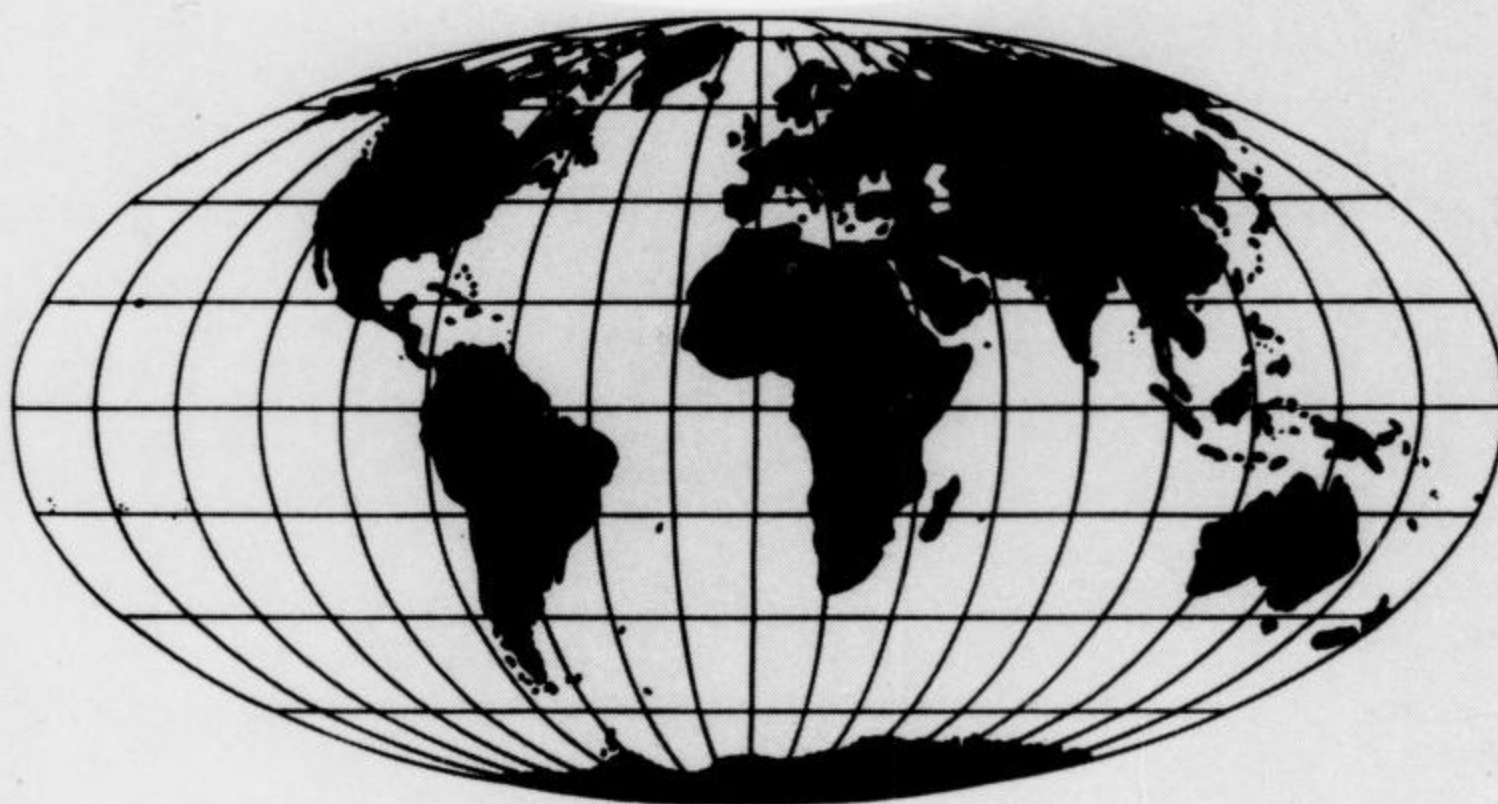


WORLD MARXIST REVIEW



Problems of Peace and Socialism

In This Issue:

**Modern Armaments
and Problems of Strategy**

Long Live
International Women's Day!

March 8 is being observed this year in a situation marked by the heightened political activity of working women everywhere. On this day dedicated to the unity and solidarity of the women of all countries we send our greetings to all women working for peace, democracy and social progress and to bring up a generation worthy of our time.

World Marxist Review: Problems of Peace and Socialism

Theoretical and Information Journal
of Communist and Workers' Parties

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The Economic Effects of the International Socialist Division of Labor

Stefan Jendrychowski

CLOSER economic cooperation and, in particular, extension of direct production links between the socialist countries in conformity with the decisions taken some time ago by a conference of the First Secretaries of the Communist Parties and the heads of government of the countries affiliated with the Council for Mutual Economic Aid have a direct bearing on the further strengthening of the socialist world economic system.

Significance of the International Division of Labor

In the capitalist world, too, the needs of the day necessitate an extended international division of labor. And this is spontaneously taking place, especially in such exclusive associations as the European Economic Community (Common Market), though encountering countless snags, for the limitations of the capitalist mode of production prevent the process from developing freely. And just as capitalist production in general is stimulated by the drive for profits and super-profits on the part of the monopoly associations, so the motive force of capitalist economic integration is the interests of the most powerful monopolies. The trend of the times shows that capitalist integration tends to perpetuate and widen the gap between the developed and underdeveloped countries and to accentuate the unevenness in capitalist development.

The planned extension of the division of labor between the socialist countries, where public ownership is dominant, is based on completely different principles and is characterized by altogether different trends compared with the division of labor in the capitalist world. Underlying it is the complete equality of all the socialist countries, big and small, regardless of the level of economic development, and harmony between the interests of each country taken separately and those of the socialist camp as a whole. In taking measures to improve the division of labor within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid the need to industrialize the less-developed countries has al-

ways been taken into account; in the future, as in the past, they will be given all the assistance they need. The division of labor enables all the socialist countries to make the best use of their resources and manpower to develop the more important branches of their economies with the utmost speed. Under socialism the international division of labor promotes the harmonious all-round development of each country, making for economic proportions most favorable for extended reproduction and helping to maintain equilibrium in the balance of payments; it is one of the factors which are gradually eliminating the differences between the economic levels of the socialist countries.

Division of labor among the socialist countries signifies combined efforts in building up-to-date production facilities in all of them. The need for such joint efforts is all the greater in view of the discriminatory trade policy pursued by the Western imperialists.

Although the international division of labor is an objective necessity, it will embrace the socialist world system as a whole only through the planned effort of the states participating in it. Needless to say, the extent and the forms of the participation of the various countries differ, for it is the sovereign right of each nation and government to decide what part to play. Experience shows that the countries united in the socialist commonwealth, taking due account of the objective laws governing the development of the productive forces, are extending the division of labor among them. Only in this way can the economy be advanced in the various countries and on the scale of our socialist community as a whole.

The international division of labor essentially resolves into specialization and its corollary — coordinated production. The member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid are steadily implementing a series of measures in this sphere. Regrettably, however, a study of the concrete results of international specialization and the economy that could be effected by improving the international division of labor is pro-

gressing comparatively slowly. And time is slipping past. A thorough analysis of the economic effectiveness of the international socialist division of labor is a pressing need. It is to be hoped that economic research institutes in the member-countries will pay more attention to elaborating methods of assessing the efficacy of such a division of labor in concrete instances, which often present a rather complex picture. It would then be possible to define more exactly under what circumstances international specialization yields the best results and to pinpoint the tasks that should be given priority.

It is not my purpose in this article to give a comprehensive assessment of the results of the division of labor between the member-countries. I shall confine myself to an examination of some of the preliminary data available for certain branches which leave no doubt as to the immense saving of labor that could be effected through international specialization and coordinated production. Let us take a few examples from the engineering and chemical industries, i.e., branches which are developing particularly rapidly in all the member-countries.

Specialization in Output of Machine Parts

The results of international *specialization in the production of sub-assemblies and parts lend themselves to the most concrete economic analysis*. The effect is greatest in those branches which turn out a large variety of items in a wide range of types and sizes, but in limited quantities.

The member-countries now produce some 2,500 kinds of industrial equipment; nearly 300 of these are being simultaneously manufactured in more than one country. Our countries exchange roughly 180 items (approximately 1,000 types and sizes). Besides, we import considerable quantities from the capitalist countries (in some instances because of the limited range offered by our own countries and in others because their production is not enough to meet the demand). Poland, for instance, imports from the capitalist countries nearly 160 items, particularly for the power and shipbuilding industries.

With the progress of specialization duplication will be eliminated to a considerable extent. The number of items now being produced simultaneously in several socialist countries will be cut to about 150 by 1965, to 100 by 1970. At the same time production is to be launched of items that have not been put out hitherto. The number of items exchanged between the member-coun-

tries will rise roughly to 600 by 1970. Whereas Poland now exchanges industrial equipment with other member-countries to a total value of 8,500,000 zloty, (about 2,000,000 rubles), in 1965 the sum is expected to increase to 43 million zloty or about 10 million rubles (in comparable prices).

What will our economy gain from this specialization?

First, it will obviate the need to start production of a large number of items, which we will be able to obtain from the fraternal countries. This applies to nearly 500 types of output. To get the production of any one of them started in Poland would cost nearly 200,000 zloty. In other words, if we were to start domestic production of this range of items, it would cost us nearly 100 million zloty.

Second, Poland will specialize in a number of lines, which will make it possible to increase the output of each roughly three-fold. The bigger production in turn will facilitate the introduction of automated and semi-automated technology in machining, assembly and finishing; productivity of labor will rise and cost of production will fall considerably.

The big advantages accruing from specialization may be seen from the following example. In accordance with an agreement with Czechoslovakia, Poland is specializing in the manufacture of small-sized valves (10-50 mm in diameter). This has increased the quantities put out two and a half times, which means that we can make effective use of automated and semi-automated production lines. There is a saving of 76,000 machine-hours annually, and another 350,000 valves can be put out on the same factory floor area. Simultaneously with the specialization the valve designs were standardized, and this promises an annual economy of nearly 1,000 tons of cast iron by 1965, not to speak of the quality of the finished product. Today our valves are up-to-date in design and of excellent quality; they can hold their own against capitalist competitors on the world market and even increase our exports.

Another useful example is offered by the cooperation in manufacturing roller and ball bearings. Total capacity of plants producing bearings of this type in all the socialist countries is still insufficient to meet their requirements. Poland, which began making bearings only in 1949, is particularly aware of the shortage.

Today we turn out 328 types of bearings out of a total of 2,200 listed by the International Organization for Standardization

(the total number of variants of bearings now in use runs to more than 6,000). We import 751 types of bearings from the socialist countries and 1,260 types from the capitalist countries. True, if we take the overall number of bearings used in Poland, our own production compares favorably with the quantity imported: our own industry meets 71.4 per cent of the requirements, while imports from the socialist countries account for 26 per cent and those from the capitalist countries for 2.6 per cent. But it should be borne in mind that we buy from the capitalist countries mainly the most expensive kinds of highly specialized and precision bearings, the cost of which runs to nearly half the value of all our bearings imports from the socialist countries.

Why should we spend so much foreign currency on this comparatively small quantity of bearings? After all, the socialist countries produce all but 5.2 per cent of the types of bearings which we import from the capitalist countries. The point is, however, that 83.8 per cent of these types are produced in insufficient quantities, and 11 per cent are not of the types and sizes used in Poland.

In order fully to satisfy the growing requirements, we must quickly increase the production and widen the range of bearings. This can be done only on the basis of specialization among member countries. The cost of launching output of a single new type of bearing ranges in Poland, for instance, from 8,000 to 120,000 zloty, with the average at 85,000. Consequently, if we were to begin manufacturing the 2,011 types of bearings which we now import, we would have to allocate for this purpose, over and above construction costs, some 171 million zloty, not to speak of the practically insuperable technical difficulties. It should also be borne in mind that turning out many different types at one plant would necessitate frequent retooling, which invariably involves considerable additional expenditure.

Consequently, quite apart from the need to increase output and to start the manufacture of types hitherto not produced in the socialist countries, the problem of meeting the bearing requirements of the member-countries can be properly solved only by reducing duplication to the minimum and increasing the quantities put out to the optimum. The planned allocation to the different countries in the period up to 1965 of the manufacture of the various types of bearings is based on the following principle: each will produce the bearings commonly

used in large quantities, while the more highly specialized types required in small quantities will be turned out by only some of the countries. Roughly 500 of the 2,200 types will be manufactured in two or more countries, and the rest in one country. The exchange of bearings between the various countries is to be expanded accordingly.

Another example of effective specialization is the cooperation between Poland, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic in the manufacture and exchange of electronic valves. In 1962 Poland turned out over 11,500,000 electronic valves, or nearly as many as it needs. However, more than half of the total output is exported, while nearly half of the Polish requirements are met from imports. The point is that 19 of the 29 types of electronic valves we put out, accounting for 88 per cent of the total home production, fall under the international specialization plan. Twenty-six types are imported. According to estimates by the research section of the Planning Board of Poland's Council of Ministers, without this planned specialization the output of the tubes now exported by Poland would have to be cut by half to bring it down to a level with home requirements. And, on the other hand, it would be necessary to start production of at least 10 of the essential types out of the 26 now imported. Total output would be reduced by 900,000 or one million, and cost of production would go up by four million zloty. Expenditure on additional imports would amount to some 40 million zloty. On the whole, specialization has made it possible to reduce expenditure on production and import by about 20 per cent.

Advantages of Specialization in Types of Machinery

Specialization according to types of machines is gaining ground in the engineering industry of the member-countries, which now can look forward to satisfying their requirements without building the full range of engineering works in each.

It should be said, however, that not enough has been done as regards specialization in the output of the basic types of machines, other industrial equipment and means of transport (machines tools, tractors, trucks, passenger cars, ships, etc.) This makes it harder to assess the concrete economic effect of the specialization. Nevertheless, some of the countries have accumulated experience in this respect, mostly through bilateral co-operation.

For example, in conformity with agreements with Rumania and Bulgaria, Poland has discontinued the output of the 350-mm. gear-cutting machines formerly manufactured by a plant in Szopienice and is gradually winding up the manufacture of 300- and 400-mm gear-cutting machines at the Andrychow and Poznan factories. All the machines of these types which Poland needs will be supplied by Bulgaria and Rumania.

The facilities thus freed at the Szopienice machine-tool plant have been converted to the production of parts for boring mills of a type in short supply throughout the socialist camp. As a result, output of the boring mills will go up already this year. The engineering works in Andrychow is concentrating on automated and semi-automated lathes for bearing factories in the other member countries as well as in Poland. The machine-building works in Poznan will be able to increase the production of multiple machine-tools and other standard equipment.

In this way, thanks to international specialization, better use will be made of the capacities of the Polish, Rumanian and Bulgarian machine-tool industries, output series increased and the requirements of all three countries more fully satisfied.

Polish machine-tool plants are cooperating with their counterparts in Czechoslovakia, primarily in the sphere of standardization and exchange of standard equipment and multiple-tool units. This cooperation includes rational sharing of production, reducing the number of items put out in each country and inaugurating new lines of output which so far have been lacking in the member-countries.

Poland has concluded a number of bilateral agreements affecting other branches as well. For example, it has been agreed that Bulgarian shipyards will specialize in building diesel ships of 3,200 tons for home use as well as for export. Poland, accordingly, has discontinued building this type of vessel. Under the agreement Bulgarian shipyards will build by 1970 (using Polish specifications) 16 diesel ships for the Polish merchant fleet, while Poland will supply Bulgarian shipyards with marine engines and other equipment. In this way better use will be made of Bulgarian shipbuilding capacity, ships will be put out in bigger series and cost of production reduced. The berths thus freed at the Polish shipyards in Gdansk can be used to build the timber carriers ordered by the Soviet Union. As a result, we will be able to fulfil our export commitments in time, and if the Soviet Union places orders

for more ships of this type, we can easily continue the series, make more efficient use of our shipbuilding facilities and cut cost of production.

A similar agreement on shipbuilding has been concluded between Poland and Rumania.

Fulfilment of the agreement between Poland and Czechoslovakia on cooperation in manufacturing tractors is also of cardinal importance. The farms of both countries need tractors of varying horsepower. Both designed new types of tractors (in Poland the Ursus and in Czechoslovakia the Zetor) and planned to launch the manufacture of several models in different power classes. Czechoslovakia possesses the production facilities capable of meeting the basic needs of its agriculture as well as its export requirements. But in Poland the existing capacities can satisfy only 25 per cent of our requirements; to produce 60,000 tractors a year as planned, substantial investments would be needed and specialized machine tools and automated production lines would have to be imported from the capitalist countries. In Poland and Czechoslovakia putting several types of tractors of different power ratings into production would mean heavy spending on plant.

By combining efforts, the two countries are able to cut expenditure on capital construction, on equipment imported from the capitalist countries, and on organizing production.

In view of the headway Czechoslovak industry has made with the Zetor, it was decided that in the initial period, until 1970-1972, both countries would manufacture tractors of this type; later they would be replaced by new designs worked out jointly by Czechoslovak and Polish engineers. Since joint promotion of the tractor industry is more advantageous to Poland than working on its own, Poland is dropping the present Ursus C 325 type tractor for a number of years, all its merits notwithstanding.

The specialization and cooperation in the given case will consist in sharing the making of the standard parts, and the possibilities are now being examined for dividing the production of the non-standardized parts. In the future it is proposed to assemble the 30 hp. and 40 hp.-models in Poland as well as in Czechoslovakia, but for the time being assembled tractors will also be shipped from one country to the other.

All this makes for quantity production while cutting down the number of parts made in each country, reducing the number of automated lines needed, and facilitating more efficient use of plant, in particular of

specialized production units and machine-tools. Production will get into stride faster, and building and operating costs will be reduced.

With the Ursus tractor plant in Poland in a position to use Czechoslovak-made equipment designed for the manufacture of the Zetor tractor, fewer machines will have to be imported from capitalist countries.

In the initial period, before mass production of the new type of tractors gets under way, Czechoslovakia, which possesses sizable production capacity, will deliver tractors to Poland.

