of the Party member are also great. This idea was well put by Comrade Dmitriyev, a fitter at the Gorky Automobile Plant, in an item in *Pravda*: "I would say this: if you want to be a Party member do not look for an easy life, be prepared to shoulder a heavier load, a greater responsibility for everything that goes on around you."

To heighten the vanguard role of the member it is essential for him to be in a position to work actively in the Party, to give unstintingly of his labor, his knowledge and his experience to the common cause. This opportunity is provided by all-round development of inner-Party democracy and efficient organization of the work of every Party group.

Democracy in the Party, as we know, is manifest above all in the election of all leading Party committees from top to bottom, in their responsibility to those who elect them, in the fact that their composition is subject to change in line with the will of the Party organization. But it is not only a matter of holding regular elections, at intervals stipulated in the Rules; it is also important that they should take place in an atmo-

sphere of critical examination of the reports submitted by the Party committees and strict appraisal of the candidates nominated for election. Party members can freely elect those whom they consider most capable, well-grounded and dedicated to principle. In this connection a significant role is played by the decision of the 23rd Congress to put an end to regulating the renewal of the Party Committees.

The old regulations were unsatisfactory. For instance, not less than half the members of branch bureaus had to be renewed every year; branch secretaries could not be elected for more than two terms, i.e., for two years. As a result good organizers respected and trusted by the membership had to leave active work, and this had a negative effect on the work generally, not to speak of the fact that it in effect restricted the rights of members.

The 23rd Congress underscored the need to pay more attention to the views and suggestions of members. The amended Rules retain only the general principle that elected bodies should be systematically renewed. The question of whom to elect is left solely to the branch meetings, conferences and congresses to decide in the light of the concrete conditions and the professional and political qualifications of the people concerned.

Who comprise the Party committees? If we were to believe some bourgeois critics, it would appear that rank-and-file workers and peasants have no say in the leading committees of the CPSU. Here are some figures showing the real state of affairs. Take, for instance, the Party organization of an average region, that of Omsk. The regional committee consists of 31 industrial workers, 6 collective farmers, 28 specialists in industry, transport, construction and agriculture, 8 scientific and cultural workers, and 60 functionaries, many of them not long from the factories, collective farms or schools. The members of the committee include Hero of Socialist Labor V. M. Zinchenko, shepherd in the Moskalensky state-owned sheep farm, I. I. Katrazhenko, locomotive driver, and A. F. Averyanov, a livestock farmer. In the Omsk city committee there are 33 industrial workers, 26 specialists, 13 scientific and cultural workers, and 36 functionaries. The composition of other district, city and regional committees is roughly the same.

In order to heighten the activity and responsibility of members it is necessary of course not only to observe democratic standards but to have people with a sound Marxist-Leninist grounding. Drawing on its rich experience, the Party constantly im-

proves not only its organizational form but also its educational work. The Central Committee has worked out and is now giving effect to a new system of education which takes into account differences in levels of theoretical preparation and enables each member to advance step by step in the study of Marxist-Leninist theory. Those who lack sufficient political grounding attend an elementary two-year school. The second stage is the four-year school for the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism. Then come the universities of Marxism-Leninism and the city and district schools for Party functionaries and economic executives. Party members with the proper preparation have every opportunity to study independently whatever subject interests them—the History of the CPSU, philosophy, political economy, etc. The Party organizations help these comrades by providing consultations and holding seminars, conferences on theory and talks at which views are exchanged on topical problems.

This system, designed to help each member to assimilate theory and encouraging the steady extension of one's political horizons, will unquestionably give an impetus to the activity of every member and help him to achieve political maturity.

Each member carries on his activity primarily in the sphere of the branch to which he belongs. In keeping with the Leninist principles of organization, the branches are the base of the Party. They bring together the most advanced people, in them the Communist is moulded as an active political worker, they organize the day-to-day work of the members and play an important role in verifying fulfilment of the Program and Rules of the Party.

We now have 333,668 primary organizations. They function in nearly every working collective—in factories, on collective farms and on state farms. Moreover, they are good-sized groups: whereas in 1946 the average industrial enterprise had 38 Party members, the present figure is 81; the corresponding figures in the building industry are 27 and 41, on state farms 17 and 75, and on collective farms 10 and 42. Their structure too has become more flexible and all-embracing. The primary organizations have ramified departmental organizations and also groups at the various sectors. This is important, for these links ensure that each member carries on active work. The emphasis in organizational and political work is increasingly being shifted to the shop, the work team, the sector of an enterprise, in a word, to the masses.

The role play by membership meetings is

growing accordingly. The membership meeting is the highest organ of the particular Party organization, a school for Party education, an organizational form for achieving unity of views and actions. It is here that the member expresses his views not only on the work of his own collective but also on the work of the Party as a whole and of its leading committees.

An idea of how meetings are conducted and the role they play may be obtained from the example of the Party organization in Prefabricated Concrete Factory No. 1 in Volgograd. The questions taken up here include enhancing the responsibility of members for the work entrusted to them, the role of engineers and technicians in improving economic performances, educating young workers, the work done by the Party organization to ensure fulfilment of the plan for introducing new technology and organizational improvements, and efficiency of production and ways and means of improving it. Large numbers of Party members take part in preparing these points for discussion. For instance, problems involved in the transition to the new system of planning and incentives were examined by a committee of 25, including 20 rank-and-file workers, before the meeting held to discuss them. As a result the discussions are lively and businesslike.

Through the branch every member is enlisted in constant purposeful activity; it plans and distributes the work, gives assignments and checks upon their fulfilment, and, when necessary, give members a helping hand. At the same time it strives towards a situation when members will not merely wait for assignments but will display initiative in explaining Party policy, helping people to correct their mistakes, supporting sound initiatives and always setting an example to others. The personal example of 12 million Communists cannot but exert a powerful influence on the masses.

The Podgernoyee Collective Farm in the Voronezh Region has a branch of 67 members who work on all the main sectors. Twelve are experts in mechanized farming, seven are truck drivers, 17 crop growers, 13 are engaged in animal husbandry and three on building work. They are aided by their work-team branches and groups. The agendas of recent meetings include questions such as "What is demanded from a Communist?" and "The Communist as trailblazer in the emulation movement." The Party members are truly the vanguard of the working collective. Most are rated among the best workers. And the collective farm as whole is one of the best.

As we advance towards communism the work of the Party acquires greater breadth, reaching out to all people. It requires, so to say, more subtlety, greater ability to find the right approach to the individual, recognize his qualities, to help shape his outlook and to develop his creative powers. "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work" is the principle of socialism. The discovery and development of the abilities of each in work for the common good is an important condition for the advance of society as a whole and its component working collectives. This is the object of the activities of the Party organizations.

A MORE SCIENTIFIC, BUSINESSLIKE AND FLEXIBLE STYLE OF GUIDANCE

The new tasks and conditions of Party work make new demands on the Party committees. The principle of democratic centralism, the guiding principle of the organizational structure of the CPSU, allocates an important place in all activity to the central and local committees. Strict observance of this principle is designed to ensure that full account is taken of the objective conditions of social development in order to be able to elaborate the correct policies and to carry them out. This principle makes it possible to ascertain the key trends in Soviet society and to take cognizance of the specific local conditions, to heighten the activity of the members, ensure a high degree of organization and the necessary discipline and efficiency. In this connection the forms and methods, the entire style of work acquires exceptional significance.

The 23rd Congress focussed attention also on this question. Its decisions deal with the specific features of Party guidance of economic and cultural development. Pointing out that all Party organizations should concentrate on ensuring fulfilment of the new five-year plan, the Congress stressed that "the Party organizations should utilize methods of organizational and educational work best suited to their needs and not duplicate the functions of the Soviets and economic bodies or exercise petty tutelage over them."

The function of the Party committee is to give political guidance. This is a point that should be underscored again and again, for the present period in the development of Soviet society makes it more imperative than ever for the committees to function precisely in this capacity. What is needed is guidance towards communism, coordination of the diverse and fast-growing forces of Soviet society,

elimination of everything tending to retard the general process of development, and a clear understanding of the perspectives and the concrete and pressing tasks of the day. In these circumstances oversimplification of the methods of leadership, guidance through orders from the top, duplication by the Party of the functions of the economic and governmental bodies and petty tutelage over these bodies cannot be tolerated. For if these methods were to be used Party organizational and ideological work, the selection of cadres and verification of fulfilment of decisions, all of which constitute important functions of the committees and cannot be delegated to other institutions, would inevitably be relegated to the background. Moreover such practices would detract from the role of the Soviets and economic bodies with their large numbers of specialists and activists. In brief such practices would in the long run weaken the influence of the Party on the life of society. The 23rd Congress stressed the fact that the Party committees exercise leadership not by undertaking administrative tasks but by performing political and organizational functions.

Needless to say, inasmuch as the CPSU is a ruling party responsible for the destinies of the country, for the cause of building communism, the Party committees cannot avoid taking up economic issues, deciding questions related to production, to the creation of the material and technological base of communism. But they have their own approach to these questions, their own methods of tackling them, as the Congress emphasized. And, indeed, the Party bodies are increasingly handling these questions from the standpoint of implementing the policy of the Party, taking into account the objective laws of development of our society, the concrete conditions and the views of the masses, from the standpoint of organizing the people to carry out the tasks posed, always displaying concern for the people's welfare.

This can be best illustrated by citing a concrete example. Take the Sumy regional organization in the Ukraine. Not long ago the committees here dealt mainly with production matters, their decisions stipulating in details what the farmers should plant and when, what scientific measures should be undertaken in agriculture, how to take care of the cattle and crops, etc. Now questions of inner-Party life, selecting cadres and verifying their education and work are coming to occupy an ever bigger place. The regional committee as such is a case in point. Here is a list of items which have figured on its agenda:

the work of the Trostenets district committee to strengthen the Party groups; activities of the Shostka city committee to heighten the sense of responsibility of Party members for observing the rules of the CPSU; activities of the Seredino-Budsky district committee to enhance the role of primary organizations in the economic and cultural spheres; selecting, placing and educating cadres in Glukhov district; the guidance given by the Shostka district committee to the branches on the collective farms.

A growing tendency can be observed in the regional, city and district committees of the region to make a profound study of the problems of the enterprises, collective and state farms, to examine the economic aspects of production management, to exert an influence, through the branches, on production and on the life and sentiment of the workers. This finds expression among other things in the emphasis placed by the regional and other committees on work with personnel. Special attention is devoted to the primary organizations. The Shostka City Committee, for example, drew up a 12-month plan of study for Party activists which provides for monthly seminars for the secretaries of branch and workshop committees, once every three months for Bureau and Party Committee members and twice a year for group organizers. These seminars discuss current problems of Party work and analyze Party experience. The primary organizations are beginning to occupy a more prominent place in the activities of many city and district committees.

Much importance is attached to the scientific approach to Party work. For inadequate knowledge of the economic and other objective laws of social development, insufficient study of reality, of the concrete conditions, inevitably leads to the adoption of hasty, unconsidered decisions and actions. A more profound approach to Party work makes it possible to take a differentiated instead of a stereotyped approach to problems. And the important thing is that the Party committees are beginning to realize that for this there must be systematic study of the needs of social development, of the sentiment of the masses, of the specific economic tasks of the given enterprise, district, city or region, and analysis of the life of the Party organizations.

In the past study of this kind was by no means always profound or systematic. There were cases when conceited and none too competent functionaries, though possessing only a smattering of the knowledge required, or displaying little interest in the subject, were guided solely by considerations of the mo-

ment, and did not even trouble to verify the soundness of their opinions. At times the most primitive methods of calculation were used. But where people are concerned knowledge of the four rules of arithmetic is not enough. One must take account of the multiform conditions, must be attuned to the thinking of people, know their possibilities, and be able to determine the economic and social effectiveness of a projected measure.

Much has changed in this respect. A persistent struggle is being waged against manifestations of subjectivism or formalism in the approach to life and its problems. The tried and tested Leninist methods of preparing decisions on a democratic footing are being applied more effectively. Commissions of all kinds—economic, technical, ideological and organizational—function on a voluntary basis at Party committees and branches. The Tula Regional Committee, for example, has a technological council with some 400 people working in its various sections, an ideological committee with 84 persons and a methodological council with 45. In addition, the regional committee has enlisted the services of 95 voluntary instructors. This large group of activists conducts extensive organizational work and at the same time helps to spotlight and examine current problems and find the right solutions.

Special attention is now being paid to the various forms of voluntary activity with a view to eliminating artificial and redundant forms, and reducing to a minimum the number of meetings and conferences. The public is being drawn into discussion and examination of the urgent problems. The methods of concrete sociological study, with the participation of scientists and professional researchers, are being used more and more for preliminary analyses of problems.

In Leningrad, for example, the help of the Institute of Sociological Research was enlisted for a survey of oral propaganda and measures to heighten its effectiveness. Workers in 36 enterprises were polled. The results helped the researchers to work out recommendations to Party organizations. In connection with the introduction of the five-day week, the City Committee of the Party with the participation of the Institute of Sociological Research has been conducting a survey in 12 enterprises to ascertain how the workers spend their leisure in order to work out measures for improving ideological and recreational work. The committee held a seminar for the personnel of the industrial and transport departments of district committees on how to plan the social development of enterprises, i.e.,

how to plan not only production, but the all-round development of the workers, how to improve their skills and their cultural level and achieve harmonious development of the individual. Sociological research has proved extremely valuable in this type of Party work.

Work of this kind calls for deeper study of social life, constant contact with all sections of the population and a thorough knowledge of all changes that occur. And while much is still to be done, it can be said that leading Party functionaries are now examining problems more thoroughly before taking decisions. Highly indicative is the fact that Party committees now submit to the lower organizations all the way down to the branches drafts of their decisions for preliminary discussion.

Theoretical conferences on economic, technological, social and ideological problems of particular interest to a given organization and with a direct bearing on its practical work are becoming widespread. Noteworthy here is the combination of theory and practice, the application of science to the analysis of current problems. Of late theoretical conferences on the organizational work of the Party have been held in some places. The Zheleznodorozhny district committee (Ryazan), for example, held a conference to discuss the question on the purity of the Party ranks and the greater demands made on new members. An interesting conference on the subject of selecting and training cadres, arranged by the Skopinsk City Committee, was attended by branch secretaries, factory managers, managers of collective and state farms, and municipal and trade union officials, 450 in all. A lively discussion took place and many proposals for improving the work were submitted.

Work with cadres occupies a particularly prominent place in the activities of the Party organizations. Strict adherence to the Leninist principles of selecting cadres on the basis of their political and professional qualifications is combined with more attention to the opinion of the branches and working collectives as a whole in making appointments to one or another post. Before deciding on the appointment, the candidate's qualifications as regards professional skill, attitude to his fellow workers and his general integrity are carefully considered. The recommendation of his branch and of the workers in the department or enterprise concerned is taken into consideration. This is an example of the practical application of Lenin's injunction concerning democracy in selecting and promoting cadres. The selection, allocation and training of cadres thus becomes a matter of concern

to the entire Party and state. Take, for example, the Communist Party of Georgia. Here as in other organizations a careful study of a prospective candidate for a responsible post is made at his place of work. When selecting a candidate for the post of manager of the Kutaisi Automobile Plant, the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Georgian Party personally consulted the Party organization in the enterprise. Several candidacies were carefully considered before the final choice was made, which was generally considered the correct one.

A feature of the present period in the life of our Party is that the collective principle of leadership is being developed in all its organizations. A bigger role is being assigned to the plenary meetings of the Party committees and general meetings. It is at these large gatherings and not in the executive bodies (bureaus) that the vital issues are discussed. Discussion is preceded by a thorough preliminary examination of the problems, with due regard to information received from the localities. At present steps are being taken to ensure a steady flow of information between Party organizations at all levels and, what is most important, this information is being used more and more in working out correct decisions, in exchanging experience of Party work and improving leadership.

Further, at membership meetings members of the Party committees are able to obtain a clearer picture of things and to submit their own ideas and suggestions and voice their criticism. This purpose was hardly served by the so-called enlarged committee sessions which became "enlarged" to the point where the members of the committee responsible for the leadership all but vanished in the general mass. Such sessions were more like mass rallies than businesslike meetings, and clearly showed that the number of participants in a committee meeting is no indication of its democracy. Now committee members are in a position to discuss questions thoroughly and express their views openly and in detail at meetings of the committees.

The further development of criticism and self-criticism, the need for which was stressed at the 23rd Congress, likewise promotes the collective principle of leadership and heightens efficiency. This is an imperative need at a time when greater activity and responsibility is demanded from members, when shortcomings in the work of the Party and in its organizations can have an adverse effect on the life of society. In view of this, the Party should so function that every member can be confident that his criticism will

be heeded and his constructive proposals carried into effect. The Party denounces those overzealous Party officials who used to be all too ready to label the frank expression of opinion or disagreement with one or another proposal voiced in the course of discussion as a hostile act against the Party, undermining its unity. Unless suppression of criticism is combated there can be no frank and businesslike discussion of vital issues in the Party.

Hence more attention is being paid to the standard of criticism and self-criticism, and to proposals and suggestions made by the members. For example, nearly all organizations have of late been discussing how the proposals and criticism expressed at last year's annual meetings were being carried out. Party members who boldly expose shortcomings and abuses are getting more and more active support and, on the contrary, those who directly or indirectly try to intimidate the critic, or to brush aside his criticism, are resolutely rebuffed. It is becoming the rule in all organizations that every report of a suppression of criticism is thoroughly investigated at once and action taken.

The decisions and the entire work of the 23rd Congress are convincing proof that the Party is consistently pursuing a policy of greater efficiency all along the line. Revolutionary scope combined with efficiency is the guarantee of success in Party work. To this should be added more clearly-defined personal responsibility of the members, including leading functionaries, improvement in the system of checking on fulfilment of obligations, and greater responsibility of each for the common cause. Regular reports on fulfilment of decisions, assignments and of action taken on criticism and suggestions are made at Party membership meetings, plenary meetings of committees and bureau meetings.

The Party wants all its organization and committees to function in such a way that non-fulfilment of collective decisions would be inconceivable, and so that the leadership would ensure the development of the activity and initiative of the members and rely on the masses. Full democracy, free expression of opinion in discussing any question, and a high standard of discipline in fulfilling decisions adopted by the majority—such is the law of Party life.

* * *

Improving Party work and Party leadership is a constant process; the forms of work and the methods used are constantly being per-

fectured. Party life has acquired a more even tenor than in the past, but there is more energy and vigor in it, and its positive impact is felt in everything.

The people are rallying closer still around the Party, as was convincingly demonstrated by the recent elections to the Supreme Soviet. Never before were so many votes cast for the bloc of Communist and non-Party people, for the election program of this bloc, a program based on the decisions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU.

The people are going about their business confidently, calmly and persistently. The plan for the first half year of the new five-year plan was fulfilled in industry by 104 per cent. Compared with the corresponding period of last year industrial production increased by 8 per cent. Thanks to the selfless labors of the collective farmers and state farm workers the harvest prospects nearly everywhere are good.

The livestock produce plan for the first half year has been exceeded.

This is the best proof that the course steered by the Party is the correct one, that the conditions have been created for the further development of the activity of Party members and of every Party organization, for the constructive initiative of the masses. The Party is able to reach out ideologically and organizationally to all areas of the life of society in order to set in motion all its forces, and thus accelerate the advance of Soviet society along the road to communism.

Our Party considers itself one of the contingents of the international Communist movement. It educates its leading cadres, all its members and all Soviet people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. In its activity the CPSU draws on the experience accumulated by the fraternal parties, by the world Communist movement.

Changes in socio-economic relations in the Hungarian countryside

ERNO CSIZMADIA, SANDOR ZSARNOCZAI

PEOPLE EVERYWHERE evince keen interest in the changes in the socialist countries as a result of which millions of peasants have given up private farming and taken the road charted by the Communists — the road of large-scale cooperative agriculture.

This change impinges on the very foundations of rural life. Not only the mode of farming but also the mentality, customs and ethical code of people are changing. A reappraisal is taking place also of such "values" as private property in land which once were considered eternal. All the more important then, is it to make a qualified concrete sociological examination of the new relationships in the countryside so as to accelerate the solution of the problems associated with the reconstruction of agriculture.

CHANGES IN THE SOCIAL STATUS AND LIVING CONDITIONS OF THE PEASANTS

Since the liberation two major changes have taken place in the social structure of the countryside: the land reform of 1945 and the completion of the socialist reconstruction of agriculture in 1959-61.

As a result of the land reform the landed estates and the landlord class were done away with, the number of poor and rich peasants was substantially reduced, and the middle peasantry became the most numerous and

important social stratum in the villages. In the fifteen years prior to 1959 insignificant changes took place in this respect, for, although the establishment of state farms and producers' cooperatives was begun in 1949, this affected only the minority of the peasantry, three-quarters of the peasant farms remaining privately owned.

A radical turn took place in 1959-61. In these three years nearly a million peasant families joined producers' cooperatives. As a consequence private peasant proprietors now account for only 2.5 per cent of the total farms area and roughly the same share of the total agricultural output. The bulk of the land is cultivated by cooperatives which turn out the greater part of the farm production.

The entry of the individual peasants into cooperatives created the conditions for more rapid development of the relatively backward agriculture along the lines of large-scale production. In the period between the two world wars agriculture in landlord-capitalist Hungary increased its production by about 20 per cent in 20 years. In the three years of agricultural reconstruction the total farm production increased by more than 8 per cent, and in the four years since the completion of this reorganization, by nearly 10 per cent. There could be no better refutation of the fears expressed in connection with collectivization as regards the development of the

productive forces and growth of production in agriculture.

The socialist reconstruction of agriculture not only removed the chief obstacle to the development of the productive forces but radically changed the social status of the peasants, the social conditions of their life. In the old Hungary more than one-third of the rural population had no land at all, and another third owned only 9 per cent of the total land area. This section of the peasant population numbering about three million, was dispossessed and downtrodden to such an extent that even capitalist economists and politicians referred to it as "the three million paupers." No one wants a return to the conditions in which the majority of the small and middle peasants cultivating their tiny plots lived in those days.

The socialist reconstruction changed the situation radically. Former landless and land-hungry peasants have gained more from the socialist system and the cooperatives than private plots could ever give them. As for the benefits enjoyed equally by all peasants in the social and cultural spheres and also in health protection, these gains are fully appreciated also by the formed middle peasantry.

Old-age pensions for peasants were unthinkable in the old Hungary. For decades our peasants fought for a health service they could afford. Now it is provided practically free of charge, and hundreds of thousands of aged peasants have the benefit of pensions.

This does not mean of course that socialism, by bringing in the producers' cooperatives, created prosperity overnight. Much has still to be done to raise the peasant's standard of living and to improve his social and cultural conditions. But the cooperatives have radically changed the backbreaking toil and insecurity which once were the lot of the private peasant.

Everywhere in the world private peasant proprietorship benefits only a small number of people. In Hungary, for example, only three per cent of the rural population was able in the past to become middle peasants, and only very few middle peasants became rich enough to employ farm hands. The position of most peasants steadily declined. In the capitalist countries this is still the case. In the more highly developed capitalist countries thousands of farmers below "marginal level," whose farms are too small to maintain their families are being ruined. The capitalists are no longer squeamish about this, and measures to "improve the agrarian structure," in other words, to drive the peasants off the land, are now official government policy in most capitalist

countries. The Common Market program for "improving the agrarian structure," for instance, is well known. According to this program, 4.5 million peasants in Italy, 2 million in France, 1 million in Federal Germany and half a million in Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg are expected to look for another occupation, i.e., to join the urban poor, owing to the need to "go over to more modern farming methods."

The experience of socialism shows that this problem can be solved in a fundamentally different way so that modernization and large-scale production spell economic advantage not for a handful of people but for the majority of the rural population, the small and middle peasants.

Socialism has created the conditions whereby the changeover from obsolete forms of agriculture to modern large-scale agricultural enterprises can take place in a voluntary way without the ruthless elimination of peasant farms, and with a minimum of social and personal conflict, to the economic advantage of the majority. Socialism is the only system in which the leading class is in a position to concentrate attention on objectives expressing the interests of the majority of society and ensuring the wellbeing of all working people, and in which its Party, armed with the scientific outlook, can foresee the socio-economic effect both of separate partial measures and of comprehensive decisions. Reconstructing agriculture along socialist lines accords with the interests of the vast majority of the population, of all working people and the peasants especially.

CHANGES IN THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE COUNTRYSIDE AND THE CONCEPT OF A UNITED SOCIALIST CLASS OF PEASANTS

As a result of the overwhelming majority of our peasants joining the cooperatives the class structure of the Hungarian countryside has gradually changed. The most important prerequisites have been created for the transformation of the peasantry, once subjected to differentiation by private enterprise, into a united socialist class living in a new way and endowed with a new character. This process can be completed, however, only over a long period and through patient ideological and political education based on precise analysis of the circumstances and appropriate economic measures.

The evolution of rural society, like the reorganization of economic endeavor, involves overcoming diverse contradictions. Some of

these contradictions are survivals of the private property mentality of the past, others are engendered by the new situation. Consequently various trends manifest themselves in the countryside even though the overall characteristic features are the association of the peasants for joint cultivation of the land and the growing unity of the cooperative farmers, who are increasingly coming to regard the cooperatives as their chosen way of life.

The shaping of a united socialist peasantry is, then, a complex multiform process. It is complicated by the existence of two sectors—the state and the cooperative—in socialist agriculture. Some 180,000 people work on state farms, and together with the personnel of the machine-repair stations and forestry enterprises, about 280,000. The cooperative take in about 1 million, who fall into two groups: the members of the cooperatives, who constitute the majority, and workers employed by the cooperatives, who account for 10-12 per cent of the total labor force in the cooperative sector. Besides the producers' cooperatives and state farms, there are many groups working on a cooperative basis, specialized associations, diverse simpler forms of cooperation (in these over 100,000 people are engaged) and some 60,000-70,000 non-cooperated peasants. All this testifies to the mixed social composition of the rural population and reveals the diversity of processes under way. The most important of these processes is the crystallization of a class of peasants united through the cooperatives.

Things are further complicated by the fact that thanks to the development of the productive forces and production relations, the nature of farm labor is changing. The traditional forms are undergoing modification and new forms of an industrial nature, or similar to industrial labor, are coming to play a bigger part. More and more people are engaged in organizing and managerial capacities, i.e., essentially mental work. A large percentage of the outside workers employed by the cooperatives is engaged in other than the traditional types of farm work (agronomists, tractor drivers, mechanics, other skilled workers, administrators, etc.).

In connection with the shaping of the united class of peasant cooperators it should be noted that changes are taking place also in the peasant family. There are fewer socially homogeneous families. In one and the same rural family one often finds a member of the cooperative, an employee of the cooperative, a skilled worker and, in many cases, also intellectuals. Nowadays the feature common to all is that earnings are brought in not

only by the head of the family. The old concept of "breadwinner" is changing also in the sense that the wife or another member of the family often earns more than the "head" of the family.

In studying the crystallization of this united class of peasant cooperators it is important to note that this process is taking place at a time when the differences between the basic classes of society are being erased.

Needless to say, different assessments have been given of the processes underway in the countryside. For example, in the course of a discussion of the subject the view was expressed that a new classification should be introduced instead of the Leninist definition of class. Some people believe that the basic criterion of class affiliation is the way in which a person earns his livelihood or the sphere of his activity, while others believe that his way of life is the decisive thing.

In our opinion the Leninist criteria are still valid, being the basic yardstick of class affiliation in any study of the social structure.

Lenin gave the following definition: "Classes are large groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production, by their role in the social organization of labor, and, consequently, by the dimensions of the share of social wealth of which they dispose and the mode of acquiring it."

The principal element in the Leninist definition is production relations; the cardinal criterion of affiliation with one or another class is identical property relationships. Different social classes exist above all insofar as their members stand in varying relationships to property. When these distinctions disappear there no longer will be any classes; society will have become classless.

But the Leninist criteria should not be applied mechanically. Above all it should be borne in mind that the concept of class in itself is not always adequate to define the class affiliation of individuals. It is an expression of social processes measured on the scale of history and characterizes social groups numbering thousands and even millions. Primarily it is a key to the intrinsic content and quality of social processes, an instrument of qualitative analysis. Hence, when it is taken as the basis for detailed quantitative examination of social processes, the degree of its universality should be taken into account.

More and more quantitative social research is being made nowadays. In the sphere of practical politics there is a growing need for more extensive analysis of the quantitative

aspect of socio-political processes. The question of the social affiliations of individuals can be assessed only in the light of statistical and sociological findings. But the principles of classifying individuals cannot run counter to the underlying principles governing class affiliation, not because this is ruled out per se, but because renunciation of the Leninist criteria does not bring us closer to the intrinsic determinants of social processes but makes it more difficult for us to discern them.

Consequently, in discussing the formation of a united cooperative class of peasants and defining the concept itself it is essential to proceed primarily from the property relations. In defining this concept, however, it is not only these relations that should be taken into account, but also the fact that this class is taking shape only now, and that completion of the process will take a long time. And although the basic trend is towards unity, it contains contradictions left over from the past or engendered anew which run counter to the crystallization of unity and the socialist nature of the peasantry.

The rise of the united socialist class of cooperative peasants is inseparably connected with the cooperative form of socialist production relations. When all property will have become the common property of the nation as a whole and when there will no longer be two forms of socialist ownership, the two basic classes of socialist society will disappear.

Clearly, under socialism the differences and the contradictions between the working class and the peasantry are not the same as between the capitalist class and the working class, and in general between oppressors and oppressed in capitalist society. The decisive thing here is that the two forms of socialist property relations are of the same type. In the mode of obtaining income, and especially in the amount of income, there is essentially no difference under socialism between town and countryside. Nevertheless, it is impossible to analyze the changes taking place in classes and class relationships under socialism without creatively applying the Leninist criteria of classes. Class distinctions stem from differences in production relations, and in the overall context of the latter, in property relations. According to the Leninist criteria the essential thing in defining the class affiliations of the various social groups is the relations of production.

Some hold that no demarcation line should be drawn between people who on the face of it enjoy the same status and whose conditions are practically identical. Yet it will be appreciated that what may seem identical

on the surface can differ intrinsically. It is the task of social science to penetrate to the substance of phenomena, to judge of the social structure not by appearance but by essential content. This is all the more important since the evolution of social classes depends on their intrinsic relationships. In examining the alliance of the workers and peasants, too, it is imperative primarily to ascertain the composition and interests of the classes involved.

Examination of the concept of a united socialist cooperative peasant class is not only a theoretical problem, it is an important condition for the correct formulation of day-to-day tasks. Thus, if the emergence of the cooperative peasantry as a new social class is a natural process, it can be accelerated first and foremost by strengthening the cooperatives economically, ideologically and politically.

OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS FOR THE FORMATION OF A UNITED SOCIALIST COOPERATIVE PEASANT CLASS

The main role in the formation of this new peasant class is played by objective factors. Hence the primary, but not the sole task is to develop the socialist character of production relations in the cooperatives as the objective basis for the transformation of the cooperative peasantry into a homogeneous socialist class.

The principal objective condition of this process is the growth of *common*, cooperative property.

GROWTH OF COMMON PROPERTY IN THE COOPERATIVES

	1962	1963	1964	1965	1965 in per cent of 1962
Common property per unit of cultivated land (in forints)	4,224	5,148	6,120	6,921	163
Common property per member (in forints)	26,854	33,778	41,763	48,520	180

The growth of common property is the chief indicator of the strength of a jointly-owned enterprise, and hence solution of problems associated with it merit top priority.

The growth of common property exerts a favorable influence on the development of the socialist outlook of the cooperative members. It takes some time for the peasant co-operator to take the same proprietary attitude towards the cooperative and as he did towards his own personal plot. He tends at first to have less respect for public property than he had for private property, or for the personal plot he tilled after joining the cooperative.

The greater the accumulation of common property and the more actively and creatively each cooperative member participates in building up that common wealth, the more he will respect what is "ours" instead of what is "mine." As cooperative property grows, each member becomes increasingly imbued with a sense of ownership and will safeguard that which has been created by collective labor in which he has a share.

With the establishment of producers' cooperatives and the consolidation of *commonly-owned agricultural enterprises, the place and role of the peasantry in social production changes*. In agriculture based on individual peasant holdings the question of who worked and who did not, who was entitled to appropriate the fruits of another's labor and who was not, depended on the size of the privately-owned land. The weight carried and the prestige and respect enjoyed by the farmer were determined by the same criterion.

In the cooperatives no one can exploit others. People are no longer judged according to the amount of land and other property they own, as is the case in the capitalist countries, but by their labor, their ability and their industry. This is expressed also in the policy of the Socialist Workers' Party with regard to the countryside, a policy based on the principle that the cooperative peasantry should be judged not according to their former class status, but by their work in the cooperative, by their attitude to the publicly-owned economy. This is the principal measure of the activity of the members of cooperatives.

On the individual peasant holdings the entire organization and division of labor, being determined by the size of family, was of a patriarchal nature connected with private ownership. In the cooperatives social division of labor characteristic of large-scale enterprises has come into being, and the question of who does what does not depend on the amount of land but on the ability and efficiency of each member. In electing or appointing people to permanent posts the decisive thing is not former property status but the interests of the community and the competence of the individuals concerned. Although this principle is being increasingly adhered to, it can hardly be introduced fully in the cooperatives without first creating the necessary conditions.