These examples give an idea of the economic advantages accruing from the progress already made in international specialization and cooperation in the socialist camp. They show what the international division of labor can do in the most diverse branches of the machine-building industry — from heavy-duty crawler tractors and trucks to powerful electric motors. And the benefits will continue to grow with the progress in multilateral specialization. It is vitally necessary for the development of the socialist countries that the Council's engineering committee should press on with its work and that its decisions be carried out with all speed.

Attention should also be paid to *technological specialization* in the engineering industry. So far the progress in this sphere is negligible. Yet it is clear that as the production base of the socialist countries develops and the differences between their levels diminish this aspect of the specialization will acquire greater urgency.

The Chemical Industry and the Division of Labor

The chemical industry, whose share in the economy of the member-countries is steadily growing, also offers wide and useful opportunities for the international division of labor. This applies above all to branches turning out a wide range of products such as dyes, chemical agents for the textile industry, pesticides, pharmaceutical goods, etc. The specialized production of organic and synthetic dyes as projected by the chemical industry committee for the period up to 1965, will widen the so far inadequate range of dyes produced by the member-countries, curtail the present duplication and increase exchange. Poland, for example, has stopped producing more than 10 types of chemicals and imports them from the other countries. At a rough estimate it can be said that as a result of the specialization and exchange between the member-countries the

import of dyes from the capitalist countries will by 1965 be reduced by half compared with 1960, even though the need for dye-stuffs is bound to increase. Thanks to specialization, the member-countries will be able to concentrate investments and research on particular spheres, and this will make it possible to launch production of many costly types of dyes at an earlier date. Moreover, production costs will be cut by expanding output.

The advance towards the specialized production of chemicals for the textile industry is still modest, partly due to the fact that this branch is not yet very highly developed. Still it is clear that the economic effect of the international division of labor will be substantial also in the output of these products, which include acids, alkalis, salts, bleaching agents, organic solvents, oils and their fractions, fulling, dressing and impregnating agents, etc.

Some 400-450 types of these agents are now produced throughout the world. In 1962 Poland produced 121, and the target for 1965 is 145. Some 200 types are imported. According to present plans, production of these will be distributed among the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, whose overall output will go up approximately 43 per cent while imports from the capitalist countries will be cut by half.

Also needed is a system of international specialization in the production of insecticides, herbicides and fungicides. Specialization in this area would make it possible not only to save on investments and reduce production costs, but also to meet the requirements of our agriculture faster and better. So far this is a long-established industry only in the German Democratic Republic. In the other member-countries plant protection chemicals began to be produced only after 1960. Now they are made in all countries, with duplication in many cases. In June 1961 agreement was reached to distribute the output of 39 basic concentrates. By 1965 the member countries will be producing 37 types and exchanging 25 whereas last year they exported only eight.

In line with international specialization Poland has given up the idea of launching the production of some phosphorous compounds and certain herbicides, which we shall import from Czechoslovakia, the USSR and the German Democratic Republic. Imports from the capitalist countries can be cut considerably. In this way the requirements of our agriculture can be better satis-

fied with less expenditure on capital construction.

At the same time Poland will enlarge the output of other chemicals with a view to supplying the fraternal countries as well. The expansion will considerably reduce investments per unit of production capacity. For example, to equip a shop of 170-ton capacity producing the gamma isomer of hexachlorocyclohexane would cost 27 million zloty, whereas a production unit of twice that capacity could be equipped for 39 million.

Similar results should be obtained by sharing pharmaceutical production among the member-countries of the Council. At present, they are engaged in the specialized production of 95 preparations out of a total of several hundred. Nearly 20 types are not produced at all and 33 are put out in insufficient quantities; the gap is filled by imports from the capitalist countries. Further specialization will help the member-countries to launch the output of new products and increase production of those still in short supply, thereby reducing the dependence on imports from the capitalist countries, curtailing capital investments and cutting production costs. The experience of the Polish pharmaceutical industry shows that doubling production reduces the cost per unit of output by 20 per cent.

Mass Production and Division of Labor

Specialization and cooperation, then, greatly increase efficiency in those branches of the chemical industry which turn out a wide range of products. But this does not mean that the international division of labor will not produce good results in branches engaged in the mass production of, say, synthetic fibers or plastics. And while each country will naturally develop these branches in accordance with its raw material resources and home requirements, there will still be room for a more effective division of labor. This applies above all to coordinating construction and the launching of production. The various countries could concentrate on the production of one or another type of synthetic fiber or plastic with a view to using their plant to satisfy not only their domestic needs but also the requirements of the other countries until the home demand takes up the entire output. This would make it possible to ensure capacity operation from the outset, to concentrate investments, to achieve maximum operating efficiency and to draw up the most advantageous capital construction schedule for the given branch.

Similar opportunities for coordinating construction programs exist in other branches. For example, in the iron and steel industry it would be expedient to coordinate the commissioning of rolling mills. So far little has been done in this respect, with the result that the member-countries often experience shortages, or, on the contrary, accumulate surpluses, of the same types of rolled metal. There are also many opportunities for advantageous exchange of rolled metal turned out by mills of an identical type; this would make for more efficient use of plant with fewer changeovers than hitherto.

We shall not dwell on international division of labor in ore-mining, where it is dependent on the availability of profitable ore deposits.

On the whole it can be said that all branches of production offer numerous opportunities for international specialization and coordination, and as the Council forges ahead in this respect, new and better opportunities will appear for increasing efficiency through improved division of labor. It should be stressed that specialization will produce its full effect only if all countries punctually fulfil their commitments, if there are no hitches in realizing the planned exchange of specialized output. To live up to this requirement, organizational, financial and other steps capable of ensuring smooth and precise functioning of the entire system of international production coordination are needed. The elaboration and verification of the organizational forms of such coordination will be facilitated, for instance, by the decision to establish a special committee for the bearing industry.

Some Conclusions

What, then, are the advantages accruing from specialized and coordinated production between the member-countries of the Council?

Generally speaking they are the following:

First, in the matter of starting a new type of output or increasing the production of a particular item, each country can concentrate investments on fewer enterprises of greater capacity. This reduces the initial cost per unit of capacity, i.e., the effectiveness of the investments is increased. The international division of labor likewise makes it possible to ensure the capacity operation of large enterprises; without such a division of labor, no small country could build industries in which technology requires production in large quantities, for instance, conti-

nuous sheet rolling and rail mills, etc., without running the risk of being left with surplus capacity on its hands.

Second, construction of plants of optimum capacity from the standpoint of modern technology makes for maximum efficiency and, consequently, higher productivity of labor and lower costs of production.

Third, international specialization enables also the existing plants to restrict their types of output and to increase the output of the remaining types. This facilitates the use of new technology and substantially reduces cost of production.

Fourth, the types of new products can be restricted in each country, while the overall range of output of all the member-countries can be greatly enlarged. This would signify a big saving for each and fuller satisfaction of the needs of all.

Fifth, long-range specialization should be combined with coordinated research; this, too, in addition to other benefits would effect a big saving. With researchers concentrating on particular themes the research will be much more fruitful. Each country can thus concentrate on improving the technology of specialized areas of production and achieve a high technological standard at comparatively low cost.

Sixth, the dependence of the socialist countries on imports of machinery, equipment, and semi-manufactured goods from the developed countries will be reduced. This will strengthen the positions of the socialist countries in their peaceful economic competition with capitalism.

The discrimination practised by some Western countries against the socialist states is bad for trade. At the same time excessive imports of goods still produced in insufficient quantities or not made at all in the socialist world are a heavy burden on the smaller socialist countries in Europe. Singlehanded they cannot rid themselves of this burden, for the imports in question are machines, industrial plant, semi-manufactures and other highly specialized products which are needed in quantities too small to warrant production at home. The only way to solve the problem is through joint effort and division of labor among the socialist countries.

Needless to say, this does not mean that we are for autarchy or that we want to restrict trade between the socialist and the capitalist countries. Adhering to the principle of peaceful coexistence and economic

cooperation between states irrespective of their social systems, we are for the abolition of all obstacles to world trade. We believe that this is perfectly feasible.

The main thing is to change the present pattern of trade which is often unfavorable to the socialist countries, to do away with the adverse consequences of the discriminatory policies of imperialism. Any reduction in the import of machinery, industrial plant and semi-processed metallurgical and chemical products from the capitalist countries as a result of the industrialization of the socialist countries and the improved division of labor between them could be more than counterbalanced by increased buying of other goods which the capitalist countries are anxious to sell. At present the import of the latter class of goods into the socialist countries is limited by the need to channel foreign currency resources primarily to paying for imports of decisive significance for the economy.

Seventh, the improved international socialist division of labor will expand trade and all-round economic cooperation between the socialist countries and the underdeveloped countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Specialized and coordinated production will raise technological standards, improve quality and cut costs of production, considerably increasing the overall export potential of the member-countries and their ability to extend economic aid to the underdeveloped countries. The fact that the affiliated countries will specialize in planning and supplying complete industrial installations, with extensive cooperation in providing the diverse types of machines required for these installations, is of particular importance.

In this way further advances in the division of labor and the growth of the production and export potential of the socialist countries will help to industrialize the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, to ensure their economic independence and to create the conditions in which they can freely choose their path to economic prosperity and all-round social progress.

The objective requirements of production as well as past experience underscore the importance of the international socialist division of labor as a factor which strengthens the socialist world economic system. A still better division of labor will help all the socialist countries to solve their cardinal economic tasks and to build up the economic potential of the entire socialist community.

Argentine Militarists in the Service of Reaction

Rodolfo Ghioldi

MILITARISM is typical of modern capitalism. "State-monopoly capitalism," we read in the Program of the CPSU, "causes an unprecedented growth of militarism. The imperialist countries maintain immense armed forces even in peacetime. Military expenditures devour an ever-growing portion of the budgets. The imperialist countries are becoming militarist states run by the army and the police. Militarization pervades the life of bourgeois society." Modern militarism, the product of state-monopoly capitalism, reduces the national armed forces to the status of a police force protecting the reactionary order. It is the basic element of reaction and fascism.

The Argentine government, to all intents and purposes a militarist government whose civilian President is no more than a figurehead, is completely subordinated to North American imperialism. And since this is expressed not only in the financial and economic *diktat* of the International Monetary Fund but also and mainly in dependence on the Pentagon and its aggressive plans vis-à-vis Cuba, the above definition of militarism clearly applies in full measure to the present situation in Argentina. For decades past, beginning at least with 1930, the high command of the armed forces has imposed its will on the country. It is the military who are chiefly responsible for Argentina's reactionary, anti-national domestic and foreign policy.

Since 1930 the post of President has been occupied by a long succession of generals (in nearly all cases as a result of a coup d'état) — Uriburu (who tried to set up a corporate state after the fascist model), Justo, Rawson, Ramirez, Farrel, Peron (who held the post twice), Lonardi and Aramburu. This list, formidable as it is, does not give a full picture of the role of the military in governing the state. The four years of the Frondizi government, for example, passed under strict "military observation," to use the term usually applied by bourgeois commentators. As for the Guido government, everyone knows that for all practical purposes it is run by the heads of the armed services.

Argentina has long been ripe for deep-going anti-imperialist and anti-latifundist reforms, for the establishment of a genuinely democratic system. The masses, and primarily the working class, are playing an increasing role in the life of the country and the prestige of the Communist Party is growing. Anxious to check the emancipation movement, the landowning oligarchy and the conciliatory bourgeoisie — allies of the foreign monopolies — are stimulating the development of militarism. They have entrusted the army with the task of hounding and persecuting the common people through the military tribunals, and excluding the Communist Party and other political trends enjoying popular support from contesting elections. Lieutenant-General Rattenbach, Secretary for War, recently announced his intention to debar Communists, Peronists and some "Frondizists" from participating in elections.

In his book *Military Sociology* Rattenbach declares that there are no laws for history and politics. The "chief mission" of the armed forces, he says, is "to defend the nation against the external enemy and, if need be, to protect the state from the internal enemy as well." The armed forces of Argentina are indeed fulfilling their "mission," following in the footsteps of the Pentagon in foreign affairs, and, on the domestic scene, preventing the workers from voicing disagreement with government policy, terrorizing them and crushing all working-class and mass action.

For the top military brass the chief target is the "internal enemy," for, as General Arana bluntly observed, "the workers want to be bigger bosses than the bosses themselves."

The open and long-term military dictatorship which is the cherished goal of the "ultras" among the generals and admirals includes in its program, in addition to martial law, dissolution of the General Confederation of Labor, abolition of the right to strike (despite the fact that this law is clearly recognized by Article 14-b of the Argentine Constitution), and suspension of social legislation for an indefinite period.

Thus, Argentina affords a good illustration of Lenin's words: "The standing army every-

where and in all countries is intended for use not so much against the external as against the internal enemy." Under the Frondizi government the entire policy of the bourgeois state, and the armed forces in particular, rested on the principle of the *internal front*, on the principle that the mission of the armed forces is of an internal nature, namely, to crush the anti-imperialist and working-class movement. And this applies even more to the present set-up.

It is an open secret that, as a rule, the military camarilla is represented on the boards of directors of all the big monopolies. The article by A. Leonidov on the close link between the military and monopoly capital, published in issue No. 4 (1961) *World Marxist Review*, cites numerous examples of the participation of generals and admirals in the monopolies. This is especially true of the United States today. A far from complete poll conducted recently by a special committee set up by the U.S. House of Representatives to investigate the armed forces established that some 1,500 retired army officers occupy leading posts in the monopolies which are working on 80 per cent of the military contracts. In Argentina high-ranking army officers sit on the boards of such big monopolies enterprises as Industrias Kaiser Argentina, Materfer (a subsidiary of Fiat), Compania de Aviacion Transcontinental, Empresa Fournier, the Kellogg Panamerican Corporation, Minera Aluminé, the oil companies and diverse mixed companies. The top brass is also closely connected with big latifundist property. Rear-Admiral Clement, for example, owns large estates in Buenos Aires and Entre Rios. Rear-Admiral Kolungia, former Secretary for the Navy, is connected with Dow Chemicals, Ltd.

Noteworthy in this respect is the case of Admiral Perren. In 1957, when the Constituent Convention drafted a Constitution containing articles directed against the foreign monopolies and the latifundia, Perren managed to induce the military government in power at the time to dissolve the convention. Later it transpired that the Admiral was a director of the U.S. Pepsi-Cola monopoly. Perren openly declared his intention to use his experience in naval strategy to boost the sales of Pepsi-Cola. After all, the battle for customers is also an aspect of warfare.

The cold war creates a favorable climate for the growth of militarism, a climate in which the lion's share of the budget goes for military expenditure, and civil liberties are curtailed. While this is especially true of Argentina, it holds good for nearly all Latin

America as well. That is why the Latin American conference for national sovereignty, economic emancipation and peace, held in March 1961 in Mexico, emphasized the need to combat militarism. "North American imperialism has embroiled Latin America in its cold war policy," states the declaration issued by that conference. "The military pacts thrust upon us have imposed a heavy burden of armaments on our people, curtailed our sovereignty and slowed down our economic progress. We demand the annulment of all military pacts and the abolition of all the North American war bases in Latin America."

The armed forces of Argentina are numerically stronger than those of any other Latin American country, while the share of the commanding officers in it is extremely high. It is estimated that in the Navy, for instance, there is one commander for every six ratings. As to the Army, according to a recent statement by Deputy Kronhaus, there is one officer or nco for every three soldiers. This is one of the reasons for the growth of military expenditure. Since the general law on the budget camouflages this expenditure, the exact figure is unknown, though repeated attempts have been made to ascertain it. When G. Klein, Economic Secretary, was questioned on this point he evaded an answer.

The Argentine Peace Council has estimated that military expenditure comprises 42 per cent of the budget. Deputy G. Echegoyen set the figure at 35 per cent, comparing it to the 13.5 per cent earmarked for education and health. The percentage of military appropriations is at least two and a half times that of the USSR.

When the school teachers went on a strike last November in protest against a 3,200 million peso cut in budget appropriations for education, they pointed out that expenditure for education was being reduced at a time when the state was spending 22,000 million pesos to buy obsolete equipment for the Navy.

These facts are indicative of the growth of the military bureaucracy and militarism generally in our country. Mirabeau once said of Prussia that it was "not a state with an army, but an army with a state." These words might well be applied to Argentina today. Former Secretary for the Army General Larcher's assertion that "the country is the offspring not of politics, but of the sword" is a complete falsification of Argentinian history. Suffice it to recall that before embarking on his great campaigns, General San Martin, who liberated our country, de-

manded from the Congress in Tucuman in 1816 the adoption of a Declaration of Independence. Without it, he declared, it would be useless to cross the Andes. The fighting banner of that glorious army in the Andes was a political banner, the banner of national independence.

Resentment at the heavy burden imposed upon the country by militarism is voiced by all sections of the population. Palacios Hidalgo, President of the Constituent Convention which drafted the Constitution in 1957, put it in a nutshell when he said: "For more than three decades Argentina has been governed not by the threat of the sword but by the sword itself."

The agents of the landowning oligarchy and the imperialists have undertaken the dubious mission of justifying the military rule. Two years before the March 1962 elections, Lieutenant-General Toranzo Montero declared that if the army was not satisfied with the election returns, it would ignore them. He insisted that the army should supervise the functioning of the government. As it is, the public relations department, the radio and television have been taken over by the army for military propaganda.

Batista in his day had an endless chain of services in Cuba. There was the SIM, which engaged in military intelligence, the SIN for naval intelligence, the SIR, state security, etc. The Argentine armed forces today have a network of similar services: the SIDE, the state information service, the SIN, naval intelligence (charged among other things with forging "Cuban" documents for international provocations), and others. At the same time, the number of military "loges",* competing for power, is growing.

In May 1958 when Frondizi became President he declared that "henceforth the armed forces will not decide anything." But since he backed down on this score as well, the actual power remained as before in the hands of the army until it became obvious that Frondizi was superfluous, whereupon the army removed him. Ironically enough, he was arrested on the basis of the emergency law which he himself had signed.

Militarism has pervaded the public life of Argentina to such an extent that crises within the armed forces (whether caused by rivalry between the different arms or the struggle between the "loges") take on the character of national crises, and conversely,

political conflicts have immediate repercussions in the armed forces. These crises contain the seed of militarism's downfall, for they give rise to anti-imperialist, democratic sentiment among the officer corps, not to speak of the ordinary soldiers — workers and peasants in uniform.

Between May 1958 and September 1962, several abortive coups d'état occurred. The number of "representations," couched in the form of ultimatums, presented by the military camarilla to the civilian government was even greater. In this period nine secretaries for the army, six commanders-in-chief and four chiefs of the general staff followed one another in rapid succession. In other words, every six months the Secretary for the Army was changed. At the time of the First World War, Lenin spoke of the "republican" gambles indulged in by the "generals of the small South American countries . . ." Argentina today is eloquent confirmation of Lenin's description, with the difference that the gambles are disguised as democratic moves.

Such a situation inevitably widens the gulf between the people and the military. This is recognized by the army officers themselves. In an order issued in April 1962, General Loza admitted that the army was faced with a "crisis of confidence," and, moreover, that there existed a "crisis of confidence" of another kind, namely, confidence of the country in its army. This is understandable, for the top military support the imperialists and latifundists against the working people, the capitalists against strikers, the reactionaries against democracy, and uphold the election swindles directed against the popular parties.

If the events of September 1962 are regarded as a dress rehearsal, so to speak, it will be seen that a new and extremely important factor has set in in the history of Argentine "insurrections"; the people are prepared to take an active part in them under their own banner. The coup of September 6, 1930, amounted to an ordinary demonstration of young cadets who marched to the government building and took possession of it. But this will never be repeated. The many years of virtual military dictatorship have taught the people something and they are clearly determined not to remain mere spectators any longer.

Much attention is now been given to the ideological indoctrination of the armed forces. Various geopolitical theories are cultivated among the officer corps. Geopolitics,

*The rival groups of senior officers in the Argentine army are known as "loges." There is no essential difference between them. They all faithfully serve the interests of the latifundists and big capitalists. They disagree principally on the question of tactics.

which failed dismally as the "ideology" of Hitler Germany, has become an element of the "ideology" of world domination by the U.S. imperialists. The geopoliticians of today stand for "global" geography and renunciation of national sovereignty. "Pan-regionalism," an invention of the Haushofer school of imperialism, has been in large measure adopted by the North American imperialists. This is hardly surprising: Haushofer regarded the Pan-American Union as an example of "pan-regionalism." And he extended the concept in one form or another to other parts of the globe. Asia was to be a "pan-regional system" under Japanese leadership; Europe another, under the leadership of Germany; the Americas, under U.S. aegis.

The Argentine reactionaries, bent on depriving the army of its national character, are implanting geopolitics in the armed forces, and not without success. They are preparing the army for the prosecution of unjust wars and for crushing the revolutionary movement in their own as well as in other countries. Lieutenant-General Rattenbach in the aforementioned book expressed the view that the army command may find itself compelled "for geopolitical or strategic reasons" to start a preventive war or to invade foreign territories.

The real meaning of geopolitics for the Latin American countries was revealed with frank cynicism by Romulo Betancourt. The countries of the Caribbean, he said, should not forget that the security of the United States depends on the situation in the area in which they are located. Countries like Venezuela, he stated, have no option. "If any nation in this zone, invoking the principle of free trade, should attempt to establish relations with Russia or Communist China, it will be courting trouble. One can flirt with the idea of complete sovereignty, as Guatemala did, but the times decree otherwise." It is clear, then, that geopolitics is a synonym for colonialism, and its adoption by any Latin American country spells subordination to the colonialists.

The North American government has played the main role in the monstrous deformation of the armed forces. It aggravates that deformation by standardizing weapons, through the medium of its military missions, by spreading its ideology and by rendering military aid. Since 1946, 40 per cent of U.S. "aid" to the Latin American countries has been military aid.

Not so long ago the Council of the Organization of American States, more commonly known as the U.S. ministry of the colonies,

adopted a United States proposal to set up an Inter-American Military Academy, the purpose of which is to turn the armed forces of the Latin American countries into direct adjuncts of the Pentagon. Representatives of Brazil, Mexico and Venezuela alone voted against the proposal. On the question of the expediency of subordination to the Pentagon's plans, all the Argentine lackeys of imperialism are agreed, however much they differ on matters of home policy.

Theodore Roosevelt in his time claimed for the U.S. government the unlimited right to perform police functions in Latin America in order to direct refractory countries "onto the right path." This was Theodore Roosevelt's rider to the Monroe doctrine. What the United States did in Guatemala or what it is trying to do in Cuba — to mention only two instances — is Roosevelt's rider in practice.

The new element in this is that, with the support of certain Latin Americans, U.S. imperialism is striving to fulfil these police functions through the medium of the OAS, the Inter-American Military Academy and the Inter-American Defense Council by forming special units to fight the guerillas. To this end a course of lectures on "counter-revolutionary warfare" by French and other foreign instructors was arranged.

"Counter-revolutionary war," i.e., war against the national-liberation struggle, is turning the army officers into punitive police. Here we have an example of the notorious "international front" concept. This is how unconditional subordination to the Pentagon leads to the degradation of the armed forces, reducing the armed forces to the status of a punitive force for use against its own people.

How far this degradation has gone was evident from the position taken by the Argentine military during the U.S. blockade of Cuba. No other Latin American country took such a humiliating and servile stand as did Argentina. The government, in effect, offered to send units of all three services to the Caribbean to help the U.S. imperialists invade free Cuba should the need arise. At the same time, the representatives of this government in the OAS are tools in the hands of the United States. All this cannot but aggravate the "crisis of confidence" of which General Loza spoke.

There is no doubt that not only the junior officers and soldiers but a large part of the higher ranks as well, will be deeply mortified by this servile attitude. The decision to place Argentine armed forces at

the disposal of the U.S. imperialist aggression is a disgrace to the memory of San Martin, as ever larger sections of the armed forces are beginning to realize.

The Argentine army came into being in struggle for national independence and has borne the imprint of a popular, democratic army from its very inception. General San Martin, guided by the Declaration of Independence of Argentina adopted at the Tucuman Congress, launched a military campaign and together with Bolivar helped to liberate the fraternal peoples of America. Like all the patriots of his time, San Martin regarded the people of Argentina as Americans. So deep was the sense of Latin American brotherhood at that time.

The present government's policy of military subordination to the aggressive designs of North American imperialism is a blatant rejection of the San Martin tradition. Instead of anti-colonial struggle it stands for connivance with the colonial aspirations of U.S. imperialism. The United States, which did not lift a finger to help the Argentine people in their fight for independence, and condescended to recognize our country only 13 years after May 25, 1810, is now seeking to destroy the independence of Cuba. And in this it counts on spilling the blood of Argentinians. But the patriots in the armed forces will not allow the soldiers of the army of national independence to be used as mercenaries of North American colonialism!

Just before the Second World War, the officer corps of the Argentine army were taught to revere the Prussian military doctrines. It is symptomatic that shortly before Hitler was defeated many of the top Argentine officers still believed Germany would win the war. The military doctrine of German imperialism was put to the test in two world wars and proved a failure on both occasions. At the same time, the historic victory of the Soviet Union in the war with Germany dispelled forever the slanderous inventions about the USSR circulated among the armed forces. The young Argentine officers cannot help pondering over these things. Nor can they help reflecting on the fate of their French instructors in "counter-revolutionary warfare" who were driven out of Vietnam and Algeria.*

Beginning with 1945, the top echelons of the Argentine army have undergone a certain "Americanization," and today these echelons constitute a sort of "outer" arm

of the Pentagon. However, illusions as to the invincibility of the United States are gradually being dispelled. The war in Korea, which lasted for three years and ended up exactly where it had begun, proved to be anything but a "blitz" war. It demonstrated the limitations of U.S. military power despite the heavy concentration of troops and armaments.

The dependence of the Argentine top brass on the Pentagon aggravates the "crisis of confidence." Lieutenant-General Rattenbach has admitted that there is "a definite shortage of candidates for service as officers and junior officers" and observes "the marked repercussions of the class struggle in the relationships of both categories of the army hierarchy." The treaties concluded with the United States, he notes, are weakening the patriotism of the officers.

As far back as 1947, when the question of the location of the Argentine iron and steel industry was being debated, Frondizi, then a Deputy, declared that "in many cases, perhaps even in most cases, there is a contradiction between the principle of defense of the continent and the principle of national defense." "Defense of the continent" is of course merely a euphemism for U.S. colonialism, pure and simple. And indeed, subordination of the armed forces of Argentina to the Pentagon makes short shrift of the idea of genuine national defense. Last but not least, more and more sections of the Argentine officers corps are gradually beginning to draw the obvious conclusions from the admission made last October by Walter Lippman in connection with the Caribbean crisis: "In the world that now exists the United States is not omnipotent. It cannot, therefore, enforce the Monroe Doctrine in the Western Hemisphere and the Truman Doctrine in the Eastern Hemisphere."

The reactionary pro-imperialist groups in the Argentine army are known as the "gorillas." They are to be found chiefly among the higher ranks and are the counterpart of the "ultras" in civilian life. Diverse explanations have been given for the origin of the name, but the truth is that it derives from the name given to the torturers in Himmler's secret police and from the American slang for thugs and strong-arm men.

There is also a wide variety of anti-imperialist tendencies in the Argentine army. Though but vaguely expressed, they have become significant enough to prompt the U.S. organization Freedom Through Culture to declare that a Left-wing tinged with "Fidel-

*French instructors in "counter-revolutionary warfare" were invited to Argentina, after being expelled from the above countries, to train Argentine army units in anti-guerrilla warfare.

ism," exists in the army. On its part the *Washington Post* on July 26 last year called for more support for the Argentine government, since if that country ran aground it was not unlikely that some impatient officers, admirers of Nasser, would make a bid for power.

The Central Committee of the Argentine Communist Party, at its enlarged meeting last July, advised that in the event of the outbreak of the type of struggle which subsequently flared up in September* efforts should be concentrated on smashing the "ultra-gorillas." Should "Nasser-type" elements attempt to seize power, the Central Committee advised cooperating with them on condition that a national and democratic government be established. However, all these trends in the army are by no means identical. Some officers, in order to stress the dominant role of the army, propose dissolving all political parties. Others feel, on the other hand, that such measures could only weaken the anti-imperialist camp. Experience shows that the more united the anti-monopoly front, the greater the weight in it of the working class and the people and the more the rights of the Communist Party are respected, the better are the chances of victory.

The Cuban example is of the greatest value in achieving full national independence even for a relatively small country situated in direct proximity to an imperialist power playing the part of world gendarme. Cuba has also demonstrated the possibility of successfully resisting attempts at invasion. The present balance of forces on the world arena will not permit imperialism to do as it pleases with regard to a country whose

people are firmly united for their own defense.

But Cuba's example is indicative of something else. Batista's army was far from weak. It had behind it many years of training under the direct supervision of a U.S. military mission. Batista's army, moreover, was well equipped. As for police and repressive operations, it had nothing to learn from anyone. Nevertheless this army fell to pieces under the blows of the revolution. This happened because it was an army of terrorists and cut-throats, an army anti-popular in character. It protected the interests of the North American monopolies and hence the masses of the Cuban working people regarded it as their enemy. These facts are giving many people plenty of food for thought.

The armed forces in our country, or in any other for that matter, have never been neutral. There is not nor can there be any "third" position in the choice between national independence and semi-colonial dependence, between economic emancipation and subordination to imperialist monopoly, respect for the right of nations to self-determination and the aggressive policy of imperialism.

The army officers of reactionary, pro-imperialist, pro-latifundist tendencies are not neutral. Neither are the young officers who adhere in one or another degree to anti-imperialist positions. The Communists, who always remember that Marx and Engels treated the military question as one of the problems of the revolutionary policy of the working class in all countries, bear this well in mind. They cannot take an indifferent attitude to the matter of developing the anti-imperialist and democratic consciousness of the officers and soldiers. The armed forces are part of Argentine society and to some extent they reflect the contradictions of that society. Although the struggle between the "loges" seldom hinges on matters of principle, it nevertheless reveals trends which in some cases echo the general mood of the people. To restore to the army its anti-colonial traditions — this is the honorable mission of the anti-imperialist officer corps today.

*Between September 18 and 22, 1962, clashes between two groupings of the military fighting for power took place on the central streets of Buenos Aires. One of these groups, known as the "colorados," and "ultra-gorillas," holding posts in the present government, plotted the establishment of an open military dictatorship. The other group, whose members are called "azules," stands for observance of the Constitution and, in a press and radio statement signed by the Commander-in-chief of the Campo de Mayo military camp, called for immediate elections with a view to restoring the Constitution.

On September 20 and 22, the Central Committee of the Argentine Communist Party published appeals to the people to come out onto the street and help wipe out the "colorados," support that group of the military which promise to carry out democratic reforms and demand the establishment of a democratic and popular government.

The Road to the Socialist Unity of the Nation

(From the Experience of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party)

Istvan Szirmai

THE Eighth Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party summed up the changes that have taken place in the life of the country in the past few years. The Congress stated that *the foundations of socialism had been laid in Hungary and that the country had now entered upon the full-scale building of socialist society.*

In the 18 years that have passed since the liberation, the socialist revolution and socialist construction have fundamentally changed the pattern of society and left their imprint in all spheres of social life. Today socialist production relations have triumphed throughout Hungary, the exploiter classes have been abolished.

It is this revolutionary reconstruction of society that has determined the Party's policy of securing the socialist unity of the nation.

In the past, reactionaries often proclaimed their own policy of "unity of the nation." Needless to say, this was a policy of "unity" in the interests of the exploiters, in the interests of their militarist aims; it was a policy of nationalist "unity", spearheaded against the USSR and proletarian internationalism.

The demagogy of the fascist regime was a cloak to cover up the anti-national class character of the policy of the landlords and big bourgeoisie. Racism was designed to paralyze the discontent of the people, to render the class struggle ineffective.

Ten years after the liberation, Imre Nagy, too, proclaimed the demagogic slogan of national unity, of "the hearts of all Hungarians beating in unison." Nagy did this at a time when the socialist reconstruction of social relations had not yet been completed, when a sharp class struggle was still being waged and revisionist, counter-revolutionary trends came to the surface.

In the course of the class struggle we have exposed the reactionary slogans of "national unity," all manifestations of nationalist chauvinism, and shown up the revisionist fraud.

The policy of socialist unity of the nation is a policy of the class struggle which unites the working people, the socialist nation still in the process of formation, on the basis of the community of interests of the entire people; it is a policy of internationalism which consolidates the socialist community of nations.

The Eighth Congress of the Party was able to put forward the slogan of socialist unity of the nation because the conditions for this unity are present in the socio-economic relations and are taking shape in the political, ideological and moral outlook of the people. Furthermore, the objective development of the socialist revolution necessitates this unity..

I.

The socialist reorganization of agriculture completed the process of the socialist reconstruction of production relations, which began 15 years ago with the nationalization of the banks and large-scale industry. The significance of this development can be summed up as follows:

—the socio-economic conditions for capitalist restoration have been abolished for all time;

—the numerous class of small farmers has taken to socialism, and the objective causes for their vacillation have thereby been removed;

—it is now possible to eliminate the barriers influencing the economic and spiritual life of society, the attitude of the people, which arose as a result of private property relations and which in the past had divided the various sections of the peasantry;

—thanks to this, the solid foundation has been laid for the growth of a monolithic socialist class of peasant cooperators.

As a result of collectivization the alliance of workers and peasants has acquired a new content, a new character. Earlier, the work-

ing class had entered into an alliance with the small producer; but this alliance, because of the composite economic base of the classes comprising it — the public property and the private property of the small holders — continued to be a source of contradictions. These contradictions have now been eliminated. True, varying interests and even conflicting interests still occur, moot points still come up as, for example, the matter of the correlation of prices for agricultural products and manufactured goods. But these differences and conflicts arise and are resolved on the basis of socialist production relations, and in the course of resolving them the two socialist classes draw closer together, socialism grows stronger.

The moulding of a single socialist peasant class is, of course, a long-term process; and a highly important stage in this is when the peasant first joins the producer cooperative. Many of the cooperators, despite the fact that they are working in a socialist way, still display signs of the former class alignments. The tug-of-war between the new cooperator and his old private-property outlook, between socialist labor discipline and his individualistic indiscipline, between the sense of the collective and his desire for personal gain, causes a certain tension. But this, a temporary thing, recedes as the cooperatives take root economically, organizationally and politically.

Also the class structure of our society has changed as a result of socialist industrialization and the socialist reorganization of agriculture. The number of factory and office workers has increased by three million; together with their families they accounted for 70 per cent of the population in 1962 as against 46 per cent in 1949, whereas small private producers accounted for a mere two per cent compared with 22 per cent in 1949. The changing class structure is reflected in the following table showing the distribution of the labor force according to the basic socio-economic groups:

**Socio-Economic Groups of
Gainfully Employed Population (%%)**

	1949	1962
Factory and Office Workers	41.2	65.1
Peasant co-operators and members of family helping them	0.5	30.0
Independent producers and members of family helping them (that is, the private sector)	58.3	4.9
TOTAL:	100.0	100.0

These changes in the distribution of the labor force according to socio-economic groups are closely connected with the change

in the distribution of occupations according to the socio-economic sectors of the national economy. Thus, in 1949 only 30 per cent of all gainfully employed worked in the socialist sector (more than one-quarter of all factory and office workers were engaged in the private sector). In 1962 the percentage was 93.

The switch to socialism in the national economy and the turning of the peasantry to socialism have greatly changed the structure of society and have influenced the position and the attitude of all classes. The prestige of the working class has grown, its leading role is undisputed. The socialist remoulding of the intelligentsia is proceeding apace. It is now easier, in the new conditions, for former exploiters, and especially their children, to find their place in the ranks of the builders of socialist society. Subversive activity by hostile forces, whose numbers have noticeably diminished, is now a rarity.

The forces working for socialist unity predominate in our socio-economic life and they are *gaining in strength* as we advance toward the complete construction of socialism.