Along with the rise of the new in the cooperatives, old concepts and practices are likely to linger for a long time to come. That is why remnants of the former class division of the peasantry, survivals of the property distinctions, are still pronounced in our co-

operatives. This is understandable inasmuch as the middle peasants contributed more land, implements and machinery to the cooperatives than the small and landless peasants.

The unity and contradiction between the old and the new are manifest also in *distribution*. The bulk of the share of the income to which the cooperative member is entitled depends, in accordance with the socialist principle of distribution, on the quantity and quality of his labor, and the conditions for the consistent application of this principle are steadily improving.

A feature of Party policy in the countryside is that while concentrating on building up the cooperatives, strengthening socialist relations and cementing the unity of the cooperative peasantry, it does not lose sight of the property distinctions and other contradictions which still persist. It has sought to take into account also the former class stratification of society. That is why in the matter of property relations and distribution the Party has moved forward gradually, step by step, as the objective and subjective conditions have matured.

A typical example is the payment of *land rent* in the producer cooperatives. In 1959 when the peasants who owned land began to join the cooperatives en masse, the Central Committee proposed that a small share of the distributed income should be paid to members in accordance with the amount of land they had contributed to the cooperative. During the past few years 6-8 per cent of the cooperatives' income has been paid out to the members in this way.

Payment of rent for privately-owned land encouraged the peasants with their own plots to join the cooperatives. To a certain extent this also helped to draw former peasant proprietors into collective labor. Land rent continued to be a substantial additional source of income for cooperative members incapacitated by age or ill health.

Since payment of rent often causes friction between the former landowning peasants and those members of the cooperatives who never had any land of their own, some believe that if it were abolished the formation of a united socialist cooperative peasant class would be accelerated. As we see it those who hold this view leave out of account certain important circumstances, although they are right as regards the principle of distribution according to labor. They forget that since the organization of the cooperatives on a mass scale the majority of the cooperative members are not the former agricultural proletariat but former peasants proprietors. Payment of rent

therefore meets the interests of most of the cooperative members.

Rent is not simply a concession to the small-property psychology. The Party favored this step at the time not only because it wanted to make it easier for the peasant to join the cooperatives, but also because it believed that this might serve as a means of overcoming the farmer's attachment to private property in land. And indeed, with the consolidation of the cooperative system and increase in the share of the farms' income accruing to the members, rent now plays an ever smaller role and the private-property mentality is gradually changing.

Rent payment is a reflection both of the property relations that existed before the socialist reconstruction of agriculture, and of the social differentiation of the peasantry associated with these relations.

In the case of income from personal plots things are more complicated, although here too differentiation according to former property status is evident. In this connection we might note yet another feature of Party policy in the countryside, that it has *managed to combine the development of large-scale production with rational use of the personal plots.*

Besides the rent question, erroneous views at variance with the political line of the Party are to be met on the question of personal plots. Some believe that the personal plots should be done away with since they see in them the main obstacle to the consolidation of cooperative farming. Others again do not see any danger in even increasing the size of the personal plots. Also incorrect are those who hold that the personal plot is an independent, individual small peasant farm and oppose it to cooperative farming.

The personal plot is an organic complement to cooperative farming, to the producer cooperative. In Hungary we will not be able for some time yet to manage, from the economic standpoint, without the personal plots as a source of supply mainly for the peasant families but also for the urban population. That is why the Party and the Government do not want to dispense with the personal plots, why they want to use them in combination with cooperative farming, with the development of new sources of supply for both town and countryside.

At the present stage of building socialism both land rent and the personal plot are a political and economic necessity. Although they reflect the survivals of the former property division of the cooperative peasantry, correct assessment and approach to these survivals help to strengthen the unity of the peasantry.

We take a realistic approach to these distinctions in elaborating our agrarian policy, and thanks to certain long-range measures they are decreasing. They will not disappear immediately, of course. Moreover, now and again they are accentuated for a time or combine with new contradictions that arise in the cooperatives, in connection with the division of labor, vocational training, or other circumstances. However, we do not allow this to affect our agrarian policy. In the course of building and strengthening large-scale cooperative farming along modern lines we aim gradually to remove these contradictions.

SUBJECTIVE CONDITIONS FOR THE EMERGENCE OF A UNITED SOCIALIST COOPERATIVE PEASANT CLASS

Cooperative farming which is asserting its socialist content more and more is now an integral part of the life of the peasants. However, it would be a mistake to think that psychology and ethics automatically become socialist under the influence of economic achievements. It is not only a question of consciousness lagging behind being, but of the life of the cooperative peasantry including elements of the old alongside the new for a long time to come. Hence when tackling economic tasks special attention must be paid to political, ideological and cultural education.

Political and cultural educational work is an important condition for strengthening the unity and promoting the socialist development of the cooperative peasantry. When waging the class struggle in the countryside at the time of the extensive organization of cooperatives, as well as in preceding years, we had to contend with two trends. We had to combat the conservatism of the individual peasant and persuade him to take the cooperative path; and we also had to contend with the capitalist trend which had naturally developed in the conditions of small-scale commodity production. During the socialist reconstruction the class struggle did not become as acute as might have been expected. In general the adversary did not succeed in exploiting the disputes, vacillation and personal conflicts that accompanied this major social reform. After the socialist reconstruction the political influence of the hostile element weakened, and the consciously hostile forces found themselves isolated.

This does not mean of course that these hostile views have completely lost ground in the countryside. No longer able to engineer direct political actions, to launch frontal attacks against the cooperatives, the adversary

now seeks to use the transient difficulties and weaknesses to undermine discipline, sow uncertainty and magnify the contradictions. Experience shows that the effectiveness of these tactics depends upon the organizational and economic state of affairs in the cooperatives. The adversary is able to play on temporary difficulties where the cooperatives are weak and badly managed, and, on the contrary, has no political influence where they are organizationally and economically strong.

Complete elimination of the remnants of political reaction in the countryside depends on two factors: proper organization and efficient management and the socialist remoulding of public consciousness.

This calls for circumspection and a consistently Marxist-Leninist approach. It is necessary to take into account the way of thinking and habits of the peasants, the fact that the socialist outlook and ethics of the cooperative peasantry take shape gradually, that new members need time to adjust themselves to the new life. Where this circumstance is not taken into account the results are correspondingly poor and, vice versa, where they are, there is greater progress.

Organization of labor and its remuneration provides a typical example. At the present level of the productive forces and mechanization of cooperative farming, the so-called family organization of labor (enlisting members of the family for farmwork) and sharing income accordingly are inevitable in a considerable part of the cooperatives if the yields of crops requiring the expenditure of much labor is to be increased. Allocation of the area sown to such crops according to size of family, and different forms of payment in kind in addition to remuneration for work-day units, are essential measures in the conditions of the cooperative system. The experience of recent years shows that greater headway is made by the cooperatives which recognize the need for these simple forms of organization and payment of labor, their advantages and stimulating effect on production. These forms are more comprehensible to cooperative members, akin to their way of thinking.

Use of these methods does not mean pandering to private-property mentality and tendencies, compromising on a matter of principle, or renouncing the principle of socialism. We use these methods in order to increase farm production, to improve the conditions of the peasants and supplies to the country generally, to accelerate the growth of joint farming and thereby to enhance the socialist nature of the cooperatives.

Forms and methods of management are not something static for all time; they change with the development of the productive forces and production relations. Under socialism production relations evolve with the expansion of the productive forces, and the forms of organization and economic management change accordingly. Management will measure up to requirements if it accords with the concrete situation, if the goals set are feasible. On the other hand, the good manager should not regard existing conditions as something immutable; he should try to improve and change them if need be, and with the agreement of the cooperative members should boldly break down old forms and discard the methods that have become obsolete.

In our ideological work in the countryside special attention should be paid to *moulding collective views among the cooperative peasantry, to combating survivals of small-proprietor mentality, individualism, egoism and evasion of civic responsibility*. The basic thing here is of course the development and consolidation of cooperative production relations, but it is necessary also to wage an ideological struggle. It is important to create an atmosphere in which egoism, which runs counter to the interests of the collective, is condemned even when it does not directly clash with the law.

In the countryside individualism manifests itself not as an ideological trend or philosophical view, but in everyday life and behavior, since it was for many years the natural attribute of farming based on private property. The new conditions created by the socialist reconstruction, on the contrary, make for steady growth of collectivism. The objective groundwork for this is provided by the cooperative system with its public property, social labor and sharing of income accruing from social labor. However, objective conditions produce the greatest effect when they are reinforced by ideological work.

If individualism is to be overcome and the collective spirit promoted, labor must be reorganized on the principle of large-scale production and joint social effort. This is the most effective means of education. As the division of labor is extended the cooperative member has increasing proof that the effectiveness of his labor depends upon the performance of the other members, just as theirs depends on his performance. Repeated confirmation of this makes for the gradual elimination of individualistic habits. Even the egoist gradually begins to think of the collective good.

The spread of up-to-date professional know-

how and the dissemination of knowledge promoting general culture plays a very important role in strengthening the unity of the cooperative peasantry.

The experience which the peasant cooperator brings with him from the past can be successfully applied in cooperative farming. We should appreciate this experience and make use of it. However, modern large-scale farming makes new demands, calls for greater knowledge and skill. The one-time agricultural laborer and one-time middle peasant have equal opportunities for meeting the new requirements, for the decisive thing now is ability and not property status.

Parallel with the socialist construction fundamental cultural changes are taking place in agriculture. At the time of liberation only 39 per cent of the villages were electrified. With the completion of cooperation, electricity has appeared in all our villages. In the old landlord-capitalist Hungary cinemas were a rarity in the countryside. Today every village has one. Practically every family has a radio set. Vocational training has been started on a wide scale (the number of tractor drivers and mechanics alone totals 100,000); also all kinds of special courses are available, attended by up to 10,000 people. Three-quarters of our villages have their community centres. Nowadays the school, the community centre, and the cinema are the characteristic feature of the village instead of the former manor of the big landowner or the church.

The *idealistic concepts and superstitions* in the thinking of the villager can also be successfully combated on the basis of large-scale socialist enterprises and the spread of scientific knowledge. For generation religion was fostered by brutal regimes of exploitation, by the subordination of the working man to social and natural forces beyond his understanding. Religion can be combated — alongside with the abolition of exploitation — by showing concern for the individual, by giving him a helping hand, by drawing him into the

socialist collective, socialist construction, social activity.

The experience of the past years shows that socialism can win over those who still hold religious views. And a differentiated approach to believers is, increasingly, becoming the rule. Communists work side by side with believers in carrying out the tasks of socialist construction. There is no place for discrimination in the cooperatives; the main criterion is the cooperative member's participation in social labor.

The development of the producer cooperatives which give their members a feeling of confidence in the morrow and the spread of scientific knowledge which destroys ignorance are gradually undermining belief in supernatural forces and superstition.

* * *

There was a time when one often heard it "propheesied" that socialism and the producer cooperative would never break through the "anti-collectivist skull" of the Hungarian peasant who was essentially an individualist. Practice has shown what such prophecies are worth. It has shown that individualist, anti-collectivist psychology and behavior are not something eternal, that they are traits which have their roots in exploitation and private property. In the past decades life has made giant strides, big changes have taken place on the international arena and at home. This has created favorable opportunities for continuing the advance along the road of the socialist reconstruction of agriculture and rural society.

In this we are guided by Marxism-Leninism which is the bedrock of the Party's activity. The solidarity of the fraternal parties, and particularly the solidarity of the peoples and parties of the socialist countries, has been and continues to be a great source of strength for us and something on which we can confidently rely in the future as well.

Contemporary trade union problems

PIERRE GENSOUS

GROWING DISSATISFACTION and rising militancy in the working class are in varying degree true of all capitalist countries at the moment. Actions resulting in some success for the workers in a number of countries, notably in the sphere of wages, have been particularly stubborn on both sides. This aggravation of the class struggle is additional proof (if any were needed) that contemporary capitalism, whatever its level of development, is incapable of overcoming its contradictions. Objective conditions bring the working class more and more into conflict with the monopolies, impelling it to put forward demands of an increasingly far-reaching nature.

Take the developed capitalist countries, primarily Western Europe and the United States. New elements have appeared of late in the policy of the ruling classes as new ways are being sought to solve their problems at the expense of the working people. The trade union response is to advance demands more appropriate to present day conditions, to wage a more resolute struggle, with the result that strikes often become more protracted and more bitter.

These changes have their source in state monopoly capitalism and in the new forms it has assumed.

CAPITALIST PLANNING AND "INCOMES POLICY"

The importance attached of late by the ruling classes in the West to "planning" (or "programming" as it is called in some coun-

tries) is common knowledge. Measures in this direction are dictated by the impact on the economy of the rapidly growing productive forces (the technological revolution) and the change in the alignment of class forces both in the different countries and on the international arena. It has dawned on the rulers in a number of West-European countries that planning is a vital necessity for modern capitalism.

But to ensure success for their "planning," the capitalists are obliged to make deep inroads into the independence of the workers' organizations. By means of the planning instrument, and the very idea of planning, they would like to *integrate the unions in the system of state monopoly capitalism*. Concretely, this boils down to getting the workers' organizations to fall in with the aims and spirit of the capitalist planning and thus secure their participation in it. This would naturally lead to "voluntary" relinquishment by the unions of any action detrimental to capitalist planning, in other words, to relinquishing their right to advance wage and other demands.

In this sense an important aspect of the capitalist planning is the so-called "incomes policy," i.e. the establishment by the state of wage ceilings in all branches of the economy. Moves in this direction can be observed in nearly all West-European countries (and in the United States, too, though in a somewhat different form).

But what remains of the independence and autonomy of the working class organizations

if the limit — and an extremely low one at that—for wage increase is set in advance? Such a policy, if consistently carried out, would deprive the unions of all independence, of their very *raison d'être*, would deprive the working class of the possibility of waging the economic struggle against the employers. And what is offered to the labor organizations in exchange? The mere semblance of participation in "planning," the semblance of "self-limitation" by the capitalists.

If the unions were to accept the "incomes policy" they would be reconciling themselves to the present division of the "national cake" between the workers and the capitalists. Moreover, with the usual rapid rise in prices, the limitation on earnings imposed by the "incomes policy" would increase the capitalists' share.

The majority of the workers and their unions are opposed to the official "incomes policy." Even when the leadership formally approves the policy (as in the case of the TUC in Britain, for example) affiliated unions, including those which voted for it, continue the fight for their demands. On the whole, developments in the Western countries show that the rulers have had no great success in getting the unions to accept the "incomes policy."

Nor, evidently, did they seriously hope to. While trying to "sell" the idea to the unions, the capitalist governments at the same time stepped up their offensive against them through legislation. In some countries laws restricting the right to strike and other rights have either been adopted or are projected. In many cases legislative action is directly linked with the incomes policy.

Moreover, the rulers are resorting to "emergency measures" (the state of emergency in Britain during the seamen's strike and similar measures in Holland) and legal persecution of the unions (e.g., in the United States in connection with the New York transport strike and the railway strikes). Emergency laws in Federal Germany are designed, among other things, to undermine the power of the unions.

All this is part of a general plan to emasculate the trade unions as independent organizations of the working class and to incorporate them into the system of state-monopoly capitalism.

The unions are combating these designs not because they are opposed to all economic planning, as their opponents claim, but because they are for the kind of planning that would accord with the interests of their members and strengthen their position in society.

TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION AND THE TRADE UNIONS

The struggle between the working class and capital, the policy and methods employed by both sides today are determined in large measures by the social consequences of the rapid progress of science and technology. Both the immediate socio-economic consequences of the technological advance and the changes in the strategy and tactics of capital caused by it pose new problems for the working class and its unions.

The consequences of automation in the capitalist countries are clearly evident in the United States. It is instructive to examine the conclusions set forth in a report published recently in the United States by the National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress, set up by Congress. The committee included three AFL-CIO leaders and eleven other members (from employers' associations, universities and other groups). While this report accepts the general principles of monopoly capitalism it throws light on some of the social consequences of automation.

"The technological revolution in agriculture," we read in the introduction to the report, "has compounded the difficulties of a large section of our Negro population . . . The closing of obsolete plants and facilities as a result of technological and economic changes has thrown some whole communities . . . into economic distress . . . In 1963, nearly 35 million workers were still below the poverty level."

In recent years, the report continues, the gain in output efficiency as a result of the technological revolution was so great that "two million fewer workers were needed each year to produce the same amount of goods . . . Even though demand rose somewhat, it was not enough to balance both the rising technical efficiency and the new people ready to join the work force."

In other capitalist countries, while the technological advance so far has caused job insecurity and unemployment only in particular occupations and areas, the problem of technological unemployment is becoming more and more evident and widespread.

In the United States the effects are beginning to make even AFL-CIO leaders lose faith in "free enterprise." This is evident from the statement made by the three AFL-CIO nominees and two other members of the above-mentioned Commission: "It is our firm conviction that some form of democratic national planning is essential in the United States . . .

The blind forces of the market are no longer adequate to cope with the complex problems of modern society."

The general problem of how to make the technological revolution a boon instead of a threat to the workers and to society as a whole is emerging in some concrete aspects.

Automation in some branches confronts the unions with the problem of tactics, and especially strike tactics. The fewer the workers engaged in production the easier it is for the employers to prevent stoppages. Since the nature of the work has changed a few technicians are enough to keep the enterprise going. There have been cases — chiefly in North America where automation is more advanced — when the employers have managed to defeat strikes at automated enterprises. The Irving Refinery in Canada (a highly automated oil refinery), for example, kept production going through the engineering and technical personnel for the six months its workers were on strike.

The trade union movement should draw a lesson from this. For one thing, there is obviously a growing need to organize the non-manual workers — foremen, technicians, engineers, office employees — and to ensure the unity of the different groups of workers in all actions, which implies joint consultations when preparing collective agreements or actions of one or another kind.

One of the biggest problems posed by the technological revolution is that of the vocational training and retraining of workers. The monopolies approach this problem from the standpoint of their own narrow interests and the capitalist state does very little in this respect. Only a minority of young workers receives any proper training, and in this field discrimination against girls is even greater than in the case of general education. The result is that a considerable part of the youth are doomed to unemployment or to unskilled labor (with the threat of ultimately augmenting the ranks of the unemployed as technology advances). At the same time, what vocational training there is as a rule is too specialized, with inadequate theoretical grounding to enable rapid readjustment to new technology. Thus, the "trained" youth, too, are threatened with unemployment.

The whole system of education and vocational training needs recasting and a democratic system should be created that would give all young people free access to all-round education and training for a vocation in which their talents and interests can flourish to the full. This is a matter also for the trade union movement.

With the advance of automation the unions are calling for shorter working hours (to lessen the danger of redundancy and to enable the worker to enjoy some of the fruit of the automation); adequate compensation for those laid off; retraining at government or employers' expense with full pay; help in obtaining new work and reimbursement of expenses connected with housing, moving, etc. The British law on redundancy compensation, enacted last December, was in a way a victory for the workers, despite its shortcomings.

Thus, the fight of the workers and their unions against the consequences of the rapid technological advance envisages a broad range of demands. It is a fight against unemployment, against speed-up and nervous tension, for better safety measures and for higher wages. At the same time, the workers and their organizations are beginning to concern themselves with such matters as skill gradings, allocation of jobs, methods and organization of labor, the hiring and dismissal of workers, etc., in a word, questions which the employers have hitherto regarded as their own exclusive domain.

In recent years the unions in Western Europe and North America have been insisting that these issues should be a matter for collective bargaining, i.e., for negotiation, and should not be decided arbitrarily. In the United States and Italy, to mention only two countries, this has been the cause of major conflicts with the employers in key branches of industry.

Closely associated with this is the fight for the *rights of factory committees* (or analogous bodies, as, for example, the shop stewards committees in Britain). Elected by the workers at workshop and factory level, these committees seek to curb any high-handed action by employers; in particular, they insist on being consulted when technical innovations are being introduced.

This invasion by workers' organizations of what the capitalists have always considered their exclusive bailiwick has alarmed the employers. Noteworthy in this connection was the statement issued last year by the National Council of French Employers that "in the sphere of management of the enterprises authority cannot be shared." West-Germany and other capitalists have voiced similar sentiments.

But for the worker to profit by the scientific and technological revolution, it is not enough to fight to restrict the power of the employers. It is essential to strive also for other more far-reaching changes, for demo-

cratic anti-monopoly reforms in a number of areas.

TRADE UNIONS AND NON-MANUAL WORKERS

The technological revolution produces considerable changes in the occupational structure of the labor force.

The new and rapid developing industries such as atomic energy, space exploration, electronics, chemicals, etc., have a high proportion of non-manual workers, chiefly scientific and technological personnel. In many countries there has been a sharp drop in employment in some light industries (textiles and others), in coal mining and rail transport, where the proportion of manual workers is high.

The proportion of non-manual to manual workers is rapidly increasing. In the United States, according to some estimates, there are two non-manual for every three manual workers. In Britain in the early fifties white-collar workers comprised about one-fourth of the labor force; by the early sixties the figure had risen to one-third. In France and the Scandinavian countries the picture is the same. There has been a particularly rapid increase in the number of engineers and technicians. In France, between 1954 and 1962, the number of engineers rose by 74 per cent; technicians, 81 per cent, and supervisory staffs, 60 per cent. Similar changes can be observed in other developed capitalist countries.

Moreover, differences in the nature of the work performed by manual workers and other categories show signs of disappearing, due mainly to the continued mechanization and automation. In remuneration for labor, and partly also in social status, the gap between the manual and non-manual worker is notably diminishing. The traditional privileges enjoyed by the white-collar workers are gradually disappearing, with the result that they are faced with many of the same problems as the manual workers.

A new feature is the growth of class consciousness among non-manual workers. The recent statement by the congress of the union of supervisory staffs affiliated to the Force Ouvriere in France declaring, like the kindred unions affiliated to the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) and the French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT), in favor of joining the labor movement is indicative of this evolution, as is the fact that office employees are participating with growing frequency in working-class actions. The trade union movement should give every support to

their efforts and involve them in working-class activity.

What are their main demands?

First, a just wage structure ensuring adequate pay at all levels corresponding to qualifications and experience; guaranteed opportunities for advancement and security of employment; full bargaining and trade union rights; guarantee of working conditions by collective agreement; proper training schemes under trade union supervision; continued training to improve skill and keep up with the latest developments, in working time as a recognized right; reduction of working hours.

Discrimination against women is particularly widespread in the non-manual occupations. Few women have access to these occupations, and their average pay is well below that of their male colleagues. In France, for example, only 3.7 per cent of the certified engineers are women and their average earnings, according to an official survey conducted in 1963, are one-third below those of men. This is partly because women are confined to a narrow range of occupations (laboratory work, production planning, calculation, etc.). The unions are fighting to end this discrimination.

There are other problems which the non-manual workers in the various countries have in common. One of these is the patent rights of employees for inventions made during working hours.

Nor are these demands put forward passively. Engineers and technicians resort to militant action when need be. In France, we could mention the actions the Thomson-Houston factories for higher wages, at Bull against dismissals and for the nationalization of the company, at Chausson, at the SNEKMA and Worthington Works. In Britain unions catering to these categories have called many strikes on question of wages, holidays with pay, etc. The draughtsmen's union recently won a long strike against the employers' practice of "contracting out" designing work.

While in some of the mass-production industries the number of manual workers in the unions is declining as their employment is reduced, white-collar workers are in many cases flocking to the unions. This applies in particular to scientists, technicians and supervisory staffs. Membership of their unions is rapidly growing. For example, in Britain the technicians and supervisors union (ASSET) has doubled its membership in the last five years.

On joining the unions, these categories of workers advocate more militant policies. In Britain, for example, where under pressure from the Labor Government, the TUC and

many unions supported the "incomes policy," five unions of researchers, technicians and supervisors formed a united body to oppose this policy and to campaign actively against it. The same unions also vigorously protested against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and called for more exchanges with the unions in socialist countries.

Of course by no means all unions of white-collar workers (or their members) are in the forefront of the labor movement. It goes without saying that the higher proportion of this category poses new problems and difficulties for the unions and necessitates a quest for new methods. But in the final analysis, *the influx into the unions of non-manual workers, men of science and culture strengthens the trade union movement, makes it more representative and broadens its outlook and range of interests.* In the struggle waged in conditions of the technological revolution, state-monopoly capitalism and programming, the unions will be able in large measure to draw on the capitalized knowledge of the engineers, economists, and scientists, and this is extremely important today. The working-class movement thus acquires greater possibilities for advancing democratic, anti-monopoly solutions of the urgent problems facing the capitalist countries.

NEW AND BIGGER ROLE OF THE TRADE UNIONS

It is clear from the foregoing that the trade unions are carrying on the struggle in a changing situation. We have mentioned the three new factors to be reckoned with: capitalist planning and "incomes policy," the scientific and technological revolution, and the changed composition of the labor force — the greater proportion of non-manual workers. To these changes, which concern the trade unions in the developed capitalist countries primarily, one more factor should be added, namely, the increased aggressiveness of imperialism, primarily, U.S. imperialism. This is something that concerns the workers and the trade unions of all countries without exception, if only because it heightens the danger of a devastating world war.

These changes in the objective situation make it incumbent on the unions to play a new and bigger role, not to take government policy for granted as something beyond their control, and to take more vigorous and purposeful action to change government policy on a number of issues affecting the interests of the workers.

At a time when governments are arrogating to themselves ever broader functions in regulating the economy in the interests of big business, the wages and hours fight of the unions objectively acquires a political coloring. Those trade union centers in the West European countries which opposed the "incomes policy" were thereby intervening in government policy. This is even more noticeable when the unions — through strikes or in other ways — win wage increases over and above the norms of the "incomes policy."

In general, with the development of state-monopoly capitalism the unions cannot advance any concrete economic demands — whether it be for higher wages for substantial groups of workers or action to prevent the closing down of an enterprise — without intruding in the sphere of state (above all, economic) policy. In these circumstances the unions find it increasingly difficult to confine themselves to "pure trade unionism," a concept which nowadays restricts the unions' sphere of action and prevents them from effectively defending the interests of their members.

It is symptomatic that the logic of the economic struggle against the employers, who are supported more than ever before by the state, is compelling even Right-wing union leaders to question government policy. A typical example is that of the American labor movement which (including the AFL-CIO leadership) opposed the 3.2 per cent wage increase ceiling stipulated by President Johnson. This was the first open conflict with government policy in many years. George Meany, for example, stated that he did not like the "guide-post policy" because it rules out collective bargaining.

Technological progress, as we have seen, works in the same direction, forcing the unions, willy-nilly, to intervene in government policy. The unions cannot ignore the changes caused by the new technology; they offer constructive solutions when, for example, entire branches of industry are threatened, thus acting not only in the interests of their members but in the national interest as well.

The sphere of activity of the trade unions is steadily expanding. They can no longer confine themselves to the traditional fight for the best possible conditions for collective bargaining. *With the advance of science and technology and the growing government role in the economy, problems arise which cannot be solved by the old-time collective bargaining but call for solution on a national scale.* This applies chiefly to the purely economic prob-

lems, as for instance the channelling of investments to one or another branch, but it also applies to public education, the health services and pension schemes.

In all these spheres the leading trade unions advance their own anti-monopoly solutions and seek to ensure their acceptance at government level. At the same time they fight for more rights in the enterprises and on a local, regional and national scale.

But trade union functions are not limited to economic policy and associated spheres. Being the biggest mass organizations, the unions in many countries actively participate in the defence of political democracy, of the rights of the people.

In France, for example, the General Confederation of Labor takes an active part in rallying the people to put an end to the regime of personal power and establish genuine democracy. In Italy the General Confederation of Labor joins all Italian democrats in protesting against neofascist sallies and in the fight to uphold and extend democracy. In West Germany the Trade Union Federation at its last congress again went on record against "the emergency laws" which the Bonn government is anxious to impose on the people. In Spain the semi-legal workers' committee, the embryo of free unions, play an important part in the fight to end the Franco dictatorship and restore democracy in Spain. The Greek trade unions have come out against the conspiracy of the monarchy and the reaction to suppress democracy.

The unions are confronted with important tasks also in the sphere of international politics. They cannot stand aside at a time when the threat of a war of extermination is mounting, when thousands of people in Vietnam are perishing at the hands of the imperialists and their accomplices. Here, too, the voice of the organized millions must make itself heard.

Thus, at home and on the international plane the trade unions are faced with the job of curbing the economic and political power of the monopolies, counterposing to monopoly policy a policy that accords with the interests of the working people. The Sixth Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions held in October 1965 summed up the experience of the different countries in these words: "It is essential to wage a resolute struggle in order to deal a decisive blow at the economic power of the monopolies, to nationalize and ensure democratic management of the key branches of the economy, nationalize foreign-owned companies having a particular importance for the economy and for research, and secure the adoption of economic and social development

plans drawn up on a democratic basis and carried out under democratic control in the interests of the working people."

UNITY—THE IMPERATIVE OF OUR TIME

The conditions in which the unions function today brings the problem of unity to the fore. The power of the monopolies and their increasing influence on the state, the growing concentration and the rise of the state-monopoly Common Market imparts renewed urgency to the need for working-class unity both on national and international levels.

In these complex circumstances unity is essential in order to win the most immediate and pressing demands of the working class. But as we have seen the same conditions necessitate more far-reaching demands directly challenging the economic and political power of the monopolies.

This in turn brings the problem of unity into still sharper relief. For in order to force the monopolies to accept democratic programs drawn up by the trade unions, a broad mass movement is essential and this presupposes a higher standard of unity and organization than is needed to ensure the satisfaction of current demands. Democratic alternatives to monopoly policy are advanced also by organizations affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions (ICCTU) and some independent unions.

But besides advancing alternatives, every effort should be made to find ways of realising them. Can any single trade union centre in countries with a plurality of these centres secure single-handed the adoption of its program of democratic reforms? Hardly. This can only be achieved by joint action and moreover, in alliance with other sections of the population exploited by the monopolies. This underscores once more the need for unity. It is becoming increasingly clear that this time is the only way to achieve broad democracy.

The new tasks confronting the trade unions in the capitalist countries give new impetus to unity and pave the way to future cooperation. And the need for cooperation becomes more and more obvious.

Some progress has been made in this direction. In France the CGT and the CFDT have for the first time agreed on a joint program of action. In Belgium the common front of unions of diverse trends is growing stronger. In Finland useful steps have been taken toward restoring trade union unity on a national scale. In Spain workers of different views,

primarily Communists and Catholics, are co-operating in the workers' committees.

Notable success have been registered on the international plane. An event of significance for Western Europe was the agreement between the French and Italian confederations of labor to set up a permanent committee to coordinate and extend actions aimed at uniting all the forces of the European workers vis-a-vis the European monopolies. This important step, warmly welcomed by all workers and trade unionists in Europe anxious for unity, has aroused alarm in monopoly circles and among those who are still opposed to unity. The European Secretariat of the ICFTU, for example, is doing its utmost to foil this movement, but with little success, judging by the recent instance of rapprochement between the union organizations in a number of European countries.

For example, railwaymen, municipal employees and printers' unions in France, Belgium, Italy and Britain have met to discuss joint methods of struggle for their common demands. It is no longer a matter only of meetings, appeals, contacts and initiatives emanating from individual trade unionists or organizations at lower levels, but of official initiatives undertaken jointly by the unions on the scale of entire industries. The struggle for trade union unity in Europe is entering a higher stage.

Noteworthy were the decision adopted by the last congress of the Belgian Trade Union Federation which supported the demand of the French and Italian confederations for representation in the economic and social consultative bodies of the Common Market. The Congress also requested the ICFTU to take the initiative in proposing to organizations affiliated to the ICCTU and to WFTU to draw up a common program for the six "Little Europe" countries. This is a new and highly promising sign.

The Sixth Congress of the WFTU also noted the improvement in contacts between trade union centres in the socialist countries and the unions affiliated to the ICFTU. This trend is growing, judging by the decision of the two big West-European organizations — the British TUC and the West-German Federation — to send top level delegations to the Soviet Union, as well as the numerous bilateral contacts at all levels between the trade union centres in the socialist countries and ICFTU affiliates or independent unions in Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America.

But although progress has been made towards unity we cannot fail to see the limitations or the obstacles yet to be overcome.

The AFL-CIO leaders, of course, are avowed opponents of unity. Nevertheless they are becoming noticeably isolated in the world of labor, and their support for the Johnson policy in Vietnam has not helped them in this respect. In Latin America the leaders of the Inter-American regional organization (ORIT), affiliated to the ICFTU, are also diehard opponents of unity.

On its side, the Executive Committee of the Common Market trade unions (ICFTU), after long discussion on relations with the WFTU in the light of the above-mentioned decision of the Belgian trade union congress, declared against contacts, referring to the 1964 ICFTU resolution. This attitude can only retard the growth of international unity. The facts, however, show that many ICFTU unions are not falling in with this line.

But if those who want to see the trade union movement divided continue to persist in their attitude, they will find themselves more and more at odds with reality which more than ever before demands close cooperation between all trade union organizations without exception.