With the solution of such vital problems as raising the productivity of labor, increasing production, and the moulding of a socialist outlook, the socialist unity of the nation will grow still stronger. Of significance in this respect is that much of the political energy that had been spent on the socialist reorganization of agriculture, and before that on abolishing the class of exploiters, is now being directed to socialist construction.

One of the achievements of our revolution is that it has cleared the way for the socialist unity of the nation, for the socialist state, which is supported by the people and enjoys its trust and in which the revolutionary vanguard of the working class plays the decisive role. Moreover, the *economic base* for this unity has been created and consolidated in the system of socialist production relations, covering all sectors of the national economy. And, lastly, the *class basis* for socialist unity of the nation exists in the sense that all classes and all strata in our society are, by virtue of their status in society, associated with socialism; their immediate interests, far from diverging, coincide with the building of socialism.

II.

The socialist unity of the nation does not come about spontaneously, as a result of changes in the objective state of affairs; it

takes root and grows only as a consequence of the Party's policy. This policy imparts meaning and purpose to the actions of the working masses and the people generally; it unites the socialist classes. In the decisions of our Eighth Congress this policy is described as follows:

"The political content of the socialist unity of the nation is defense and development of the socialist system, the struggle for the triumph of socialism, for peace and in defense of national independence, the struggle against international imperialism and the hostile forces and trends still existing in the country. The working class and its revolutionary party, the Socialist Workers' Party, the recognized leader of the people, is the leading force fighting for the socialist unity of the nation."

The Communists have always aimed at creating a broad class alliance to combat capitalism and fascism. The substance and the scale of a class alliance depend on the immediate tasks of the revolutionary struggle, on the concrete situation, on the degree of political consciousness and experience of the social classes.

The policy of socialist unity is the organic continuation of the consistent Marxist line our Party has been following since 1956. People who formerly were not in agreement with the Communists and did not endorse their actions, now support the policy of socialist unity of the nation, which they see as a clearly-defined policy. We welcome this support. The sectarianism of the leaders of the former Working People's Party, who subsequently were completely disorientated by the counter-revolution in 1956, was partly responsible for the resistance and passivity of these people in the political life of the country. The achievements of recent years and the free atmosphere in our public life enable them to see things in their proper perspective, and they are gradually turning to socialism.

It should be made perfectly clear that there is no contradiction between repudiation of revisionism and sectarianism, implacable struggle against the counter-revolution, and the triumph of the producer cooperative movement, on the one hand, and the policy of unity of the nation, on the other. On the contrary, they are inter-related. Could we now be carrying out a policy of unity of the nation if we had not first smashed the counter-revolution, not maintained the dictatorship of the proletariat, if we had not in-

troduced socialist production relations in the countryside as well? We can unreservedly say "yes" to the call for the socialist unity of the nation only if we say "yes" to the entire policy of the party and to the struggle against counter-revolution, and for the producer cooperatives. This policy of unity of the nation does not signify rejection of class struggle, rather it is its continuation in the new conditions; it does not mean a retreat, but the further advance of socialism; it is a political factor in the advance of the socialist revolution, a factor ensuring its complete triumph; it is a sign not of "liberalization" (or, to be more exact, decline) of the system, but its consolidation.

This policy stems from the Marxist-Leninist theory which holds that classes are not immutable, rigid formations, and which does not regard class struggle as war against individual members of the exploiting classes (and less so against the former exploiters and their relatives). Historical materialism rejects that concept of classes which claims that the attitude and the destiny of the individual are predetermined by biological factors and that therefore, once a member of a certain class by birth, one can never break with that class. A concept of that nature is alien to historical materialism. Such concepts and such views are always harmful, but particularly so in the period of transition to socialism when big social changes take place and the character of classes undergoes fundamental alteration. They are particularly dangerous in the case of former small-producer countries (such as Hungary), where the class position of the bulk of the population changes rapidly, and the transfer from one class to another is taking place on an unprecedented scale.

In the past six years we have been waging war on revisionism which repudiates the very concept of class struggle and the need to carry on such a struggle, and also on dogmatism, which distorts the Leninist idea of class struggle. The political class struggle in our country is not as sharp as it was before. And to make sure that it does not flare up again we must vigorously combat the Right-wing attempts to "rehabilitate" political and theoretical revisionism, and the sectarian attempts to distort the ideology and policy of the Party. The Party has put an end to the personality cult, to sectarianism, but this does not mean that it will ever countenance attempts at "liberalization" in the guise of "de-Stalinization" or of combating "Stalinism."

We have also rejected the sectarian-dogmatist views regarding the social development in the transitional period. Their principal argument hinged on the thesis that as socialism develops the class struggle grows sharper. At the end of 1956 and the beginning of 1957 when we turned to the job of reorganizing the Party and when, in the struggle against the counter-revolution, we charted the program of socialist consolidation and the new stage in the building of socialist society, the class struggle was most acute. What would have happened if in those conditions we had been guided in our activity by the thesis of the inevitable sharpening of the class struggle? We would have proceeded from the premise—and would have shaped our policy accordingly—that the class struggle grows sharper and the contradictions gain in intensity. We rejected this dogmatist thesis which is divorced from Marxism and reality; we were guided by Marxist principles, by the creative ideas of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; we realized that once we had settled accounts with the counter-revolution and pursued a consistent Communist policy, the class struggle would subside. The results of the socialist reconstruction of agriculture fully corroborate this view: the collectivization was carried out without any particular sharpening of the class struggle. The Eighth Congress of our Party was able to draw the general conclusion: "Our experience bears out the validity of the thesis that in the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat — given a correct policy and a favorable international climate — even crucial situations in the socialist revolution are not necessarily attended by a sharpening of class struggle, or by a downturn in production."

The class struggle, naturally, continues at the present stage, but its forms and methods are changing. The organized forces of the reactionaries have been smashed; part of them have given up the struggle, part have scattered. And even though there are still some hostile forces, the overwhelming majority of the former exploiting classes are gradually, under the impact of the achievements of socialism and the Party's policy of differentiation, finding their place in our socialist society. Former kulaks have availed themselves of the opportunity to join the producer cooperatives where for the most part, they are working well. The slogan of "class struggle" against former kulaks, or in general against members of the former ruling class, can benefit only

the enemies of socialism, those against whom we still have to apply the coercive measures of the class struggle, of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the basic trend in our social development and the basic issues of the class struggle are the development of the socialist economy and the ideological struggle.

This interrelation determines the role played by the policy of the socialist unity of the nation. The socialist unity of the nation—a broad alliance of the classes—is a *product of the class struggle* against capitalism. In the class struggle against imperialism and against the still remaining hostile forces in the country, the unity of the nation around the Communist Party and the working class is essential to further success. This policy is also a *means and form of the class struggle* for the triumph of the proletarian revolution.

Today the dialectics of the socialist unity of the nation are reflected in the fact that within this alliance of all sections of the community also a struggle is going on, but it is struggle not against people, not against one or another class or section in this alliance; it is a struggle against views and trends, sentiments and strivings alien to socialism, a struggle for socialist aims, for a socialist content of the unity of the nation. In our comradely discussion we proceed from common, socialist positions. We take issue with all those who, while marching in step with us, waver and cling to notions stemming from their past status, precisely because we attach such importance to the alliance and watchfully guard its socialist character.

There are people who support our system and yet are not fully convinced socialists. They do so because they feel that peace, national independence and socialism are indivisible. This feeling has won for the Communists the support of large sections of the population. And the bulk of those who are still politically passive also appreciate that the foreign policy of the workers' and peasants' power is aimed at maintaining peace, that by supporting the socialist system they are thereby helping the fight for peace. Realization of this has made the idea of socialism more acceptable even to those who do not sympathize with us, and has impelled others to refrain from activities directed against our system.

The prestige of the Party soared earlier when patriotic people concerned for the destiny of their country realized that the old ruling classes had brought it to the brink of

disaster, whereas the Communists, by their policy and activity had saved the country. Today, when the foundations of the new society have been laid, peace, national independence and socialism are more closely interconnected. With Hungary a part of the socialist system, peace gives its people the best conditions for developing the socialist way of life, gives the nation advancing towards socialism security and national independence, gives the nation that has got rid of imperialist influence a free life.

Our policy aims to make the best of the new opportunities deriving from the specific features of the world socialist system and the people's democratic revolution. Sectarian dogmatism not only failed to utilize these opportunities. It deliberately let slip the opportunities offered by peaceful development, thereby imperilling the alliance of the working class and other sections of the working people, and reduced the principle of the people's front to a mere formality. The Right-wing revisionists, on the other hand, pleading the specific features of our development, called for abolition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and for a break with the socialist camp. They even tried to realize this program. The fact that since 1956 we have been able to give effect to the opportunities deriving from people's democratic development means that the bulk of the nation, by supporting the democratic reconstruction during the transition to the socialist revolution and during the building of socialism, follow the communist policy. In this connection it should be noted that, with the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, the mass base of the Party, provided it pursues a correct policy, is enlarged compared with the previous period. And all who supported democratic reconstruction, who did not align themselves with the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, with imperialism, are assured their rightful place in building the socialist society.

A sectarian-dogmatic approach in building socialism in the socialist countries is bound to turn possible allies away from our fraternal parties in the capitalist world. The policy of socialist unity of the nation will help to make clear to people in the capitalist countries who are still biased in their views of the Communist parties, that the Communists are not out to exploit them for their own ends, that their aim is to create a durable alliance in the process of revolutionary reconstruc-

tion, an alliance that will take full shape in the joint efforts to build a socialist society.

III.

The working class and its revolutionary party are the leading force in the socialist unity of the nation. The working class performs its leading role through the policy of the Party, through its guiding and organizing activity.

In the period of the all-out building of socialism, the leading role of the Party, which reflects the leading role of the working class, will, undoubtedly, grow. One of the guarantees of socialist unity of the nation is that the interests of the leading class in socialist society — the working class — its immediate and ultimate aims, coincide with the interests of the socialist peasantry, with the intelligentsia — which is becoming a socialist intelligentsia — with the working people generally. To interpret the leading role of the working class as meaning that it is effected only where key positions are held in the main by the workers would be a distortion of Marxism. The leading role of the working class depends above all on whether the policy of the Party is carried out in the given institution or enterprise, on whether guidance is provided by the revolutionary party of the working class.

With the complete building of socialism, with the realization of the socialist unity of the nation and the spread of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the Party of the working class becomes the party of the whole people. In this historical process the working class and its revolutionary vanguard must on no account renounce its ideas and aims, for they will eventually become the ideas and aims of all the people.

The socialist unity of the nation is a class alliance in which the solidarity of the Communists and non-Party working people is a vital political element. Our Party proceeds from the Leninist principle that "the vanguard fulfils its role of vanguard only when it does not divorce itself from the masses and really leads them. There can be no talk of successful Communist construction without an alliance with non-Communists in the most diverse spheres of activity."* It is in this spirit that we have formulated our standpoint that non-Party people, too, can occupy leading positions in the country, with the exception of key posts in the party. The requirements must be the same for all appointed to leading

*V. I. Lenin *On the Significance of Militant Materialism.*

positions, namely, loyalty to socialism, to the People's Republic, sincere participation in socialist construction, ability and qualifications for the job. If, besides Party members, more and more non-Party people have the political and professional qualities needed for the particular job, this should be welcomed, for it is an indication of the Party's growing influence, and harmonizes with the interests of socialism.

If Party membership does not give anyone privileges, this will make for a healthy political atmosphere, for purity of the Party and for close contact between Party and non-Party people. In the socialist community we judge the individual by his work, by his political and social attitude. The same goes for the Communists. We think it right that non-Party working people should respect Communists for their work, and that the party should pay due attention and respect to the non-Party people and develop close contact with them.

In order to cope with the tasks facing the dictatorship of the proletariat it was necessary to promote tens of thousands of workers and peasants to leading positions in the administration, and also in the economic and cultural fields. The great majority of them proved equal to the task, acquiring the necessary professional knowledge and training.

This entailed also a rapid growth of the student body, comprised mainly of workers' and peasants' children, seeing to it that the children of the basic working classes of our society occupied a fitting place among the intelligentsia. To this end, in the early stage of the socialist revolution the student body was differentiated according to category, that is, according to social origin. In order to make good the injustice of the past, preference was given essentially to workers' and peasants' children. The cultural revolution opened the doors of the universities to all who had formerly been deprived of the opportunity of a higher education. Compared with the pre-liberation days the student body has increased about fivefold. What is more, during the proletarian dictatorship more sons and daughters of intellectuals, office employees and petty bourgeoisie have entered university than was the case under capitalism.

Today there is no longer any need for differentiation. The creation of a monolithic socialist society and the socialist educational network not only make it possible, but even imperative that the criterion should be the future student's training, his political and moral attitude. To maintain now the former

social restrictions would be detrimental to socialist construction, to say the least. The young people who want to enter the university nowadays have been brought up under the people's democratic system; they are living in a socialist society. It would, therefore, be absurd and unjust not to give them the opportunity to continue their studies solely because in the past their parents had belonged to the exploiting classes. Socialist society presupposes no discrimination against children because of the former class status of their parents. We must, of course, see to it that in future too the children of workers and peasants should comprise the majority of the intake into the universities and provide the necessary political, material and social conditions for this.

Socialist national unity and democracy are developing in mutual inter-action under our social and political system. The changes that have taken place in the structure of our society serve as the basis for the further development of socialist democracy, for the evolution of our socialist state from the dictatorship of the proletariat into the state of the whole people. The growth of socialist democracy is, needless to say, an essential factor in shaping the socialist national unity. The historical mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat has not yet been fulfilled in our country. Our people's democratic state will carry out this task in the next stage of socialist construction. But already there are taking shape gradually features indicating that the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is evolving into a state of the whole people. Our Party pays special attention to the development of socialist democracy. In keeping with the principles of socialist law all citizens enjoy complete equality of rights. There is no discrimination because of class affiliation or former social status.

IV.

The fact that we were able to lay the foundations of socialism in Hungary is a triumph for the Marxist-Leninist theory, for the socialist ideology. The work done by our Party, the progress made by the Soviet Union, the documents of the meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties, adopted in 1957 and 1960, have enhanced the prestige of Marxism, have added to its power of attraction. As in other countries, the basic trend in the ideological processes in recent years is the spread of Marxism; the greatest impact on the spiritual life of the country has been made by the ideological influence exerted

by the Party. Other factors contributing to the spread of Marxism are the successes achieved in the sphere of constructive endeavor, the free spiritual atmosphere which makes for creative work and discussion, and the trust and unity between the Party and the people.

Under the impact of developments at home and abroad in recent years, and also thanks to the Party's correct policy, people with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois views have drawn closer to us. We now have not a few political allies of this kind, people who for different reasons support our system, the policy of the Party and the government, although they are still influenced by bourgeois or petty-bourgeois views. The policy of the socialist unity of the nation requires that we join forces with these people as well, on all issues on which we agree. This alliance, however, must not signify an ideological compromise. We shall never renounce our conviction that the unity of socialist society must be based on the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. The socialist unity of the nation is essential if socialism is to triumph in our country, it is a vital prerequisite for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism over bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology and psychology, for the triumph of socialism in the minds of the people.

The sectarian formula, not always voiced, but certainly practised, was: those who are not for us are against us. We have reversed this formula: *those who are not against us, are for us*. Today, when honest labor objectively helps socialism, all people who work for the good of socialism are for us, even if they have not yet reached a high level of political consciousness. Our attitude to people is expressed in the motto: we have no desire to throw into the enemy's arms people who are not actively opposed to our system; our aim is to win over even those who are still politically passive and indifferent. But this motto cannot be applied to ideology. Lenin's idea is valid to this day: "... the only choice is either bourgeois or socialist ideology. There is no middle course..."* In the conditions of our country any theory that is not Marxist-Leninist, any ideology that is not socialist in the sense of scientific socialism, objectively, that is, irrespective of the subjective intentions of its bearers, runs counter to our world outlook, is inimical to our ideology, and must, therefore, be combated. There is no such thing as harmless anti-Marxist views, or harmless bourgeois or petty-bour-

geois ideologies that can be accepted by socialism. We show *political* tolerance towards people who, though they hold different views, march in step with us; but there can be no question of *ideological* tolerance with regard to anti-Marxist theories. On this score we must be consistent and firm. The consolidation of our political alliance, the socialist unity of the nation requires this. To ignore ideological and theoretical differences, to minimize the contradictions between Marxist ideology on the one hand, and bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, on the other, can only prejudice faith in Communist policy and, consequently, in national unity.

Even people who formerly entertained petty-bourgeois utopian ideas about socialism, who called themselves socialists but rejected Marxism and the class struggle now say "yes" to our socialist achievements, or to some of them. We sincerely cooperate with them in the national front when deciding political issues on which they see eye to eye with the Communists. True, there are people who still defend, still try to adapt to the new conditions the erroneous theories, petty-bourgeois nationalist illusions about socialism that have been repudiated by history. We cannot accept such theories. Our dialogue with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois views is not on abstract problems; it has a direct bearing on our concept of the present and the future. If it is true to say with regard to the path traversed, that the victory of socialism could have been achieved only on the ideological basis of Marxism, and that our achievements are proof of the vitality of scientific socialism and of the bankruptcy of the various anti-Marxist, nationalistic and petty-bourgeois utopian theories, this is all the more true of the present and the future. We shall complete the building of socialism and before long embark on the building of communism. For this, a sound theory, the Marxist outlook and socialist consciousness are needed, more so than ever before.

* * *

The policy of the socialist unity of the nation is new in the sense that it reflects the changes that have taken place in the country in the process of laying the foundations of socialism. But this new is, in fact, a continuation of the old policy which, in its time, called for anti-fascist unity, engendered the idea of the people's front and gave effect to it, the policy which rallied all who were eager to help rehabilitate the country, and created a broad alliance of classes to safe-

*V. I. Lenin. *What Is to Be Done?*

guard the democratic reconstruction and carry out the socialist revolution the underlying principle of which had always been, even before the socialist reconstruction of agriculture, the worker-peasant alliance. Such

was the policy of socialist unity in the past. Its future outlook is the communist society in which the distinctions between social classes will gradually be effaced and the international unity of the peoples achieved.