What are the most urgent issues necessitating the cooperation of trade union organizations in all countries and of all trends?

In the first place the need for *solidarity with the people of Vietnam and action to end U.S. aggression there and other acts of imperialist aggression.*

The war against the people of Vietnam has evoked a growing movement of solidarity throughout the world.* United action by the different trade unions determined to stop the aggression and secure implementation of the Geneva agreements is both possible and necessary. In line with the increasingly effective resistance of the people of Vietnam the international solidarity movement must spread far and wide until U.S.imperialism is forced to retreat.

Imperialism is intensifying its aggressive actions against the national liberation movement of the peoples, against the working class, peace and social progress. All means are used — from naked aggression, as for example in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, to engineering or backing of coups in newly-free countries, or savage repressions as in Indonesia, not to mention other means more subtle but no less dangerous. In view of this all-out offensive the anti-imperialist forces must close their ranks. The trade

*For more about trade union participation in this movement see article by Edwin Chleboun in our issue No. 5, 1966.

unions in all countries and of all trends should work together to build a strong international anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist front.

With the growth of monopoly and international monopoly concentration the exploitation of the working class too is acquiring international forms. A case in point is Western Europe where an identical policy of exploitation (with slight variations) can be observed in many countries. The demands advanced by the trade unions acquire more common features. This makes it imperative to promote exchange of experience and to cement international trade union solidarity.

Important too is the need to pool experience and secure closer cooperation among the unions of the developing countries. For the socio-economic and political measures implemented in these countries imposes a special responsibility on these unions. In view of the imperialist offensive solidarity is more imperative than ever.

Another weighty argument in favor of unity

is that the monopolies in the developed capitalist countries are trying to establish or consolidate their economic domination over the newly free countries. Consequently it is essential for the workers and their unions in the former colonial powers and in the developing countries to cement their ties in order to wage a joint struggle against the common exploiter.

The prestige of the socialist countries and their growing role, and the experience gained by their unions in building socialism evoke the admiration of trade unions elsewhere. Moreover the latter can count on the unfailing support of the unions in the socialist countries in the fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

These, then, are the basic imperatives of our time, making it incumbent on all international trade union organizations to enter into or continue the dialogue, to cooperate with one another, and to elaborate or find better ways and means of building a united front of the international working class.

Anti-Imperialist struggle of the Arab peoples

FUAD NASSER

ALTHOUGH WORLD IMPERIALISM was dealt a powerful blow by the October Revolution in Russia, it nevertheless remained strong enough until the Second World War to suppress the uprisings and national revolutions of the Arab peoples. Moreover, the national-liberation movement itself suffered from many weaknesses. The working class was small in numbers and politically and organizationally weak. Its newly-emerged political parties and trade unions were subjected to ruthless persecution by the colonial and other reactionary regimes. As to the peasants, who constitute the main force of the national-democratic revolution, they were not drawn into the revolutionary movement to any appreciable extent, especially since the national bourgeoisie which headed this movement did not seek any solution of the agrarian question in the interests of the peasant masses. The small urban bourgeoisie likewise largely lacked political consciousness and organization. And lastly the ties linking the Arab peoples with one another and their solidarity in the struggle against colonialism were far from durable.

The emergence of an international and internal situation capable of imparting to it a new impulse was of the utmost importance for the Arab national-liberation movement. Such a situation developed on the international plane as a result of the rapid progress of socialism in the USSR and its epoch-making victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism in the Second World War, as a result of the rise of the socialist world system, the weakening of world imperialism and the disintegration of the colonial system.

Within the Arab countries, the movement overcame many of its former weaknesses. During the war there was a notable awakening as the masses became convinced of the strength of the Soviet Union and of the firmness and invincibility of the socialist system. Many Arab countries became either theaters of hostilities or supply bases for imperialist armies. War-

economy considerations accelerated the development of some industries and the transport system, and this in turn led to a numerical growth of the working class, heightened its class consciousness, strengthened its parties and trade unions and enhanced their role in the national-liberation movement. The national bourgeoisie, too, gained strength. New petty-bourgeois political parties emerged.

The national-liberation movement of the Arab peoples entered a period of upswing after the war. Syria and Lebanon were first to win political independence; this happened in 1946, immediately after the war. The decisive role in this victory was played by the support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. For the first time in the history of the movement, Britain and France had to withdraw their troops from these countries, and their efforts to retain military bases there and to obtain other privileges met with failure.

This victory over two big colonial powers gave new heart to the peoples of this area. They saw that the world was not what it had been before the war, that the socialist camp was now a powerful force, an ally they could rely on in the coming battles against the imperialist powers. All this reinforced their faith in their own strength as nothing had before. The liberation struggle expanded steadily until it embraced the entire Arab world. In the course of their battles against imperialism the peoples saw the Soviet Union and other socialist countries firmly and sincerely standing by them.

The resolute support given by the Soviet Union to the Arab peoples during the struggle for the nationalization of the Suez Canal and in repelling the tripartite aggression against Egypt in 1956 was striking evidence of the existence of a firm alliance between the socialist world system and the Arab national-liberation movement, an eloquent illustration of the changed times. The victory won in this struggle marked a sharp turn in the national-libera-

tion movement of the Arab and other peoples of Africa and the Middle East, a turn which was consolidated by the triumph of the Algerian revolution.

Far-reaching changes have taken place in the Arab world in the past 20 years. Colonial regimes have crumbled and most Arab countries gained independence, only relatively small territories remaining under direct colonial rule. The liberation movements in Oman, Bakhrein, Aden and the other dependent territories of South Arabia are undermining the last strongholds of British colonialism in the Arab world. Three countries with a population accounting for nearly half of the entire Arab nation — the UAR, Syria and Algeria — have rejected the capitalist way and taken the path of social progress.

The struggle of the Arab peoples for national independence played an effective part in undermining the world colonial system in a large and sensitive area. And today, too, their struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism and for economic independence and social progress plays a vanguard role in the struggle of the peoples of Africa and Middle East.

SIGNIFICANCE OF ARAB SOLIDARITY IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

The victories won by the Arab peoples over imperialism, and in general their achievements, have aggravated the contradictions between these peoples and the imperialist powers. The Arab countries, with a population of nearly 90 million, occupy an important strategic position and possess enormous oil wealth. They have an important place in the economy of the capitalist world system and in the strategic plans of imperialism. The strengthening of their political independence, the liberation of their economy, and in particular their oil resources, from the grip of foreign capital, their advance along the road of social progress and democracy, and the realization of Arab unity are all blows at world imperialist strategy and the world capitalist economy. All this increasingly impinges on international life, helping to shift the world balance more and more in favor of the forces of peace, freedom, democracy and socialism.

Consequently, it is clear why the imperialist powers are continuing individually and jointly to weave intrigues against the Arab national-liberation movement and the liberated Arab countries, in particular against the UAR, the biggest and most dynamic of them. They are clinging to the oil wealth of these countries, striving to regain the economic positions they have lost, to check the African and Middle East national-liberation movements, and to create more favorable conditions for preparing aggression against the socialist camp.

To this end they resort to every possible means, both overt and covert, bringing economic and political pressure to bear and invoking both religion and anti-communism. They engineer counter-revolutionary coups, and re-

sort to threats of military action and actual armed intervention, as was the case in 1956 in Egypt and in 1958 when the USA and Britain landed troops in the Lebanon and Jordan with the object of striking at the Iraqi revolution. Today they are engaged, with the help of the Saudi Arabian rulers, in armed intervention in the Yemeni Arab Republic, operating from bases in South Arabia. They maintain military bases in Morocco, Libya, Aden and Saudi Arabia for purposes of intimidation and aggression. The U.S. Sixth Fleet is stationed in the Mediterranean, poised for aggressive action against the Arab countries. In the imperialist strategy aimed against these countries Israel, recklessly transformed by its rulers into a veritable arsenal, has been assigned the role of forepost. Tied hand and foot to the imperialist powers, Israel has become a seedbed of tension in the Middle East.

The imperialists, pinning their hopes on reactionary regimes such as those in Saudi Arabia, Morocco and Jordan, are working feverishly to link them with similar regimes elsewhere in Africa and the Middle East by means of an "Islamic pact" designed to complement other imperialist line-ups. Neocolonialist penetration into many Arab countries, which is proceeding in sharp competitive struggle between the imperialist powers, is being stepped up. But the Arab peoples and the governments of the countries which have launched out on the path of progress are resolutely rebuffing the imperialist, Zionist and other reactionary machinations. Their struggle to strengthen their political independence and for economic liberation, social progress and democracy is becoming steadily more resolute and is acquiring deeper social content. They are establishing closer relations and cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries as well as with all other forces of peace and progress throughout the world.

Despite the lack of unity which caused the Arab peoples so much suffering over the years, and despite the fact that the process of political and economic liberation and social progress is not identical in all the Arab countries owing to their specific conditions, the struggles of these peoples are interlinked, as are their destinies. As the battle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, for the abolition of corrupt reactionary regimes and for social progress develops, the inter-connection becomes closer. Cooperation between the peoples, their solidarity and their common struggle acquire new forms and a new content. The past 20 years have provided striking examples of rapprochement between the Arab peoples and their growing solidarity, testifying to the strengthening of the movement for Arab unity.

The radical changes in the Arab liberation movement have impelled the imperialists, the big capitalists and other reactionary elements to give up their old hobby-horse of Arab nationalism and unity. Today the imperialists and the reactionary forces in the Arab countries are staking on Islam, seeking to use it as their

ultimate weapon against the liberation movement, to keep the countries disunited, to set one against the other, to undermine Arab solidarity and to disrupt the democratic and progressive forces.

Any stand on the part of one or another detachment of the latter which might weaken their unity and solidarity would only have harmful consequences for themselves and their peoples. Successful struggle against imperialism and the Right-wing forces calls for cohesion among the revolutionaries, the transformation of the movement for Arab unity into an effective weapon. This, in turn, makes it imperative to combat erroneous views alien to the unity movement, to wage a resolute struggle against trends towards isolation, regional insularity, perpetuation of disunity, and to engage in an untiring search for suitable forms of unity.

The Arab peoples, irrespective of country, have a common destiny, and hence the evolution of their national and social aspirations inevitably makes for unity among them. We are living at a time when the peoples are drawing closer in the process of struggle. Leonid Brezhnev, in the report of the Central Committee to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, said: "An important factor of our day is the consolidation of the unity of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples in the struggle against imperialism. The Afro-Asian solidarity movement, the movement for the unity of the Arab peoples and for the unity of the peoples of Africa, and the solidarity movement of the peoples of the three continents conform to the vital interests of the peoples, and we actively and ardently support them."

ATTITUDE OF THE NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE TO SOCIAL PROGRESS

In our time the conquest of political independence by most of the Arab countries is an important revolutionary factor making for far-reaching changes in the Arab world. The Arab national-liberation movement is no longer limited to the boundaries of one or another Arab country. It has swept the entire Arab world. It has been joined by the masses of working people in town and countryside, whose growing consciousness and revolutionary activity are exerting an increasing influence on the development of the national democratic revolution, preventing it from stopping at the winning of political independence (as in the past), carrying it into other spheres, and transforming it into a revolution of social progress. As a result of these deep-going changes and the consequent sharpening of social contradictions in each Arab country and on the scale of the entire Arab world, the national bourgeoisie in most countries, although it has not yet exhausted its revolutionary anti-imperialist energies, is no longer able to head the national democratic revolution at the present stage or to tackle the general democratic problems facing

it. This is explained by the inconsistency and duality of the national bourgeoisie, its mercantile spirit and its close connection with landed property and semi-feudal production relations.

The national bourgeoisie in Syria, for example, came to power after the country had achieved political independence. True, it carried out a number of economic, social and political reforms, all of which, however, were undertaken primarily in the interests of the national bourgeoisie and the other propertied classes, their purpose being to consolidate and develop capitalism. None of the reforms in any way encroached on the interests of the feudal landowners or the leading capitalists. On the contrary, they enabled these people to increase their wealth and their power over the economic, financial and political life of the country. These reactionary classes and social strata, with the help of various ultra-Rights — military and civilian — sought to abolish the few democratic freedoms that existed in the country, frustrated any move toward social progress, toward strengthening and expanding economic relations with the USSR and the other socialist countries. They plotted with imperialist states and diverse reactionary forces in an effort to involve Syria in various blocs and to implement the "Greater Syria" or "Fertile Crescent" schemes of the colonialists.

These were the principal factors which led to the abrupt termination of the brief period of relative stability, and ushered in a period of unintermittent economic and political crises, expressed primarily in a succession of military coups and frequent changes of government, which on more than one occasion brought Syria to the brink of disaster.

This sharpened the political and social contradictions, and intensified the struggle of the working class and its Party, of the masses and the democratic and progressive forces who were determined to put an end to the conspiracies of the imperialist states and the ultra-Rights, to preserve and consolidate independence and direct the country onto the pathway of social progress and democracy. The economic reforms carried out in Syria in July 1961 and at the beginning of 1965, and also the events in February this year cleared the way for this new path.

Unlike the national bourgeoisie in Syria who after the Second World War played a prominent part in the popular struggle for the repeal of the French mandate, the withdrawal of foreign troops and for political independence, the Egyptian national bourgeoisie (represented by the WAFD party) proved utterly incapable of taking a stand against the British occupation. They retreated before the tyranny of the Royal Court, the alliance of the feudalists and monopolists, seeking to check the popular struggle and prevent the people from uniting. The reason for this should be sought in the composition of the WAFD leadership and in the acute social contradictions with which Egyptian society was rent at the time.

As a result of the sharpened social contradictions in Egypt, the national struggle for the withdrawal of British troops and the termination of British rule merged with the economic and social demands of the working class, the peasant masses and other sections of the working population. With the WAFD leadership consisting largely of big property-owners and capitalists, it proved unable to take the lead of the national-liberation movement, and for the first time a division took place in the party, not only at the top, as had been the case before, but at the lower levels as well. The rank and file, most of whom came from the middle sections, broke away from the party and criticized the leadership for its inconsistency and for its renunciation of the struggle against the Court and imperialism.

If the Egyptian national bourgeoisie demonstrated their incapacity to head the national struggle against British rule and against the monarchy, their attitude after the revolution of July 1952 was no better. Although this revolution was directed primarily against British occupation, the monarchy and the big landowners, and not against the bourgeoisie and the capitalist system, a large section of the national bourgeoisie opposed even the partial and limited land reform carried out by the revolutionary leadership in 1952. Despite the advantageous conditions offered them to secure their participation in industrialization and economic development they continued to hold back. The top crust came out against expanding the public sector, against state intervention in the economy, and resisted any expansion of economic relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

From the outset the plans of the revolutionary leadership aimed at industrialization and economic development were sabotaged by the big capitalists and landowners, not to speak of the imperialist powers and the foreign monopolies. The revolutionary leadership, consisting mainly of men from the middle sections of the population, soon learned that it would be impossible within the framework of the capitalist system and relying on the Egyptian bourgeoisie, the Western powers and the foreign monopolies to achieve the economic development of Egypt and make it a strong, independent, and highly developed country. Another way had to be found. The nationalization of the Suez Canal and the foreign companies, expansion of the public sector and the nationalization of the banks — these were the cardinal prerequisites for the new path on which Egypt formally embarked with the July 1961 decisions on nationalization.

In the Sudan the national bourgeoisie likewise demonstrated inability to march in step with the national-liberation and social movement of the people after political independence. Faced with the aggravation of social contradictions and the mounting struggle of the working class led by the Communist Party and of other sections of the working people to con-

solidate independence and for far-reaching social and economic reforms, the reactionaries among the senior army officers jointly with the imperialists plotted and carried out a reactionary military coup in November 1958 with the aim of abolishing the meagre democratic rights existing in the country, striking a blow at the working class and its vanguard, and suppressing the struggle of the working masses. A military dictatorship was installed. But the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, in alliance with other democratic and progressive sections of the population, rose up in October 1964 and swept away the reactionary regime. Victory had hardly been won, however, before the top bourgeoisie began to plot against the revolution and completely renounced its goals. Another reactionary regime was imposed on the country, the Communist Party was banned and its representatives expelled from parliament in a desperate effort to halt the movement for progress and democracy.

The position of the Algerian national bourgeoisie as regards the choice of the future path of development in assense differs only slightly from that of the Syrian, Egyptian and Sudanese, if we discount the specific conditions of Algeria and the pattern of Algerian revolutionary development. After independence had been won, some sections of the national bourgeoisie and of the petty-bourgeoisie in the National Liberation Front proved to be unready to tackle the democratic tasks facing the country and were violently opposed to the non-capitalist way and the socialist perspective.

The stand taken by the national bourgeoisie on the issue of future development is essentially the same in most of the independent Arab countries. The top crust is concerned with preventing radical reforms, and this in turn aggravates the social contradictions and intensifies the struggle of the working class and other democratic and progressive forces against neo-colonialism, for consolidation of national independence and the advance of the respective countries along the non-capitalist road.

AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND CAPITALISM

Of late some comrades have expressed the view that it is wrong to say that the national-liberation movement has reached the stage where it can take action—even before the proletariat has come to the fore—not only against colonialism but also against imperialism and capitalism. To what extent does this view apply to the national-liberation movement of the Arab peoples?

True, the Arab national-liberation movement is not developing at the same rate and on the same scale everywhere. In some countries, such as Oman and Aden, for example, it is still fighting to overthrow the colonial regime and to win political independence. Other countries, such as Jordan, Morocco and Libya have gained political independence, but an independence

that is neither complete nor stable. These countries largely remain under imperialist domination, not only politically and economically but also militarily, as is the case with Libya, and are now the object of neocolonialist penetration. In these countries the movement is fighting for complete political and economic independence. Then there are countries, like the United Arab Republic and Syria, which not only enjoy political independence but which have advanced a long way along the road of economic emancipation, and are at present making notable economic and social headway. These countries are working to consolidate their political, economic and military independence, to build a new society and to withdraw completely from the orbit of world capitalism.

These differences notwithstanding, the disparities in development of the national-liberation movements in the various countries cannot be regarded as permanent in this era of the transition from capitalism to socialism. The liberation movement, both on the scale of Asia and Africa as a whole and on the scale of each individual country, is presently at the transitional stage. It is constantly changing and should be seen not as something static but as a process in a state of evolution. The general outcome of this revolutionary struggle, then, is the disintegration of world imperialism. Although the national-liberation movement cannot put an end to the social and economic system of imperialism by itself, nevertheless by merging with the mainstream of the world socialist revolution, in firm alliance with the socialist world and the working class of the capitalist countries it has participated and continues increasingly to participate in bringing about the downfall of imperialism. As Lenin said: "World imperialism shall fall when the revolutionary onslaught of the exploited and oppressed workers in each country . . . merges with the revolutionary onslaught of hundreds of millions of people who have hitherto stood beyond the pale of history, and have been regarded merely as the object of history." (*Lenin Vol. 31, p. 232, English Edition.*)

Marxism-Leninism has never sought to separate the struggle against colonialism from the struggle against imperialism, for it holds that colonialism is merely a continuation of the domination of finance capital outside its own national boundaries and is one of its mainstays. Even when the proletariat does not exercise the leadership of the national-liberation movement in one or another country it nevertheless plays its part in the struggle against imperialism. Even more so is this true after the collapse of the colonial system, when most Asian and African countries have won political independence and the national-liberation movement in many of these countries has entered a new stage. At present the national-liberation movement as a whole is directed not only against the remnants of the colonial regimes and feudalism, but against the economic tentacles of finance capital which extend beyond

national frontiers, against state monopoly capitalism and its entire economic, political, military and ideological machine. This explains the growing alliance between the national-liberation movement, on the one hand, and the socialist system and the working class in the capitalist countries, on the other, in the struggle to break the octopus-grip of the state-monopoly capitalism of the imperialist powers which, as the Program of the CPSU puts it, "combines the power of the monopolies with the power of the state in a single mechanism with the aim of enriching the monopolies, suppressing the working class movement and the national-liberation struggle, saving the capitalism system and unleashing aggressive wars."

It would be a mistake to regard the national-liberation movement merely as a reserve or as an auxiliary of the socialist revolution. In reality it merges organically with the latter and is one of its components. Lenin demonstrated this conclusively when he said ". . . the socialist revolution will not be solely or chiefly the struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in each country against their bourgeois—no, it will be a struggle of the imperialist-oppressed colonies and countries, all the dependent countries against international imperialism" (*Vol. 30, p. 159, English Edition.*)

Any attempt to minimize the part played by the national-liberation movement in the destruction of imperialism and the victory of socialism, any attempt to limit that role to the anti-colonial and anti-feudal struggle, on the grounds that the proletariat does not exercise the leadership, can but harm the movement and weaken its alliance with the socialist world system and the working class of the capitalist countries, and thus prevent the young working class in the newly-independent countries from taking its place in the forefront of the national liberation struggle.

In order to answer the question whether the national liberation struggle of the Arab peoples at the present stage can be directed against capitalism before the proletariat takes the lead of the movement it is essential to define the **link between this movement and the socialist world system**, to ascertain the nature of the fundamental changes taking place in it and indicate the perspectives of its development. This might be expressed briefly in the following basic points:

1. The national-liberation movement of the Arab peoples today is closely interlinked with the world socialist revolution at a time when the socialist world system is becoming the decisive factor of world development. Hence this movement in the Arab countries and elsewhere is bound to reflect the character of the times, the content of which is the transition from capitalism to socialism.

2. The working people, and the other democratic and progressive forces in the Arab world are learning through practical revolutionary experience that the decisive struggle against

imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, for national independence and complete economic emancipation, for abolition of feudalism and backwardness, for social progress and democracy cannot be successfully fought under the leadership of the national bourgeoisie and along lines of capitalist development. Hence broad sections of the revolutionary forces are gravitating to the Left, towards socialism. They regard the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries as an example to follow, and seek to obtain from them all-round aid and support in their efforts to build the new life.

3. Despite the political and socio-economic differences between the Arab countries, the national revolution in most of them has entered a new stage, the stage of social revolution. This is expressed in the aggravation of social contradictions in each country as well as on the scale of the Arab world as a whole. It is particularly evident in the intense search for an answer to the question as to what road to take: the capitalist or the non-capitalist.

4. In the present international situation, when large sections of the revolutionary forces in the Arab national-liberation movement are moving to the Left, accepting the ideas of socialism and declaring it to be their objective this movement can turn against capitalism even before the proletariat takes the leading role in it and result in one or another country taking the non-capitalist road. This is what is happening in the UAR, in Algeria, and in Syria.

5. The collapse of the various colonial regimes under pressure from the Arab peoples, the conquest of political independence by most of the Arab countries and the rise of national states there have opened broad vistas for the application of the revolutionary and constructive energies of millions of Arabs. Moved by a powerful revolutionary impulse, the masses building a new life are finding new paths corresponding to their national traditions, national heritage, and the economic and socio-political level of development of their respective countries. Thus, these nations which have enriched human thought in the past are today, along with other nations, making their contribution to the treasure-store of Marxism-Leninism.

An important question, and one that should be elucidated and emphasized, is that of the role of the socialist camp and its vanguard, the Soviet Union, its influence on the course of the national-liberation movement, on the class struggle in the Arab and other newly-independent countries.

The socialist camp is not only a restraining factor as regards the ambitions and aggressive designs of the imperialists. It also plays the role of vanguard in the common struggle against imperialism and the world capitalist system. It exerts immense political, economic and ideological influence, helps to strengthen the forces fighting against imperialism and reaction, for political emancipation, socio-economic progress and democracy. In this way the

socialist camp helps to change the balance of forces in favor of the classes and social strata destined to implement social reforms in their own countries; it strengthens their position by giving them its support and aid in solving the problems encountered in building the new life.

Of course this does not mean that the existence of the socialist camp obviates the need for class struggle in the liberated countries, or acts as a substitute for the classes and social strata called upon to give effect to the social changes in these countries. The outcome of the class struggle in the liberated countries (the struggle between the ultra-reactionary classes and the social strata relying on imperialism and on the capitalist world system, on the one hand, and the progressive democratic, patriotic classes and social sections in alliance with the socialist world system and the working class of the capitalist countries, on the other), cannot be decided in isolation from what is taking place in the world. It depends also on the results of the contest between the two world systems, socialism and capitalism. As early as 1920 Lenin pointed out that "... in the present world situation following the imperialist war, reciprocal relations between peoples and the world political system as a whole are determined by the struggle waged by a small group of imperialist countries against the Soviet movement and the Soviet states headed by Soviet Russia. Unless we bear that in mind, we shall not be able to pose a single national or colonial problem correctly, even if it concerns the most outlying part of the world." (Vol. 31, p. 241. English Edition).

This view is particularly valid in our time, and if one ignores it and confines oneself merely to generalizations about the influence exerted by the socialist camp and by the class struggle it will be impossible to explain why in countries like the UAR, Algeria, Syria and some other Asian and African states the national-liberation movement acquired an anti-capitalist trend and why these countries have been able to embark on the non-capitalist path before the proletariat has taken the lead of the movement.

Of course this does not mean that all the Arab countries must necessarily take the same road as the UAR, Algeria or Syria. Considering the different conditions in the various countries—the different levels of political, social and economic development, the class composition, alignment of class forces, and especially the size of the working class, its level of consciousness, political and trade union organization—it is not excluded that development in one or another Arab country will proceed under proletarian leadership.

The working class and its parties are the most resolute fighters against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, for national independence, social progress, democracy and socialism. They are playing an important role in the progressive reforms now being introduced in the Arab world, and the greater this

role becomes, the more stable and far-reaching these changes will be.

However, to deny, as some comrades do, the possibility of steering the national-liberation movement in one or another newly independent country against capitalism before the proletariat begins to play the leading role is tantamount to counterposing the national-liberation movement and the struggle of the non-proletarian revolutionary forces to the hegemony of the working class, an approach that can only hinder the latter from fulfilling its historical and vanguard role and prevent all the revolutionary forces from uniting in common struggle.

TRANSITIONAL PERIOD: ITS CHARACTER AND PERSPECTIVES

The fact that in the UAR, Syria and Algeria the socio-economic changes are not being carried out under the leadership of the proletariat should not blind us to the nature of these changes. Nor should we take a narrow, one-sided view of them. The socialist revolution takes place in conditions different from that of the bourgeois revolution. The bourgeoisie even before it takes over political power occupies strong and influential positions in the economy of feudal society. Not so the proletariat in capitalist society. It is only after the final victory of the proletarian revolution that the working class takes possession of the means of production, makes them public property and proceeds to build socialism. In our times, however, when it has become possible for a number of developing countries to take the non-capitalist way under the leadership of a revolutionary democracy, a new phenomenon has appeared, a phenomenon which should be studied if we are to determine the nature of the socio-economic systems in these countries, their evolution and their link with socialism.

In these countries feudal and semi-feudal relations are being abolished, agrarian reform is being carried out, financial, industrial and commercial enterprises and means of communication, owned by foreign and home monopolies, the big bourgeoisie and also to some extent the middle bourgeoisie, are being nationalized. This property is being taken over by the state sector which occupies the commanding heights in the economic and financial life of the country. The state supervises the development of various branches of the national economy, including industry, it controls foreign trade and a certain part of home trade, introduces the principle of planning in the national economy. This dominant position held by the state does not militate against the working class and the masses generally as is the case under capitalism. It is directed mainly against the foreign monopolies and the home capitalists. This weakens capitalism, restricts and narrows the sphere of its activity.

A solid foundation is provided for consolidating the alliance between the working class and the masses of the peasantry, the petty bourgeois-

sie, the intellectuals, students, soldiers, progressive and democratically-minded officers and some section of the middle bourgeoisie. In the given instance this alliance is based on the political and socio-economic gains already achieved, and its logical development leads to the establishment of a state of national democracy. This of course does not mean that political and ideological contradictions and disagreements between the various classes and social strata do not exist. The matter here is one of finding the way to resolve these differences peacefully. The important thing at this stage is that the democratic progressive forces are united by common interests; together they are combating imperialism and neocolonialism, the deposed reactionary classes and sections of society, together they are working to safeguard and deepen their gains, to consolidate economic and cultural relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, cement the alliance with the latter, with the working class and progressive forces in the capitalist countries and with the national-liberation movements.

In the course of the joint struggle against home and foreign enemies, to uphold political independence, for full economic emancipation, to advance industry and agriculture, and promote democracy, the ranks of the proletariat and its prestige in the political, economic, social and ideological life of the country are steadily growing. It is in these conditions, under the growing impact of the socialist world system and its economic achievements, with the multiform and generous aid of the socialist countries and the growing influence exerted by the ideas of scientific socialism, that the balance of forces within the alliance gradually changes in favor of the proletariat and the objective or subjective conditions (or both simultaneously) for the establishment of the hegemony of the proletariat in that alliance mature.

In some Arab countries the alliance between the revolutionary democracy and the Communists can under certain conditions develop into a single vanguard party. At all stages this should be effected on a democratic basis, on a basis of mutual trust, with the full consent and willingness of the forces entering the alliance. Any other position, whatever the motives behind it, cannot but damage the interests of all the revolutionary forces and, eventually, weaken the alliance, the joint struggle of these forces, and consequently jeopardize all that has been achieved.

Every step forward in these countries must be made in the face of the onslaught of imperialism and reaction, in a climate of tense class struggle. The forms and methods of this struggle are as multiform as they are insidious. They embrace all spheres—political economic and ideological — and include plots, military coups, counter-revolution, murder, economic diversion, sabotage, illegal export of capital, profiteering, swindling, concealment of stocks,

juggling with prices, etc. Capitalist elements in the countryside (big proprietors and farmers) and in the towns (middle sections of the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie, and also the remnants of the relatively big bourgeoisie) become the rallying center for the reactionaries and the Rights generally. The imperialists and reactionaries employ every conceivable weapon to achieve their ends—anti-communism, chiefly, but also religion, nationalism, tribal and national antagonisms, border incidents, etc.

In these countries the utmost importance is attached to reorganizing the machinery of state, and especially the army and the internal security organs, along democratic lines.

Any general democratic progress bringing the socialist stage that much nearer inevitably calls forth the resistance of the reactionaries and causes the middle bourgeoisie and the top strata of the small bourgeoisie to waver, to display a tendency to part company with the revolution and the democratic alliance. At the same time the danger represented by the old and new bureaucracy in the various branches of the administration tends to grow. Hence the importance of proceeding cautiously with progressive measures, taking care to avoid excesses and adventurist actions likely to stam-
pede the petty bourgeoisie. It is necessary, moreover, to strengthen the alliance by heightening the role of the working class and the poor peasantry, and to accelerate the training of technicians from among the workers, the

poor peasants and the revolutionary intellectuals. It is essential to rely more and more on the working people and afford them every opportunity to display their initiative and energy, to enhance their political awareness and enable them to exercise control over the various state institutions through their democratic organizations.

These are some of the cardinal conditions for defeating the internal and external enemies, for strengthening the alliance of the revolutionary forces, consolidating the state of national democracy, and ensuring steady progress in creating the economic, social and political conditions for the transition to socialism.

This is how the nature of the transitional socio-economic formation should be understood. It would be a mistake to confuse this transitional period with the socialist stage. And it would be equally incorrect to erect any kind of temporary barrier between them. This new formation, the product of our age, bears the imprint of the essential character of the time, which is socialist in its trend. It cannot be regarded from any other standpoint. Any temporary departure here or there from this pattern cannot change the nature of the times. Under no circumstances can any development be considered apart from the overall world trend, which clearly points to the consolidation of the positions of socialism, the upsurge of the working class and national-liberation movement.

India: Problems of socio-economic development

KYN PETWAS

I

INDIA HAS MADE considerable headway since she gained independence. But much, very much remains to be done to overcome the poverty and social inequality. The most notable progress has been made in industrial development, in laying the groundwork for industrialization. Industrial output in 1965 was 2.4 times the 1951 figures, steel production has risen from one to six million tons, coal from 30 to 70 million tons, and electric power from 4,500 million to 29,000 million kilowatt-hours.

Some advance has been registered in education and public health as well. Thousands of schools and many universities and colleges have been built. Enrolment in primary and secondary schools has increased by nearly 40 million and the student body by 730,000. The number of available hospital places has grown by 126,000 and that of doctors by 30,500. Average life expectation rose from 32.5 years in 1950 to 50 in 1965.

The people are justly proud of these achievements, yet it is obvious to any unbiassed observer that for millions this feeling of gratification is mixed with disappointment. Many aspirations have not been realized. In the course of the long fight for independence the people looked forward to a just solution of the social problems and to a radical improvement in living conditions. So far, however, no real attempt has been made to tackle these problems. Social injustice, far from diminishing, has become even more glaring, according to official data. Indians say, and not without justification, that the rich have grown richer and the poor poorer.

What classes and social strata have benefited from the economic development? According to the Central Planning Board, the national income grew by more than 60 per cent (in comparable prices) between 1951 and 1965. But where has the increase gone? Who has gained by it? Those questions are often put to the

leaders of the Congress party by members of parliament and by the democratic press. The late Jawaharal Nehru felt they had to be answered, and in 1960 proposed in parliament that a special committee be established to go into the matter.

In October 1960 a committee to study the distribution of the national income was set up under the chairmanship of Professor Mahalanobis, head of the Statistical Institute in Calcutta. The preliminary report issued by the committee in February 1964 showed that 8 per cent of the national income accrued to 20 per cent of the population in the lowest income brackets, while 20 per cent went to the wealthy top 5 per cent. True, the report noted that the factory workers' nominal wage index rose from 108 to 143.5 points and the wage index in the mining industry from 105.4 to 195.7 between 1950-51 and 1960-61, but, as the *AICC Economic Review*, organ of the National Congress pointed out, the increase was wiped out by the inflation. According to the journal, real wages of factory workers declined during the two five-year plans covering the 1952-61 period. A recent report issued by the Labor and Employment Department of the Central Planning Board points out that the past 10 years have seen no increase in real wages. By mid-1966 prices had increased by nearly 80 per cent.

As for the 31,500,000 agricultural laborers, who account for practically one-fifth of the total labor force, the Mahalanobis Committee found no increase in their income. Professor Rao, member of the Central Planning Board, noted recently that, the economic progress notwithstanding, an appalling number of people are still under the poverty line, and that the standard of living in the countryside is lower than can even be conceived in economically developed countries.* According to authoritative survey more than 71 million out of a total

*The generally accepted "poverty line" in India is a family income of 50 rupees per month.

rural population of 355 million fall into this category.

The plight of the working people generally is aggravated by the widespread unemployment and semi-unemployment. D. Sanjivayya, ex-Minister of Labor and now Minister of Industry, stated in 1965 that the number of the jobless was steadily growing. According to him, there were 8 million wholly unemployed and 15-18 million partly unemployed in 1956. By mid-1966 the number of totally unemployed had risen to nearly 12 million.

Commenting on the Mahalanobis report, S. D. Wadhwa, the economist, says that so far the economic development has benefited mostly the private businessmen, contractors and bankers, and that social inequality has hardly diminished. The Mahalanobis Committee's conclusions concerning social inequality are borne out by the following data of the Reserve Bank of India on income distribution.

INCOME DISTRIBUTION (IN PER CENT)

	1953-57	1960-61
Top income bracket, 10 per cent of the population	28	37
The next 50 percent of the population	52	48
Lower income brackets, 40 per cent of the population	20	13
Including; The bottom 10 per cent	3	2

This Left opposition explain the growth of social inequality by the fact that the leaders of the Congress party, although they proclaimed it their aim to build first a "socialist-type society" and then "democratic socialism," have not carried out socio-economic reforms far-reaching enough to abolish or even to make inroads on the privileges of the propertied top crust. Some Congress ideologues justify this by arguing that the social inequality should be abolished mainly by exerting a "moral influence" on the rich.

In recent years there has been much talk about abolishing inequality by means of a tax system specially designed with this end in view. So far, however, taxation has not reduced the disparity between incomes. This is evident also from official data, which show that in 1951-65 there was a threefold increase in direct taxation while indirect taxes, the burden of which falls mainly on the working people, rose more than tenfold.

Needless to say, in India where nearly three-quarters of the population are engaged in agriculture, land ownership is a cardinal indicator of the way of life and of social relationship. When the Congress Party came to power, it declared for agrarian reconstruction under the slogan, "The land to those who till it," as an urgent necessity. Since 1947 there indeed have been some changes in the countryside. The feudal zamindari system of land ownership was abolished, and some tenants who were

able to buy their plots became owners in their own right. Legislation fixed a ceiling for landed property and provided for the distribution among the peasants of the excess area subject to alienation. In practice, however, the legislation proved ineffective. Landlords found loopholes for retaining substantial areas, and millions of peasants to this day live on the tiniest plots or have no land at all. A Parliamentary report published in 1965 noted that 20 per cent of the rural population had no land, whereas 40 per cent of the cultivated area was held by landlords and big farmers accounting for a mere 5 per cent of the agricultural population. Moreover, the state pays substantial pensions and compensation to the former feudal princes and landlords at the expense of the working peasants. A speaker at the convention of the Congress Party in January 1965 noted that only the big farmers had gained by the land reform.

Owing to the inconsistency and inadequacy of the agrarian reforms, the productive forces in the countryside remain fettered. Ground down by want and oppressed and exploited by merchants, usurers and landlords, the peasant has neither the possibility nor the incentive to grow more. The country has to pay for grain imports huge sums which otherwise could be used to promote economic development. Between August 1947 and October 1965 India imported 63,000,000 tons of food grain at a cost of 26,300 million rupees. This year's grain imports are expected to run to more than 10 million tons.

Irrespective of the subjective wishes and at times quite radical declarations of Congress leaders, their agrarian policy has so far been directed mainly at curbing the highhandedness of the feudal landlords, partial redistribution of the land in favor of the richer peasants, and weakening and doing away with the pre-capitalist survivals in agriculture in order to clear the way for a specific type of capitalist development in the countryside.

II

Much of the data on the inequality of the distribution of the national income consisted in the Mahalanobis report was no new discovery. But it had not been systematized and correlated, and had often been questioned. Now these facts found official confirmation. Hence many Indians, including radicals in the Congress party who sincerely believed in their party's commitment to "democratic socialism," hoped that publication of the report would be followed by action to halt the growth of the monopolies and to mitigate the plight of the working people. But nothing of the kind happened. Some Congress spokesmen urged the people to be content with what they had "for the sake of ensuring rapid economic progress" and not to make "excessive" and "unconsidered" demands for better conditions. Such appeals are made, for instance, by Asoka Mehta,

the former leader of the Praja Socialist Party and now Minister of Planning. Speaking at Jai-pur University Mehta declared that "at the present stage of economic development" the people should not strive for "excessive" consumption. Preoccupation with raising the living standard, he argued, would jeopardize economic progress. The emphasis at present, he said, should be on redoubling efforts while keeping down demands. This phase, in his view, will last 15-20 years. Other Congress leaders likewise urge the working people to tighten their belts in order to help finance the development plans.

Attempts are being made to find justification for the thesis that development calls for sacrifice. For example, Mehta, while telling the people to eschew "unconsidered" demands, argues that things were no better in the West in the early period of capitalist development. This is tantamount to saying that India and her people should today reconcile themselves to all the agony associated with the worst aspects of capitalist development.

Mehta announced that he would willingly forego part of his salary and donate the remainder to the state, and urged others to follow his example. Utopian appeals of this nature have cropped up from time to time, ever since Mahatma Gandhi's days, but the rich have not taken them very much to heart, as can be seen if only from the official statistics on the distribution of income cited earlier. No less eloquent is the data on the concentration of capital in the hands of the few. According to a report published by a government commission established in 1964, the paid-up capital of Indian joint stock companies all but trebled in 1947-64 — from 4,800 million to 14,600 million rupees. At the same time the power of the monopolies grew and there was a strong trend towards concentration and centralization of capital. By 1964 the paid-up capital of 75 groups accounted for nearly half of the capital of the other 25,000 private companies. Concentration of capital is evident also in banking: in 1964 the five biggest banks controlled by Indian monopoly groupings had deposits exceeding 8,700 million rupees, or 40 per cent of the total bank deposits. Concentration of economic power, as noted in the above report, is engendering among the public widespread discontent with big business. This sentiment, the commission believes, stems from the suspicion that big capital is establishing a stranglehold on the democratic institutions and political life of the country.

III

The Right in India is agitating for a revision of the policy worked out earlier towards foreign private capital. Overseas monopolies, capitalizing on India's difficulties, in particular on the shortage of foreign currency for financing capital construction, have tightened their grip on the economy. Since independence foreign capital has increased from 2,558 million rupees in 1948 to some 7,500 million in 1965.

In recent years collaboration between foreign and Indian private capital has become widespread. According to the Indian press, 1,495 agreements on such cooperation were concluded by mid-1963.

This is not to say that there are no antagonisms between Indian capital and the foreign monopolies. The Indian bourgeoisie includes individuals and groups who, on the one hand, collaborate with foreign capital and, on the other, are hard hit by foreign monopoly competition. Frequently Indian capitalist groupings cooperate with the foreign monopolies in one branch of industry and wage a sharp struggle with them in others.

It would not be exaggerating to say that in connection with the aggravation of social contradictions and the controversy over India's future path of development, the attitude of the big bourgeoisie towards foreign private capital is changing considerably. The big Indian capitalists, far from opposing the inflow of foreign capital, strongly support this penetration. The main aim of the Indian monopolies is to strengthen their own positions and the positions of the top layer of the other exploiting classes in all areas of life and prevent the crystallization of pre-conditions for development along non-capitalist lines.

On their part, the Western monopolies, especially since Nehru's death, have intensified their penetration of the economy in order not only to extract super-profits but also to influence the socio-economic processes in the country with a view to keeping it the capitalist orbit.

During the India-Pakistan conflict in September 1965 the U.S. and most other members of the "Aid India Club" suspended aid. Formally this was done to "bring India to her senses". But there was also a more far-reaching objective — to aggravate her economic difficulties so as to wrest new concessions, strengthen the positions of private Indian and foreign capital and enhance the influence of the Western powers, primarily the United States.

More recent developments have borne this out. Not long ago the U.S. government announced it was resuming economic aid to India, but at the same time it laid down more rigid conditions, demanding guarantees against nationalization, "social upheavals," etc.

The Western powers, and especially the United States, are increasingly interfering in India's internal affairs. According to the *Hindustan Times*, the U.S. owns about half of all the currency in circulation in India as a result of the sale on the Indian market of American agricultural surpluses. The sum involved amounts to thousands of millions of rupees. Indians complain that the U.S. Embassy is spending this money without regard for India's national interests. Professor Rao, for instance, has pointed out that by using its holdings of Indian currency a foreign power (meaning the United States) is acquiring an opening to exert considerable influence on the country's internal affairs.

American and other western monopolies are trying to teach the Indian government how to run its own affairs. The keynote of the speeches of Western businessmen at the 20th Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce held in February 1965 in New Delhi was that India and the other developing countries should encourage private enterprise, refrain from imposing strict curbs on this sector as well as control over it, grant business a say in formulating trade and industrial policy, limit the state sector to those branches in which private entrepreneurs are not willing to invest, and create a more favorable climate for foreign private investment.

IV

When in 1965 the Congress party proclaimed the building of a "socialist-type society" to be its goal, it specified that the economic basis of this program would be a mixed economy. This meant developing both the public and the private sectors with a view to the first gradually squeezing out the latter and taking over the commanding heights in the economy. The events of the last few years show, however, that although the public sector is growing it is still far from playing the decisive role. The working people have no say in running it, and for this reason its potential is not being tapped.

In India, as in some other developing countries, growth of the public sector has helped to strengthen the national economy, for it is in this sector that many branches of heavy industry — the basis for industrialization and economic independence — have been established. Nevertheless the public sector has not become a lever of fundamental social change, although some politicians identify it with socialism. Here it might be noted that at times even official Congress publications give objective appraisals of the trends prevailing in this sector. For instance, Professor Rao writes in *Economic Review*:

"There is a great deal of misunderstanding in the lay mind about the growth of the public sector in India. Thus, some people believe that the growth of the public sector is synonymous with the growth of the socialist pattern of society and therefore welcome it, while other denounce it on the basis of the same belief, namely, that the growth of public enterprise is of a socialist character and is, therefore, inimical to the growth of private enterprise in India. Both these views are wrong. The growth of public enterprise is not by itself a menace to the growth of private enterprise nor does it automatically bring about the objective of a socialist society."

Spokesmen of Indian big business, who argue that "mutual penetration" of the public and private sectors is needed in order to make the former more efficient, and less bureaucratic, etc., have managed to strengthen their influence in the public sector.

Influential monopoly-controlled newspapers

are engaged in an extensive campaign aimed at discrediting the public sector. The object is to persuade the people that building up this sector would retard the country's progress and that their conditions can be improved only if maximum freedom of action is accorded to private enterprise.

V

Many in the Congress Party agree that accelerated economic growth depends on the fulfilment of at least those social promises which the party made when it came to power, that progress commensurate to India's potential and needs can be ensured only if it yields some tangible benefits to the masses of the people.

The upper stratum of the propertied classes, pursuing their own narrow ends, are determined not to allow this to happen. Influential leaders of the ruling party are opposed to any measures that would seriously impinge on the interests of the top crust. They justify their attitude by arguing that measures of this kind would amount to "coercion" incompatible with democracy and the concept of "Indian socialism." Most Indians, however, find it difficult to understand why coercion in relation to the Communists and trade union leaders, who frequently find themselves thrown into prison without trial or investigation, does not run counter to this "democracy."

Not all Congress leaders support the use of repressions against the Communists and other champions of the working people. For example, Khadilkar, a Congress member of Parliament, condemned the jailing of Communist MPs and urged the leadership of his party to combat its political opponents by ideological and political means, not by administrative and police methods.

Some Congress leaders claim that India is building "democratic socialism" — socialism combining "broad democracy" and equal opportunity for all. And this, in spite of the fact that the rapid development of home and foreign capitalist enterprise is accompanied by deepening class differentiation and that the glaring social inequality makes a mockery of all the talk about democracy and equal opportunity.

The growing discrepancy between the public declarations of the Congress party and its actual policy is too obvious to be denied even by official spokesmen. The opportunity to vote once in five years means little to the hungry man, Hukam Singh, Speaker of the House of the People, said in January 1965. What he needs, Singh said, is satisfaction of his elementary wants, this was promised when the Constitution was drawn up but although 17 years have passed since independence the promise has not been kept.

In a recent report summing up the five-year plans the Central Planning Board pointed to the conflict between economic policy and practical policy in the sphere of social reconstruction. Social objectives are posed in plans only

in a very general way, without indicating how they can be achieved or providing the mechanism needed for their realization, the report states.

One of the factors hindering realization of program declaration is that the machinery of state has changed little since colonial times. This is pointed out by the influential *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. Such a state machine can hardly be expected to live up to the pronouncements made concerning socialism.

Of no small importance is the fact that leading members of the Congress party have the most diverse notions of what is meant by "democratic socialism." Some hold that it presupposes private ownership of the basic means of production, with the employers exercising something in the nature of patronage over the workers. This interpretation is widely propounded by big business. Others argue that socialism is a matter of the very distant future and that hence no radical changes need be made in the present social structure. A third group considers the idea of building a socialist society sheer utopia, though it does not always say so frankly. It is not fortuitous therefore that K. Kamaraj, Chairman of the National Congress, said recently that in order to carry out its program concerning socialism the party must first revolutionize its social thinking.

Yet do the people on whom implementation of the program declarations depends really wish to "revolutionize" their thinking? An idea of the real state of affairs may be obtained from what happened during the Durgapur convention of the Congress party in January 1965. A session of the Forum for Socialist Action, an organization of the Left wing of the Congress party which advocates the implementation of the Congress declarations concerning socialism, was to have been held at the same time. But to the surprise of the delegates, the Congress leaders did not allow the Forum to meet. At the convention itself all amendments criticizing the leaders for their lip-service to socialism and failure to do anything to bring it about in practice were rejected.

Essentially the same happened at the Congress held in February this year in Jaipur. Many delegates criticized the party leaders for adopting high-flown resolutions on "democratic socialism" but doing nothing to carry them out. But the criticism was not reflected in the decisions, which, like the decisions of many previous congresses and conferences, consist largely of generalities. They indicate neither the ways nor the means of fulfilling the promises to effect socio-economic changes in the interests of the people.

The Forum for Socialist Action, however, was allowed to meet during the Jaipur congress. At its sessions many unflattering things were said about the party leadership and its policy, about the "inability" and "unwillingness" of many of the leaders to live up to the declarations of democratic socialism. A memorandum was adopted demanding national-

ization of the private banks and state control of trade in food grain. The Forum likewise insisted that the spokesmen of the monopolies ensconced in the Congress party should not be allowed to stand for election as Congress candidates in the 1967 general election. However, as the Press pointed out, this memorandum will hardly have any impact, largely because the Forum leaders, although they get together from time to time and adopt resolutions, take no concrete steps to influence Congress policy in the interests of the masses.

The working people's struggle for their rights is impeded not only by the disunion in the working class movement and by religious and caste prejudices, but also by the police terror. Latterly "preventive arrests" of organizers of mass action are widely used to break strikes and demonstrations.

The many parties of the Left work in isolation and, frequently, against one another. They have no common political platform which could serve as a basis for united action and offer an alternative to Congress policy. Because of this the leaders of the Right-wing religious and chauvinist organizations are often able to use the mass discontent caused by economic hardships for their own ends.

Progressive people realize that the democratic forces must unite in the face of the common danger, that the gains made to date, however small they may be, must not be lost, and that it is imperative to make use of the existing possibilities for further advance.

For one thing, more and more people of the Left are urging the elaboration of a minimum program of joint struggle. Recent events, and in particular the meetings and negotiations that have taken place between representatives of these parties, make it clear, however, that the obstacles in the way are enormous. The leaders of some of the parties, although in principle they stand for unity of action, are obviously not ready for this.

The Communist Party holds that such a platform could incorporate the following points: restricting the freedom of action of the local monopolies; extending and democratizing the state sector; an agrarian reform giving the land to those who till it; credits and other benefits for the peasants; control over the distribution of prime necessities (above all food) throughout the country; repeal of oppressive laws, and effective measures to curb the foreign monopolies.

The democratic forces generally demand urgent social changes, the maximum mobilization of internal resources for accelerating economic progress, changes in the system of distributing the national income, control of foreign property, foreign trade and the banks, curbing the home monopolies, a radical agrarian reform and the use in the interests of society of the vast frozen wealth of the former feudal princes and other parasitic elements. They want development plans financed not by intensifying the exploitation of the working

people or by foreign loans, but by making maximum use of internal resources.

One of the main causes of the aggravation of economic difficulties is the striving of the ruling circles to solve the complex problems facing the country without affecting urgently needed social changes. It is symptomatic that the devaluation of the rupee (the new exchange rate is 7.5 rupees to the dollar instead of 4.76 as formerly) met with widespread opposition on the part of the public, including the Communists, Socialists and many Congress followers.

Government spokesmen argued that devaluation was necessary in order to stimulate export, make Indian goods more competitive on the world market, and in general to put the economy on a sound footing. But this explanation does not satisfy many Indians. They see in it a concession to pressure from the USA and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which, by promising to help India overcome her present difficulties, are trying to obtain better conditions for the further penetration of private capital from the United States and other capitalist countries in order to influence the trend of development in India.

The progressives, opposed to any concessions to the home and foreign monopolies, are working for far-reaching social changes in the interests of the people, including implementation of all the progressive and democratic aspects in the program declarations of the Congress party. They are combating the attempts of the monopoly capitalists to strengthen their influence in the country and the striving of the upper strata to resolve the economic difficulties at the expense of the working people. As regards foreign capital, Indian democrats do not insist on it being barred from the country in general; what they are opposed to is inflow of capital from abroad on terms detrimental to the national interests. They believe that foreign aid should be drawn on merely to supplement efforts to harness internal resources.

The growing activity of the masses in defense of their vital interests is accompanied by an increasing awareness of the need for joint action. Recently a measure of unity has been achieved among the Left parties in a number of states. However, as the National Council of the Communist Party noted in June 1966, "it must be admitted that the unity forged so far remains confined mainly to economic issues, while on key political issues disunity and difference persist. It is this *political weakness and disarray* of the Left and democratic forces that is being fully utilized by imperialism and the forces of reaction to push through their offensive."

The Left parties are making efforts to achieve unity in the coming general election. Towards the end of July, nine Left opposition parties agreed in principle in Delhi not to oppose one another at the polls. They propose to co-

ordinate their election campaigns and support each other's candidates wherever possible. But they failed to work out a joint election platform. Each party will thus put forward its own program. This agreement was signed by representatives of the Communist Party, the parallel Communist Party, the Samyukta Socialist Party, the Revolutionary Socialist Party, the Forward Bloc, the Mahagujarat Janata Parishad, the Peasants' and Workers' Party, the Socialist Unity Center and the Bharatiya Samajwadi Parishad.

It should be noted that the parties of the Right are making every effort to coordinate their efforts in the election in order to increase their representation in the legislative bodies and thereby strengthen the influence of the reactionary forces on the economic and political trends of development. To this end they are prepared to stop at nothing in their pre-election machinations. Some are even trying to woo the Left opposition parties.

VI

A sharp struggle is now under way between those who believe that efforts to overcome economic backwardness and to carry out industrialization should be accompanied by deep-going social changes in the interests of the majority, and those who claim that "to accelerate progress," a free hand should be given the home and foreign monopolies which are out to build up the capitalist economy through intensified exploitation.

The progressive forces, including some people in the ruling party, opposed to any strengthening of the home and foreign monopolies, urge the harnessing of the country's resources to speed up economic progress and to raise the standard of living. For example, K. Kamaraj, Congress Chairman, speaking at the end of January, underscored the need for decisive measures against the concentration of economic power in the hands of the few, for eliminating the survivals of feudalism and carrying out deep-going reforms in the countryside.

The democratic forces see the way out of India's difficulties in another path of development, one that would make it possible to carry out far-reaching socio-economic changes and thereby unfetter the productive forces in industry and agriculture, ensure rapid economic growth and raise the standard of living. They oppose the present trend of capitalist development with its concomitant growth of the monopoly which, in alliance with the landowning and semi-feudal elements and supported by foreign capital, present a growing threat to India's independent democratic development.

The democratic, anti-capitalist forces are fully aware of the imperative need for deep-going reforms capable of taking the country onto the highroad of democratic advance. But these forces will be able to exert a decisive

influence on socio-economic and political development only if they overcome the deep rifts and disunity in their ranks. Equality and social justice are ideals widely cherished by the people of India, who have deeply-rooted democratic traditions. It is hard to believe

that such a people will not find the strength to withstand the offensive of the foreign and internal reactionaries and to ensure the development of their country along lines according with the best interests of the nation, of the overwhelming majority of the population.

Lessons of the guerrilla struggle in Peru

CESAR LEVANO

ON JUNE 9, 1965 there took place in Peru the first of a series of guerrilla actions which shook the country for six months. The guerrilla detachments, the need for which the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) had advocated from its very foundation and especially after its national assembly in 1962, became a reality. The weapon of criticism was replaced by criticism by force of arms. One sector of the revolutionary movement had crossed the Rubicon.

Earlier, in May 1965, Luis de la Puente Uceda, leader and founder of the MIR, announced from his headquarters on the wooded plateaus of Cuzco that his party was entering the stage of guerrilla struggle, and that he himself would lead that struggle as commander of one of the units.

Luis de la Puente Uceda was in his late thirties at the time. The son of a landowner, he was related to Victor Raul Haya de la Torre, leader of the APRA,* and for a time was active in that party. In 1959, however, de la Puente broke with Aprism and headed a small group of APRA functionaries of the middle echelon and student organizations disgusted with the pro-oligarchic and pro-imperialist policy of the party leadership.

Until May 1965 the MIR adhered to certain erroneous views. It regarded the armed struggle as the sole task of the revolutionary forces, and adopted the discredited Trotskyite thesis

that for countries like Peru the immediate prospect is not the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution but the socialist revolution. In its May manifesto, however, the MIR rejected the Trotskyite approach as regards *strategy* though it retained its former position on the question of *tactics* (guerrilla struggle), thereby coming closer on basic issues to the policy long advocated by the Peruvian Communist Party.

The immediate aims of the guerrilla movement as proclaimed by the MIR were: 1) dissolution of Parliament without delay; 2) a general amnesty and the release of all political prisoners; 3) a genuine agrarian reform that would abolish the latifundia; 4) decent wages keeping pace with the rising cost of living; 5) urban reform; 6) the immediate return to Peru of her oil deposits in Brea and Parinas; cancellation of the contracts with imperialist oil companies; 7) restoration of the national sovereignty.

As we see, this program did not call for the overthrow of the *government* formed in June 1963 by agreement between the People's Action and the Christian Democratic parties representing the interests of the conciliatory bourgeoisie. It did, however, demand the dissolution of *parliament* which is dominated by an ultra-reactionary majority — the APRA-UNO* coalition.

In its May manifesto the MIR announced that three centres of guerrilla struggle had been established: the "Pachacutec" unit operating in the Cuzco area under the command of

*The APRA Party was originally a Latin American united-front movement directed against imperialism. Haya de la Torre took advantage of the prestige initially won by Aprism to start a trend of a social-democratic type in Peru which is now an agency of U.S. imperialism and of the local big bourgeoisie.

*UNO, initials of the party (Union Nacional Odriista) named after the tyrant Manuel Odria. Its leaders are big capitalist exporters and landowners.

de la Puente himself, the "Tupac Amaru" in the central Sierras commanded by Guillermo Lobaton Mills (a man of working class origin who was educated in Europe) and the "Cesar Vallejo" unit commanded by the lawyer Gonzalez Gosco. The latter unit did not go into action at all—at any rate no mention of its operations appeared in the MIR bulletins, and according to recent reports, its commander and his second in command were seized in Colombia at the request of the Peruvian Army.

The most active of the three was the Lobaton unit. Its raid on June 9 on a large estate near Andamarca alerted the population to the fact that the armed struggle had begun in Peru. After the operation the guerrillas explained to the peasants that their purpose was to put an end to the abuse of power by the latifundists and to uphold the right of the peasant to till the land. These words did not fall on deaf ears, for the tradition of popular struggle is strong in this mountainous region.

The Lobaton detachment continued operations against the landowners for several months, winning the sympathy and, at times, the active support of the local peasantry. At that time the element of surprise also worked in its favor.

Soon afterward another guerrilla force went into action in the southern Sierras. This force which belonged to the May 15th Movement (named in memory of the unsuccessful guerrilla actions of 1963) and which took the name of Javier Heraud,* operated longer than the others. There were a number of reasons for this. "We are waging a struggle primarily against the latifundists of the given zone," Hector Bejar, commander of the detachment, said in a statement to the newspaper *Unidad* (organ of the Communist Party). "There is not a single big landowner left in the area in which we are operating. They have either fled or have been driven out by the guerrillas with the support of the peasants. When the army intervened to restore the old order, the brutalities committed by the troops brought home to the peasants the ultra-reactionary nature of the armed forces. . . . Our unit never acted indiscriminately, we always distinguish between the small property owner and the big landlord, the soldier and the officer, the civil guard and the Ranger. In all our actions we sought to win the support of the people."

It is highly gratifying to find men like Bejar following the behests of the great champions of freedom, justice and country—Miguel Grau, Jose Marti, and Fidel Castro—summed up in these words of Marti's: "The war should be waged magnanimously, there should be no place in it for excessive violence. . . ."

*Javier Heraud, leader of the guerrillas in 1963 was the most brilliant and promising young poet of Peru. When the military returned to power in 1962 he considered it his duty to join the armed struggle against the dictatorship which had thrown thousands of his compatriots into jail. He was killed in action. Heraud was a Communist. His courage and self-sacrifice left a deep imprint on the youth, the intellectuals and the people generally.

The more advanced sections of the working class and the people generally welcomed the launching of guerrilla action. But in areas remote from the scene of guerrilla fighting where the population was largely illiterate, disunited and scattered over a large area, the new movement had some difficulty in getting under way.

The Left and democratic forces, and especially the Communist Party, were faced with the urgent problem of what attitude to take to the guerrilla movement. The Communist Party at once declared its solidarity with the guerrillas. Its position could be more precisely described as one of *critical support* for them.

To understand this position it is necessary to know something of the specific features of the Peruvian situation, the contours and impulses of the revolution as an agrarian revolution against the oligarchy, imperialism and the big bourgeoisie.

THE AGRARIAN PROBLEM

The feature of the Peruvian scene is the archaic and complex setup in the countryside. This applies not only to its economic structure which includes both giant latifundia running to over a million hectares (most of it uncultivated) and miniature peasant plots (in Puno district) of one or two furrows, not to speak of diverse forms of semi-feudal relations: *corvée*, payment of land rent in kind, etc.

There are other no less important factors. Peru has 5,000 Indian communities which comprise the bulk of the peasantry and which, despite the class differentiation within them, form the bulwark of the peasant struggle against the latifundists and are also the proponents of cooperative forms of tilling the soil. There are two million peasants who speak the language of the Quechua only, half a million who speak nothing but Aymara. Yet there is not a single school in the country where the peasants are taught in their native tongue. They are virtually deprived of all political rights since the Constitution denies the franchise to illiterates (60 per cent of the population of Peru, according to the 1940 census, and 50 per cent according to more recent estimates.)

A country with the oldest and richest traditions of land cultivation and cattle raising on the continent, Peru is today one of the most backward as regards productivity. During the past ten years food production per capita dropped 15.7 per cent (although exports of agricultural produce rose 39.5 per cent for the same period).

The latifundists of the Sierras, the hardest and most conservative of their class, are constantly enlarging their possessions by robbing the peasants with the help of the law courts, the army, the police and the clergy.

The entire history of Peru is marked by wave after wave of peasant uprisings. But they were crushed time and again owing to the superior strength of the enemy and the lack of unity

among the peasants. Peasant leaders were not uncommon in this country with its masses of impoverished peasantry, but it is only in the present epoch that the peasantry has acquired a sufficiently strong and reliable social leader and ally, namely, the proletariat. True, this ally has yet to grow to full stature, to unite its ranks and accumulate experience. But it is quite clear that only a worker-peasant alliance can lead to the triumph of justice and social progress.

Jose Carlos Mariategui, the pioneer of Marxism in Latin America and the founder of both our Party and the confederations of workers and peasants, repeatedly stressed that abolition of the latifundia is the only way out for the country and the peasantry. This idea was clearly formulated in the program advanced by our delegation at the conference of Communist parties of Latin America held in Buenos Aires in 1928. "Expropriation of the latifundia without compensation; handing over part of the land to individual peasants and communities and supplying them with modern machinery, distribution of the remaining land among the *colons* and tenant farmers," reads Point One of this program. (Point Two provided for "confiscation of the property of foreign companies: coal and ore mines, industrial enterprises, banks; and also the property of the bigger enterprises belonging to the Peruvian bourgeoisie.")

Following the counsel of Mariategui, our Party has for many years been helping the peasants to set up their own organizations, to fight for their immediate demands, for a radical agrarian reform, for the land. The Communist Party helped to create the Confederation of Peruvian peasants which became the centre of the struggle of the *colons*, tenant farmers, share-croppers and members of peasant communities against the latifundists. The Party urged the peasants not to pin all their hopes on the agrarian reform law but to fight for the return of lands usurped by the landlords.

These slogans reflect the objective need of the country's development. In recent years the agrarian crisis has assumed unprecedented proportions. Driven by poverty and desperation masses of peasants have abandoned the villages. Lima, the capital, which had a population of half a million in 1940, now numbers around 2,500,000, a large part of whom are peasants who have fled from the countryside. Hundreds of thousands of people dwell in hovels on the outskirts of the city in areas which the French priest Father Protain, who was banished from Peru by our Catholic authorities, has described as a "hell on earth." On the other hand, the peasants in the rural areas are advancing their demands with increasing insistence. Thousands of peasants, men, women and children, have begun to occupy lands appropriated by the landlords.

The authorities have retaliated with bullets, prison and torture. Between 1956 and 1962 peasants have been slaughtered in the areas of Yana-

coto, Chin-Chin, Cheapon, Atacocha, Casagrande, Calipuy, Chimbote, Tingo Maria, Pillao, Rancas, Paramonga, Abancay, Huapra, Cuzco (more than once), Tacalpo, Torreblanca, Pomalca, Cerro de Pasco, Ambo and Lima.

BEGGAR ON A GOLDMINE . . .

Another characteristic (although by no means specific) feature of the situation in Peru is the penetration of U.S. imperialism into all spheres of national life — the economy, politics, the press, culture, the machine of repression, etc. Peru today takes fourth place in the volume of U.S. capital investments in Latin America (after Venezuela, Brazil and Mexico).

Antonio Raimondi, the Italian scientist, once said that Peru is a "beggar sitting on a gold mine." The tragedy is that the foreign monopolies appropriate all our "gold" for next to nothing. Peru's fishing industry, which holds first place in the world, has been completely taken over a big U.S.-Peruvian capitalist concern, which has been able by devious means to secure tax exemption at the very time when taxes and the cost of living are rising sharply.

Our ore mining industry, the export of copper, lead, zinc, manganese, silver, iron ore, antimony and other minerals are in the hands of two U.S. concerns. Our cotton is exported by the Anderson, Clayton and Co. monopoly. Nearly all our sugar is refined by the Grace monopoly which began by trading in guano and is now a "world empire of sea and air transport, chemicals and finance." (The same concern owns the bulk of the spinning and weaving looms of the Peruvian textile industry.)

For nearly half a century Standard Oil has been extracting our oil without any legal right to do so. According to data cited by Senator Noriego Calmet of the UNO party, this Rockefeller concern owes our country the sum of 1,000 million dollars in unpaid taxes, the equivalent of the entire annual budget of the republic. Our Party, which launched a campaign against the status of Standard Oil in Peru, revealed that this concern recently acquired the bulk of the shares of the leading Peruvian bank (Banco Continental); it also bought up the newspapers *Expreso* and *Extra* and a leading television channel in a drive to influence public opinion and bring pressure to bear on the government.

THE BIG BOURGEOISIE

Another important aspect of national reality is the close bond between the big bourgeoisie and the big capitalist-type landowners, the foreign monopolies and the semi-feudal latifundists of the Sierras.