The Dialectics of Politics

Guenter Heyden, Alfred Kosing

THE social dynamics of the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism are bringing the peoples more and more into the political arena. And indeed, in view of the danger of thermonuclear war it can be said that *the fate of civilization now depends on the extent to which the people unite for political struggle against imperialism and militarism, against nuclear war, for general and complete disarmament and world peace.*

The dialectics of the transition from the last antagonistic class society to a true union of man under socialism and communism has its specific features in the objective reality of social development. This dialectics is the basis of the activities of the Communist and Workers' parties.

Dialectics Is the "Soul" of Scientific Policy

The policies of the Communist parties are permeated with and guided by the basic laws of Marxist-Leninist theory. The "soul" of their political activity is materialist dialectics, the creative application of which to the concrete situations is basic to formulating a correct policy and carrying it out. The dialectical method enables the parties to steer the right course to the goal in accordance with the general political line and at the same time, without losing sight of the goal, to vary the methods, means and forms of political struggle depending on the often rapidly changing situation. Experience has shown that it is not enough correctly to define the objective. The Party must also be able to chart the path leading to it and to solve the particular problems that arise on the way. *This requires consummate flexibility of thinking and action—flexibility that can be achieved only by consistent application of the dialectical method. It is a matter both of knowledge and of proficiency in the art of political leadership on the part of the socialist countries and the Communist parties.*

The dialectical method enables the Communist and Workers' parties creatively to assess in each situation the *objective* prerequisites of revolutionary policy, and by so doing avoid dogmatic, subjectivist and voluntarist attitudes.

The dialectical method focuses the attention of the parties primarily on the objective laws of social development, the experience of the masses, and the link between the day-to-day political problems and the perspectives of the struggle. For example, the recent Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany demonstrated, on the basis of a thorough analysis of the balance of forces in the international arena and the lessons to be drawn from the struggle between socialism and imperialism, the significance of the Declaration and Statement of the conferences of representatives of the fraternal parties held in 1957 and 1960; these documents, it will be recalled, emphasized that the struggle for peaceful coexistence is the principal task of all the Communist and Workers' parties and an essential condition for the further advance of socialism and communism.

Dialectics provides the key to the root causes of social phenomena, the motive forces of the social organisms and the contradictions of the life of society. This is of particular significance during the transition from capitalism to socialism both on the national and the world scale, for the antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions manifested in this period react on one another and, as a result, undergo modification. To analyze the contradictions of contemporary social development they should be approached concretely—a task which is by no means simple since the general dialectical laws of social development find specific reflection in the particular countries and also in the relations between the two world systems.

The dialectical method calls for careful analysis and assessment of the actual life of

society, of everything new emerging in it. The strength of the Communist and Workers' parties, the achievements of the Soviet Union in building communism and the successful building of socialism in the People's Democracies are the fruit of our knowledge and utilization of the objective laws of social development, revealed with the aid of materialist dialectics.

The dialectical method, the point of departure of which is the objective reality, implies a *scientific approach* to this reality; it implies a conscious investigation of the facts, a method of shaping policy. Defining the various elements of dialectics which in the aggregate constitute the dialectical method, Lenin laid emphasis on objective examination. "... Objectivity of consideration (not examples, not divergences, but the Thing-in-itself)," is how Lenin described the fundamental point of departure.*

Concreteness Is the Basic Principle of Politics

A feature of the dialectical method in political science is the link it presupposes between concrete analysis of the objective situation and the conscious revolutionary activity of people, the working class and its party, the link between the subjective and the objective aspects of the struggle.

The Communists always stress that politics have their own objective logic. But since they do not bow to spontaneity, they have always gone further and exerted every effort to release the initiative and revolutionary energy of the masses, to unite them around the working class, the main social force of our time, so that the power of the objective logic of politics and the conscious activity of the masses should be linked to the struggle for social progress. *Implicit in the dialectical method as applied to politics is the combining of objectivity and revolutionary consciousness in the activities of the Communist and Workers' parties.*

Dialectics as a method capable of revealing the objective phenomena, processes and trends in the political life of society enables the Marxist-Leninist parties to see ahead, to envisage the general trend of things. This foresight is grounded in precise assessment of social development, which, on the whole, is a logical process (and in this sense capable of repeating itself) but which, because of the rapidly changing conditions, is transient and non-repetitive in its particular aspects. Knowledge of the laws of social development makes

it possible to ascertain the general lines of the development, the trends, the role and the likely attitude of the salient social forces. And this is decisive in elaborating the correct strategy and tactics.

But this by itself is not enough. Knowledge of the general dialectical laws cannot take the place of examination of concrete situations, just as a general definition of the essence of imperialism does not enable one to say with certainty what should be the exact methods and means of the struggle against imperialism in a given situation, or in a particular country. In his *Letters on Tactics* Lenin said: "Marxism demands of us the most precise, objectively verifiable assessment of the correlation of the classes and the concrete features of each moment in history. We Bolsheviks have always sought to live up to this requirement, which is strictly obligatory from the standpoint of scientific substantiation of policy."

The general methodological principles of materialist dialectics provide a scientific basis for examining the concrete processes and stimuli of social development, provide a guide to political action. He who simply repeats general formulas—that history has ordained that capitalism will be followed by socialism, that the masses will overthrow imperialist rule—and who ignores the conditions in which the transition from capitalism to socialism takes place, he who fails to take cognizance of how, when, by what methods, in what circumstances and with what social allies the masses wage their struggle against capitalism, he who does this engages in abstractions in the worst sense of the word. At best he will see the aim but will lack the means to achieve it; not knowing how to reach the goal, he will run the risk of committing grave tactical blunders and, perhaps, fall into the trap of voluntarism. Ignoring the movement as it really is, he will not see that the conditions of the struggle are constantly changing, and that because of this the methods and the tactics, too, must be changed.

With such an abstract premise as the point of departure, it would be impossible concretely to delineate a single effective step. Revolutionary political practice would be supplanted by general declarations divorced from life. And from this follows the danger of the dialectical method being abandoned for an arbitrary concentration on particular aspects, in other words, sheer sophistry. In political activity this could give rise to subjectivist errors capable of seriously damaging the cause of socialism.

*V. I. Lenin. *Philosophical Notebooks*.

The Dialectics of the Struggle Against Imperialism

The new factors that have emerged at the present stage of the transition from capitalism to socialism cannot be dismissed out of hand; it would be a mistake to ignore them and to insist that the conditions of the anti-imperialist struggle have not changed.

We German Communists know full well that the essence of imperialism is the same as it always was. Imperialism remains a reactionary, aggressive force seeking to crush every progressive movement be it national, democratic or progressive. This is a fact recognized by every Communist and evident in the day-to-day class struggle. So long as imperialism exists the danger of aggressive wars will always be present. On this score we German Communists have no illusions, engaged as we are in an unceasing struggle against revenge-seeking West German imperialism. The socialist states, clearly, must watch the imperialist intrigues with the utmost vigilance and build up their defensive capability.

But are these the only points to be borne in mind in examining modern society? Should we not pay attention to such new facts as the full-scale building of communism in the Soviet Union, the consolidation of socialism in the People's Democracies, the existence of the powerful socialist world system, and the struggle waged by the national-liberation movements against the colonial system? Does materialist dialectics in any circumstances imply taking only one aspect of a situation and basing one's conclusions on it? Unlike metaphysics and sophistry, dialectics presupposes a comprehensive analysis, a precise assessment of all aspects and processes.

Above all it should be remembered that in our time the working-class struggle against the capitalists also has its new forms; today not only the bourgeoisie but the proletariat, too, is a class organized in states. Consequently, the relations between the capitalist and socialist countries are relations between classes organized as states. These relations, which do not fit into the old patterns, seek adequate expression in the peaceful coexistence of the two social systems. Peaceful coexistence, then, is not the antipode of the proletarian class struggle in the capitalist countries, it signifies the extension of the class struggle by the victorious proletariat of the socialist countries in full conformity with the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the sphere of inter-state relations.

Imperialism, whose aggressive essence was revealed by Lenin, has remained unaltered. But fundamental changes have taken place: *first*, the march of world history is determined less and less by imperialism, socialism is now the decisive factor of social development; *second*, modern science and technology have produced thermonuclear weapons capable of destroying hundreds of millions of lives.

World War Must Not Be an Instrument of Policy

On the basis of a comprehensive analysis of the present situation, the Communist and Workers' parties declared in their joint statement of 1960 that socialism is now in a position to prevent imperialism from unleashing a nuclear world war. *Socialism is strong enough to defeat imperialism in the conditions of peaceful coexistence. It does not need war to achieve its aims. The decisive weapon of every new social system is its superiority over the old in the economic and political spheres and as regards living standards and intellectual achievement.*

The fact that the imperialist ultras are feverishly preparing for world war merely shows that, with the emergence of the new balance of forces, they can no longer determine the political climate. Today the only sane policy is the policy of peaceful coexistence, the main instrument of the policy of the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' parties. To doubt the possibility of the anti-imperialist forces preventing a nuclear world war, or, even more so, to think that such a war could accelerate social progress, is to ignore the new Marxist-Leninist assessments of the basic social processes of our time; to do so would be tantamount to a lack of faith in the revolutionary energy of the masses, lack of faith in the strength of the socialist world system and the peace movement.

Nuclear war cannot accelerate the march of history. Still less can it help man to leap to socialism without prolonged struggle, by-passing antecedent stages. There is not the slightest doubt that nuclear war would hurl humanity back perhaps for centuries; it would but delay the advent of socialism and make it more difficult to achieve. Communists reject the idea of raising the edifice of socialism from the ashes of a nuclear war.

If war — nuclear world war — is to be excluded from the life of society as an instrument of policy, it goes without saying that negotiation should be the sole means of resolving issues between states and between

the two world systems. Yet formal acceptance of the principle of peaceful coexistence is not enough; it must be implemented in practice, i.e., outstanding international issues should be solved through negotiation, not by means of force. But negotiations imply compromise, not compromise in the abstract but give-and-take depending on the situation, primarily on the balance of forces, but also, and to no small extent, on political skill. Needless to say, the policy of peaceful coexistence means consistent work to open the eyes of the masses to the reactionary and aggressive essence of imperialism. *But words alone will hardly make an impression on the imperialists. Peace and peaceful coexistence depend primarily on effective practical measures.*

This was clearly demonstrated during the Cuban crisis. The considered and courageous steps taken by the Soviet government saved world peace. The Soviet Union's flexible policy — a policy which did not rule out compromise — forestalled the armed invasion of Cuba, created a measure of certainty that new armed attacks would not be made, and thereby helped to safeguard the independence of socialist Cuba without plunging the world into a thermonuclear war. One has only to visualize the outcome of an inflexible, dogmatic policy during the Caribbean crisis to realize how utterly absurd is the claim that the compromise was a defeat for socialism, a surrender to imperialism.

Tactical flexibility will always be essential in the fight against imperialism. When the dialectical method is creatively applied, it will be seen that any set of circumstances is bound to contain new elements which no longer correspond to the old ideas; clearly, then, a principled policy must allow for rapid change of the concrete forms of the struggle, since inflexible tactics would be fraught with the danger of blunders. Only by pursuing a policy of this kind will the Communist parties be applying Marxism not as a dogma but as a guide to action. Just as Lenin in his time rendered an inestimable service to the international working-class movement by thoroughly analyzing and theoretically evaluating the new developments of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution, thereby providing the working class with a reliable guide in its revolutionary struggle, so today it is the supreme duty of the Communist and Workers' parties not to confine themselves to repeating ready made postulates but to examine the new features of our time in the Leninist spirit and thus

draw the proper conclusions for political action. *Loyalty to Leninism implies more than citing Lenin's theses on, say, imperialism and war. Above all it implies creative development of Marxism-Leninism in conformity with the new conditions of the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism.*

Dialectics and Devotion to Principle

In regard to the ways and means of resolving the national question in Germany, the Socialist Unity Party has drawn important conclusions from recent world developments. The program adopted at the Sixth Congress proceeds from the *prolonged* existence side by side of the two German states. The basic premise is that by virtue of the dialectics of our time West Germany, too, will change from capitalism to socialism. But since we know from experience that in the conditions of state-monopoly capitalism in West Germany the working class cannot become the leading political force overnight, the Program focuses attention on immediate measures to ensure peace in Germany.

Our Party holds that while combating West German imperialism and militarism everything must be done to implement a policy of peaceful coexistence between the two Germanys, to work persistently for a peace treaty and in this way resolve the question of West Berlin. But here, too, the political scene is in a state of flux, necessitating a creative approach which rules out ready made patterns and inflexible solutions. In the interests of peace and peaceful coexistence the Program calls for negotiations to bring about confederation of the two Germanys as an initial step towards national unity. At the same time it takes due cognizance of the fact that both sides will have to enter into compromises, corresponding to the actual state of affairs and serving the cause of peace and social progress. *A principled attitude to the aims of the struggle presupposes the greatest tactical flexibility, and conversely, the tactical flexibility presupposes loyalty to principle.*

It is dialectics and not metaphysics that makes it possible clearly to define the point where devotion to principle ends and diehard dogmatism begins, and where flexibility becomes revisionist opportunism. Only if concrete social trends and events, such as the struggle for the peaceful coexistence of the two German states, are examined conjointly with the general laws and perspectives of social development, will it be possible scientifically to assess the political facts and to give sound political leadership to the masses.

The creative nature of the dialectical method and the policy of the Communist and Workers' parties accord with the spirit of science with its incessant quest for knowledge, the striving to delve deeper into the truth, to chart the still unexplored paths of social progress in the historical and national conditions of one or another country, the search for the best ways and means of releasing the energies of the people in all spheres of public life. *Materialist dialectics and socialist policy, being intrinsically concrete, critical and revolutionary, are incompatible with dogmatism and sectarianism, pragmatism and revisionism.*

Dialectics as Creative Practice

Lenin stressed time and again that the basic question in dialectics is investigation of concrete situations. This implies that the dialectical method should be employed creatively. Precisely because materialist dialectics is universal in scope, embracing all spheres of material existence and intellectual life, it cannot be applied mechanically, without taking into account the quantitative and qualitative distinguishing features of the social scene in each country. The formal invoking of dialectics is useless. For the general exists only in the particular. Hence the operation of the general dialectical laws must be traced in each phenomenon and in each concrete process, and only when this has been done can the concrete political conclusions be drawn and the corresponding tactics worked out.

The historical and national conditions differ in each country. This rules out any stereotyped application of general laws, any mechanical copying of the road to socialism in one country or any arbitrary implantation of methods that have justified themselves in other countries. The West German sociologist Helmut Schelsky merely betrays his dogmatic notion of Marxist social science when he claims that the German Democratic Republic is "only approaching the problems that are already becoming outworn in the Soviet Union."*

The Socialist Unity Party seeks to build the economy and the entire edifice of socialism in the German Democratic Republic so as to accomplish the maximum that can be done in an industrially developed socialist country to further the progress of the socialist world system, to support the working class and the other democratic and peace-loving forces in West Germany, the international

working class and the national-liberation movement, and to raise living standards at home. We German Marxists realize full well that success in building the GDR depends to a great extent on the ability of our Party creatively to apply materialist dialectics to our complex conditions, in which the struggle for socialism is intertwined with solution of the German national question.

The Concept of Socialism

The analysis contained in the Program of the new conditions of socialist development in the GDR is noteworthy for its fuller definition of socialism.

What were the basic conditions which necessitated a more precise definition of the content and features of socialism as applied, for instance, to our country?

The new scientific, technological and socio-economic picture in the GDR should be noted first of all. Since the establishment of the democratic republic in 1949 its population has by dint of hard work unburdened itself of the onerous legacy of Nazism and registered considerable achievements in all spheres of public life. Whereas the whole German Reich generated 49,000 million kilowatt-hours of electric power in 1937, the GDR, though much smaller as regards both territory and population, now generates more than 42,000 million. In a few years the industrial output of the GDR will equal that of the whole of Germany for 1937, with the exception of some branches of the mining industry for which the resources are lacking on its territory. But today, when the economic competition acquires greater importance in the struggle against imperialism, even this production level is not enough to meet the growing requirements of socialist society and consistently to implement the socialist principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

The opportunities for employing science in industry and all other spheres of public endeavor are now far greater than they were in the Soviet Union before the Second World War. Whereas the Soviet Union had to build its socialist economy on the foundation of a structure of productive forces evolved by and taken over from capitalism, the present technological revolution makes it possible radically to reconstruct this structure, to create a material and technological base and a structure of productive forces corresponding to the requirements of socialism and communism through automation, mechanization and chemical processes, nuclear energy and

*Helmut Schelsky, *Ortsbestimmung der deutscher Soziologie*, Duesseldorf-Cologne, 1959, pp. 47-48.

cybernetic techniques. The achievements of science and technology, then, are the groundwork on which the economy of the GDR will be built. As the Sixth Congress of the Party pointed out, socialist production relations predominate, and now the key issue in building socialism in the GDR is accelerated development of the productive forces. With social science, cybernetics and mathematical methods providing incomparably greater opportunities for precise quantitative and qualitative assessment and guidance of the social processes, new conditions have emerged for the conscious direction of development by the Party, in particular in the sphere of economic planning. Proper use of these conditions is of decisive significance for the complete triumph of socialism in the GDR.

The new tasks will take time. And much effort will be needed to set the pace in developing the productive forces and raising the productivity of labor which will ensure victory in the economic competition with capitalism, secure the triumph of the principle of peaceful coexistence, and prove once and for all that socialism means a well-to-do life for all.

But it is not only the internal conditions that should be taken into account. The German Democratic Republic is part of the socialist world system; it is not a lone socialist country surrounded by capitalism as the Soviet Union was in 1936. Today capitalist encirclement is a thing of the past. No longer is there any possibility of capitalism being restored in the socialist countries, either by action from without or from within. Socialism has grown into a world system, and is increasingly becoming the decisive factor in world history. The strength of capitalism is being eroded by its general crisis, whereas the world balance has decisively shifted in favor of socialism.