A study of the boards of directors of the leading industrial companies, banks, capitalist plantations and real estate companies will show that there is a small but powerful group of big national bourgeoisie closely tied up with foreign capital, primarily Wall Street.

Some time ago a treatise on this big bourgeoisie was published abroad. Its author Saturnina Paredes, a lawyer expelled from the Communist Party and the leader of one of the three factions into which the splinter group formed several years ago is now divided, obviously based his characterization of the big bourgeoisie on the experience of other countries. Economic analysis shows that the borrowed formula according to which "the compradore and bureaucratic bourgeoisie consists of big capitalists who act as agents for imperialism in the import of capital and manufactured goods" does not hold good for Peru. While it is true as regards the big bourgeoisie in other countries, it cannot be applied to the Prado, Weise, Pardo and Mujica families in Peru. Our big bourgeoisie is not essentially compradore. It is mainly finance and industrial, but this does not prevent it from being extremely reactionary and openly hostile to the revolution at all stages.

In this connection another important conclusion regarding the level of capitalist development in Peru can be made. There is no doubt that although in the interior of the country patriarchal forms of economy, the remnants of primitive communism and even features of slave-ownership have been preserved, Peru has a relatively developed capitalist sector. For the number of enterprises employing more than five workers Peru takes sixth place in Latin America, and for output of steel, seventh place. Although 52 per cent of the labor is engaged in agriculture, there are at the present time, according to official data, some 800,000 factory and office workers (not counting handicraftsmen and the agricultural proletariat), including about 200,000 factory workers, 70,000 miners, 120,000 building workers and approximately 400,000 office employees (including about 40,000 secondary and higher school teachers).

FORMAL DEMOCRACY AND THE SPLIT IN THE LEFT

Another factor to be considered is that at the time the guerrilla struggle began Peru did not have the kind of naked dictatorship that had prevailed throughout the major part of our history. Belaunde Terry was elected president by a majority in the June 1963 elections.

At that time Belaunde, who represented the more vacillating trends among the middle national bourgeoisie, had gained mass support thanks to his promise of social reforms and diverse measures of a nationalist nature, and also thanks to the ultra-reactionary position of his rivals. One of the latter was Haya de la Torre, a direct agent of the State Department, who called for "collective measures" both against Cuba and against the Dominican Constitutionalists, declared the concept of national sovereignty to be out of date and zealously upheld the interests of the big finance, agricultural and industrial bourgeoisie. Another candidate was the tyrant Manuel A. Odria, whose hands

are stained with the blood of working class leaders.

In the 1963 elections the Communist Party gave its support to Belaunde although it neither cherished nor sowed any illusions about him. The Party urged the people to press for reforms immediately after the elections and for the fulfilment of the national platform. In the first period Belaunde did take a few progressive though by no means far-reaching measures. Later he began to yield to the parliamentary coalition (APRA-UNO) i.e., to the oligarchies and imperialism. (This coalition is called the "unnatural alliance" since during the Odria dictatorship the rank and file of the APRA party were persecuted and some of them even assassinated; however this alliance is fully in keeping with the present treacherous and pro-oligarchy line of both organizations.)

Before the first year of Belaunde's administration was out there had been two massacres of peasants and the sham agrarian reform law had been passed. At the beginning of 1965, Belaunde began to prepare a deal with Standard Oil in violation of the decision on the immediate nationalization of the Brea and Paranas oil deposits adopted unanimously by the National Congress of his own party and contrary to the position of his Christian Democratic allies. This step was exposed by the Communist Party at the time.

On the other hand, the Lefts were still divided. Disruptive elements directed from without succeeded in deluding many students. Splinter groups sprang up everywhere, vying with one another in sectarianism, adventurism and violent attacks on the Communist Party. Even in the ranks of the MIR (which incidentally as a party did not enjoy much influence among the masses) there was strong prejudice against our Party. Nevertheless we can say without fear of exaggeration that the Communist Party was and still is the only Left organization which has permanent ties with and influence among the masses and an organizational structure on a national scale (although this structure is not as solid as we would wish).

It was against this complex background that the guerilla struggle flared up.

ARMED STRUGGLE WITHOUT A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION

Less than twenty-four hours after the guerilla movement was established, our Party declared its solidarity with it. We regarded this movement as the continuation of the long and just struggle of the peasants, as an expression of popular dissatisfaction with the sham agrarian reform and the general capitulatory position of the government.

At the same time the Communist Party from the very outset voiced certain doubts as to the time chosen to begin the struggle, pointing out that in making this choice it was essential to take into account not only the position and mood of the peasantry in one or another dis-

strict but the political situation in the country as a whole.

It should be noted that in recent years some Left trends, as well as the disruptive elements expelled from the Party have often advocated "purely peasant revolution." This is the view, for example, proclaimed by the Trotskyite Hugo Blanco now in jail. In a pamphlet written from prison Blanco maintains that the peasant organizations are the only "mass and inherently revolutionary party in our country," and the only party "capable of rallying the people for revolutionary action and of taking the lead in such actions." These views are clearly at variance with the actual state of affairs in the social scene today. Objectively they are aimed at depriving the peasantry of its most reliable ally, the working class, and other allies in the cities.

The unanimous decision of the Communist Party on solidarity with the guerrilla movement is proof of its ideological unity. In the new conditions our Party proceeded from the same criteria as those which prompted Marx to come out in defense of the communards who "stormed the heavens" in such unfavorable circumstances. The Party was guided by the same principles as its founder Mariategi when he wholeheartedly approved the actions of the leaders of the Spartacus movement in Germany who, though opposed to premature action, nevertheless joined the uprising when it broke out in January 1919.

At a Central Committee meeting held in August 1965 our Party made a careful analysis of the new situation, elaborating and systematizing the concept reflected in Party documents published from the beginning of the guerrilla struggle.

In the first place the Central Committee pointed out that the armed struggle begun by the MIR and joined by the May 15 Movement ("Army of National Liberation") was a response to the violence against the peasants. At the same time the Central Committee again noted that a revolutionary situation which would warrant armed struggle becoming the main form of struggle and the principal task of the Peruvian people did not exist in our country.

As we know, Lenin said that a revolutionary situation presupposes certain objective conditions: a political crisis making it impossible for the ruling classes to rule in the old way, a substantial deterioration in the material conditions of the oppressed masses and the rise of a genuinely mass movement. Obviously no such revolutionary situation existed in Peru in June 1965.

In its analysis the Central Committee proceeded from the following basic premises:

a) A distinction should be made between guerrilla struggle and an uprising. An uprising might in some cases become the *final stage* of a people's war.

b) For the *uprising* to take place, in other words, to pass over to the seizure of power a revolutionary situation is necessary. But this

condition is not essential for the *emergence of a guerrilla movement*.

c) The guerrilla movement in itself cannot engender a revolutionary situation.

d) The guerrilla movement can develop only when a revolutionary situation is maturing.

THE "CATALYZER"

Like other groups of petty bourgeois revolutionaries in Peru and Latin America generally, the MIR took a different view of these problems. It believed that guerrilla struggle could break out at some point outside the mainstream of the actual mass movement, that it could spring up of itself, without outside organizational effort and act as the "catalyzer" of a revolutionary situation inasmuch as it would hasten the growth of political consciousness of the masses and of their will to fight.

However, despite disagreements on tactics (and the law on the death penalty for collaboration with the guerrillas), we supported the armed struggle launched by the MIR.

Was there not a certain eclecticism about our position, it might be asked. We do not think so. We feel that our position reflected the new situation, a situation which did not fall into the old patterns and which differed in many respects from previous experience elsewhere. A simplified approach would have led us either to condemnation of the guerrilla struggle or to unconditional and unprincipled support of it.

We do not repudiate and never shall repudiate the struggle of the guerrillas for it was engendered by the conditions and the sentiments of certain sections of the peasantry; because the demands for far-reaching changes advanced by its participants coincided with those advanced by the Communist Party, and also because the men who took up arms were sincere revolutionaries prepared to die for their ideals. And here it was a matter not only of strategy and tactics, but of revolutionary ethics.

The splinter group which publishes the *Bandera Roja* newspaper adopted a different position, branding Louis de la Puente Uceda and the other leaders of MIR guerrilla detachments as adventurers. The result was that part of the students broke away from the group and formed their own "armed forces of national liberation." This organization (it did not conduct guerrilla operations) still maintains contact with our Party. Later, the anti-guerrilla position of the splitters had further repercussions: one of the groups in their "central committee" headed by the lawyer Saturnino Paredes, expelled another group led by the lawyer Jose Sotomajor, who was charged among other things with "revisionism."

Such are the results of the Left opportunism of the splitters who at first proclaimed armed struggle as the only correct form of struggle and later, when the bullets began to fly, beat a hasty retreat, leaving to their fate the sincere but misguided young men who believed in them.

WITH THE MASSES — EVERYTHING, WITHOUT THE MASSES — NOTHING

Our Party did not adopt a position of unconditional, non-critical support of the guerrilla struggle. It considers that such a position would have been prejudicial to the future Peruvian revolution. If anything we feel that we were not critical enough.

Our position does not run counter to the struggle for unity, which is one of our main objectives. On the contrary, experience shows that sincere and consistent revolutionaries can resolve their disagreements and iron out their differences by practical confrontation of views and opinions in the course of the actual struggle.

To begin with, it was our opinion from the very outset that owing to their erroneous views concerning the development of the armed struggle, the comrades from the MIR had not chosen the opportune moment to launch action.

The political situation in Peru in May-June 1965 was not conducive to the success of such action, a fact to which we drew the attention of the other Left forces before the guerrilla struggle began. One unfavorable factor was the so-called agrarian reform. Although it began to be implemented only in areas where the peasants had in fact already taken over the land, it was obvious that it would give part of the land to the peasants and foster certain illusions among them for a time. Besides, there was increasing popular pressure for the nationalization of the oil wells, and in this connection hopes concerning the possibility of effective government action were revived.

It should be borne in mind that the *population generally* had not yet been convinced by their own experience of the inconsistency, defeatism and demagoguery of the government coalition. Moreover, the APRA-UNO coalition, too, still had a certain (though meagre) amount of political capital to draw on.

There has been a popular awakening in recent years. A classical country of military coups, corrupt government and demagogues in power, Peru is at the same time the homeland of Jose Carlos Mariategui and Cesar Vallejo, whose ideas are capturing the minds of our people more and more. Despite the unceasing repressions and the monopoly of propaganda media by our enemies, the trade unions are growing stronger, the peasant struggle and student actions are mounting and the Left and democratic forces are gaining ground. These facts inspire us with confidence and faith in the future. But it is a slow and difficult process. It is the duty of revolutionaries neither to trail in the wake of the movement nor to run too far ahead of it. As Lenin put it, a revolutionary should have a warm heart and a cool head. This advice still holds good.

Needless to say the Communist Party of Peru is not opposed in principle to armed struggle. Our last congress made it quite clear that although we Communists would prefer the revo-

lutionary process in our country to proceed without violence and bloodshed, in view of the traditional methods employed by the oligarchy and imperialism the peaceful road is hardly feasible. In all probability the road to revolution in Peru, the Congress stated, will be the road of *armed struggle*. The methods used by the ruling circles in recent months against the guerrillas, against the struggle of the peasants and the popular movement generally merely accentuate this probability.

As the meeting of our Central Committee noted, the mistake of the MIR was not only that the time chosen was not opportune, but also that its leadership did not take the trouble to coordinate action — if only outside the guerrilla movement — with other Left forces, and in particular with the Communist Party. It can now be said that this is one of the most important lessons to be drawn from the guerrilla struggle. Many blunders, weaknesses and betrayals could have been avoided, the death of many a valiant fighter could have been prevented had the groups leading the struggle not been so strongly prejudiced against our Party. Today, in the light of bitter experience, we can say that anti-communism among the Left is one of the enemy's most powerful and effective weapons. The poisoned barb of anti-communism, frequently hidden behind Left phraseology, has proved to be far deadlier in the hands of our enemies than those poisoned arrows which the Indians who helped the Lobaton guerrillas used against the punitive troops.

And finally, another weak spot in the MIR preparations for armed struggle was inadequate political and organizational work among the masses. (The only printed organ of the MIR appeared twice or three times throughout the whole of 1964.)

A year has passed since the meeting of the Central Committee. It is more than a year since Luis de la Puente announced that the guerrilla struggle had begun. Of course time does not stand still, and events move forward, but it seems to us that the experience of the guerrilla movement in Peru provides some new material for a discussion of the role of the armed struggle as a catalyzer of the revolutionary process.

This experience may be summarized as follows. The guerrilla movement evoked a wave of sympathy among the people, primarily among the peasants in the areas where the struggle was fought. Nevertheless the movement was not able to become stabilized and suffered some serious blows.

In October 1965 Louis de la Puente was killed. Soon afterwards Lobaton and his second in command Maximo Velando were hounded to death. In the spring of 1966 Hector Bejar, who had contracted a dangerous tropical disease in the jungle, was arrested. (Public opinion in Peru is demanding that he be treated humanely and given a public trial.) The question now being discussed by the Peruvian revolutionaries is not whether the actions of the guerrilla de-

tachments were successful, but whether the detachments still exist.

Where did the main mistake lie?

Of course the savagery of the repressions cannot be discounted. It should not be forgotten that Peru has an army of 50,000 men, that it employed modern means of anti-guerrilla warfare, including napalm, and had the assistance of American advisers with experience in South Vietnam. Terror, torture, shootings and arrests became the order of the day. There is little doubt that from the purely military standpoint the strength of the adversary was underestimated. Our Party, too, was guilty of this mistake.

The bravery displayed by the guerrillas (a fact that has been recognized officially by the army command) testifies to the high moral calibre of our people, especially our youth. Louis de la Puente Uceda, Gureillerma Lobaton, Hector Bejar and their comrades in-arms offered inspiring examples of heroism and self-sacrifice. Besides the guerrillas, thousands of peasants, workers, students and intellectuals, many of them members of our Party, showed great courage under torture and in prison. Of course, the guerrilla movement was not without its provocateurs, whose activities were facilitated by the organizational immaturity of the MIR. But at any rate it was not through any lack of courage that the guerrillas were defeated.

The main conclusion is that in a country whose people suffer from poverty and landlord violence, guerrilla struggle can win popular sympathy. But *this sympathy cannot be utilized and cannot develop into active support unless there are more or less mature objective conditions for revolution.* The second condition for the successful growth of the guerrilla movement is *a relatively high level of organization and consciousness on the part of the political organization heading the guerrilla struggle.*

OUR MAIN TASK IS TO WIN DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS

One year ago the Central Committee of our Party noted that reaction was attempting to take advantage of the guerrilla struggle to

1. unleash a campaign of repressions against all the Left forces;
2. to isolate these forces from the national and democratic elements;
3. to induce the conciliatory bourgeoisie at present in power to go over to naked reaction;
4. to regroup the forces within the ultra-reactionary front by patching up some differences (primarily the traditional rivalry between the APRA and the army).

The CC pointed out that the most effective means of foiling these reactionary designs in the present conditions is to fight for democratic freedoms, against McCarthyism, for the release of political prisoners, for an end to the repressions, and repeal of the death sentence for guerrillas and their supporters.

It can be safely said that if the reaction was able only partly to carry out the first two of the above-mentioned plans, it was thanks to the popular struggle for democratic freedoms. This made it possible to break the ring of isolation around the Left forces and to strengthen their unity. Today we may say that the Left is more united than before the guerrilla struggle began; that, sealed in blood, this unity shows every sign of developing into a stronger and broader united left movement in which there is room for all, barring provocateurs and the sworn enemies of unity.

We believe that the correct position adopted by the Communist Party of Peru with regard to the guerrilla struggle and recent events have enabled the Party to strengthen its contacts with other Left groups, and with national and democratic groups as well. The disrupters, on the other hand, find themselves isolated. (The agreement between the splitters and the APRA on joint action in the student movement enabled APRA to secure the post of rector of the San Marcos university for one of its members to the utter disgrace of the splitters.)

Our Party is doing its utmost not to allow the death of the guerrilla leaders to dishearten the revolutionary forces. The fate of the fallen comrades should be a challenge to the living to carry on the fight and not to be intimidated by the threats and dire "warnings" of our ruling circles. Everyone in Peru knows that it was thanks to the efforts of the Communist Party that the national students' congress representing 60,000 members adopted the name of Louis de la Puente Uceda. Everyone knows that it was precisely the Communist building workers who, at the last congress of the Building Workers' Union at which 120,000 workers were represented, moved that the Congress elect Comrade de la Puente Uceda its honorary Chairman.

At the same time, we do not ignore the workers' struggle for immediate demands and in particular for wage increases (according to official figures the cost of living went up 17 per cent in 1965, more than at any time during the past 10 years). The Party is working to establish a genuine trade union centre which would expel the APRA leaders who are simply agents of the "free trade unions" of the USA.

The Communist Youth League is working for unity among the students. Our Communist women are helping to promote the struggle for women's rights and for the release of women now in prison. Communist intellectuals are making their contribution to the efforts of artists, writers and teachers to promote the development of a democratic culture in keeping with the humanist and progressive traditions of Mariano Melgar, Clorinda Matto de Turner, Manuel Gonzalez Prada, Jose Carlos Mariategui, Cesar Vallejo and Javier Heraud.

The ultra-rights, thanks to intrigue, have been able to win over only a section of the conciliatory bourgeoisie headed by President Belaunde. At the same time the contradictions are grow-

ing between the remainder of the national bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and U.S. imperialism and the oligarchy, on the other. This finds expression, for one thing, in the stand taken by the newspaper *El Comercio* and one of the trends in the Christian Democratic Party.

However, the fact should not be underestimated that extremists in a holy alliance against the "guerrillas and Communists," have patched up their basic differences. The coming together of APRA and the army after 30 years of hostility rooted in the actions of APRA in the thirties may have grave consequences.

* * *

We Peruvian Communists are aware that our Party does not yet enjoy the mass support, or possess the organizational strength, ideological clarity and the high level of discipline demanded by the tense situation in our country. Nevertheless our work has improved. In unflagging struggle against the splitters, who have made Peru their center of operations in Latin Amer-

ica, we have achieved that which is most important — ideological unity. This provides a solid groundwork for the building of a stronger party capable of resolving the most diverse, complex and fast-changing tasks.

In pursuing our policy of building up strength we constantly bear in mind that no single party and no single class can bring about the far-reaching changes needed in our country if it relies on its own forces alone. The policy of unity with other Left, democratic and national forces, including sections of the national bourgeoisie and the patriotic element in the army, is not a tactical maneuver. It is based on the profound conviction that such unity is a vital, long-term imperative. We are convinced that only a broad democratic front of national liberation unencumbered by sectarianism which would include, under the leadership of the working class, all classes and sections of the population opposed to imperialism, latifundism and the big bourgeoisie, can deliver the nation from backwardness, hunger, poverty and ignorance.

The working class and labor movement in Colombia

ALVARO DELGADO

AS A CLASS the proletariat appeared in Colombia at the beginning of the century. However, its evolution bore a retarded and deformed character for the same reasons which determined the deformed character of the country's entire economic development as a result of imperialist dependence.

By Latin-American standards Colombia is a country of average economic development. The industrial revolution reached its shores very late; it was only in the '30s that full-scale industrialization was really embarked upon.

Thus, at the turn of the century Colombia boasted only 128 industrial establishments. By 1945 their number had increased to 7,853, and by 1962 to 11,077.

Value of industrial output increased five-fold

during the 18 years from 1930 to 1948. According to the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, industry accounted for only 7.6 per cent of the national product in 1925; by 1953 the percentage had risen to 17.2.

According to the 1964 census 53 per cent of the population live in towns; 13 years ago only 39 per cent did. In 1929, some 69 per cent of the gainfully employed population were engaged in agriculture, 16 per cent in general services and 15 per cent in industry. By 1954 these figures were 54, 26 and 20 per cent respectively. Industrial workers increased from 86,000 in 1929 to 135,000 in 1945, reaching 283,624 in 1962.

This should be seen not as the development of basic industries, but chiefly of branches which do not hurt U.S. monopoly interests.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE MEDAL

How has this slow and deformed capitalist development affected the working class of Colombia?

U.S. capital penetration has resulted in a rationalization of production to much the same degree as in the United States and, consequently, in intensified exploitation, flagrant wage discrimination (compared with the wages paid to foreign workers brought into the country), persecution of trade unions and refusal of the employers to meet the demands of the workers.

The appearance of strong monopoly trends in industry, the mushrooming of so-called "financial corporations" under the aegis of the U.S. monopolies, the setting up of "mixed companies," all constitute a new threat to the working class.

The General development plans, and the current one in particular, are based on these conditions which do not in the least answer the requirements of development, let alone the interests of the working class. These conditions are: constantly rising taxation, devaluation and ever-bigger U.S. loans. The ruling class sees the only way out for the country in still greater economic dependence on foreign money-lenders; the pressing requirements of national industry are left unheeded by the bureaucratic and military apparatus. Thus, while one half of the 1966 budget expenditure goes for the upkeep of the armed forces and payment of the foreign debt, investments get only one-fifth.

This cannot but gravely affect the standard of living. According to the National Statistical Board, prices on consumer goods increased by 184.5 per cent between 1955 and 1964. The cost of living. According to the National Statistical shot up 60 per cent (December 1962 to June 1965), reducing to nought the 1964 increase in nominal wage. Even according to official statistics the real wages earned by office workers dropped by 3.1 per cent between May 1962-March 1964, and the index of the hourly wages of industrial workers from 112.4 in July 1963 and 109.2 in March 1964. Surplus value created by the workers in the manufacturing industry, however, increased from 10.5 to 22.8 pesos between 1956 and 1962.

The situation is aggravated by growing unemployment. In 1964 approximately 25,000 workers (mostly industrial), lost their jobs, and in the following year another 10,000. Last year the Minister of Labor Miguel Escobar Mendez stated that the number of unemployed (fully and partially) totalled 1,800,000, of whom half a million, i.e., 10 per cent of the labor force, were fully unemployed. The U.S. economist Lauchlin Currie, who resides in Colombia, estimated that in the rural areas 50 to 60 per cent of the labor force are, in the economic sense, unemployed.

SOME FEATURES OF THE WORKING-CLASS STRUGGLE

The working-class struggle in Colombia has its specific features, determined by the coun-

try's historical development and the present situation.

Although the proletariat acted as a relatively independent force for the first time during the events connected with the imperialist seizure of Panama in 1903, in the fighting that overthrew the Reyes dictatorship in 1909 and during the strike and boycott of the Bogota transport system a year later, it was only in the 20's that it really began to emerge as an independent social force.

The proletariat won its first basic social demands in the subsequent decade. It was granted the right to form its own organizations only in 1931. During the years when the national bourgeoisie was in office (1934-42), the working class won the right of assembly, the right to strike, social security, trade union rights and a government undertaking to introduce and uphold labor laws. In 1936 a united trade union center, the Confederation of the Working People of Colombia, was formed and actively began to uphold national interests.

From their inception in the 1920s the revolutionary socialist groups established contact with the workers. In 1928 they led the strike of the workers on the banana plantations when many labor leaders were brutally murdered. The year 1930 saw the formation of the Communist Party, and the reactionaries could no longer prevent the establishment of still closer ties between the revolutionary vanguard and the proletarian masses.

Beginning with 1946 the advance of the working-class movement was seriously impeded when the rulers embarked on "violencia," i.e., undeclared war against the people.

The new wave of the working-class movement after the fall of the dictatorial regimes (1957) is of interest because it was associated with a new kind of oligarchic government in the country, with U.S. attempts to strengthen its domination in Latin America, and with the process of finding the Colombian road to national independence.

The following table gives a picture of the strike movement since 1962:

Year	Number of strikes	Number of strikers (in thousands)	Duration of strikes in man days
1962	36	48	325
1963	69	110	1,200
1964	75	118	2,200
1965	77	172	1,700
1966 (first six months)	29	148.6	— —

The increasing number of strikes is connected with the consequences of devaluation which began to tell particularly beginning with 1963. Ever since, the policy of mass dismissals and unemployment has been encountering growing resistance. In 15 cases strikes lasted more than 100 days each, and in one — over 18 months.

Here it is pertinent to note that:

a) the largest number of strikes was held by

teachers, workers employed in the oil and oil refining industry, in the textile, needle trades, building cement and mining industries, in enterprises producing beverages, doctors, medical personnel, city transport workers, civil servants (particularly in juridical institutions);

b) 62 per cent of all strikes fall to the share of workers;

c) the main reasons for strike action were: refusal to meet workers' demands; violation of collective agreements by employers; mass dismissals; solidarity with strikers;

d) in a number of cases the strikes developed into political action. Some, as for example the strikes of oil workers, were of a political nature from the very beginning;

e) the workers sometimes occupied the enterprises, as a rule in answer to the employers' decision to close them. This form of action was widely practised in the early months of the current year. In some cases the workers actually ran the enterprises, obtaining good production results and the satisfaction of their economic demands;

f) besides strikes at enterprises and in offices there were widespread "civil strikes," especially in 1963 and 1965. Political in character, these were big protest movements against the increase charges for public utilities, against bureaucracy, corruption and excessive administrative centralization. They paralyzed practically all activity in town and communities. Although often headed by small industrialists and merchants, the decisive role in them was played by the organized workers and the public generally. The "civil strikes," which reflected the development of the united front, enhance the militancy of the masses and give them added confidence in their strength;

g) the government often outlawed strikes with a view to justifying the use of force against them. Of the 77 strikes in 1965, 10 were outlawed by the government. In February the government threatened to court martial those participating in the "illegal" strikes and "civil strikes";

h) although the strikers for the most part belonged to the independent unions, also workers of other trade union bodies participated in the conflicts.

PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

The development of the proletariat in Colombia is at a lower level than in Chile or Uruguay, Argentina or Brazil.

This has affected the socio-political position of all groups of wage workers who make up the bulk of the gainfully employed population (according to official data there were 2,590,000 wage workers in 1961, constituting 51.6 per cent of the able-bodied population). We believe it is this factor, operating in many other Latin American countries as well, that objectively influence the outlook of certain revolutionary group who have no clear understanding of the direct and active role played by the working class in the political struggle on the continent.

However, this is not the only factor hampering the growth of its political role in Colombia. There are a number of other circumstances. To mention some of them.

1. A *solid working-class tradition*, especially among industrial workers, is still lacking. Migration from countryside to town, due to "violencia", unemployment, and the desire of the young people for a better life does not mean that all migrants go into industry. Of the 150,000 "newcomers" to the labor market every year, only about 40,000 are absorbed by agriculture and about 10,000 by manufacturing industry. The rest join the army of the fully or "concealed" unemployed.

Furthermore, a sizeable part of the industrial proletariat consists of workers who have not fully broken with the countryside and who still dream of having their own plot of land. "I only want to save enough centavos to be able to leave the factory," a textile worker from Medellin told the author, "to be able to start a small business of my own, or buy a plot of land. There's nothing better than being your own master."

Petty-bourgeois concepts are, of course, losing their influence among the working class.

2. *Economism*, propagated and elevated to a theory by government and bourgeois literature, which paralyzes action by large contingents of workers belonging to those trade union bodies in which the clergy and the liberal bourgeoisie hold sway and whose leaders are in the pay of U.S. imperialism.

Economism is the "theoretical" foundation on which the trade union bureaucracy bases its activity; it relies on a clearly-defined hierarchy which began to fall to pieces only a few years ago when the more politically conscious groups resolved to unite the workers on the industrial principle.

The Colombian bourgeoisie, among the most wily on the continent, is still able to secure the support of the leadership of the country's two "traditional" trade union bodies (this does not prevent the bourgeois politicians from advocating that the trade unions should "keep out of politics"). However, ever bigger sections of the working people are adopting the position of their class. The reason for this is not only the existence of an independent trade union movement, but also the strong pressure exerted by big capital on the working class, its constant threat to smash the hopes of the workers to improve their conditions and, especially, its offensive against political liberties and trade union rights at a time when the country is torn by the most brutal war against the population ever witnessed on the Latin American continent in the past 30 years. It is the conviction of the Communists that a fundamental change in national policy can be secured only when all sections of the proletariat become class conscious. To accelerate this process the Communist Party recently decided to step up its activities in the main industrial areas of the country.

3. *Legalism*, i.e., the tendency to keep the

class struggle within official bounds, is a serious obstacle to raising the working-class struggle to a higher political level. This attitude is explained by the following: the direct influence of bourgeois liberalism on the working-class movement that took shape mainly in the '30s (when the Liberal Party sought to restore bourgeois legality after 45 years of the hegemony of the clerical and feudal elements); the restrictions imposed on the trade union movement during the martial law period (1949-59); the brazen interference of so-called "legal advisers" in trade union affairs during the short period of liberal government.

After the first serious demonstration of working-class strength by the workers on the banana plantations and by the Magdalena port workers (in the mid-40s) the Colombian proletariat nevertheless failed to make the most of its possibilities. When the working class began to emerge as a powerful force, and when the perspective of a broad anti-dictatorship movement set in, the liberal bourgeoisie resorted to a maneuver which the Communists failed to foil. As a result, the rulers succeeded in 1950 in splitting the Confederation of Working People. But even before that, in 1947 when the regime sanctioned the establishment of the so-called Union of Working People, thus splitting the trade union movement, the working class was under fire. The purpose was to force it to give up the right to demonstrate and to confine itself to passive resistance, and in the case of strikes to stay at home and leave matters to the union leaders. And when the working class was ready to display its strength (for example in January 1965 when it decided to hold a general strike against the rise in taxes), it was let down by its "leaders."

But with the social and political situation becoming more acute, legalist tendencies are growing weaker.

4. *The anti-Communism* of some of the leaders of the working-class movement is an imported item. It has no roots even among that section of the proletariat which is still controlled by agents of the class enemy. The Communists have always been the most consistent champions of working class interests, and true to unity and solidarity of all workers. Hence, the slogan "nothing in common with the Communists" was and remains the motto of capitalism's agents in the working class movement.

The Catholic church, for its part, has a veritable army of "spiritual advisers" who preach the traditional social doctrine of the Church among the workers and even falangist ideas.

Despite all efforts, anti-Communism has not caught on. And not only because of the hysteria of its propaganda, but also because the united actions of thousands of workers have proved in practice the importance of common struggle unhampered by ideological restrictions, in defense of the interests of the working class.

5. *Organizing work* among the proletariat encounters *big difficulties*. The reason is not only

its low political level and the shortage of revolutionary cadres, but also the reactionary laws.

In most industries trade union work involves the risk of repressions by the bosses. In many instances it is never carried out in conditions of complete legality. This is the case, for example, in the agricultural unions uniting both agricultural laborers and peasants, in the workshops and in the small enterprises.

Although some of the "legal" grounds, sanctioning automatic dismissal were withdrawn in September 1965, workers have still not won the right to job security, let alone the right to have a say in taking on workers. They can be dismissed any time they go into action to uphold their rights.

Labor conflicts are often "settled" with army and police intervention; all questions pertaining to trade union legality and representation now come within the competence of Ministry of Labor officials. Last January the government published a decree on "civil defense," thereby legalizing the activity not only of the gangs that terrorize the peasantry but also the storm detachments formed by employers to crush the independent unions. These measures make it particularly imperative to organize trade union self-defense.

6. We consider that the most acute problem facing the working class movement is the split in its ranks.

It should be noted that the different political movements in the country all draw supporters from the working class, the greater part of which supports the Liberal Party (specifically its Left wing). Support for Communist Party policy is growing. However, the increase in the number of workers who have joined the Party still lags behind the growth of its influence.

At present there are three trade union bodies in Colombia—the government-supported Catholic Union of Working People (UTC) which claims a membership of 350,000; the Confederation of working People (CUTC) which supports the liberal oligarchy and has a membership of approximately 150,000, and the independent trade union centre, the Trade Union Confederation of Working People (CSTC) formed in May 1964 (it is not officially recognized) and uniting some 180,000 members. Besides these bodies there are unions that are under the influence of nascent Christian democracy. In the aggregate the unions unite about one-fourth of the country's wage workers.

As a result of the split the working class has had to fight the different dictatorships in extremely unfavorable conditions. After the fall of the dictatorship in 1957 the independent unions belonging to the Confederation of Working People worked to strengthen their ties with the lower organizations of the UTC. The leaders of the confederation, however, acting on the orders of their local and foreign masters, began to expel all unions which had taken an independent stand and where Communist influence was strong. A large number of the department federations were expelled as a result.

The workers had no other choice but to create a new trade center whose policy would attract the unions formerly under the control of the employers.

Taking advantage of the split and betrayal which had completely corroded the trade union bureaucracy, the leaders of the UTC who espoused the bourgeois "theory" that wage increases inevitably led to a higher cost of living, vigorously opposed the demand of the workers that Law No. 1 of 1963 be put into effect (this Law provides for an automatic wage increase in the event of the cost of living going up by more than 5 per cent in the course of the year) and as a matter of fact had it shelved.

It is difficult to heal the split because of the corruption of the leaders of the Union and the Confederation. They are lavishly financed by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the U.S. Embassy. They are also generously subsidized by the government which, for demagogic purposes, has appointed the president of the Confederation of Working People head of the "People's Bank."

Big mass actions have swept the country in recent years. These include the mass actions in support of the Cuban revolution; the nationwide protest campaign against the slaughter in Santa Barbara; the big strikes of oil workers in 1963; the general strike of the transport workers in January 1964; the "civil strikes" in 1963 and 1965; the nation-wide protest against the army's march on Marquetalis in 1964; the nation-wide protest campaign in connection with U.S. aggression against the Dominican Republic; the strike of 75,000 teachers last March, supported by the "silent march" in Bogota in which 50,000 teachers, school children and their parents took part. All these actions would undoubtedly have been more effective if the working people had acted in a united militant front against the well-entrenched and dangerous enemy.

The task of the working class movement of Colombia is to achieve unity not only because unity is vital to defense of the immediate interests of the proletariat but also to the revolutionary process in the country as a whole. As noted in the political resolution of the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party "no democratic solutions can be advanced in the near future without united action by the working class."

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

I should like to touch on the question of class consciousness, on the problem of hegemony and the role of the working class at the present stage of our revolution.

It is clear to the oligarchy that its narrow interests are encountering the growing resistance of the proletariat whose ability, militancy and experience are developing in struggle. It is not accidental that the liberal bourgeoisie began to swing to the Right in 1945 after the big strike in Magdalena was defeated. Nor is it ac-

cidental that the first repressions during the "violencia" period were aimed at destroying the independent working-class movement. It was only after this that the reactionaries were able to set up civil and military dictatorships.

In the first and most brutal period of the "violencia" (1948-53), peasant resistance took the form mainly of spontaneous actions to protect their lives, and prevent their organizations being destroyed by government order. As a result of the government's "fire and sword" policy, a fratricidal war broke out, fanned by irrational inter-party hatred. Such a war could hardly be a political schooling for the peasantry or the working class. It was only in later years when the peasantry, under the leadership of the Communists, shouldered the full weight of the armed resistance to the military dictatorship which fell in 1957 that this war began to acquire a class character. By then social degradation and destruction of the national wealth had reached unprecedented proportions. What is more, we were not able at the time to coordinate the armed resistance on a national scale; it had no revolutionary program calling for the seizure of power, it did not fully reflect the political and social aspirations of the working people of the towns.

However, despite this, political consciousness grew, especially in the countryside; this was due not so much to the fact that the peasantry was the principal victim of the terror, as to the fact that revolutionary ideas, mainly Communist, struck deeper root in their midst. Revolutionary consciousness and the revolutionary movement developed in the countryside because the Communists waged the struggle in two directions: they showed the peasants who was their real enemy and created, on the basis of a democratic agrarian program, independent organizations corresponding to the conditions—peasant leagues, trade unions, women's and youth committees, people's defence committees, etc.

The working class for its part learned from the Communists how to defend their trade unions and rid them of opportunist elements. But more important still, the working class realized that there was a proletarian organization on a higher level than the trade unions, an organization on which they could always depend, the only democratic political organization which has successfully waged an underground struggle against the dictatorial regime. Still, the political development of our proletariat in the past 30 years has been relatively slow. This is due to such factors as the long period of illegality (or semi-legality) in which the Communist Party and independent trade unions have had to function; the difficulties the Party has encountered in its work in the enterprises because of the class enemy's surveillance; the mistakes and shortcomings in the everyday activity of the Communists, and especially their sectarianism and lack of initiative when it was a question of strengthening their contact with the masses.

Today when the working class and its party have committed themselves to the peasantry who have taken up arms to win political power, the development of the revolution will depend to a decisive extent on the attitude of the working class. Nearly all opposition trends have raised the question of the conquest of power. But differing widely in their concepts, from extreme left to extreme right, they pursue different aims in the struggle. All sections share the desire for fundamental change, but it is only the consistently revolutionary forces who firmly pursue this aim, imparting to it an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal character. The working class and its party are in the van of the struggle for power. Both the working class and the peasantry need power, for these two classes hold the key to the country's social progress.

The exploiters and their agents would like to restrict the struggle of the workers for their demands to still narrower confines, to turn them into a passive support of the regime, without the right to think or interfere in politics. On the other hand, some individuals, parading as revolutionaries, have adopted a nihilist attitude to the possibilities for political struggle, or metaphysically "agree" only to an "insurrection by the proletarian masses" without, however, lifting a finger to prepare the conditions for insurrection.

The advocates of "insurrection at all costs" have of late been very active trying to penetrate into various workers' organizations. They assert that any action by the workers in defence of their rights is inappropriate and even a kind of betrayal of their class, that to present demands, fight for trade union rights, to demand that trade unions be granted juridical corporate rights can only injure the interests of the workers since the ruling classes will never agree to improve the socio-economic conditions of the working class. These people want the trade unions to change their character, to become organizations with an iron discipline and recognizing only one "revolutionary" ideology. This means that the Catholic workers (representing the majority of the proletariat), liberals, conservatives, Communists or people of no party, would not find a place for themselves in the said "trade unions," planned along the lines of political "commandos"; such "trade unions" are designed to replace the vanguard organization of the working class and occupy themselves exclusively with organizing the insurrection which, according to its supporters, is on the order of the day in Colombia.

The consequences of this activity, directed against the united efforts, against the development and very existence of the independent trade union movement, are beginning to make themselves felt. Petty-bourgeois tendencies are appearing which their advocates are trying to smuggle into the ranks of the working class. They must be countered both in the sphere of ideology and on the arena of the practical struggle.

Although the Colombian working class is divided and is strongly influenced by bourgeois ideology, we Communists have never doubted the importance of its role in the revolutionary process. The peasant organizations, self-defense detachments and guerrillas under our influence have from very outset proclaimed that the leading role in the Colombian revolution belongs to the working class. This is the opinion not only of the Communists.

Our differences on this issue are not with the consistent revolutionaries who combine theory with the practical struggle, but with the windbags and some "left theoreticians." The latter claim that there is a certain "privileged caste," an "oligarchy of bosses and workers" which do not support the interests of the masses, and especially the peasantry, that the industrial workers "exploit" the rest of the "consumers." According to this petty-bourgeois concept "the townspeople who are in a privileged position because they happen to belong to the economic plutocracy or to the labor oligarchy, are not interested in any changes. They are not revolutionaries." (Statement of the national conference of the Liberal Revolutionary Movement, December 1963.)

This statement prompts the questions: Is the Colombian working class the vanguard of the revolution? Does it head the struggle for radical change? Does its struggle correspond to the ideals of which it is the objective vehicle?

These questions directly concern the Communist Party and we think they should be answered. The working class is the vanguard of the revolution because it expresses the supreme interests of its people; because the solution of its problems will mean the solution of the problems of the entire nation; because it faces the future with greater confidence and boldness than any other class. But that is not all. *The working class has to fight for its ideals in the front line of the struggle*, otherwise its vanguard role will be a symbolic one to a certain extent.

But does this depend entirely on the working class itself and its party? We don't think so. There are other external and objective factors which must be taken into account. However, the solution of the problem is essentially a practical one. In the case of Colombia, it is not enough just to state that the working class does not play the *full* vanguard role it is called upon to perform. The all important thing is to carry on activity among the working class, to ensure that its struggle corresponds to the objective needs of the day and that it has a clear perspective. The absence of a high degree of militancy is a relative and transient phenomenon, and should be considered not "contemplatively" but in the context of our efforts to wrest the workers from the influence of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists.

At any rate time will decide the issue, it is already proving the truth of our concepts. Headway is being made. The working class is objectively fighting to occupy a leading place

in the political life of the country, irrespective of whether or not it is under the direct influence of the Party which expresses its vital interests. And this struggle is steadily breaking down the obstacles erected by the class enemy to prevent the proletariat from being "poisoned" with socialist ideas.

Concepts which belittle the role of the working class are doomed to failure. This is all the more true today when imperialism's global strategy is destroying, we think, all hopes of a "sudden and quick" victory by the popular forces. The Communists realize that persistent political and organizational work must be carried out among the working class to ensure its unity and militant participation in a worker-peasant alliance, the main force of the revolution.

To give concrete form to such an alliance on the broadest possible scale is the task of the moment. Clear-cut and promising perspectives will open up before the movement for radical change only as the armed and unarmed peasant struggle will receive the decisive support of the towns and particularly the workers, only as all forms of the revolutionary struggle develop.

It is clear that the solution of this problem depends not only on the Communists, but also on the other revolutionary and opposition trends. The objective conditions for the revolution exist. But only the struggle in all its aspects, only comprehensive revolutionary activity will show, in the final analysis, to what extent the working class will participate in the battle for a better life in our country.

Towards the complete victory of socialism

Fifteenth Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party

THE FIFTEENTH CONGRESS of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, held in Ulan Bator last June, discussed the report of the Central Committee, discussed and adopted the Party's new program and also the directives for the fourth five-year plan (1966-70). It also adopted a statement in support of the people of Vietnam in their struggle against U.S. aggression.

The Congress, a striking expression of the unity of the Party, demonstrated also the unity between the Party and the people, the confidence of the working class, cooperative peasantry and intelligentsia in its home and foreign policy. This was apparent from the pre-congress discussion of the Draft Program and Draft Directives for the five-year plan, from the labor achievements of the working people of town and country in honor of the Congress, the stream of letters and messages addressed to it wishing it every success in its work and expressing readiness to spare no effort to carry out its decisions.

The 15th Congress will occupy an important place in the history of the Party. The new program summarizes the 45 years' activity of the Party and defines the tasks of the final stage of building socialism in the Mongolian People's Republic.

THE PARTY'S FOURTH PROGRAM

At its 14th Congress in 1961 the Party concluded that the country had entered a new phase of its development, that of completing the building of socialist society, and that a new Party program was needed. The Central Committee accordingly prepared a draft which it submitted to the 15th Congress for consideration.

The basic points of the new program were outlined in the Central Committee report made by Y. Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the CC.

The first section of the program, "Mongolia's Transition from Feudalism to Socialism," sum-

marizes the Party's experience in ensuring the non-capitalist development of the country, reviews the victories won by the Party and the people in carrying out the first three programs.

In 1921, the Party adopted its first program which advanced the task of national liberation, overthrowing the power of the feudal lords, placing state power in the hands of the working people and reconstructing society on new democratic principles. These tasks were accomplished, in the main, during 1921-24.

In 1924 the 3rd Congress defined the Party's general line which oriented the country on the non-capitalist way. The Party was guided by the Marxist-Leninist precept about the possibility of underdeveloped countries advancing towards socialism without necessarily having first to pass through capitalism.

The second program, adopted in 1925, set forth the Party's basic tasks in the democratic phase of the revolution.

By 1940 the first phase of the revolution had been completed in the main, and the period of the gradual development of the democratic revolution into a socialist revolution set in. The 10th Congress (1940) adopted the third program which outlined the basic tasks in laying the foundations of socialism. These tasks were specified in the decisions of subsequent congresses and accomplished for the most part by 1960.

The revolution, an integral part of the world revolutionary process, marked a turning point in the life of the people. As a result of the ending of the colonial regime and the establishment of an independent people's state, Mongolia dropped out of the imperialist world system and became a part of the new socialist world.

In the 45 years since the establishment of the Republic, the Party has carried out truly titanic work to overcome the centuries-old economic and cultural backwardness of the country, to turn it into an agrarian-industrial state, and lay the foundations of socialism. The

main result of the road traversed is that the Mongolian people under the leadership of the Party, and relying on the all-round assistance of the Soviet Union and later on the support and cooperation of the other socialist countries, abolished the exploiter classes and with them the roots of exploitation, abolished private property and established public ownership of the means of production as the economic foundation of socialist society. This completed the historic transition from feudalism to socialism. It marked the triumph of the Party's general line of socialist development without first passing through capitalism.

The experience of building socialism in Mongolia has attracted world-wide interest, especially in the newly-independent countries. The new program summarizes the main conclusions to be drawn from this experience. They are, briefly, that:

1. The experience of the MPR is proof of the truth of the Marxist-Leninist teaching that it is possible for backward countries to advance to socialism without having to pass through capitalism. This is the only way in which the peoples who have thrown off the colonial yoke can rapidly and painlessly overcome their backwardness and misery and effect the transition to democracy and socialism.

2. The experience of the non-capitalist way in the MPR has shown that the general laws of development of the socialist revolution and socialist construction operate in the underdeveloped countries as well. But it goes without saying that these laws manifest themselves in keeping with the specific condition of the country advancing from the pre-bourgeois socio-economic formation to socialism.

3. Our experience has shown that the national and social liberation of peoples and the building of a new society can be accomplished only given a close alliance and solidarity with the international working-class movement and, in the first place, with the Soviet Union.

4. Lastly, the experience of our Republic proves that in the underdeveloped countries the revolutionary and democratic parties of the peasantry and the intelligentsia associated with them are able, given the cooperation of the international Communist movement, to assimilate the ideas of scientific socialism and become the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the people in the fight for socialism.

The second section of the program defines the Party's basic tasks in the final phase of building socialism in Mongolia.

"The main task in the period completing the building of socialism in the Mongolian People's Republic is to develop in full measure the productive forces of socialism in line with the achievements of scientific and technological progress, to ensure a rapid rate of economic growth and a rise in socialist culture, to perfect social relations and the Communist education of the working people and, on this basis, achieve a further rise in wellbeing."

"The central economic task is to complete

the building of the material-technological base of socialism through further industrialization, mechanization of agriculture and increased technical equipment of all branches of the economy."

"The aim of the Party is to change the Republic in the near future into an industrial-agrarian country with a rational ratio between the extracting and manufacturing industries, and the proper correlation between the basic branches of the socialist economy."

As a result of the development, industry's share in the economy is steadily increasing, but it is still considerably behind agriculture in gross output. It will take approximately another three five-year periods before industry will be able to account for more than half of the national income, i.e., before the Republic will become an industrial-agrarian country.

The three chapters of this section of the program specify the tasks involved in building the material and technological base of socialism, improving the wellbeing of the people, promoting cultural development, improving social relationships and economic management.

The third and final section of the program defines the foreign policy and internationalist duties of the Party. In its foreign policy the Party proceeds from Marxist-Leninist principles, aims to ensure peaceful conditions for socialist and communist construction, to promote the unity, friendship and cooperation of the countries of the socialist world system, to support the national liberation movement of peoples and the revolutionary struggle of the working class of the capitalist countries, to rally all the revolutionary forces of our time, to preserve world peace and the security of nations.

The program devotes considerable attention to strengthening unity and cooperation with the socialist countries, a matter in which the Republic is vitally interested.

"The advance of the MPR towards the complete victory of socialism," the program states, "is possible only in close alliance and friendship with the countries of the socialist camp..."

"The Party proceeds from the thesis that the need to consolidate the unity of the world socialist system on the basis of socialist internationalism stems from the objective laws of development of socialist society, and is essential to the rapid progress of the member states; that fraternal unity and cooperation correspond to the supreme national interests of the countries concerned."

The program clearly states that the Party considers it its sacred duty and internationalist obligation steadfastly to uphold and promote inviolable friendship and unity with the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and the solidarity of the peoples of the socialist world system. It rejects the anti-Marxist policy of undermining the unity of the socialist countries, of setting one people against another, of the trend towards letting the fraternal countries fend for themselves; it

is opposed to any action that might injure the friendship of the peoples of the socialist countries.

The program notes that the Republic will work untiringly to advance the natural historical process of the cohesion of the peoples of the socialist countries, the coordination of their national economies, and mutual enrichment of their national cultures, that it will combat all manifestations of national egoism and propagation of national exclusiveness.

The supreme internationalist duty of the Party as an integral part of the international Communist and Working-class movement is consistently to further the unity of the international Communist movement, give effect to its general line, strictly abide by the theses, jointly elaborated by the fraternal parties concerning the common tasks in the struggle against imperialism and for peace, democracy and socialism. "The Party," the program states, "considers as its paramount task to develop fraternal relations of friendship and cooperation, mutual assistance and support with the other Communist and Workers' parties, to coordinate their actions with them and with other revolutionary forces for joint struggle against imperialism and in defence of the working people. . . ."

The program ends by pointing to the need to enhance the leading and guiding role of the Party in all spheres of public life in order to accomplish the grand task of creating a developed socialist society.

NEW FIVE-YEAR PLAN OF ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Fulfilment of the fourth five-year plan of economic and cultural development (1966-70), endorsed by the 15th Congress, will mark an important stage in realizing the Party's main task in the phase of completing the building of socialism.

The Congress summarized the results of the creative effort of the Party and the people during the period under review and noted that by fulfilling the third five-year plan our country had made a big step in the direction of laying the material and technological foundations of socialism. During the third five-year plan the basic production assets increased 1.9 times, and output of agriculture 2.2 times. Gross output of the two branches increased 1.6 and 1.2 times respectively. National income increased approximately 1.3 times for the same period.

The five-year plan for stock-raising was overfulfilled, the total head of cattle reaching 23,800,000.

Average annual growth rate in industry was 10.5 per cent; productivity of labor rose by 25 per cent. More than 90 new enterprises and factory departments were built and commissioned. Thanks to the priority development of fuel and power, power capacity increased 2.9 times, that of the mining industry, 2.5 times. This made it possible to considerably expand

the fuel and power industries and introduce effective changes in the industrial pattern.

Work was begun on a new industrial complex in the Darkhan area, which, when completed, will play a big role in accelerating the industrialization of the country. A thermal power station with a capacity of 48,000 kilowatt and a building-materials factory have been built, a new open cut mine has been developed at Sharyngol; construction of a cement plant and of plant producing silicate brick is nearing completion. The Darkhan project is being built with the help of Soviet, Czechoslovak and Polish specialists and workers. It has become a symbol of international friendship and economic cooperation between fraternal peoples.

During 1966-70 the economy will reach a higher level. The principal economic task of the new five-year plan is to achieve a further rise in agriculture, industry and other branches by extending their material and technological facilities, continuing the industrialization, raising productivity of labor and making effective use of production assets. This will, in turn, improve the wellbeing of the people and raise their cultural level.

The current five-year plan provides for an approximately 30 per cent increase in national income, a 38-40 per cent increase in agricultural output and a 70-80 per cent increase in industrial production. Basic production assets will increase by 63 per cent.

Congress defined the main directions in which the basic branches of the economy are to develop. In agriculture the task is to increase output of the head of cattle and their productivity, to expand the crop area and raise yields for basic crops. It is planned to increase the production of meat and milk 1.5 times, that of grain—1.4 times and of potatoes—2.9 times. Agriculture's material and technological facilities will be considerably reinforced during the five-year period. To this end it will get approximately 30 per cent of all investment, that is, twice as much as in the previous five-year period.

In industry the task is to expand the fuel and power industries, greater output of building materials and accelerated development of those branches of the light and food industries yielding the highest returns, to increase the efficiency of production and improve quality. Thus, output of electric power in 1970 will increase more than 1.9 times compared with 1965, the output of coal approximately two times, that of bricks about 2.5 times and that of prefabricated reinforced concrete by more than two times. Returns from industrial investments will show a 2.6 times increase by the end of the five-year period.

Living standards will go up considerably. Real income per capita will increase by 16-17 per cent, the money incomes of cooperative members, 1.6 times and the wages of factory and office workers approximately by 30 per cent. Old-age pensions will register a 20 per cent increase.

The Congress devoted considerable attention to the important matter of labor for the different industries. In our conditions of an acute shortage of labor, the question of making the fullest and most rational use of labor resources, of scientific organization of labor are of the greatest importance. The current five years will see a 10 per cent increase in the labor force compared with 1965 and also a 12 per cent increase in the numbers working directly in production.

Congress also discussed the question of improving economic management and elaborating measures to this end. It recommended studying the experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and creatively applying this experience in the conditions of the Mongolian People's Republic. The main emphasis here will be on combining centralized state guidance of the economy with promotion of the initiative of the enterprises and raising their responsibility for performance, on greater incentives in production, on effective use of such economic levers as prices, profit and bonuses. Improvement in management is necessitated, on the one hand, by the rapid growth of the productive forces and, on the other, by the need to make full use of the advantages of the socialist economy.

Congress analyzed the achievements and shortcomings in the work of the various branches of the economy. It indicated how these shortcomings can be eliminated and expressed its confidence that the members of the Party, all working people of the Republic will spare no effort to fulfil the new five-year plan.

UNDER THE BANNER OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

Congress again demonstrated the international solidarity of Communists in the fight for the triumph of the ideas of socialism and communism, for peace and against our common enemy—imperialism. The fact that the Congress was attended by delegates from the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties as well as revolutionary-democratic parties of 39 countries was evidence of the support for our Party's policy by the international communist and revolutionary movement.

In their speeches the representatives of these parties expressed their accord with the Party's position on the fundamental issues of the world revolutionary movement and international situation, as set forth in the new program, in the Central Committee's report and in other Congress documents. They likewise expressed their support of the Party's home and foreign policy, stressed the importance of the experience of socialist construction in Mongolia for the young national states, and the Party's contribution to the theory and practice of the non-capitalist way.

The Congress was a striking demonstration of the firm friendship and close unity between the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party

and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, between the Mongolian and Soviet peoples. "The fundamental principle of the foreign policy of our Party and our Government," said Y. Tsedenbal, "was and remains steadfastly to promote inviolable friendship and close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, to uphold and consolidate the unity of the countries of the socialist community and of the international communist and working-class movement." Congress confirmed that this policy expresses the will of the entire Party and people.

Congress expressed the view that the world revolutionary movement would have achieved still greater success if the main revolutionary forces of our time did not have to contend in their joint struggle against the common enemy with the difficulties caused by the differences in our movement. Our Party fully shares the views of the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties that these differences can be resolved, and favors convening at a suitable time an international conference of all the Communist and Workers' parties to discuss the crucial issues of our movement and the question of its unity, and to coordinate the tactics and strategy of the revolutionary movement.

Like most Communist and Workers' parties the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party has done and will continue to do everything to help settle on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the differences that have arisen in the world Communist movement and to restore the unity of Communists in all countries.

Congress demonstrated its fraternal solidarity with the people of Vietnam in their valiant struggle against barbarous U.S. aggression. Comrade Tsedenbal's words that the rendering of coordinated and effective aid to the people of Vietnam is now the prime internationalist duty of the socialist countries and the Communist parties, the criterion of loyalty of all the contingents of our movement to the principles of proletarian internationalism in the common struggle against imperialism, were enthusiastically applauded.

The speeches of the head of the delegation of the Party of Working People of Vietnam and of the representative of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam were received with warm sympathy.

Congress adopted a special statement supporting the struggle of the people of Vietnam against U.S. aggression. The statement condemns this aggression and qualifies it as a heinous crime against the freedom and independence, peace and security of peoples. It expresses the confidence that the American aggressors will never bring the Vietnamese people to their knees, that their just struggle will be crowned with victory. "This Congress," the statement notes, "declares that the Party and all the people of Mongolia, in pursuance of their internationalist duty, will continue to render all possible support and aid to the

fraternal people of Vietnam in their sacred struggle against the U.S. aggressors."

Congress unanimously approved the Central Committee's policy also on other crucial international issues. It declared that the MPRP will continue to wage a consistent struggle to preserve and strengthen world peace and against the aggressive proclivities of imperialist reaction in Asia and other areas of the globe, will decisively support the just movement of the fraternal Korean people for the withdrawal of American troops from South Korea and unification of their country on peaceful democratic principles, will make its contribution to the fight to put an end for all

time to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, and for the implementation of measures promoting general and complete disarmament and the prohibition of nuclear weapons.

Congress declared that, the MPRP, as one of the militant contingents of the world communist movement, is fully aware of its internationalist duty and places the great cause of socialism and communism above everything else. The Party will continue to work for the realization of this great cause in close unity with the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties.

TSEREVIIN DAVAGSUREN

Finland: cooperation among the democratic forces

CONSIDERABLE CHANGES have taken place latterly in the Finnish political scene. A new situation has emerged as a result of developments over a relatively long period, in particular the evolution of the international situation and to no less an extent the fact that the general line pursued by the world Communist movement has deprived the anti-communists of their weaponry.

Throughout the postwar the support enjoyed by the People's Democratic Alliance, the main force in which is the Communist Party, has remained stable with 20-30 per cent of the electorate backing it at the polls. In 1945-48 we were in the government with the Social Democratic and Agrarian parties. These three groups have invariably been the biggest in the country.

After we were forced out of the government in 1948 the Social Democratic Party alone took over the administration. Soon, however, it was joined by the Agrarians in a coalition which lasted until 1959, when foreign policy considerations impelled the Social Democrats to go into opposition.

Since 1954 we have been working to achieve cooperation and unity of action with the Social Democrats. In that year the Central Committee of the Communist Party issued a call for united action, declaring its readiness to work together with the Social Democrats for a

policy meeting the interests of the working people. This appeal found an eager response in the trade unions and in the factories, where discontent was mounting with the Social Democratic policy of raising prices and freezing wages to serve the purposes of big capital, a policy which led to the general strike of 1956. Demonstrating the unity of the working class, this strike action alarmed the Rights and impelled the anti-communists and other reactionaries to combine. The Social Democratic Party itself was split.

In 1957 Tanner, the leader of the Right-wing Social Democrats, notorious for his opposition to good-neighborly relations with the Soviet Union and his record as a convicted war criminal, was again elected chairman of his party.

In general elections of the following year the People's Democratic Alliance won a resounding victory, securing 50 seats out of 200. The Social Democrats in parliament split and an opposition Social Democratic parliamentary group was formed. Later this group evolved into an independent party.

The workers' parties had the majority in the newly-elected parliament. The leadership of the SDP headed by Tanner, however, would not hear of any cooperation with the Communists. In view of this totally blind anti-communist stand, we redoubled our efforts to bring our united action policy home to the masses.

We found a wide response among the Social Democratic following as well.

The Rights in the trade union movement and the SDP leadership bent every effort to prevent the growth of Communist influence, to isolate us and to split the unions. A new trade union body supported by big business and by Social-Democratic West-European trade union centres and the leaders of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions was established in 1960, but it failed to win appreciable support among the workers. It remained a splinter group pursuing narrow partisan and anti-communist ends.

Then, in 1961, the SDP leaders and the bourgeois extreme Right made a desperate effort to channel Finland's home and foreign policy onto the lines of the "thirties." On the eve of the presidential election of 1962 they entered into an electoral bloc in order to defeat President Kakkonen and to install an ultra-Right instead. The attempt failed. The Social Democrats were defeated in the general election as well.

In the long run these manipulations gave rise to sharp criticism in the SDP, and the party's convention in 1963 made changes in the leadership. For one thing, a new chairman was elected. Both the party and its parliamentary group made a reappraisal of their policy, taking a firmer stand against the capitalist government. Foreign policy, too, was re-examined and the SDP began officially to favor good relations with the Soviet Union based on mutual confidence.

All in all this record of the attempts made to steer the SDP along anti-communist lines is an instructive one for all the political forces and the working class of Finland.

What is the situation today?

The Social Democratic Party won a major victory in the elections of last March and emerged as the biggest party in the country. The workers' parties taken together gained the majority in parliament (103 seats). This put the Right-wing Social Democrats in a difficult position. Fruitful cooperation in government without the bourgeoisie was now a tangible possibility.

During the election campaign we underscored the need for cooperation between the workers' parties, stressing that only if they won the majority and worked in a spirit of cooperation was it possible to effect a change of policy in a direction favorable to the working class. A similar view was taken by some prominent SDP leaders. For instance, Vaino Leskinen, formerly known as an anti-communist and one of those who were not elected to the Party leadership in 1963, spoke already before the elections in favor of cooperation between the Social Democrats and Communists. Today too he is influential, especially among the Social Democratic youth and students. Besides Leskinen there are other SDP leaders who believe that the party should avoid repeating the mistakes of the "fifties," that it

should work out a new political line, and that this can be done only in cooperation with the Communists.

It is believed that at least 80 per cent of the Social Democratic Party membership are for cooperation with the Communists in the government. The majority of the members of the Agrarian Union (now Center Party) are inclined to take the same view.

The new government was formed towards the end of May, following prolonged negotiations. The number of ministerial portfolios given to the People's Democrats did not correspond to the percentage of their vote—three instead of the four they should have received on the strength of their electoral support. The most difficult thing, however, was to reach agreement on a government program. The program finally worked out, apart from agricultural policy, corresponds to the interests of the working class and the majority of the nation in both the domestic and foreign policy spheres.

Most complex are the fiscal problems of the state, which is experiencing grave difficulties as a result of the monopoly-inspired policy pursued over a long period of time. In order to get out of the red it is essential mainly to increase revenue, since the opportunities for cutting expenditure are rather limited. Reduction of military spending, which in Finland is comparatively low, cannot help much to re-establish equilibrium. Hence the government program calls for increasing revenue mainly through taxation of the big companies and the high-income groups.

Briefly, our aims are the following: a foreign policy based on peaceful coexistence; maintaining and strengthening good-neighborly relations with the Soviet Union; an active peace policy; prevention of unemployment; accelerated economic development, above all by expanding government-controlled industry; more housing construction; balanced foreign trade; prevention of any rise in prices; improved social security, fair taxation, and a school reform.

The 14th Congress of the Communist Party, held in January-February this year, adopted an economic and political program for the immediate period. The following are the main points in this program:

"To combat the grip of the monopolies and the economic programs of big business our Party advances its own proposals aimed at building up, on a national basis, a prosperous economy.

"These proposals have as their point of departure the following:

"1. Parliament should exercise both direct and indirect democratic control over the economy, with the effective participation of the workers in management and genuine participation of the peasants in the work of the cooperatives and the conduct of their affairs.

"2. The state sector in industry should be expanded both by building new state-owned

enterprises and by nationalizing monopoly-owned enterprises. The state-owned enterprises should play the leading role in economic development.

"3. Anti-monopoly control should be established over prices, investment and taxes in order to increase state accumulation essential for the development of the economy.

"4. The scientific and technological revolution calls for expanded research, improved training of specialists, increase of basic capital and expansion of production enterprises.

"5. In order to modernize the economy effective measures should be taken to ensure full employment at the existing enterprises and to provide new job opportunities.

"The most effective way to do this is through industrial development. Equally important are major hydrotechnical, road-building and irrigation projects and housing construction. Agriculture has unused potential which if utilized could retard growth of unemployment.

"6. The state should take measures to check the growing influence of foreign capital in the Finnish economy.

"7. The potential of non-monopoly private enterprise should also be utilized to promote economic development.

"8. It is imperative to promote public planning and to draw up on the basis of thorough research a plan of general development for our country."

The Communist program contains specific proposals concerning, in particular, the engineering, chemical, woodworking and power industries. It recommends the building of an automobile plant and of a nuclear power station, improving quality of output in the woodworking enterprises, and sets forth the target figure for housing construction in 1966-75.

The program calls for a reorganization of state administration with a view to ensuring more effective state participation in economic planning and management.

For about a year now we have been conducting negotiations with the Social Democrats on restoring the organizational unity of the trade union movement. We insist on ending the discrimination against the Communists, on equal representation and democratic procedures. Since the election there has been greater understanding, and the Social Democrats in

the trade unions are, increasingly, coming to see our viewpoint. The Congress of the Central Trade Union Federation, the oldest trade union centre in the country which we have supported against the splitters, held in June-July 1966, was a notable event in this respect.

Prior to this Congress only three of the seventeen members of the Federation's Executive were Communists. Now, however, with the Social Democrats taking a favorable stand towards cooperation with us, it was agreed to give the Communists bigger representation. In the election of officers a Social Democrat, Niilo Hamalainen, was chosen as Chairman, and a Communist, Arvo Hautala, as Second Chairman. A Communist was elected Secondary Secretary of the Federation. With the exception of the election of the Chairman, all decisions were adopted unanimously.

Clearly, then, big changes have taken place in the Social Democratic movement. The anti-Communists have lost ground. This opens up new opportunities in the struggle for the workers' interests, for extending democracy, for peace and for socialism.

The experience of the past 20 years shows that anti-Communism and the alliance with the capitalist parties prompted by it can only spell defeat for the Social Democrats, reduce their following and split their ranks. This has compelled them to review their political line in regard to the Communists. It is our task to see to it that the incipient cooperation with the Social Democrats is strengthened and developed all the way to joint struggle for socialist aims.

Proceeding from the decisions of the 14th Congress, we have taken steps to amend our program and rules in keeping with the changed conditions and requirements. It is our purpose to define with the utmost precision our attitude to the existing democratic institutions, to the multi-party system and civil liberties generally both during the transition to socialism and after its triumph.

We believe that this will promote the growth of the socialist forces and facilitate cooperation among them in our country, where the objective conditions are exceptionally favorable for launching out on the road of socialist change.

AARNE SAARINEN

Social democracy in action

Experiences of Polish United Workers' Party in Wroclaw Region

EXPERIENCE ACCUMULATED over the years shows that the preconditions of the triumph of socialism are leadership by the Marxist-Leninist Party and active support of the Party by the mass of the working people. "Socialism cannot be brought about by the minority organized in the Party," Lenin said. "It can be introduced only by the tens of millions when they have learned to build it themselves." This thesis has not lost any of its validity to this day.