In conformity with the international character of the socialist relations of production and socialist productive forces, it is natural that the economy of the GDR should be gradually integrated into the socialist world economic system. The forms of cooperation worked out in the Council for Mutual Economic Aid correspond to the objective economic laws of socialism and the conditions in the member-countries. This ensures a high standard in science and technology in all socialist countries and enables each country to give priority to the branches of the economy it is best able to develop. The GDR will take part in this socialist cooperation and division of labor. The GDR enjoys advantages which in 1936 the Soviet Union, then the only socialist

country, did not possess. The USSR had to rely on its own efforts in building the socialist economy; moreover, the scientific and technological groundwork on which it had to be built was a far cry from what it is today. Now the socialist countries, advancing thanks to mutual aid and support at a far more rapid pace, can ensure the material and cultural well-being of their people.

The new conditions which have appeared in the present stage of the transition from capitalism to socialism should be included in the definition of socialism. They show once again that the definition current at the time of the Stalin cult was far too narrow, being restricted only to the character of the new production relations, while the level of the productive forces, the material and cultural standards of the working people, their moral and political awareness, etc., were disregarded. This was a serious distortion of the views of Marx, Engels and Lenin, which now enjoys due recognition and are being further developed in the light of the new conditions.

According to Marx, Engels and Lenin, socialism is more than a social system in which the working class allied with the peasantry wields political power and in which the socialist relations of production have triumphed, exploitation has been abolished and industrialization effected. Socialism is not a static society; it advances steadily as the productive forces develop and all aspects of social life forge ahead. The yardstick of the achievements of socialism is high productivity of labor, for it is this that in the final analysis is the decisive measure of the superiority of the new social system over the old. As Lenin said, "productivity of labor is the most important, the principal thing for the victory of the new social system."*

Consequently, socialism, even though its laws and features are the same in all countries, is marked also by specific features depending on the national and economic distinctions between the countries in which it is being built. In the GDR socialism must correspond to the conditions of a country where production and labor productivity have reached a high level, where the well-being of the people has substantially improved, where socialist relationships between people have crystallized and the new man of the socialist society is emerging, a country which in the eyes of the whole world is the embodiment of the new Germany.

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

Socialism and the German Nation

In discussing the GDR a number of specific circumstances connected with the national question should be borne in mind. The GDR is one of two German states. The old forces of aggressive monopoly capital are still in power in West Germany. Following the severance of this part of the country, these forces set up a separate state of their own, thereby jeopardizing the very existence of the nation. With the building of socialism in the GDR, however, a new form of working-class struggle to save the nation from imperialism has come to the fore: the struggle between socialism and imperialism, competition between the two social systems in Germany. Today there is not a single area of public life which is not affected by this competition. Even though the GDR, irrespective of how things develop in the West, will complete the building of socialism and then pass on to communism, the situation in West Germany and the balance between socialism and imperialism in Germany generally will, nevertheless, directly affect the development of the GDR in many ways.

The GDR has set itself the aim of overtaking the industrially highly-developed West Germany in the decisive sphere of material production — productivity of labor. The achievement of this goal will help to put an end to the cold war and promote peaceful coexistence between the two German states, thereby paving the way to reunification.

The fact that so far productivity of labor is higher in West Germany than in the GDR is used for all it is worth by the West German ultras in their drive against the GDR, against the socialist world system and against the democratic and socialist forces in West Ger-

many itself. The long postwar boom has engendered illusions as regards the nature of the West German state and its policy among considerable sections of the West German population, including the working class. But the economic progress made in the GDR is dealing smashing blows at anti-communism—the main content of all forms of imperialist ideology and policy in West Germany. The more obvious the superiority of the GDR becomes in the economic sphere, the greater the impetus to the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism in West Germany the sooner will it be possible to curb and defeat West German imperialism and militarism and to implement the policy of peaceful coexistence between the two Germanys. The force of the socialist example in the GDR is an important factor in the struggle to solve the German national question.

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The dialectical approach of the Socialist Unity Party to the concrete conditions in which socialism is developing in the GDR has, then, brought out many new phenomena requiring scientific examination. By means of theoretical elucidation of these questions the Communists are overcoming the simplified notions and distortions of the time of the personality cult, such as the view that politics are not subject to the basic laws of Marxist dialectics, and the schematic, stereotyped practice of drawing concrete political conclusions directly from the general laws of dialectics. The activities of all the Marxist-Leninist parties confirm that the *creative application of dialectics to politics is one of the main conditions of the struggle for peaceful coexistence and for the victory of socialism.*

Modern Armaments and Problems of Strategy

General A. Nevsky
Military Commentator

FAR-REACHING changes have taken place in armaments in our time. Indeed, one may well speak of a revolution in weaponry—a revolution which rates high among the factors bearing upon the perspectives of peace and the destiny of militarism.

This military-technological revolution has driven militarist thinking into an impasse. No longer are the war theoreticians able to contrive a strategy offering imperialism even the semblance of a guarantee against defeat in the event of war. Yet the efforts in this direction are being continued, as can be seen from the discussion of questions of strategy in the Western press.

Moreover, there still are some U.S. military and monopoly spokesmen who have not given up the cry for preventive war against the socialist countries—the “Neanderthals,” as they are called even in the USA. “We have no choice but to adopt a Catonic strategy,” aver such members of the ultra-aggressive set as Robert Strausz-Hupé, William R. Kintner and Stefan T. Possony in the book *A Forward Strategy for America*.

The Roman consul whose name they invoke coined the cry: “Carthage must be destroyed!” Today U.S. Senator Barry Goldwater calls for “total victory” over communism, while his supporters in the U.S. Air Force Association declare the “complete eradication of the Soviet system” to be the national goal of the United States. The “Neanderthals” clamor for preventive war, and not so long ago the President himself spoke about “nuclear initiative.”

To call for a first strike is tantamount to a call to commit suicide. According to the estimates of U.S. Atomic Energy Commission experts, nuclear bombs totalling 7,500 megatons would be enough completely to destroy the United States. Linus Pauling puts the total stockpile at 250,000 megatons, of which, he points out, no small part is in the Soviet Union.

These estimates, rough though they are, give a far from rough idea of what would

await the imperialist aggressor in the event of his starting a nuclear war.

The justification for advocating preventive war is that a military collision between the two socio-economic systems is inevitable. And this being so, the “Neanderthals” reason, better to start it and reap the advantages accruing from the first blow.

The Communists hold that the two systems can coexist, and that the question of which is the better system should be decided not on the battlefield but through economic competition.

Soviet military men are willing to change their uniforms for civvies if the Soviet proposals for general and complete disarmament are carried out. They have no private interests running counter to the peace policy pursued by the Soviet Government. On the contrary, we military men are well aware that disarmament is imperative to safeguard the interests of all. Were modern weapons to be put to use, they would spare neither belligerents nor bystanders.

The enormous stockpiles of nuclear weapons and of the means of delivering them have not only upset all previous concepts of warfare, they have made the very possibility of waging war problematic. The two camps have enough nuclear bombs and warheads as well as means of delivery to wipe out all life on earth. One involuntarily recalls Lenin’s words: “The time will come when war will become so destructive as to be utterly impossible.”*

The U.S. imperialists at one time counted mainly on nuclear weapons in their drive for world domination. In recent years, however, owing to the changed balance of forces between socialism and capitalism, more and more U.S. and West European imperialists have come to realize that the nuclear war they have been preparing for nearly 18 years bodes nothing but their own destruction.

This prospect, hardly encouraging for the imperialists, casts doubt on the effectiveness of nuclear war as an instrument of rational

*N. Krupskaya, *Lenin*.

policy, i.e., a policy corresponding to the interests of imperialism.

Western spokesmen prefer to turn a blind eye to this strategic impasse. The militarists are reluctant to admit that they are in a blind alley, for the simple reason that to do so would be tantamount to conceding the need for a more realistic policy aimed at a détente, at banning both testing and use of nuclear weapons, and disarmament.

Yet this would be the most rational course since it would be in accord with the spirit of the times, with the march of socio-economic, scientific and technological progress. People everywhere would welcome it. But so far the militarists have shown no intention of taking this, the only correct path.

Instead, they are searching for solutions to their military-political problems that would prop up the capitalist system and enable them to achieve their expansionist aims. No wonder then that in recent years the West has seen a spate of books and articles on foreign policy, on military strategy and warfare. The authors include scientists and military men, political leaders and huckster politicians. Men in government office, too, discuss the same problems.

Even a cursory acquaintance with some of these books and articles shows that they are concerned with one and the same problem: how to escape from the impasse and overcome the crisis of military policy and strategy.

Another, and no less important object of these effusions is to befuddle the man in the street, to overwhelm him with "proof" that the devil is not as black as he is painted, that nuclear war is both justified and inevitable. The American Herman Kahn, for instance, writes in his *Thinking About the Unthinkable* that although "the image of total mutual homicide as a possible consequence of a war may become reasonable in the near future — say the mid- or late sixties," the prospect still is that "relatively normal and happy lives would not be impossible even under the harsh conditions that might prevail after a nuclear war." It might be mentioned that Kahn makes his optimistic prognostications contingent upon the scale of the atomic strikes, and to these, as we know, there are no limits.

An equally irresponsible concept is advanced by Alexander Seversky, who claims in his *America: Too Young to Die!* that the losses caused by nuclear war can easily be kept within tolerable limits.

The impasse of militarist strategy cannot be attributed to the mistakes of individuals. It is the result of progress in science and technology in general and in the military sphere in particular, and of the changed balance of forces in the international arena. It is the result of the operation of objective laws which the imperialist aggressors are unable to alter as they would wish.

ALTHOUGH the strategic impasse could be foreseen when nuclear weapons first appeared, it became patent with the emergence of the absolute weapon of our time — the strategic missile.

When the Soviet Union made its nuclear bomb the U.S. atomic monopoly came to an end and the militarists could no longer engage in nuclear blackmail. This happened in the late forties. It was then that the U.S. military policy makers and theoreticians set to work in a frenzy, producing a succession of ultra-aggressive views and concepts ranging all the way to an open call for preventive war against the USSR and the other socialist countries. By the end of 1953 the so-called "massive retaliation" strategy had crystallized as the most brazen expression of the positions of strength policy which the U.S. imperialists adopted with regard to the Soviet Union.

The essence of this strategy was that in the event of a military conflict with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries the United States would threaten an all-out war with massive use of nuclear weapons. Limited war was not envisaged. The stakes were on nuclear world war in which the militarists thought the Soviet Union would be at a disadvantage as regards nuclear capability and mainly strategic means of delivery.

The concept was a colossal gamble ignoring the real world balance and underestimating the economic, technical and military strength of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. The fallacy of the concept was recognized even in the higher echelons of the U.S. army, in particular by the former Army Chiefs of Staff, Generals Ridgway and Taylor, both of whom had to retire because of their opposition to this strategy and their sharp collisions with its supporters in the Air Force and the Navy who were backed by President Eisenhower.

While in retirement, Taylor continued to criticize the Eisenhower Administration's strategy, not because he was a man of peace but because he took a more realistic view of the situation and saw the need for a strategy which would better serve the imperialist

aims of the USA. Taylor pointed out that in a "situation of nuclear parity, where both sides had the capability of destroying one another, there was no place for a policy of massive nuclear retaliation," and that this strategy had "ceased to be effective." The successful testing of the Soviet intercontinental ballistic missile in August 1957 and the launching of the first sputnik in October of the same year dealt the death blow to the "massive retaliation" strategy.

The breakthrough in Soviet science and technology opened a new era in building the defensive capability of our country and the other countries of the socialist community.

Ever since then the center of the scene has been held by ICBM's and other new weapons with practically unlimited combat capabilities. With the appearance of these weapons, distance, which formerly made the USA relatively invulnerable, lost its significance. As the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee pointed out in one of its reports, "the military position of the United States has declined in the short span of 15 years from one of unchallenged security to that of a nation both open and vulnerable to direct and devastating attack."

The shift in the balance of strategic weaponry in favor of the Soviet Union toppled the "massive retaliation" strategy. As a result, militarist theory and strategy have been in the throes of a crisis ever since the second half of 1957.

In the period 1957-62 the USA and other Western countries investigated the reasons for the failure of the retaliation strategy; the changes in the world balance and the possible consequences of these changes were reassessed in the light of the rapid development of weaponry, and the quest was started for a new strategy measuring up to the needs of the U.S. aggressors in the changed situation.

Numerous reports, books and articles examining military-political and strategic problems appeared. The Senate Foreign Affairs Committee issued a report "Developments in Military Technology and Their Impact on U.S. Strategy and Foreign Policy." On the book market appeared *Limited War* by Robert E. Osgood, *Strategy in the Missile Age* by Bernard Brodie, *The Uncertain Trumpet* by M. Taylor, *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy* and *The Necessity for Choice* by Henry Kissinger, *The Economics of Defense in the Nuclear Age* by Charles J. Hitch and Rolland N. McKean, *On Thermonuclear War*, and *Thinking About the Unthinkable* by H. Kahn, *The Legacy of Hiroshima* by E. Teller, 100

Million Lives, Maximum Survival in a Nuclear War by Richard Fryklung, the symposium *Limited Strategic War*, etc. There has been a spate of books of this kind in Britain, France and Federal Germany as well.

It would be impossible to go into everything said in these books, nor is there any need to do so. Suffice it to note that most of the authors agree that in view of the approximate parity in strategic nuclear weapons and missiles an alternative must be found to all-out nuclear war. Such a war, they point out, can lead to mutual annihilation. Therefore, as Kissinger stresses, Western and primarily U.S. military strategy should provide for a choice somewhere between humiliation and all-out nuclear war. President Kennedy was repeating his adviser's idea when he said: "Now, while we rely on our nuclear weapons, we also, as I have said, want to have a choice between humiliation and a holocaust."

As an alternative to general nuclear world war the idea was advanced of waging limited wars against the socialist countries.

By the time the Kennedy Administration took over, the new strategy had been delineated in the main. The essence of this strategy of "flexible response" was explicitly formulated by General Taylor, whom Kennedy recalled for active service, appointing him presidential military adviser in 1961 and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in 1962.

Unlike its predecessor, the new strategy envisages the possibility of waging not only general nuclear war against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, but also limited wars without nuclear weapons, or using only the tactical variants.

The U.S. military program worked out in 1961-62 in accordance with this new strategy places emphasis on expanding the conventional forces besides accelerating strategic missile and space development. Moreover, the U.S. Administration aims at stepping up the conventional build-up mainly at the expense of the European NATO countries, while retaining its monopoly of the strategic means of warfare.

The adopting of the "flexible response" strategy signified a retreat of the U.S. leaders from the previous position of general nuclear war in the direction of the so-called "limited wars."

IT WOULD be a mistake, however, to assume that the militarists are abandoning the idea of world nuclear war. On the contrary, the "flexible response" strategy is geared to nuclear warfare. On June 16 last

year U.S. Secretary of Defense McNamara outlined the substance of the so-called "counter-force" ("spare the cities") strategy. "The United States," he said, "has come to the conclusion that to the extent feasible, basic military strategy in a possible general nuclear war should be approached in much the same way that more conventional military operations have been regarded in the past. That is to say, principal military objectives, in the event of a nuclear war . . . should be the destruction of the enemy's military forces, not of his civilian population."

The U.S. press reports that this line has been approved by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the White House, and interprets it as a proposal to the Soviet Union to work out a "code" of nuclear warfare. McNamara returned to this theme in February this year.

Addressing the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace on July 10, 1962, N. S. Khrushchov commented that this outrageous proposal was utterly misanthropic inasmuch as it sought to legalize nuclear war and, consequently, the destruction of millions of lives.

The "counter-force" strategy is untenable from the purely military standpoint as well. *I. F. Stone's Weekly* has described it as an attempt to tame the H-bomb so that it should not attack people. Many Western experts hold that for this strategy to be realistic and effective at least the following conditions would have to be observed: all countries would have to be persuaded to adhere to the McNamara "code," i.e., to strike only at military targets and not at cities—a method many Western experts consider impracticable since most military targets are situated in cities and populated areas, as Arthur I. Waskow, for example, shows in his book *The Limits of Defense*;

—all military objectives would have to be removed from cities in the United States and in Europe, which would be a costly undertaking; this, too, many experts regard as being unrealistic, adding that if the USA and its allies were to start anything of this kind, the USSR would take it as a sign that the USA was preparing to attack;

—a huge public shelter program would have to be undertaken, whereas the value of shelters in any new war is highly questionable;

—the target areas would have to be pinpointed in advance, and this is considered a rather complicated thing to do. According to admissions made by the U.S. military, the results obtained by the middle of 1962 in probing out Soviet strategic missile bases

were more than modest; writing in *Foreign Affairs* in July 1962 Kissinger was quite downhearted about this: "Given . . . the vastness of Soviet territory, our knowledge of Soviet launching sites is likely to be fragmentary";

—considerably greater striking power would be needed to make the blow. The militarists are redoubling their efforts toward this end, planning substantially to increase the number of intercontinental and intermediate-range missiles, including submarine-carried missiles, by the end of 1966. Some Western spokesmen believe, however, that this and the preceding conditions only complicate the organization of a missile attack, with the result that the political value of the "counter-force" strategy may wane even faster than its military value since the top brass would find it increasingly difficult to convince the political leaders of the reliability of calculations and plans based on fragmentary intelligence data.

Nor do the Polaris submarines accord with the "counter-force" strategy. According to U.S. military experts, the Polaris missile is not sufficiently accurate to be used against military targets of small dimensions. The experts hold that "their principal use would be the dismal destruction of cities, the reverse of what we hope for."

The more objective of the Western observers, then, are not enthusiastic about the practicability and effectiveness of the "counter-force" strategy. They estimate that even if the percentage of the Soviet Union's strategic strength which the USA might destroy remained constant throughout the sixties (an optimistic assumption indeed) the strength left intact would increase in absolute terms. Hence, they conclude, "the Soviet capability to devastate NATO countries in a counter-blow will inevitably increase."

The danger of the "counter-force" strategy is that it hinges on a preventive war. A concept that envisages victory only through destruction of the armed forces of the adversary clearly has nothing to do with "retaliation"; it is based on preventive action, on the element of surprise. And that is exactly how world public opinion sees the U.S. strategy. For example, the British scientist P. M. S. Blackett points out in his *Studies of War* that "first-counter-force-strike-capability" means, "in plain English, providing the capability for nuclear aggression."