The Party organization in Wroclaw Region has been guided by this thesis in its organizational and educational work among the people. We set ourselves a clear-cut aim: to give effect to the principles of socialist democracy in everyday life. This is not merely a matter of guaranteeing the traditional democratic rights and freedoms, including the right of free speech. That goes without saying. Our main objective is to ensure the broadest possible participation of both Party members and non-Party people in resolving all the tasks facing the region in the process of building socialism, to achieve genuine democracy in action.

The regional Party organization has gained considerable experience in this respect in recent years, having worked out and verified in practice new forms of Party work and leadership. We would like to share this experience with the readers of this journal.

Our main efforts have been directed at full implementation of inner-Party democracy as an effective means of stimulating public activity in all spheres of endeavor, of bringing the Party and the people closer together, enhancing the Party's prestige and influence, and steadily improving socialist comradely relationships between people.

We pay a good deal of attention to planning our Party-building at both regional and branch level. We are doing so because we believe that the most important thing is to ensure a high degree of activity on the part of the membership. From this standpoint the composition of the Party organization and its planned development is of decisive significance. The standard of Party work depends largely on the composition of the branches.

Planning Party-building on regional and dis-

trict scale is mainly a matter of regulating the social composition of the membership, of proper recruiting of new members. Much has been done in this respect in recent years. For one thing, the quantitative growth is noteworthy. At the end of 1965 the region had over 129,000 full and candidate members of the Party—the highest figure for the past ten years. It should be noted that the rate of growth of the Party membership is higher than the rate of population growth in Lower Silesia. In 1961-65 the population over 18 increased by 6.8 per cent and Party membership by 47 per cent. In 1961 about 6.5 per cent of the adult population were full or candidate members of the Party and in 1965 over 9 per cent.

A large proportion of the membership are young people. In 1965, for instance, members under 29 accounted for 23.6 per cent of the total regional membership.

The attention paid to planned recruiting has had its effect on the social composition. The following figures for the past three years are indicative:

	Percentage of total		
	1963	1964	1965
Workers	40.7	42.0	42.5
Peasants	8.4	8.5	8.6
Mental Workers	43.4	43.9	43.1
Others	5.5	5.6	5.8

The number of workers and peasants is slowly but steadily growing. They constitute a substantial percentage of the candidate members enrolled, especially in the past two years. In many districts their percentage is as high as 70.

It should be mentioned that the striving to plan Party building found some opponents. Many comrades feel that regulating the growth of the Party organization amounts to artificial interference in a normal and natural process. We, however, believe that this is an incorrect approach. The Party as the leading organized contingent constituting the vanguard in our society in general and at the various sectors of socialist upbuilding in particular should measure up to the demands placed on such a vanguard not only as regards its ideological and

organizational foundations, but also as regards its composition.

This is particularly obvious when it comes to the branches in industrial enterprises and other institutions. We believe it is perfectly natural to expect each branch to correspond roughly to the cross-section of the personnel engaged in the given institution or enterprise both from the production and the social standpoint. It would be strange if, for instance, a factory where women constitute the bulk of the labor force had a Party branch consisting mostly of men, or if the branch at a factory with mostly young workers had a basically middle-aged membership.

Planned Party building at branch level presupposes an individual approach to recruiting the most advanced and active workers. In Swidnica District, for instance, all the branches have a long-range building plan listing the best workers, respected by the rest of the personnel, who should be enlisted in the Party. But this alone is not enough.

In our opinion it is also necessary to bear in mind the influence already exerted by the Party, the number of Party members at the various production sectors, their age, education, skill rating and knowledge of the production tasks and prospects of the enterprise, the fluctuation of personnel, and the activity of the Socialist Youth League and other organizations on which the Party can draw for new members.

A big part in planned Party building is played by proper organization of work among non-Party people, especially prospective members. It is important to enlist non-members in the activities of the branches in a variety of forms, from attending production conferences sponsored by the Party, open Party meetings, study groups and joint consultations to participating in other activities aimed at carrying out Party decisions. All these forms of work are widely practised in our region.

Important too is the correct application of differentiated criteria in recruiting people from different social groups, bearing in mind their education, social status and place in production. We have come to the conclusion that much more should be demanded from, say, an engineer, technician or some other brain worker entering the Party than from a worker or a peasant.

Work with candidate members is an important component of planned Party-building. We regard the probationary period not so much as a time for testing the qualities of a future member as a stage of membership during which he is prepared to tackle the responsibilities which the Party entrusts to its members. This work is mostly conducted in a centralized way, being organized by the district committees and, in some cases, by the Party committees in the bigger enterprises. Preparing candidate members for the responsibilities of full membership includes study of the Rules and Program of the Party, the history of the

working-class movement and the ideological fundamentals of our Party, profound knowledge of which is obligatory for every member.

We make a point of assigning the members who have recommended candidates to work with the latter. We feel that the recommender bears a responsibility not only for bringing a new good man into the Party but also for his ideological and political education. It is our object that the recommenders and the Party branches should be not only formally but in the full sense of the word responsible for each new member.

We combine planning in Party building with a system of planning Party work as a whole, bearing in mind that the Party is the leading force in our society and responsible for everything that happens in the villages, districts, the region and the country as a whole.

Planning Party work presupposes defining the most effective ways and means of achieving the aims set. More, the aims of the Party organization cannot be divorced from the aims of the enterprise, office, district or region in which this organization functions.

As for the means employed by the Party in exercising its leadership, these differ from those of administrative or economic activity. Party work must combine a political approach to issues with mass organizational work and ability to appeal to each individual. In this sense we can speak of Party work as an art, as a calling. But it is no less important to deepen the scientific groundwork of Party work, to plan it on the basis of a profound, all-round analysis of the situation in the region, district, enterprise or institution. Subjectivism in any shape or form, impermissible in administrative or economic work, is even less tolerable in Party work.

These are the considerations from which we proceed in planning our Party work.

Another important requirement is the ability to see the main task at each given stage, to concentrate on the crucial issue of the moment.

Mass political and educational work looms large in our plans.

Each Party organization draws up its own plans, the local branches as a rule for a month to three months ahead. At the district and regional levels plenary meetings of the respective Party committees adopt comprehensive annual plans of work.

Take, for instance, the program for 1966 adopted by the Legnica district committee. It is an integrated annual blueprint covering the problems to be taken up by the district committee, its sub-committees, and associated organizations of Party activists.

The branch plans go into tasks in greater detail and set forth concrete ways and means of carrying them out.

In drawing up these plans we try to see to it that they should not inhibit initiative and activity on the part of the rank and file but, on the contrary, should stimulate such initiative to the maximum. For a long time now it

has been a rule for the membership to take an active part in drawing up plans of work. Indeed, we cannot conceive of any activity without the widest participation of the members.

In turn, these draw non-members into activity and discussion of problems. This lays the basis for close contact between the Party and the masses. Suffice it to mention the system of consultations which have been widely practised for a number of years. In many Party organizations groups preparing questions for discussion at meetings have been functioning for a number of years. Such groups, consisting of two or three members, periodically receive from the secretary of their Party committee, or directly from the committee, concrete assignments to discuss things with people, to find out their opinion on one or another issue and to elicit suggestions. The themes for consultations are always concrete, of interest to the entire collective. Each of these groups (in some big branches there are scores of them) works with a definite number of workers. In this way a consensus of opinion is arrived at and joint suggestions worked out.

In many cases these groups take up with non-Party people even such questions as candidacies for Party bodies, with a view to finding out how the public regards one or another candidate. This practice has produced good results, for instance, at the Pafawag railway car works, one of the biggest plants in the region.

In preparing plenary meetings of the regional or district committees consultations take the form above all of collective elaboration of analytic materials. Problem committees and Party activists often spend weeks, and sometimes months, compiling such material, enlisting in this work not only Party members but also non-Party specialists. For example, a plenary meeting of the regional committee held to discuss construction problems was preceded by four months of preparatory work. More than half a year went into preparing a meeting of the committee to discuss the functioning of the People's Councils with the participation of representatives of the Peasant Party and the Democratic Party. During the preparatory work the subject was discussed at trade union meetings, in the enterprises, and at public meetings in residential areas. As a result, a common program containing the recommendations and suggestions advanced in the course of the discussion was worked out in every district, town and village. Moreover, a competition developed between towns, villages and districts for the biggest public contribution to municipal improvement. This was an instance of the preparations for discussing one issue in the regional committee serving as a stimulus to an extensive public movement.

Planning Party work in the light of the needs and peculiarities of one or another organization, enterprise, town or district helps to promote initiative in the respective Party

organizations. The quest for more effective forms of work has become a regular feature of the activities of the district and regional committees as well as of the branches.

Experience has taught us that the full-time functionaries of the district and regional committees alone are unable to give profound and thoughtful leadership to the local branches. This impelled us to search for more flexible forms of guidance. Moreover, it was not the big branches which presented the greatest difficulty. Here things were comparatively satisfactory, firstly because these branches were strong enough to conduct independent activity and, secondly, because it had become customary for the district and regional functionaries to pay more attention to the big branches although they were much less in need of assistance.

Small branches with 20 members or less presented the most complex problem. Branches in this bracket account for 55 per cent of the total number in the region. The district committees, and still less the regional committee, could hardly follow the work of each of these branches in detail.

Consequently, we initiated a search for new ways of coordinating the activity of small branches and giving them guidance. In Legnica District, for instance, good results were obtained by setting up Party committees uniting branches functioning in areas such as education, the health service or trade, without any full-time functionaries. Elected at a general meeting of members working in the given sphere, these committees provide a link with the district committee. In the Walbrzych district other forms of guidance to smaller branches, including councils of their secretaries, are being tried out.

The regional committee, it should be noted, supports and popularizes by no means all initiatives coming from subordinate committees and organizations. For instance, attempts made by some district committees to regulate in detail the activities of branches did not find much support in the region. The same applies to the initiative of the Swidnica district committee which circulated detailed instructions among the smaller branches concerning the planning and general conduct of Party work. Nor were there any followers forthcoming for this district committee's idea of assigning experienced members to branches as spare-time instructors. These suggestions were made with the best of intentions, but in practice their realization was fraught with the danger of tutelage over local branches and their secretaries, and this would inevitably discourage initiative and foster complacency and dependence.

To ensure the constant active participation of the public in all measures and campaigns sponsored by the Party, to assess the views of the working people on one or another issue and to draw them into discussion of problems, it is essential to keep the people well posted on the state of affairs in the various sectors

of socialist upbuilding, on how their suggestions are being carried out, problems solved or mistakes corrected.

In our region it has become the practice at all levels of Party and governmental activity, in the districts and villages, factories and other institutions, for the heads or representatives of corresponding state bodies to report regularly to meetings of the working people on the results of their work.

Regular reports to Party and non-Party activists create an atmosphere of certainty that the Party and state bodies are taking cognizance of the opinions of every Party member and citizen, of confidence that no wish expressed, or criticism made will be ignored. This lays a solid groundwork for the steady growth of public activity among both Party members and non-Party people.

The Party branches in factories and other institutions devote much study to public opinion and to the views of collectives and individual workers. This study is conducted by our Party political education system with its committees of voluntary workers and spare-time lecturers and tutors. Valuable aid to the Party organizations is rendered in this respect by professional sociologists and psychologists. As a result of a thorough study of the sentiment of the workers, combined with educational work and a system of incentives, the Party organizations succeeded in reducing to minimum the fluctuation of labor in the factories and increasing the productivity of labor in the course of the 1961-65 five-year plan.

Very important from the standpoint of heightening the activity and sense of responsibility of Party members and strengthening discipline is, in our opinion, well-organized verification of their work, regular assessment of their activity. This has been practiced in our region for a number of years now. The initiators were a number of branches in Swidnica district, whose example was gradually followed by all other branches in the region. This practice at first caused some doubts among some comrades, but on closer examination their objections were dispelled.

A feature of this practice is the emphasis laid on the positive aspects of a member's activity, his accomplishments in Party work and production as well as his relations with his fellow workers and the working collective. Friendly verification of the activities of every Communist on the part of his comrades enhances his sense of responsibility, his awareness that a member of the Party must be a Communist first, last and always. It is worth noting that branch meetings on this question are usually very lively and permeated with an atmosphere of warmth, confidence and mutual aid. Verifying the work of the individual member is accompanied by assessment of the work of the entire organization. Often such conclusions are drawn and such suggestions and recommendations made in regard to the functioning of branches as offer a basis for a whole

series of measures to eliminate shortcomings.

Such, then, are some of the experiences of our organization. I should like to draw a few conclusions suggested by our work.

First about Party work as such. There is no such thing as Party work in the abstract. It is always connected with the building of socialism, with the fulfilment of concrete economic, cultural and social tasks. But the approach of the Party worker, committee or organization to these tasks is of a specific order. There was a time when it was a widespread practice for Party bodies to arrogate to themselves the functions of administrative and economic executives and to devote much of their time to current managerial work. This caused no little harm.

What, then, is the right approach to Party work and Party guidance? As we see it, the hallmark of the Party leader is, to paraphrase Lenin, the ability correctly to express, together with the Party as a whole, the sentiment of the people.

The Party leader is sure not to err, sure to take the correct stand on every fundamental issue of socialist upbuilding if he works in close contact with the people, if he understands the moods and aspirations of the working people, if he heeds the voice of the people.

In other words, the basic feature of Party guidance and Party work in general is the ability to find a common language with the working people, to understand their needs and strivings. This is basic for the Party worker, regardless of the position he holds.

Another distinguishing feature of the Party worker and his activities is ability to organize and rally the masses for fulfilment of decisions.

But this work will be successful only if the people feel that the decisions reflect their suggestions and their thinking. Only then will they consider them their own decisions.

Another conclusion to be drawn is that for the Party organization to function effectively in present-day conditions it is essential to promote the initiative of all working people, both those in the Party and those outside it. All-round promotion of active socialist democracy, ensuring the participation of the working people in solving all problems arising in the process of building socialism, is a cardinal imperative of our time, the basic condition for the success of our cause.

However, we have learned by experience that development of genuine democracy is not a simple matter. It calls for great exertion of effort, personal example, ability to answer all questions however difficult, ability to acquaint every working man with Party policy in such a way that he should regard it as his own policy. Political understanding and political tact are needed. Moreover, work to stimulate political and public activity must be conducted unflaggingly; were it to cease for any length of time activity would decline and eventually come to a standstill.

The way things were done some years ago—

by orders from above — was of course far simpler and easier. This method does not call for any great exertion of effort, creates the impression that all is well, and makes it possible to take the line of least resistance. Perhaps this is why methods of this kind, and also bureaucracy and red tape, are still tenacious in Party work and state administration. But one thing is clear: such methods must be renounced if our Party work, and in general work among the people, is to be successful.

It may be asked: how justified are the present forms and methods of Party work? How effective are they? It is difficult, of course, to measure the results of Party work by concrete,

material criteria. However, the economic progress made in our region, the greater prestige enjoyed by the Party among the public, the greater trust reposed in the Party and governmental bodies and the atmosphere of confidence increasingly asserting itself among the population afford some idea of the results of the work done by the regional Party organization. It is these changes which provide the answer to the question of how well the regional Party organization understands the decisions and the advice of the Central Committee and how correctly it is carrying them out.

Wladyslaw PILATOWSKI

Against the dictatorship in Brazil

A MEETING OF THE Central Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party, held in secret since the Party has been deprived of its legal status, adopted a resolution which gives a true picture of the situation brought about by the military dictatorship.

The resolution notes that the dictatorship has reduced Brazil to the status of a mere puppet of U.S. imperialism. Brazil, it continues, has become a prop of Washington's policy of military provocations, interference in the internal affairs of other countries, of intrigue and border incidents aimed at turning the fraternal peoples of Latin America against each other—in short, a policy of aggression in the areas where the fight for independence and freedom is underway. Characteristic of the dictatorship's policy on the home front is its subordination to the monopolies and U.S. government.

The dictatorship is now trying to alter the political and constitutional structure of the country. Donning the toga of democracy it is working to consolidate a system based on tyranny and terror.

The Central Committee notes that despite the destruction of rights, unlawful arrests, house searches, dissolution of all political parties, and the long prison sentences imposed on leaders of the people, among them the Communist leader Luis Carlos Prestes, the people are fighting back, inflicting defeats on the dictatorship, some of them very telling ones.

Although the military clique has prohibited direct elections, it realizes that it will not be able to achieve its aims even through indirect elections or the truncated parliament whose

deputies are in constant danger of being deprived of their mandates. The jockeying for the presidency and for the posts of state governors impinges on the Army as well. In the latter too there are antagonisms which weaken this basic pillar of the dictatorship.

Thanks to united actions the working class, now stepping up the fight for rights, has regained its former positions in the trade unions. The rural masses too are again emerging on the arena of struggle. Students are winning increasing public support as a result of their organized action. They are not daunted by police repressions. Housewives are active in the fight against the high cost of living. Many among the small urban bourgeoisie who, influenced by the demagogy of the putchists, supported the ousting of Goulart, now realize that they have been deceived. Sections of the bourgeoisie are denouncing the government's anti-national financial and economic policy, and demanding that it be changed. Religious leaders and organizations are joining the fight against the dictatorship. Opposition is mounting even among the ruling classes, which is indicative of the widespread discontent.

Brazil's present crisis is a structural one. The obstacles to progress, the sources of the inflation, high prices and the hardships experienced by the people are imperialist domination and the latifundium land monopoly. Far from removing these causes the dictatorship acts as the agency of imperialism and the landlord oligarchy. The need for structural reforms, to end the imperialist domination, the latifundia and the survivals of feudalism become more and more imperative.

The Communists have put forward a mini-

mum program for joint action by all forces opposed to the dictatorship. As they see it the task of the moment is to unite and organize the working class and all progressives to fight and defeat the dictatorship and win democratic freedoms. Only then will it be possible to advance towards a progressive and independent national economy, to raise the standard of living and achieve full national sovereignty.

Success in the fight against the dictatorship will depend primarily on the unity of the forces opposed to it. The opposition front should include workers and peasants, intellectuals and students, office workers and other groups of the petty bourgeoisie as well as sections of the national bourgeoisie and those among the ruling classes who are against the dictatorship. This front will take shape in the fight for freedom and for the immediate demands of the people, for an independent economy and national sovereignty. The starting point must be the movement for democratic rights.

On the political plane the front should include communists, *trabalhistas*, socialists, supporters of Brizola, Goulart, Kubitschek, political and religious leaders, especially Catholics whose rights are affected by pressures exerted on large sections of believers.

The Central Committee believes that the process of isolating and defeating the dictatorship depends on the mass struggle and united action of the anti-dictatorship forces.

While using all legal avenues we should not hesitate to step beyond the bounds of the laws imposed by the dictatorship; legal and illegal forms of struggle should be combined, for the restrictions affect even the most elementary forms of legal struggle. A clash with reaction seems, therefore, inevitable. The people must organize self-defense to counter the police violence. Such self-defense is, at the same time, an important factor in preparing the masses for higher forms of struggle, including the armed struggle.

The political resolution of the June meeting indicates to the Communists the likely course

of developments. A government crisis, clashes of long or short duration, coups d'état or military coups might occur in the process of isolating the dictatorship, as the conflicts among its supporters and the differences between groups of the ruling classes grow sharper. It is therefore necessary to watch events closely, to extend contacts and enter into agreements in order to be prepared and able to take the necessary measures; to rally and guide the masses; to take decisive and independent action under their own banner, and not to adopt a wait-and-see attitude. Only in this way will it be possible to ensure a truly democratic solution and prevent the crisis ending in the mere replacement of one group of reactionaries by another or in consolidating the position of the Branco government.

However, if the Communists are to steer clear of adventurism or passivity they must not orient on the possibility of coups, although as things are this possibility exists; they must rely on the masses, count on the ultimate defeat of the dictatorship as a result of mass struggle and militant unity of the democratic forces.

The fight in Brazil, the Central Committee stresses, is part of the fight to safeguard world peace against Washington's policy of enslavement of peoples and military provocations, against its aggression in Vietnam, against the invasion and military occupation of the Dominican Republic. To Brazil's shame her soldiers are being used by Washington to crush the Dominican people. The dictatorship is planning to send Brazilian troops to Vietnam. Cuba is the object of constant provocations and threats of aggression. It is necessary to protest in every way against these crimes of the common enemy—U.S. imperialism. Solidarity with Vietnam and Cuba, the demand that the Brazilian soldiers return immediately and that all foreign troops be withdrawn from the Dominican Republic is part of the fight for world peace, for democracy and the national and social liberation of Brazil.

J.B. TAVARES DE SA

The facts accuse

ON THE OCCASION of the twelfth anniversary of the Geneva agreements on Vietnam, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam has circulated a statement prepared by the War Crimes Committee and aptly entitled "The Biggest War Criminals of Our Era."* This factual document, a forceful indictment, pillories the modern barbarians it deals with. Every sentence and every figure is an appeal to mankind to end the unprecedented crime.

The statement shows that the U.S. imperialists and their accomplices are repeating the worst crimes of the Nazi chieftains.

It should be borne in mind that the statement is concerned with South Vietnam only. It hardly mentions the crimes against the population of the DRV.

The bill presented by the long-suffering people of South Vietnam to the U.S. war criminals is big indeed. Between 1954 and 1965, or in roughly eleven years, the U.S. invaders and their accomplices carried out 160,000 raids and punitive operations, killing 170,000 people and wounding about 800,000. They jailed over 400,000 people and herded five million behind the barbed wire of the so called strategic villages.

The statement proves incontrovertibly that the United States flouts elementary standards of international law and the agreements establishing these standards. Washington has committed a crime against peace by violating Paragraph 4, Article 2, Chapter I of the U.N. Charter, which rules out the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, as well as Paragraph (a) Article 6 of the statutes of the International Tribunal, which bans the planning, preparation, unleashing or waging of a war of aggression. The U.S. rulers have violated the fundamental principles of the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam, including the military clauses, such as Articles 16 to 19 which prohibit moving foreign troops, military personnel, arms and ammunition into Vietnam, establishing foreign military bases, and the joining of military alliances by Vietnam.

All this bears out the conclusion that "by launching aggression in South Vietnam, the United States grossly violated the sovereignty and independence of the country and the right of the people to self-determination; it is undermining peace in Indo-China and throughout Southeast Asia. This is a grave challenge to

the national-liberation movement and the peoples of the world."

A source of particular concern is the fact that the U.S. imperialists are steadily escalating the war. By the end of June 1966 there were 270,000 U.S. officers and men in South Vietnam, and their strength is to be raised to 400,000 before the year is out.

America's dirty war is waged in defiance of all moral principles. Neither women, children or the aged are spared, and entire districts are laid waste. Marines have orders to burn down any village that has fired a single shot at them. The atrocities challenge comparison with the worst crimes of the past. The enemy "cuts off the arms, legs and other parts of the bodies" of his victims, buries or burns them alive, tortures and kills children before their mothers' eyes, rapes and then kills women."

Hundreds of villages have suffered the same fate as Lidice and Oradour-sur-Glane. South Vietnam's liberation fighters uncover crimes that eclipse the Hitler atrocities. While digging trenches on a hillside in No. 2 Village, Phuoc Nam Commune, Tien Phuoc District, Quang Nam Province, they came upon 22 skeletons. "On the slope of another hill, 82 skeletons of adults and children were found in a still larger pit . . . In Go Vang (a village in Phuoc Son Commune) 55 people had been buried alive."

Enraged by their military setbacks, the invaders use high-explosive and incendiary bombs and shells and chemical poisons to destroy the rice crop, water-control systems and domestic animals.

The use of chemical agents to destroy human life, animals and crops is a heinous crime against humanity. The facts refute the U.S. propaganda that the chemicals used are designed to destroy only leaves and grass.

Apologists for the U.S. policy in Vietnam cannot conceal the appalling acts of inhumanity. In the early months of 1963, the statement says, 20,000 people suffered from the effects of poison gas in seven provinces of South Vietnam. In some of the areas sprayed with chemical poisons over half the population is affected with diseases of the alimentary canal as a result of using poisoned food.

The scale of the chemical war the U.S. aggressor is waging in South Vietnam is evident

*Published as a pamphlet in July 1966.

from the following figures cited in the statement:

Year	Number of provinces affected	Number of people poisoned	Head of livestock killed	Area affected (hectares)
1961	6	182	120	560
1962	12	1,120	448	11,030
1963	16	9,000	4,500	320,000
1964	19	11,000	*	500,230
1965	26	46,247	*	700,000

Chemical weapons have also been applied to the South Vietnam puppet troops. The U.S. rulers ride roughshod over international conventions and customs prohibiting the use of such weapons.

Actually South Vietnam is used by the U.S. militarists as a testing ground for new weapons. The war criminals test on unarmed civilians new types of weapons, ranging from helicopters, amphibious tanks, rockets, chemical poisons, napalm, and phosphorus bombs to automatic firearms and other weapons.

The U.S. invaders, their South Vietnamese puppets and their satellites, among whom the South Korean mercenaries are conspicuous for their atrocities, stop at nothing as they step up their total war of extermination. They destroy schools and hospitals, kill children and

teachers, the sick and the wounded. In February 1964 bombs dropped on the Ben Cau temple in Tay Ninh Province killed and wounded a total of 300 people. In Ben Tre Province alone, 30 pagodas were destroyed and over 100 monks and worshippers killed or injured in 1965.

The statement exposes yet another aspect of the U.S. imperialists' crimes—the scheme to enslave all survivors of the mass extermination campaign by herding them into prison camps euphonistically called “strategic villages” or “new life villages.” The 1961 plan, which provided for the establishment of 17,000 “strategic villages,” fell through. Last February a conference in Honolulu adopted a new monstrous plan for setting up a system of disguised concentration camps behind the facade of the “pacification program.”

The statement points out that one in every two South Vietnamese is a victim of one or several crimes by the American invader.

It is a truly damning indictment that the people of South Vietnam have presented to the war criminals in Washington and Saigon. It records the wrath felt by countless men and women all over the world. It is something more than a document for lawyers. On its strength people all over the world will judge the war crimes of U.S. imperialism.

I.SUMAR

*No exact data are available.

CORRECTION

Title of the first article in the table of contents of the August 1966 issue (Number 8) by V. Koucky should have read: “Comprehensive development of socialism in Czechoslovakia.”

Remember the lessons of history

30th Anniversary of the Civil War in Spain

During these months progressives, revolutionaries and democrats in all parts of the world are observing the dates associated with the 30th anniversary of the beginning of the epic fight of the people of Spain against internal and international reaction—July 1936 when they repelled the fascist revolt; October 1936 when the International Brigades were formed, when Soviet volunteers—airmen and tank crews—arrived on Spanish soil; November 1936 when European fascism was defeated for the first time at the walls of Madrid.

What is the historical significance of the national revolutionary war fought by the Spanish people, its place in the development of the world revolutionary movement? What are the main lessons of the Spanish events for the struggle being waged today against imperialist aggression and for freedom and independence? These were some of the questions asked by our correspondent during an interview with a group of veterans gathered at an international meeting in Berlin in July 1966. Their replies are printed below:

ERNIQUE LISTER

*Member, Executive Committee, CC,
Communist Party of Spain,
General in the Republican Army*

It was a just war on our part, a national revolutionary progressive and liberation war which despite the defeat, will be recorded as the greatest epic of the modern history of Spain.

The armed aggression by Hitler, Mussolini, and Salazar, the use of Moroccan troops and the Foreign Legion against the people imparted to their struggle the character of a *national liberation* war, a war in defense of the national independence imperilled by the armed intervention of the force of the international reaction. The people realized that in resisting the aggression they were fighting to destroy the base of fascism and reaction in Spain. It was this feature of our struggle against the fascist tyranny that imparted to the struggle also the character of a *revolutionary* war.

History has still to assess the efforts and abilities of a people who, faced with the heavy odds of having to contend with a large part of the armed forces of their own country, with the combined forces of German, Italian and Portuguese fascism, blockaded and deprived of arms by the reactionary policy of "non-intervention" and with treachery, mistakes and shortcomings, succeeded in creating an army with a high morale, and which for nearly three years effectively resisted the enemy and won big battles over numerically superior enemy forces.

The thirty years since the beginning of the national revolutionary war are replete with events and battles which have decisively influenced the destiny of mankind. Yet for all their magnitude they have not erased from memory the unparalleled heroism of the Spanish war and its lessons.

Today the war of 1936-39 is still seen as a war whose lessons have not lost their significance and validity.

It showed and continues to show the peoples battling for freedom *the need for united working-class action with progressive and patriotic forces at home and on an international scale* if peace and progress are to be upheld against the forces of reaction, imperialism and colonialism.

The war in Spain showed the *importance and vitality of proletarian internationalism* which found its supreme expression in the formation of the International Brigades, in the exploits of the volunteers from more than 50 countries. This example reminds people also today that if they want *to uphold their rights and freedom they must render every aid to those battling for their independence against the aggression of international and foreign reaction.*

The barbarous aggression of the Americans in Vietnam, their provocations against Cuba and other peoples, West Germany's militarist policy spearheaded primarily against the German Democratic Republic — all show that the lessons of the Spanish war hold good today as well.

We, in Spain, mark the thirtieth anniversary of the war at a time when the struggle against the fascist dictatorship is gaining momentum. Events daily bear out the soundness of the Party's policy of *accord between the forces that lost the war, i.e., the great majority of the people.* The fact is that the only ones to profit from the defeat in 1939 were the big landlord and monopoly oligarchy including also the traitor generals who unleashed the war.

More and more Spaniards subscribe to the view that it is possible to put an end to the Franco dictatorship and carry out the necessary political changes without another civil war, without the "second round" threatened by the "ultras" of the present regime.

The political events taking place in the country today speak of a profound evolution in the attitude of the forces which formerly believed in the regime and supported it.

Never before has the Franco regime known such widespread militant action by workers, peasants, intellectuals and students as is the case today. The fight against Franco has been joined not only by the children of those who fought fascism with arms in hand and are still continuing the struggle; it has been joined also by the children of many of those who helped to instal Franco and by people of the older generation who in their time fought against us.

Our people had to traverse a long road of suffering and sacrifice to achieve this situation, characterized by the development of all forms of the mass struggle, bringing nearer the day of victory over the dictatorship. And nothing can now hold back the steady advance towards liberation.

EUGENIUSZ SZYR

Member, Political Bureau, CC, Polish United Workers' Party, Deputy Chairman, Council of Ministers, Political Commissar in the Dombrowski International Brigade

The national revolutionary war of the Spanish people was in effect the first phase of the Second World War. It was a war that could have ended in victory for the people, and if it had, world developments would have taken a different course. The fascist revolt had been crushed in a large part of Spain by the end of July 1936. The Republic could have coped with the situation had it not been for the armed intervention by the fascist states — Italy and Germany.

The stakes in this war were not only freedom and democracy in Spain. The outcome could have been the starting point for a sweeping offensive by anti-fascist forces, or the march of fascism through Europe and Asia. What was at stake, then, was the fate of the world, prevention of incalculable human losses and destruction.

The Republic was defeated, but the sacrifice of the Spanish people was not in vain. Nor were the valliant deeds of the men of the International Brigades, or the international solidarity movement with Republican Spain, a movement unparalleled in scope.

First, *Hitler Germany's plans for aggression and war were held up and the idea of armed resistance to fascist aggression gained ground.* This clearly influenced the course of events, the shaping of the grand anti-fascist coalition of the Second World War.

Second, *invaluable experience was gained in organizing a people's army, waging guerilla warfare, and building an effective defense against the invader's numerically superior forces,* all of which was an important link in organizing the armed struggle against the Hitler invader.

Third, the evolution of the people's governments in the grim days of the war was accompanied by popular democratic forms of state power. In this sense the experience of political activity and government in Spain anticipated the formation later of the people's democracies in Europe and Asia.

Fourth, the campaign carried on by the People's Front and its victory in the general election on February 16, 1936, shows that it is possible to make effective use of democratic rights and institutions in a capitalist state to establish popular governments, based on a worker-peasant alliance, and a political coalition of the democratic and progressive forces in which the Communist and workers parties constitute the most dynamic and consistent force. In given historical circumstances this possibility can become a reality as it did in Spain.

The fight of the oppressed and colonial peoples for national and social liberation, jointly

with the rise of the socialist world system, is the basic feature of our time. The experience of the war of 1936-39 plays a big role in this struggle. But it is particularly important to draw on this experience today when *organizing international solidarity with the peoples and countries against whom the destructive forces of aggression are arrayed.*

Solidarity movements swept the world in support of the heroic people of Cuba, in the long struggle of the people of Algeria, and against the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic. A major and, at times, decisive role in these movements was played by the policy of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist states.

The situation in the world today differs greatly from what it was in 1936-39. The balance of forces in the world has changed; the possibilities for organizing international solidarity with the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence are much greater.

The U.S. aggression in Vietnam is a test for the international solidarity movement. It is difficult in a brief interview to describe the scale of armed aid rendered to the heroic people of Vietnam. But confronted with the American escalation of the war still greater international solidarity is needed. In some cases as for example, in the movement to establish a broad front of the progressive forces, and to rally the working people in the capitalist world, the movement of solidarity with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and with the valiant struggle of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam is still much weaker compared with the campaign carried out in support of Republican Spain.