Indeed, what point would there be in trying to demolish the missile sites when the missiles have already been launched, or in attacking airfields and naval bases when the planes

are airborne and the ships, primarily nuclear-powered missile-carrying submarines, are at their combat stations?

The element of surprise has always played a big and sometimes decisive part in war. Now, too, one can hardly overestimate its significance. The immediate prospect, however, is that it is highly questionable whether an adversary can be taken strategically unawares, since the early-warning system can spot the launching of ballistic missiles, including ICBMs and alert the command posts concerned in good time.

The margin for counter-measures would of course be minimal. But although the missiles launched by the imperialist aggressors would be on their way, there would be time to alert the anti-aircraft and missile defense, the strategic arm and the forward troop formations, to send up the bulk of the air force and release a counter salvo of missiles which would head just as unfailingly for the lair of the aggressor.

A closer examination of the "counter-force" strategy shows, then, that it is utterly unrealistic. As even the U.S. military experts can see, it cannot ensure the results expected by the U.S. militarists from a general nuclear war.

AS HAS been said above, the imperialists have advanced, as an alternative to general nuclear war, the concept of limited wars with or without tactical nuclear weapons. Recently there appeared also the concept of a "limited strategic war."

Limited war is defined as an armed conflict in which the belligerents deliberately pursue limited political aims, employ only certain forces and weapons, restrict the theatre of hostilities, the number of troops engaged, etc.

A cursory analysis is enough to reveal the flaws in this concept, flaws which even its proponents admit.

Let us examine some of the factors whose deliberate restriction would, in Western opinion, make a war limited.

It is said, for instance, that neither side should pursue political aims involving a change in the status quo that would warrant extending the scale of hostilities substantially or risking total war. In other words, the aims should be moderate and so restrained as not to bring about radical changes in the situation.

As the military theoreticians see it, in the case of the USA these "moderate" aims are: consolidating U.S. political and strategic supremacy in certain parts of the world or

weakening the positions of the "communist countries" in one or another area; restoring capitalism in a socialist country; suppressing democratic action in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement in the colonies and dependencies.

Western military theoreticians who voice the aggressive intentions of U.S. imperialism also point out that its limited-war aims will not necessarily be restricted by the frontiers and the political conditions existing prior to the outbreak of hostilities.

All the disquisitions on "moderation" are, of course, completely meaningless since it does not extend to the political and military aims of imperialism. The very idea of curbs on these aims runs counter to the nature of imperialism with its striving for world domination.

The U.S. military theoreticians point out—and in this they are probably right—that the most vexing problem of limited war is the use of tactical nuclear weapons. The problem, in their opinion, is complicated by the following considerations.

First, the role of tactical nuclear weapons has been insufficiently studied; it is still mainly a matter of conjecture. It is impossible to foresee the political, military and psychological consequences of their use. The adversary might retaliate with nuclear strikes on the same or a considerably greater scale. Nor can one exclude the possibility of miscalculation letting loose an all-out nuclear war with disastrous consequences for both sides.

It is also questioned whether agreement could be reached between the belligerents as to the demarcation line between tactical and strategic nuclear weapons.

Similarly it is difficult to visualize what means of delivery could be used in limited conflicts and whether they could be based outside the theatre of limited war.

Thus, limiting the use of nuclear weapons is clearly a nebulous proposition. And while advocating extensive use of tactical nuclear weapons, the protagonists of limited war show no desire to give up the strategic offensive nuclear weapons, which, they say, should be kept in combat readiness as a deterrent.

The concept of limited war also presupposes restricting strikes with both conventional and tactical nuclear weapons to strictly specified military targets, sparing population centers and strategic objectives.

This is a pipe-dream. For the fact remains that both in theory and practice it is difficult to distinguish tactical objectives from the strategic, not to speak of the fact that there is

no guarantee that the combatants would consider themselves bound by such a demarcation line even if it were to be found.

An examination of these limitations leaves no doubt that most of them are artificial and hypothetical. Limited war is fraught with the danger of all-out war, especially if tactical nuclear weapons are used. The American theoreticians, too, admit this.

Kissinger, for example, notes that "a limited nuclear war will automatically escalate because the losing side will always invest more resources to restore the situation."

The concept of limited war as it has been put forward to date is, then, highly contradictory and difficult of realization, especially if tactical nuclear weapons are used. Noteworthy in this connection is a statement made by U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defense Gilpatric at a press conference in June 1961: "I, for one, have never believed in a so-called limited nuclear war. I just don't know how you build a limit into it once you start using any kind of a nuclear bang."

Politically, the limited war concept is a gamble devised by the U.S. imperialists with a view to waging war on the territory of others.

It should be noted that the strategy of "flexible response" adopted by the USA has been widely discussed for the past two years in NATO. The debate revealed sharp differences, above all on such issues as a NATO nuclear force, control of nuclear weapons, especially in limited wars, expanding the conventional forces, etc.

Until now the USA, insisting on its monopoly of strategic striking power, has opposed the establishment of national nuclear forces. The political idea behind this is to perpetuate the undivided domination of the USA in the Western bloc and to exert political and military pressure on its allies. This attitude is opposed by some of the West European countries, primarily France.

The so-called "Nassau pact" provides for "multilateral" strategic forces of the Atlantic bloc. As Kennedy put it, this will decide whether the alliance will begin to fall apart or whether it will achieve a high degree of preparedness.

Control over the use of nuclear weapons is a problem no less acute than that of establishing strategic forces for the bloc. The U.S. nuclear monopoly in NATO makes use of the weapon wholly dependent on the American political and military leaders. But America's

European allies do not want the decision to be made for them on the other side of the Atlantic. They all want a share in it.

U.S. insistence that the European NATO countries increase their conventional armed forces also evokes resistance since this would add to the already heavy military spending, besides conflicting with the plans of some countries, primarily France, for their own national strategic strike force.

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Thanks to the progress made by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in all spheres of endeavor, some imperialist circles are beginning to realize not only that the socialist system cannot be destroyed but also that a new world war would inevitably bring about the collapse of capitalism.

The fact that the Soviet Union has its own strategic nuclear and missile weapons is an effective means of holding the imperialist aggressors back from unleashing general nuclear war. But this alone, of course, is not an absolute guarantee against war since there are ultra-reactionary circles in the imperialist camp who are anxious to embark on all kinds of gambles. Besides, war can be sparked off by accident or miscalculation.

The Western militarists are engaged in a search for solutions to their military-political problems that would enable them to achieve their ends without endangering capitalism. As they see it, these ends can best be served by limited war, by means of which the U.S. imperialists hope to shield themselves from retaliatory nuclear blows, to crush the national-liberation movement and create additional economic stimuli netting them maximum profits.

In view of the continued war preparations on the part of the imperialists, the Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union are doing everything to maintain the Soviet defenses at a level with the latest accomplishments in science and technology and to heighten the combat readiness of the Soviet armed forces. The necessary steps are being taken to consolidate our military technological superiority over the imperialist aggressor.

The blind alley in which militarism finds itself is one more indication that it has outlived its time. The struggle waged by the people for peace and disarmament will help to accelerate its demise.

Atlantic Policy and the Spirit of the Time

THE winter of 1963 has truly been a "winter of discontent" for the Atlantic allies. The Western press was almost unanimous in saying that the "free world" had experienced "the worst political crisis since the second world war."

Dissension in the NATO camp reached its peak with the breaking up on French initiative of the Brussels talks on Britain's entry into the European Common Market which had been going on for nearly a year and a half. This action created a *new political situation not only in Western Europe but in the capitalist world as a whole*. It threatens the vast elaborate structure of American diplomacy aimed at establishing a far-reaching military-political alliance that would embrace most countries of Europe and North America. The basis of the alliance was to be U.S. "partnership" with an extended European Common Market in which Britain would play the part of a U.S. Trojan horse.

Lenin in his time envisaged the possibility of some kind of "universal alliance of all imperialist powers." But he stressed that it would grow out of "*one and the same soil of imperialist ties and inter-relation of world economy and world politics*" and certainly would not do away with "friction, conflicts and strife in every shape and form."

The intricate pattern of modern inter-imperialist contradictions fully confirms Lenin's prediction. Never before has the world witnessed such developed forms of cooperation between the capitalist powers as in our time, and at no time since the war has this cooperation been rent by such sharp antagonisms. *The deepening of these contradictions is one of the principal features of the present international situation.*

The ruling circles in the imperialist countries are at one in their desire to halt the advance of socialism. Not infrequently they act together when it comes to stepping up the arms race, crushing the forces of democracy and progress or launching armed intervention against peoples taking the path of revolutionary struggle. But joint actions of this kind, dictated as they are by common class interests, do not remove the contradictions between the imperialists. The struggle between the leading imperialist powers for influence in the capitalist world becomes more intense

with the narrowing of the area of the struggle thanks to the growing might of the socialist system and the disintegration of colonialism.

It is often difficult in international relations to trace the direct connection between one event and another, especially if they are separated by any appreciable distance in time. At first glance it is not easy to discern the connection between the strife in the camp of the Atlantic alliance and the Cuban crisis. Yet there is every ground for saying that the Caribbean events acted as the *catalyst which accelerated the centrifugal forces at work in the Western world.*

The Cuban crisis clearly shows how radically the balance of forces on the world arena has changed in favor of world socialism and the liberation movement of the peoples. At the same time, it served to spotlight the conflicting processes *in the capitalist world*, processes that are changing the balance *between the capitalist states.*

The events in the Caribbean demonstrated not only the growth of the might of the socialist system, its impact on world politics and the determination of the peoples to prevent war. These events were an eye-opener even to the wilder men of the "positions of strength" policy, showing the risks with which thermonuclear war is fraught for themselves. The peoples of Western Europe and the leaders of the NATO allies of the United States realized that one fine day Western Europe might be reduced to a heap of smoking ruins all for the sake of a current military psychosis in the Pentagon.

The "leadership of the Western world," which the United States has assumed with the blessing of the West European leaders, **virtually** brought that world to the brink of a nuclear catastrophe last October. Recognition of that fact was the wedge that widened the discord among the Western allies, primarily in NATO.

The Atlantic bloc was conceived by the United States as an instrument for combining the forces of the Western powers against communism, against the socialist world system. The bloc was nurtured in an atmosphere of international tension, anti-communist hysteria and war psychosis. The slightest relaxation of these factors invariably upsets the precarious balance of Atlantic unity and aggravates the contradictions inherent in the bloc.

This is precisely what happened after the Cuban crisis, when a certain easing of the tension, a slight improvement in the international climate occurred. The Atlantic partners of the United States seized the opportunity to lay claim to a more important role in world affairs, and especially on the European continent.

The Caribbean events, it should be stressed, merely precipitated the inevitable clash between the interests of the United States and its West European allies; it was not the main reason for the clash. A canker has been eating into the system of Western alliances for some time. *The chief reason for this is the changed balance of economic power between Western Europe and the United States in the past decade, the restoration and expansion of the economic strength of Western Europe, formerly an unequal partner and now a powerful competitor of the United States on the capitalist market.*

The economy of the West European countries is developing much faster than that of the United States. Western Europe has overtaken the United States in volume of foreign trade, its gold and currency reserves are far higher than those of the U.S.A. Between 1951 and the end of the third quarter of 1962, for example, the reserves of gold and hard currency in continental Europe rose from \$7,445 million to \$24,420 million, while gold reserves in the United States dropped from \$22,873 million to \$16,532 million. The West European countries are catching up with the United States on a number of important industrial indices as well.

Paradoxically, the United States in its efforts to create an anti-communist bloc in Western Europe under its aegis has contributed more than anyone else to the economic regeneration of the West European countries. It watered the economic soil of capitalist Europe with a generous shower of dollars during the Marshall Plan years. It did everything possible to facilitate the speedy implementation of plans for the economic integration of Western Europe and gave its moral backing to the signatories of the Rome Treaty. However, American diplomacy, intoxicated by the initial political success of the Marshall Plan and the docility of its West European partners, did not foresee all the consequences of its policy in Western Europe, least of all the possibility of a "power center" competing with the USA in the sphere of economy and laying claim to at least an equal role in "global" politics.

This "power center", as we see, has for all practical purposes been created. The U.S. attempts to dissolve it in the "Atlantic community" have so far met with little success. More-

over, the U.S. title to military and political leadership in Western Europe is now questioned. And now General de Gaulle, whose "little Europe" virtually leaves the United States in the position of "odd man out," is making a bid for West European leadership.

De Gaulle, who made no bones about his opposition to Britain entering into the Common Market, regards Britain as a dangerous rival, closely linked with the United States. His anti-British stand was considerably fortified by the Nassau pact concluded by Kennedy and Macmillan, under which Britain relinquished its claim to "independent nuclear capability" and virtually capitulated to the United States.

The French President intends to carry out his ambitious plans with the support of West Germany. The alliance between the authoritarian regime of de Gaulle and the clerical-militarist dictatorship of Adenauer, long an accomplished fact, was officially sealed by the conclusion of the Franco-West German treaty on military and political collaboration.

The Communist parties of France and West Germany have given their appraisal of this treaty. A statement issued by the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party on January 25 stated that "friendship and conciliation with the German people, for which the French Communist Party constantly strives, consists not in preparation for war or in an alliance of the French and German monopolies. They can be ensured only by a policy of peace and peaceful coexistence and normal political, economic and cultural relations with both the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic."

"The agreement between Adenauer and de Gaulle," stresses the statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, "is an expression of the class interests of the West German and French war monopolies. It is based on common aggressive plans vis-à-vis the socialist countries, chiefly the German Democratic Republic, Poland and Czechoslovakia." Each of the "allies" pursues its own narrow ends. De Gaulle looks to Bonn for support in his stand against the United States and in consolidating France's positions. Adenauer, for his part, hopes in this way to obtain atomic weapons for the Bundeswehr in order to further his policy of revenge and aggression.

The Bonn militarists believe — not without reason — that possession of these weapons would give them a decisive say in European affairs. The nuclear trump, combined with the economic superiority of West Germany, would undoubtedly play havoc with de Gaulle's illu-

sions with regard to France's leading role in "little Europe." The Bonn-Paris axis therefore by no means rules out the possibility of *friction between France and West Germany*, an eventuality which American diplomacy will hardly fail to capitalize on. Of course, the balance of strength between the NATO partners is yet to crystallize. The present trends may develop further or new political combinations may take shape. But the roots of the rivalry and contradictions will remain.

The Communists are not inclined either to exaggerate or to minimize the significance of imperialist squabbles. They know that the ruling bourgeoisie always seek to shift the burden of their difficulties onto the shoulders of the working masses. De Gaulle's efforts to restore the former greatness of France on a military footing and the bankruptcy of Macmillan's policy will primarily impinge on the interests of the French and British workers and farmers.

It is obvious, however, that the new political situation, the vacillation in the foreign policy of the rulers of some capitalist countries, their striving for more freedom of action, offers new possibilities for the Communists to rally the masses in the fight for a foreign policy that would pursue a genuinely national objective; it offers new perspectives for cementing the unity of the working class which bears the brunt of the anti-national policy.

In acting against military pacts and military treaties that jeopardize peace, in opposing any spread of nuclear weapons, the Communists are not merely saying "no" to the anti-national policy of their governments. Being true patriots, they are vitally concerned with the national interests. And inasmuch as the independent role of their countries in world politics, their prestige on the international arena is in the national interest, the Communists stand for a policy founded on the fight for peace and for the relaxation of international tension. They regard it as their paramount task to rally the masses in the fight for a genuinely national policy, to unite all the forces working for peace, democracy and progress.

In their foreign policy statements the Communist parties of France, Spain, Italy and other capitalist countries of Europe set forth the immediate aims of that policy.

The French Communist Party urges all French men and women "to fight against the policy of unconditional cooperation between de Gaulle and the German militarists, to work for a peace treaty with both German states and for granting West Berlin the status of a free city, for the abolition of West German bases in France and for friendship with the people of Germany and with all nations."

The Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Spain points out that the national interest can be expressed "only in a policy of neutrality and not in the context of military blocs." The Italian Communists also advocate a policy of neutrality for their country.

Palmiro Togliatti, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, speaking in the Chamber of Deputies, declared: "We urge the Italian people to support and advance as their own our demand that a policy of neutrality and non-alignment aimed at relaxing world tension be pursued."

After the Caribbean crisis a tangible possibility was created for laying a solid foundation for peaceful coexistence, for a constructive examination of the outstanding international problems and easing international strains in order to avoid the outbreak of a worldwide military conflict. The awakening of the popular consciousness, the realization that the cause of peace is indivisible, that the only alternative to nuclear disaster is the policy of peaceful coexistence of the two opposing systems—this, combined with the growing influence of the masses on foreign policy, could not but lead to those changes in policy, the first faint signs of which are beginning to appear. The peoples of the world can and must have the decisive say so that these healthy signs may develop into a radical turn in international relations toward a future without war, a future without armaments.

M. STEIN

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

Full-Scale Building of Socialism

(Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany)

THE Socialist Unity Party held its Sixth Congress in Berlin on January 15-21, 1963. It was attended by some 2,450 delegates and 1,700 visitors including representatives of fraternal and friendly parties from more than 70 countries, among whom were members of the Socialist Unity Party in West Berlin, members of the Communist Party and Social Democratic Party of Germany, and members of West German and West Berlin trade unions.

The adoption of the Program and new Rules of the Socialist Unity Party, the speech by Comrade N. S. Khrushchov, and the speeches of the representatives of other fraternal parties were the highlights of the Congress.

In preparation for the Congress the main report of the Central Committee, the draft of the Program and Rules were discussed in the Party organizations. Discussion of the draft Program extended far beyond the Party — big sections of the population displayed a keen interest in the basic problems of our development. Many letters and more than 700 suggestions for amendments to the Program were addressed to the Congress direct.

The main report ("The Program of Socialism and the Task of the Socialist Unity Party") delivered by Comrade Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Central Committee, outlined the perspectives for the development of the German Democratic Republic up to approximately 1970.

Comrade Ulbricht noted that between 1955-1961 the principal targets of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism in the GDR had been achieved. The annual growth of industrial production averaged 8.5 per cent.