PAUL VERNER

Member, Political Bureau, CC, Socialist Unity Party of Germany; in 1937-38 Political Commissar in the XI and XV International Brigades

In the Spanish national revolutionary war of 1936-39 it was not only a matter of defending the Spanish Republic against the Franco military clique and the intervention of Hitler fascism. It was also a question of defending peace, democracy and freedom and independence of the peoples directly threatened by the aggressive plans of fascist Germany.

It was not only a matter of the clerical-fascist putsch being engineered jointly with the Hitler government. Documents of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs recently published by us confirm that Franco would never have been able to defeat the Spanish Republic without the intervention of German and Italian fascism. The same documents show that the fascists had underestimated the military strength of the People's Front, that only swift military intervention could save the situation for them; that German imperialism supported the Spanish counter-revolution because this

fitted in with its war plans. Intervention gave it the chance to test its new military equipment and tactics, to seize strategic bases in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic and to ensure itself a reliable ally, in the shape of Franco on the French border. Here it should be added that the leading German monopoly groups insisted on aggression against the Spanish Republic for this would give them new sources of profit and new raw material sources. In return for the aid in arms the Franco government had to grant German finance capital the right to exploit 80 mining enterprises. The political objective of the German military intervention in Spain was to prevent the democratic development of the country and, as stated in the anti-communist cant of the secret documents, "not to allow Spain to fall into the hands of bolshevism." This objective was also expressed in the injunction to kill German Communists who hastened to the aid of Republican Spain where they fought also for the freedom of the German people, for their liberation from fascism.

The historical truth is that German imperialism was the main instigator of the war against the Spanish people, that Spain was the first victim of its aggressive policy. Just how right Walter Ulbricht was in his assessment of the character and aims of the fascist intervention in Spain is evident from an article written by him in 1936 when he noted: "A world war is being prepared in Spain. The civil war battles in Spain are the first battles of a world war . . . Hitler is preparing for world war in Spain!"

The main lesson of those years is: the heroic people of Spain, their people's army, the 35,000 men of the International Brigades from more than 50 countries — Communists, Social-Democrats and progressives from all social strata and of different political views — and, lastly, the socialist Soviet Union, the only state in the world to come to the aid of Republican Spain, did everything at the time to foil Hitler's plans of aggression to conquer and divide the world in the interests of German imperialism, to prevent the outbreak of a new world war. The fact that they did not succeed, that the war in Spain nevertheless became a dress rehearsal for World War Two for German imperialism was primarily because the governments of the Western powers obstructed the efforts of the Soviet Union to organize world-wide collective resistance to the aggressors. Under cover of the hypocritical slogan of "non-intervention" they supported the Franco putsch and the German-Italian intervention, and stabbed in the back the embattled Spanish people and the world anti-fascist movement. The "non-intervention" policy of Britain and France and the "neutrality" policy of Washington were, in effect, appeasement of fascism and encouraged and stimulated its predatory, expansionist course. These policies led to Munich and the Second World

War. For the peoples of the countries involved they brought untold misery.

It is our duty to remind all people of these bitter lessons of the national revolutionary war in Spain, lessons for which a heavy price was paid, and to draw on them in the fight against the criminal war of U.S. imperialism against the people of Vietnam.

Now, as was the case with Hitler in Spain, the U.S. imperialists, trampling on international law, have invaded Vietnam, passed from covert to overt war and attacked the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. By their air raids on Hanoi and Haiphong they are escalating the war and increasing the danger of a third world conflagration.

Just as then, the attitude to fascist aggression in Spain, so today the attitude to the criminal war in Vietnam and support of this war—mainly on the part of West German imperialism—has become the touchstone of true humanity and the will for peace.

On the side of the valiant people of Vietnam and their just cause are the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and the peace forces of the world. The U.S. war will be defeated by the heroic people of Vietnam and by the resistance and solidarity of the peoples. The statement of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries concerning U.S. aggression in Vietnam and on ensuring European peace, should be echoed throughout the world, and the warning contained in the statement should be heeded by all. "The U.S. government should know that the more crimes there are committed against the people of Vietnam, the greater will be the burden of guilt and the graver the punishment."

This warning is addressed also to all who directly or indirectly support the U.S. aggression. "The countries that are helping the aggressors with arms deliveries, that allow the United States to use their territory for shipping U.S. troops and war supplies to Vietnam, are accomplices in the aggression. Sooner or later the governments of these countries will have to answer to the people for these actions."

We rely on the growing political, economic and military might of the Soviet Union, and of all states of the socialist camp. We are on guard over peace; we are redoubling our efforts to curb and throw back the aggressors; we favor a system of collective security in Europe. We are thereby reinforcing our fraternal solidarity with the embattled people of Vietnam.

Taking into account the lessons of history we demand an end to the U.S. criminal war in Vietnam, the withdrawal of its troops. Raise aloft the banner of international solidarity!

CESARE COLOMBO

*Italian Communist, Member of the
Garibaldi Brigade*

The war in Spain became the highest point of the democratic and revolutionary struggle in Europe in the '20s-'30s. True, there were other events during those two decades which shook the public — and not only on our continent — and which engendered international political campaigns and solidarity movements. There were the movements in support of the British miners' strike in 1926, in defense of Sacco and Vanzetti in 1927 and later of the Scottsboro boys, and imprisoned Communist leaders, the powerful protest campaigns against colonial wars (the Franco-Spanish war against the people of Morocco), and against the repressions by the colonialists in Indo-China. Then came the big movements of solidarity with the fight of the *Schutzbund* in Austria in April 1934 and with the miners of Asturias who in October of the same year raised the banner of revolt against the reactionary government. A year later, in 1935, Italian aggression against Ethiopia sparked a protest campaign in which anti-fascist and anti-colonial forces merged. But all these movements, notwithstanding their importance and diversity, as a rule embraced only those sections of public opinion which were under the direct influence of the Communist parties or their immediate allies.

The movement in solidarity with the national revolutionary war of the Spanish people was much broader, more effective and of greater political magnitude than any previous campaigns. The war in Spain broke out when fascism had come to power in Germany, a year after the Seventh Congress of the Communist International and when it had become clear to the proletariat and its allies that the fascist danger was growing and with it the threat of world war. The Spanish war was the forerunner—and the revolutionary forces fully realized this—of the dramatic events that shook Europe in the subsequent years.

As Togliatti wrote in an article in 1945: "On this battlefield we got to know who were our friends and who our foes, learnt the meaning of danger and fulfilled our duty as true democrats; on this battlefield a real anti-fascist front came into being; this battlefield became a real school of war through which many peoples, social classes, parties and statesmen passed. . . . The original pattern of this war was clear to the Left, Marxist wing of the working-class movement, and especially to the Communists—and also to the Socialists—who were the first to send out a call to the nation when the Franco revolt began, to rise in defense of independence and who showed that international fascism was the enemy of all the nations of Europe. They proved their ability in the course of the war to draw the necessary conclusions from this first strategic prem-

ise. They proved it concisely, logically and energetically, so that these conclusions could be understood and accepted by millions of people. . . . In Spain a battle was being fought for the new type of democracy, for a democracy which having been attacked by fascism, i.e., by the most reactionary forces of society, was girding itself not only to repel this attack and defend its own existence, but also to crush its enemy and prevent it from ever rearing its head again, and thus clear the way to social and political progress." "If this first bastion had fallen without battle," Togliatti rightly pointed out in 1945, "the fate of the world, and particularly of our country, would have been a different one."

The lessons of the Spanish war, which were a guide to action for the revolutionary and democratic movement in Europe in the past, hold good in our day as well, especially since it is a question of the decisive importance of unity if the people's movement is to triumph, of developing a powerful international solidarity movement.

The world balance of forces has changed in favor of the revolutionary movement. Imperialist aggression is developing—or developed in the recent past—in countries far away from Europe: in Asia, Africa and Latin America. But this does not mean that the working-class and democratic movement of Western Europe should therefore remain mere onlookers. On the contrary, it is their duty to use their forces—now much stronger than they were 30 years ago—to step up movements in solidarity with the oppressed peoples, with the peoples threatened by imperialist aggression, and especially with fighting Vietnam. This must be done in order to foil any attempt on the part of their governments to support the war triggered by the U.S. imperialists. It must be done in order to render direct support to the people of Vietnam, in order to hasten the defeat of the aggressor.

In their time the working class and democrats of Italy experienced all the misfortunes caused by the government's armed aggression against Republican Spain—Italy's subjugation by fascist Germany and the rapid escalation of fascist wars of aggression.

One of the lessons which the Spanish war taught us, and which is valid to this day, is that we must do everything to achieve the cooperation of all the revolutionary and democratic forces which would make it possible to rally them to repel aggression, to prevent the imperialist gambles and "local wars" becoming the prelude to a world conflict.

This lesson concerns principally the vanguard contingent of the movement. But it should be heeded also by the men, women and youth of the world for it is not only we, Communists, but also they who are vitally interested in averting the danger of a nuclear war with which the Pentagon's criminal policy is fraught.

ARCHIBALD BROWN

*American Communist, Member of the
Lincoln Brigade*

When the Franco rebellion started against the Spanish Republic we in the United States naturally followed the fight of the Spanish people against the reactionaries. We were very happy that the Spanish people were able to set up their republic and were angry and profoundly disturbed when we learned that the fascists, led by Franco, had begun a rebellion against the people.

I was a young man in my twenties at the time. During the years of the economic crisis and depression when there was severe unemployment in United States I helped to organize unemployed councils and unions on the West Coast.

The Communists helped me to understand why there was unemployment and poverty. At the age of 17 I joined the Communist Youth League and the Communist Party when I was 18 years old. The Communists helped me to understand what was wrong with the capitalist system, and why it needed to be replaced by socialism. Round about this time, 1929, I first heard about the Soviet Union and socialism. Later we learned about Franco and his war against the Spanish Republic, about how Hitler and Mussolini were helping Franco. When we learned that an International Brigade was being formed many Americans, including many seamen and longshoremen from San Francisco, volunteered to fight in Spain. I was turned back twice before I could get into Spain because the French government of the day was none too willing to let us through. It was only at the third try that I succeeded in crossing the Pyrenees and joining the Lincoln Brigade.

At the end of 1938 when we returned home we joined the movement in solidarity with the cause of the Spanish people. We demanded of our government that it support the lawful government of Spain and put a ban on armaments being sent to Franco. We warned at the time that if the ruling circles did not do so they would be building up Hitler and that we would have to fight the fascists later on ourselves. But our warnings went unheeded. Unfortunately much of what the Communists and other progressives had warned against during the war in Spain subsequently came true. For a number of years the Spanish people, with the help of the world progressive movement, held back the advance of fascism. As a result other countries were able to prepare better perhaps, and the working class of the world learned that there was such a thing as fascism, that it would trample on the people's will, and that the fascists had to be fought.

Later, when World War II started, the experience and lessons gained by the American people in the fight around Spain helped to rally them more quickly for the anti-Hitler war. As

a matter of fact it proved impossible for the pro-Hitler forces in this country to deceive the American people precisely because of the experience of Spain. Thanks to the establishment of the anti-Hitler coalition and, particularly, the efforts of the Soviet Union and the peoples of the free nations, the Axis was smashed. During World War II I served in the U.S. army and took part in the fighting which seemed to me—and to many of us—the culmination of our struggle in Spain, the defeat of fascism. On the Elbe we met men with whom we had fought side by side on the Ebro. . . .

Since the end of World War II the people of the United States and the peoples of the world have acquired new experience. We have discovered that reaction does not die easily. Big mass movements have been launched in the United States—for civil rights, for peace and democratic rights. All these movements have had their ups and downs. The vital need for unity between Negroes and whites is one of the lessons which progressives in the United States have drawn from the events of the '30s and, in particular, from the events in Spain. Our Party drew this conclusion at the time and embodied it in practical struggle. The Negro people have been waging a heroic struggle and it has met with good response on the part of the white people because many of them, particularly workers, have realized that division between Negroes and whites does not benefit one or the other. Although the Negro people have won some concessions the truth is that their conditions have worsened. That is why their struggle is becoming sharper.

The lessons of Spain, the lessons of World War II strengthened the American people's desire for peace. These lessons have shown that "small wars," "minor aggressions" are fraught with the danger of a world slaughter. A broad movement has developed in our country against the war in Vietnam. More people are protesting against this war than against any other in our history. But they are not sufficiently organized. Different groups of the people have different ideas of what should be done to end the war. But the majority of them, as even the newspaper polls show, want an end to the war.

The Communist Party, which attaches great importance to action to end the war in Vietnam, is itself in the center of this action. True, the masses see the need for this struggle differently from the way it was seen during the war in Spain. In the stormy thirties the level of political awareness of the masses, and particularly of the workers, who had just experienced the hardships of the depression, was much higher and the road to active participation in the political struggle was more direct. Today, after two decades of cold war, McCarthyism and boom, the situation is different.

We recognize that the best way to rally the people is to take up their issues. Sometimes the struggle is not connected directly with Vietnam, but with such issues as wages and living conditions which have been adversely

affected by the Vietnam war. The war on poverty program is held up because of the cost of the Vietnam war. It is around these points that the Communist Party is carrying on its work, with a view to rallying people for ending the war. In the present situation the Communist Party considers it essential for the peace forces to achieve maximum unity in their opposition to the war and in the fight to end it.

This goes also for the youth movement. In 1936 when the Spanish war began we were just emerging from the depression, and the young people generally saw the need to support the fight against fascism. Today the young people do not have the same experience. Their experience is of a different kind, and through it they are drawing their own conclusions and making their own decisions. Basically, however, these conclusions and decisions are in the final analysis similar to those of the '30s. They realize that something has to be done, and they are fighting courageously.

Students are very active in the struggle, and the Negro people are beginning to realize that if they better their conditions and win civil rights their struggle should fuse with action for peace.

A new generation of fighters is growing up in the United States and we are confident that we shall be able, together with the people of the world, to end the war in Vietnam and reaction in the United States.

KONSTANTIN MICHEV

*Bulgarian Communist, in 1938-39 Assistant
Chief of the International Brigade
Medical Service*

In 1936-39 there was not a corner in the world where the Spanish war was not discussed and where it did not play a role in the lives of people. Not only the fate of Spain but of the world was being decided there. There was no doubt that Hitler and Mussolini had begun their aggression against the Spanish Republic with the object of using it as a springboard for the world war for which they were preparing. Progressive mankind understood that the fight of the people of Spain against Franco and against the German and Italian aggressors was a fight to bar the road to fascism and war. It was realization of this that launched the international solidarity movement with the Spanish people which found its supreme expression in the formation of the International Brigades.

The Spanish tocsin summoned millions of people all over the world to still more active participation in the movements against fascism and war, for democracy and national independence; it united Communists, Socialists, democrats, patriots in support of the people of Spain.

The fight against fascism in Spain helped to unite progressives and democrats in many countries of Europe and Latin America against fascism and war. The united front idea ad-

vanced by Georgi Dimitrov at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International gained ground and acquired still greater power of attraction.

As a result of the actions in support of the Spanish Republic the Communist parties enhanced their influence and grew numerically. Many of them became big anti-fascist movements, important political factors in the life of their countries.

The peoples saw who were the reactionaries in their own countries, how they were betraying democracy and national independence. They realized that the appeasement of fascism by the governments of France, Britain and the United States was, in effect, treachery to their own people.

The aggression in Spain disclosed the designs of Hitler fascism also to many vacillating elements among the "intermediate forces."

All this laid the foundation of the future Resistance Movement in Europe and the anti-Hitler coalition.

During the Second World War the men of the International Brigades from France and Poland, Italy and Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, Belgium and Norway, were in the van of the European Resistance. Their experience of the Spanish anti-fascist war stood them in good stead in organizing the Resistance.

The lesson of the Spanish events for the present day world revolutionary process is, it seems to me, the need for unity. At the time of the fight of the Spanish people a broad front of revolutionary democratic and peace-loving forces took shape around them. This gave added strength to the resistance encountered by fascism in Spain, but it was not powerful enough to neutralize the fascist export of counter-revolution. If the struggle in Vietnam is to end differently from the way it ended across the Pyrenees, a unity is needed that will not only be just as effective but also broader and more stable than at the time of the Spanish war. *Unity of the democratic, anti-war and revolutionary forces in every country. Unity of the socialist countries. Unity of the three principal streams of the world revolutionary movement.* Then the watchwords of 1936-39 "No pasaran!" and "Pasaremos" will become a reality in the world of today.

PAVEL BATOV

Army General, twice Hero of the Soviet Union, in 1936-38 military adviser in the Republican Army

The three decades that have passed since the day the Spanish people were locked in armed combat with fascism, have witnessed events that changed the political map of the world and the social pattern of our planet. During this period mankind experienced the horrors of the most destructive war ever known to history.

These events, however, have not erased from memory the exploit of the Spanish Republic and its gallant defenders who entered into unequal combat with the combined forces of Spanish reaction and international fascism. The peoples of the world still speak with profound admiration of the "volunteers for liberty" from 54 countries who embodied the lofty ideals of proletarian internationalism and international solidarity of the working people.

Soviet volunteer fought side by side with the men of the Spanish People's Army and the International Brigadiers. Our tank crews, airmen, sailors, engineers and advisers came to Spain in response to the call of the Spanish Government and obeying the dictates of their revolutionary conscience. They were small in numbers but they drew added strength from the comradeship of their Spanish brothers, from the moral support of the Soviet Union and the working people of the world.

The blows inflicted on the Italian and German invaders by the Spanish patriots, the men of the International Brigades and Soviet volunteer fighters on the Spanish fronts anticipated the later defeats of Hitler's Wehrmacht at Moscow and on the Volga, and the final collapse of the fascist Reich in 1945.

The lessons of the past, as we know, serve the interests of the present and the future. And the lesson of the Spanish epic is the need for unity of all progressive forces in the fight against imperialist aggression.

Now, 30 years later, it is clear that the intervention by German and Italian fascism in Spain was the first step towards world war. It is also clear that it was the success of this preliminary battle that enabled Hitler to start his march through Europe, that the governments and politicians who, in the false guise of non-intervention, refused to nip the fascist aggression in the bud thereby caused incalculable injury to peace and the interests of nations.

We recall this lesson of history today when peace is again violated by the U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia. The recent statement by the Warsaw Pact member-states that all-round aid, including military, would be given to Vietnam, should be taken as a grim warning to the aggressor.

There is another lesson which the warmongers of today would do well to heed and that is that he who raises the sword of violence will be destroyed. What better proof of this than the fact that here in Berlin where we have gathered, the city which was once the breeding ground of death and destruction is now the capital of the first German socialist state, embodying the finest ideals of the German people. The city where the plans to strangle the Spanish Republic were hatched, today hospitably welcomes the defenders of the Republic.

Gone are the days when aggression went unpunished. We, veterans of the national revolutionary war of the Spanish people against fascism, warmly welcome the statement of the

Bucharest conference of the socialist countries. If 30 years ago, when the international movement of progressive forces was much weaker than it is today, tens of thousands of volunteers went to Spain to bar the road to the aggressor, how many more thousands of volunteers will come to the aid of Vietnam in the event of the government of the Democratic

Republic of Vietnam making this request!

On the grave of one of the men of the International Brigade who fell on the Madrid front I read the following inscription made by his comrades: "He died so that Spanish democracy might live." Today we say: "We will live and work so that democracy might live in Spain, in Vietnam and all over the world."

OUR DIARY

Europe needs durable peace and security

IN EUROPE, where the two world wars of the first half of the century were sparked off and which still has its seedbed of war danger, people view with apprehension and indignation and with a growing resolve to safeguard peace the steady escalation of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. This undoubtedly explains the response evoked on the continent by the Declaration on Strengthening European Peace and Security issued by the Warsaw Treaty powers at their Bucharest meeting on July 5.

The Bucharest Declaration proposes to examine the problems of European security by means of "talks through diplomatic channels, meetings of Foreign Ministers or special representatives on a bilateral or multilateral basis." It is gratifying to note that this avenue has been explored not only by General De Gaulle and Couve de Murville, the French Foreign Minister, but also by the Foreign Ministers of Denmark and Italy.

In recent times many Western statesmen have visited socialist capitals. What changes have these visits brought about on the world scene? Can they be regarded as a sign that in an international situation which is in many respects gloomy some Western governments have conceded that the policy of the socialist countries is a vital factor for peace? De Gaulle, who in the light of his background and views and the nature of the forces he represents can hardly be described as a socialist, declared on more than one occasion during his Soviet visit

that the Soviet Union, far from having any designs for war, is wholly dedicated to peace. Even those who at the height of their cold war delirium banked on sowing dissension between the socialist countries by counterposing the "vast totalitarian empire in the East" to the "oppressed nations" now go to Moscow, Warsaw, Bucharest, Prague, Sofia and Budapest to pay tribute to these nations, to their economic and cultural achievements.

In view of this it is harder to speak about the danger invoked seventeen years ago to provide the pretext for the North Atlantic alliance. When France decided to withdraw from the combined armed forces of NATO she openly pointed to the changed situation, declaring that the "North Atlantic Treaty" organization no longer corresponds to the conditions in the world today, which radically differ from the conditions of 1949 and subsequent years," (Memorandum of March 10, 1966).

The French leaders also stress that while peace, the underlying aim of French policy, obviously is not threatened by countries with which France is linked by traditional friendship, the danger remains of becoming involved through allied commitments "in a conflict provoked on another continent" by decisions taken without the knowledge of France.*

*Speech by Maurice Schuman, Chairman, Foreign Relations Committee of the National Assembly, July 25, 1966.

What is true for France is largely true for the other NATO countries. For instance, Italy, like France until recently, is exposed to the risk of being automatically drawn into adventures engineered by its American ally. For one thing, there are U.S. nuclear stockpiles on Italian territory. U.S. nuclear bombers fly over the Apennines, Sicily and Sardinia, U.S. naval forces use the Italian naval bases of Augusta, Naples and Leghorn as ports of call.

Speaking in Milan on May 8, Luigi Longo, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, criticized the "conditions of absolute military enslavement" imposed on the allies of the USA on the strength of secret agreements. In connection with the publication in France of some of these agreements, Longo mentioned that "during the Cuban crisis all U.S. forces in Europe were alerted and it was only after the crisis that the governments of the NATO member-states learned that their countries and all of Western Europe had been placed in a position when they might well have become target areas in a third world war."

"The bilateral treaties," Longo continued, "are such that no country can exercise any control over U.S. military decisions in Europe as a whole or in the particular European countries." The West-German militarists readily support this dangerous line and capitalize on the differences engendered by it to pursue their own "power build-up," the policy pursued yesterday by the Reichswehr and the Wehrmacht and today by the Bundeswehr—the name really makes no difference. Nor is the situation changed in any way by Bonn's "peace notes," for West Germany persists in building up its military, psychological and political means of new aggression.

As the Bucharest Declaration points out, the Potsdam agreements of 1945 made it clear that European security could be ensured only by ruling out any possibility of German militarism and nazism ever again raising their heads and threatening their neighbors and world peace.

Today we see Von Hassel in Paris criticizing what he considers the flaw in the U.S. strategic concept and, according to *Le Monde*, stressing that "with the present balance of strength between East and West the build-up of conventional means of defence should proceed parallel with more decisive and effective measures relating to the use of the nuclear arsenal."

A German militarist could hardly say anything else. Von Hassel's language is the same as that of Adelbert Weinstein, a former Hitler staff officer and now military commentator of *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, who last year formulated what amounts to the program of the Bundeswehr top brass and the armament manufacturers.

"Our economic and industrial power is considerable," he said. "Because of it we have acquired enough self-confidence not to tolerate our friends looking upon the German divisions merely as a decoration to be kept under alien lock and key. We have invested nearly 100,000

million marks in our military establishment... Moreover our divisions and our airforce squadrons have been equipped to use tactical nuclear weapons. Without a political purpose, our operational armoured and air formations would be no more than scrap iron."

These quotations should suffice to dispel the illusions of those who, pointing to West Germany's participation in the Common Market and NATO, claim that it has joined the "democratic family of European countries" and no longer represents a danger. In his *The History of German Rearmament Since 1950*, Jules Moch questions this naive view. This rearmament, he writes, "runs counter in every respect to the commitments undertaken by the allies before and after their joint victory"; "nothing," he adds, "could have done more to increase East-West tension."

The question arises: how by any stretch of the imagination could the policy of military blocs prompt West Germany to renounce its military plans or territorial claims? Although the opposition of the peace-loving countries has checked the establishment of a multi-lateral nuclear force designed to give West Germany access to nuclear weapons, the Bonn General Staff, supported by Washington, is feverishly working towards this end. For one thing, the groundwork is being laid in Federal Germany for the independent manufacture of these weapons. The principal task of the two West-German nuclear centres, in Julich and Karlsruhe, is to instal reactors producing plutonium. On the other hand, we find West-German air force Inspector-General W. Panitzky opening a Luftwaffe school in Fort Bliss, Texas, designed to train 3,500-3,800 men annually for services in the air and missile forces. And the military journal *Truppenpraxis*, mouthpiece of the general staff, argues that it is both legitimate and necessary for the Bundeswehr to have chemical and biological weapons.

It is hardly necessary to spell out Bonn's reasons for building up the Bundeswehr, which already numbers some 500,000 men. As W. Gomulka, First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, said in the Polish Parliament on July 21, Federal Germany, which has no common frontier with Poland, has not renounced its territorial claims on the latter. It considers the present situation only temporary. The West-German militarists and revenge-seekers bank on clearing the way to seizure of Polish territory by overrunning the German Democratic Republic, the annexation of which is the principal object of Bonn policy.

That these apprehensions are well-founded is shown by the persistence with which Bonn calls for restoration of the 1937 frontiers, champions the Sudeten Germans' "right to a homeland," continues to call the territory of the GDR "Central Germany," and claims the exclusive right to speak for all Germany. It insists on the continued presence of U.S. troops and nuclear weapons west of the Elbe in order to be able to rely on them in pursuing its policy

of rearmament and revenge. Some people still entertain the idea that the presence of U.S. troops and nuclear weapons in West Germany is a safeguard since it helps to maintain the "balance of terror." It is clear, however, that European security cannot rest on fear and that unless there is mutual trust among nations it is bound to be unstable, at the mercy of chance. And mutual trust can be achieved only if an end is put to outside interference.

In the light of the foregoing the Bucharest Declaration corresponds to the cherished aspirations of the European peoples.

In the first place, it seeks a solution to Europe's problem based on observance of international ethics and law, namely, renunciation of intimidation and use of force, respect for the sovereignty and independence of nations, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, and respect for their territorial integrity.

Second, it represents, as Waldeck Rochet, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, said, a "genuine program of peace in Europe." It urges all countries to establish good-neighborly relations with one another.

The Bucharest Declaration goes on record against the division of the world into blocs or military alliances, and states that if the North Atlantic pact were annulled, the Warsaw Treaty too would be declared null and void. At the same time the Declaration, demonstrating the political realism of its authors, envisages the possibility of step-by-step progress through concrete partial measures aimed at reducing international tension, such as abolition of military bases on the territory of other countries, gradual reduction of the armed strength of the two German states, and the creation of non-nuclear zones.

The Declaration attaches special importance to the German question, pointing out, in particular, that "inviolability of frontiers is the basis for lasting peace in Europe" and that "only by proceeding from the actual state of affairs, primarily from the fact that there are two Germanies," will it be possible to find a constructive approach to the issue. Lastly, the Bucharest conference advanced the idea of an all-Europe conference to discuss security.

The Declaration was issued at a time when a number of Western governments likewise evinced the desire for a change in the situation in Europe. The attitude taken by the French government is noteworthy. At a press conference in Prague, Couve de Murville, said: "We believe that Europe should emerge from the static condition in which it has been for the past 20 years because of the cold war. The present situation is in nobody's interests since it hampers the discussion of problems and only aggravates a state of affairs which I believe satisfies no one."

This discussion is actually already under

way and has yielded initial fruit. Everywhere in Europe people noted with satisfaction that the recent joint Franco-Soviet Statement declared for "gradual development of relations between all European countries based on respect for independence and non-interference in one another's internal affairs," and that "efforts in this direction should be made in all areas—in the spheres of the economy, culture, technology and, naturally, politics alike." Commenting on the visit of the French Foreign Minister to Eastern Europe, *Le Monde* commented on July 29: "France and the countries of the East have already agreed on two basic questions: that the 1945 frontiers are final and that the Bundeswehr should not have access to nuclear weapons."

That the French government has taken this stand is an encouraging development for the peace-loving forces generally and for all those in other Western countries opposed to the reckless policy pursued by the USA not only in South-East Asia but also in Europe where it is backing the West-German revenge-seekers. This development is a vindication of those who want France's withdrawal from the NATO armed forces to be final and irreversible. Moreover, it gives added meaning and impact to the increasingly pressing demand for recognition of the German Democratic Republic. In order to bring about genuine cooperation among all European countries on the basis of mutual trust, there must be no discrimination against the European state which is the prime target of the West-German threat. During his visit to Warsaw Foreign Minister Fanfani no doubt gave thought to the point made by Gomulka on this score: "So long as the FRG persists in the policy it has pursued for many years the security of Poland and of the other socialist countries, safeguards of peace in Europe and throughout the world, will be linked in the closest possible way with the security and inviolability of the frontiers of the GDR. For the Western frontier of the socialist world is on the Elbe."

People in Europe and throughout the world want efforts continued towards ensuring European security. The Bucharest Declaration contains these relevant words: "The flames of the two world wars were sparked off in Europe, but they seared nearly all of our planet. Devastation and death became the lot of many countries, even on continents remote from Europe." This reminder of the two deadly conflicts underscores the timeliness and importance of the call to unity issued in Bucharest. May the sentiments, hopes and especially the united efforts of the peoples fully awakened to their true national interests pave the way everywhere to security and detente, cooperation and durable peace.

JAN PRAZSKY

In defense of political prisoners in Saudi Arabia

THE PEOPLE OF Saudi Arabia suffer from the oppression of one of the most reactionary and backward regimes of our time. Ever since it came to power the Saudi dynasty has striven to preserve the medieval practices and has deprived the people of elementary rights. There are no political organizations or trade unions, no Constitution, parliament or civil courts.

"A Constitution?" said King Faisal to a French newspaper correspondent. "What for? The Koran is the oldest and most effective of all Constitutions. Elections, a parliament? After the unfortunate experience of neighboring countries, better not to think of that. Believe me, Islam is a sufficiently discerning and flexible religion to assure the happiness of our people."

Faisal evidently thinks it is happiness for patriots to be persecuted in the most barbarous manner, to have their heads, arms and legs cut off, to be flogged to death or held in dungeons for years. These things are done without charge or trial — an order from the King or one of the princes is enough.

Despite immense natural resources, above all vast oil deposits, the overwhelming majority of the population suffers from appalling poverty, disease and illiteracy.

Faisal's accession to power led to more drastic government repressions. Forward-looking people in Saudi Arabia are not the only victims. The terror is extended to patriots in other Arab countries on the Persian Gulf. The ruling Saudi clique is combating the revolution in neighbouring Yemen with aid of the U.S., British and West German imperialists. On the pretext of strengthening home defense, the government is turning the country into a military base for imperialist aggression directed against the people of the Arab East.

Alarmed by the growing national-liberation movement, Faisal is at pains to put himself at the head of the reactionary forces in the Arab world, to unite—for "Islamic rapprochement" and cooperation—traitors thrown out by their peoples. He makes ample use of the aid offered to this end by his imperialist masters.

The Islamic Pact advocated by Faisal is an imperialist conspiracy against the national-liberation movement, social progress and socialist ideas that have begun to gain ground

among Arab workers and intellectuals. This conspiracy is spearheaded against the progressive regimes in the newly-free Arab countries.

Like the U.S. imperialists, Faisal draws freely on anti-communism in his campaign of terror, against progressives in Saudi Arabia and neighboring countries. Jointly with the United States, ARAMCO and other oil monopolies, he finances anti-Communist activities in that area of the world. It has lately transpired that he has allotted over three hundred million dollars for the purpose.

In 1964 a large group of patriots—workers, journalists, lawyers, army officers, shopkeepers and government employees opposed to colonialism—were jailed on charges of Communism. The King decreed, that all of them be sentenced without trial to prison terms ranging from three to 20 years.

Last June the authorities, aided by agents of the CIA and Scotland Yard in Jeddah, Riyadh, Zahran and other towns carried out wholesale arrests among the oil workers in the eastern regions. About three hundred people were jailed. They were charged with circulating leaflets calling for freedom and a Constitution.

Despite stepped-up repression aimed at breaking the will of the people, the patriots of Saudi Arabia are determined to go on fighting the criminal policies of the country's rulers, who are backed by ARAMCO and other imperialist forces.

The National Liberation Front of Saudi Arabia is waging an active fight against the reactionary regime, for freedom. An appeal recently published by it calls on democratic world opinion to come to the defence of the patriots who are persecuted and tortured. The NLF is confident, the appeal says, that the solidarity of progressive, democratic world opinion will hearten the champions of freedom, that it will "keep their morale high, for they will know their brothers are with them fighting to free them, so that they can, together with the Arab peoples, take part in the sacred struggle against imperialism and reaction, against all plans for aggressive pacts and alignments running counter to our peoples' right to freedom, independence and social progress."

FARES MANSOUR

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