By the end of 1961, according to preliminary estimates, the GDR which occupies less than one-quarter of the territory of the former German Reich, produced approximately 90 per cent of the total production of the whole of Germany in 1936.

The victory of the socialist production relations in all branches of the economy, the realization of the ideas of Marx and Engels in their native land, if only in one part of it so

far, were the fruit of the strenuous efforts of the working class and all other sections of the population, the result of the consistent policy of the Party.

Congress discussed the efforts made to preserve peace and maintain peaceful coexistence, proceeding from the principle that "working to preserve peace is," as Comrade Khrushchov has said, "vital for the fight for socialism."

In view of the existence of two basically different German states, in view of the things left over from the Second World War and the fact that imperialism, thirsting for revenge and yearning to lay hands on nuclear weapons, is once again entrenched in West Germany, the contribution which the GDR can make to the struggle for the victory of the policy of peaceful coexistence is particularly significant.

The first step in this direction would be a German peace settlement which would accord with the interests of the German people and of all nations. "Hence," said Comrade Ulbricht, "the time has come for all nations fighting for an end to nuclear testing and for disarmament, to voice their determination to safeguard peace by supporting the proposal of the Soviet Government for a German peace treaty and a settlement of the West Berlin question."

The urgent task of the German Democratic Republic, of our Party and government, Comrade Ulbricht continued, is to wage a determined and consistent struggle for a German peace treaty and for peaceful coexistence.

A proposal for the conclusion by the two German states of "a treaty in the spirit of reason and goodwill" was unanimously endorsed by the Congress. Among other things, this treaty would provide for:

- the solemn renunciation of the use of force in any form by one German state against the other;

- respect for each other's frontiers and an undertaking not to violate them;

- solemn renunciation of the possession, manufacture, acquisition and testing of nuclear weapons and of the right to use them;

—suspension by both German states of the armaments build-up and conclusion of an agreement to disarm.

This proposal accords with the wishes not only of the population of the GDR, but of all peace forces in the Federal Republic as well. Comrade Ulbricht proposed that the ground be prepared gradually for establishing normal business relations between the two German states, and he again emphasized the readiness of the GDR to negotiate.

The GDR has entered upon a new stage in its development. "Now that socialist production relations have been established the efforts of the working class and all our working people are concentrated on completing the building of socialism," states the Program.

This perspective is of national significance for the German people inasmuch as it represents the future of all Germany and because the rapid development of the economic forces of the GDR is at the same time a decisive prerequisite of peaceful coexistence of the two German states.

The full-scale building of socialism and the seven-year plan for 1964-1970, is the contribution which the GDR as part of the socialist world system, is making in the contest between socialism and capitalism, a contest in which the socialist countries are influencing social progress throughout the world chiefly by their development. By the end of the seven-year plan, according to preliminary estimates, industrial production is scheduled to increase by 60 per cent as compared with 1963. In agriculture, the plan provides for gradual mechanization of all farm work, better organization of production and the consistent application of the principle of material incentives.

The main economic task of the Party is to develop the economy on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology, the Program states. Steady growth of labor productivity, especially in the basic industries, is essential for the further consolidation of the GDR, for satisfying the growing needs of the working people. This presupposes the application of science, large-scale economic research, **combined efforts** by scientists and workers and better planning.

These aspects of the full-scale construction of socialism, not the least of which is change in the outlook and attitude of the people themselves, claimed the attention of the Congress. The Party functionaries, workers and managers, peasants, cooperators, scientists and intellectuals who addressed the Congress touched on these problems, drawing on their own experi-

ence, criticizing the shortcomings and making valuable suggestions.

Expressing gratitude to the socialist countries and especially to the Soviet Union for their aid, Comrade Ulbricht stressed the need for closer cooperation between the socialist countries. "The most important element in the system of cooperation among the member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid," he said, "is international coordination of their long-range and current plans."

The work of the Congress was permeated with the spirit of socialist internationalism, the firm resolve to strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement.

The Congress was a convincing demonstration of the friendship and fraternal collaboration between the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Adhering to the Declaration and Statement of the Moscow meetings, our Party has fought for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, for its creative application, and against all attempts to distort it in a revisionist or dogmatic direction. Our Party will continue vigorously to condemn — as the Sixth Congress did — any violation of the commitments undertaken at the meeting of the 81 parties, and will rebuff all the attacks levelled by revisionists, dogmatists and sectarians at the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal parties.

In view of the differences that have arisen in the international Communist movement, the Congress stressed the need to adhere to the principles laid down in the Statement of the Communist and Workers' parties: "At a time when imperialist reaction is joining forces to fight against communism, it is particularly necessary to consolidate the world Communist movement."

In the spirit of the thesis with which all the previous efforts of the CPSU have accorded, Comrade Khrushchov, from the platform of the Sixth Congress, appealed to all the fraternal parties to uphold and consolidate the unity of the Communist world movement. "The Central Committee of our Party," he said, "would consider it useful now to call a halt to the polemics between Communist Parties, to stop criticizing other parties inside one's own, and allow some time for the passions to subside..."

"The Soviet Communists are true and resolute adherents of the unity of all the Communist and Workers' parties, and of the consolidation of our common forces on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. This is why we consider that the interests of the working class and

our future will best be served by stopping the polemics in the press on the disputed questions."

The applause that greeted this proposal was an expression of gratitude to the CPSU for this new initiative towards strengthening the international Communist movement. Full agreement with the proposals of the CPSU was voiced both in the debate and in the concluding remarks of Comrade Ulbricht.

Representatives of fraternal parties, too, unanimously endorsed the proposal to call a halt to the polemics between the Communist parties and, after thorough preparation, to call an

international conference. The Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party thus became another landmark in the history of the international Communist and working-class movement in strengthening the unity of world communism.

The tasks posed by the Congress make demands on our Party, and on each member. We will fulfil these tasks provided we deepen our knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, release the initiative of the people, and strengthen our fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union and all other socialist countries.

Lene BERG

Strengthening Inner-Party Democracy

(New Rules of the Fraternal Parties)

THE fraternal parties of a number of socialist countries have held congresses during the past few months. The Eighth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Eighth Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party took place in November 1962, the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in December and the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in January of this year.

Big changes have taken place in all these countries since their previous Congresses. Socialist production relations are now firmly established in industry and agriculture, and the exploitation of man by man has been abolished once and for all.

The Congresses outlined plans for the advance toward a mature socialist society, laying the groundwork for the transition to building the material and technological base of communism.

The new tasks make higher demands on the parties and their members. In line with these demands the congresses of the fraternal parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic discussed and endorsed new Rules defining the immediate tasks of the parties and the organizational forms and principles best suited to the fulfillment of these tasks.

The new Rules reflect the specific character of the work of each party, arising from the conditions obtaining in the given country. At the same time, they contain features and trends in Party development characteristic of the new stage in socialist construction, the new social relationships brought about by the vic-

tory of socialism and by the perspective of the mature socialist society.

The changes in the Party Rules of the four fraternal parties — if we take only the most important of them — denote a further *development of inner-party democracy*, affirmation of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism and collective leadership as an immutable law of Party life. The role of the local organizations and their initiative in carrying out the tasks entrusted to them are stressed. The changes are aimed at developing the activity and political consciousness of the members, extending their rights to participate in deciding all questions of Party life, and their duties as Communists.

"The highest principle of Party leadership for all Party bodies and organizations, from the Central Committee down to the local organizations," says Article 24 of the Rules of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, "is the collective principle. Application of this principle is an essential condition for ensuring the correctness of decisions adopted, for the proper training and allocation of cadres, and for directing the initiative of the membership toward a single goal."

The same idea is stressed in the Rules of the Hungarian Party, which point out that collective leadership is a guarantee of Party democracy, of the normal functioning of elective Party bodies, and the further democratization of state and public life.

The principle of collective leadership, inscribed in the Rules of the parties, is indeed the foundation for the development of democracy in all spheres of life in the socialist countries.

To ensure that this principle is consistently adhered to, the Rules provide for regular conferences of leading Party bodies — from the general meeting of the branch up to the plenary meeting of the Central Committee and the Party Congress — to discuss and settle all outstanding major problems of socialist construction and Party life.

Other forms of collective leadership are the meetings of the activists and the discussions sponsored by the Central Committees of fundamental Party, economic and cultural problems. The fraternal parties already have some valuable experience in holding discussions of this kind. Prior to its Eighth Congress, the Bulgarian Communist Party submitted for nationwide discussion the draft directives on the development of the Bulgarian People's Republic for 1961-80. This stimulated the activity of the workers, peasants and all sections of the population. Thousands of letters containing suggestions, amendments and changes to the draft were sent in.

Equally lively was the response to a paper submitted to the nation by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia outlining prospects of the socialist society. More than 330,000 people took part in the public debate on this document, and many valuable suggestions were made.

The draft Rules, too, were widely discussed by the Party organizations long before the Congresses of all four Parties. In their final form, the Rules represent the fruit of the collective efforts of thousands of Communists.

Another sign of the democracy in inner-Party life is the accent placed on voluntary work at all Party levels. This, too, finds its reflection in the new Rules.

In the struggle for socialism the parties have grown. The political level and theoretical knowledge of the members is higher, and they are better equipped to cope with the task of implementing Party policy. More members are volunteering for spare-time work in the Party organizations.

In the Hungarian, Bulgarian and Czechoslovak parties and in the Socialist Unity Party in the German Democratic Republic members do spare-time work as tutors, committee-members, heads of departments and secretaries of district and other Party committees. In eight districts of the Socialist Unity Party in Berlin, for example, there are more than 300 voluntary tutors, over 600 members of sub-committees of the district committee and about 1,200 lecturers. This practice has stimulated the activity and initiative of the members, has en-

larged the number of activists and has reduced the number of paid functionaries.

All this experience is embodied in the new Rules of the fraternal parties. Extending work on the voluntary principle is cited in the Rules of the Bulgarian Communist Party as one of the main tasks of the Party committees at all levels. The Rules of the Hungarian Party make it incumbent on all Party committees to encourage voluntary work. The committees are advised to encourage non-Party activists to take part in discussing and drafting decisions and to submit them for public discussion.

The new Rules of the Bulgarian and Czechoslovak Communist parties and of the Socialist Unity Party provide for the regular renewal of elective party bodies and for continuity of leadership, to ensure a steady influx of new and fresh forces into the leadership and stimulate the growth and promotion of young people. This would also help to replace leading functionaries who fail to keep pace with the times and who prove unequal to the tasks entrusted to them.

Adherence to the principle of collective leadership and regular renewal of leading bodies are the best guarantee that the right decisions will be made, that the possibility of power being concentrated in the hands of a few individuals and of the latter placing themselves beyond the control of the collective will be avoided; it will, moreover, ensure the growth of Party cadres.

A feature of the section of the new Rules dealing with primary organizations (branches) is the emphasis on the role of these organizations and their responsibility for production in the enterprises and for economic management. A criterion of the activity of the Party branch is the part it plays in promoting fulfilment of plans, in securing higher productivity of labor and more efficient use of technology, in developing the mass socialist-labor movement. Defining the functions of the Party branch the Rules of the Bulgarian Party state that it "mobilizes the working people for fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the production program; takes charge of the socialist competition among various working collectives striving for higher productivity of labor, for more and better output and for lowering costs; directs the efforts towards ascertaining and putting to use untapped reserves, popularizing the experience of the leading workers, promoting technological progress, and strengthening labor discipline; concerns itself with preserving and augmenting socialist property."

The responsibility of the Party branch for the condition of production is stressed also

in the Rules of the Czechoslovak Party. "The branch is responsible to the Party and the people for the fulfillment by the enterprise, factory or workshop of their obligations to society. It is obliged to give better guidance, vigorously combat bureaucracy and heed the voice of the workers on all important questions."

The branches are vested with authority to verify the work of the industrial managers. The Rules of the Socialist Unity Party, for example, state: "The party branches in industry, trade, transport and communications, in the agricultural cooperatives, the machine and tractor stations, on state farms and in producer cooperatives, as well as in designing offices and research institutes directly connected with production have the right to verify the work of the management . . ."

The Czechoslovak Party Rules give the branches in industry, transport and trade the additional right to express their views in the matter of promoting managerial personnel.

The development of society and the scale of the socialist construction call for effective verification both from above and below, for combined verification by the Party and the people. The increased influence extended by the party branches in production, their function as verifying bodies, provided for by the new Rules, serve this purpose.

As the Czechoslovak Rules point out, "this right enables the Party to organize the popular control. The Party organizations work through committees of peoples' control which are elected at public meetings."

The need to enhance the role and influence of the Party in the period of the all-out building of socialism and of preparing for the transition to Communism calls for still closer ties with the working people, for full unity of action between the Party and non-Party people. Attention to the experience and initiative of the people should be a basic feature of the Party organizations and their members. This idea is also reflected in the new Rules of the fraternal Communist parties.

The statutes pertaining to members of the Party, their rights and duties, have likewise been changed with a view to enhancing the prestige of the Communist and his role as an active builder of the socialist society. The Rules lay down in condensed form the ethical code of the Communist, defining the moral qualities and standards of behavior of a member of the party in public and private life.

The sections dealing with the rights of members reflect the idea that the role of the mem-

bers as masters of their organizations should be heightened and that all conditions be provided for facilitating their activity and initiative.

The Rules also provide guarantees for the Communists to exercise their rights; and stipulate the conditions for the objective examination and settlement of all questions pertaining to individual Party members. The Communist takes part personally in the Party meeting in all cases when his own activity or behavior is being discussed and has the right to take up matters with any Party body up to and including the Central Committee, and to demand an answer. In order to avoid errors when personal matters are being decided, the Rules lay down that the decision of a branch to expel a Party member is valid if not less than two-thirds of the members present vote for it. "In deciding the question of expulsion," state the Rules of the Bulgarian Party, "the maximum caution and comradely concern must be displayed and all the charges against the given member or candidate member must be carefully verified."

The establishment of socialism and the abolition of exploiting classes have led to deep-going changes in social relationships and have consolidated the unity of society. These changes are reflected in the procedure for accepting candidate members.

According to the old Rules of the Czechoslovak Party and the Socialist Unity Party, persons accepted as candidate members were divided into several categories for whom different terms of candidate membership were established; the Hungarian Party rules, adopted in 1958, contained no provision for candidate membership at all. The new Rules do away with the division into categories and establish a probationary period of one year for all applicants.

The new Rules of the parties contain a preamble which sets forth the basic principles underlying the tasks of the party in the all-out building of socialist society, define the principles for organizing the activity of the party and its attitude to the other Communist and Workers' parties and to the international Communist movement as a whole. The Rules emphasize the loyalty of the parties to Marxism-Leninism and their firm unity with the international Communist movement.

"In its work," the Rules of the Czechoslovak Party state, "the Party is guided by the revolutionary doctrine of Marxism-Leninism which is the foundation of its policy and of its daily work. It creatively develops Marxism-Leninism, vigorously combating any manifestation of

bourgeois ideology, revisionism and dogmatism."

The Rules of the Bulgarian Party say that the Party "is an inalienable part of the international Communist and working-class movement, firmly and unshakeably guided by the tried and tested principle of proletarian internationalism, and considers it its supreme duty to contribute to cementing the unity of the international Communist and working class movement."

The Rules adopted at the recent congresses of the Communist and Workers' parties of Bul-

garia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic accord with the new and higher stage of the socialist construction in these countries. They will further strengthen Party ranks on the solid foundation of Marxism-Leninism, enhance the organizational and leading role of the parties in the struggle of the working people of Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic in building the complete socialist society.

Miroslav LAB

Mikhail IVANOV

For United Action of Communists and Socialists in Holland

A NATIONAL conference of the Communist Party of the Netherlands, held over December 15-16 in Amsterdam, discussed Party policy and the preparations for the 1963 general election.

In its assessment of the present situation the conference focussed attention on the outcome of the Caribbean conflict caused by the aggressive action of the United States.

Comrade Paul de Groot, chairman of the Central Committee, said:

"The Cuban crisis opened the eyes of millions to the real truth, and that is that the Soviet Union and the Communists want peaceful co-existence and not war. In this crisis the forces standing for peace demonstrated their strength. The action of the Soviet Union and its spokesman, Comrade Khrushchov, won more supporters for the idea of peaceful coexistence all over the world, including the United States. But the imperialists have not relinquished their designs and we must, therefore, be on the alert. If the armaments race is not halted in the immediate future we have no guarantee that new provocations and war adventures will not be staged."

De Groot also drew attention to the strivings of former Nazis in West Germany and the Gaulists in France to create a nuclear force in Western Europe, to the pace at which this force is being built up, thus adding to the danger of a nuclear war in Europe. In the event of the Right-Wing de Quay government—a government closely associated with the West German and French reactionaries — being returned to office the present armament policy will be continued.

"Measures must be taken to safeguard and strengthen democracy, to get Holland to make its contribution to disarmament and thus help avert a nuclear war," de Groot said. "The matter brooks no delay, and it is the duty of the working-class movement to put an end to the arms drive. To this end we must work for united action by the Socialists and the Communists. Should we fail to hurl all our forces against the common enemy in good time, then the full responsibility and the guilt for this will rest with those who are thinking up excuses of a doctrinaire character and who place the interests of their party first. The issue is Holland's contribution to averting a nuclear war. That is why our conference issues the call: unity, unity and once more, unity! All who stand in the way of unity must be thrust aside!"

The political situation in Holland offers new opportunities for unity. This is evident from the discussion that was held in the Labor Party in preparation for its January Congress. The discussion was much fuller than at any of the previous occasions. This was the result of the growing realization of what a nuclear war presages, especially for the Netherlands, a result of the growing support for the peace policy of the Communists, and first of all, of the Soviet Union.

The reckless policy of the Netherlands reactionaries and the fiasco of their colonial adventure in West Irian made this discussion imperative. Another factor was the understanding reached between Socialists and Communists in the enterprises thanks to the Party's tireless efforts to achieve trade union unity.

The report submitted by a Labor Party com-

mittee, headed "In the Service of Peace," testified to the comprehensive character of the discussion. The report contained the views of a minority of the Committee to the effect that the policy of the Labor Party, based on the assumption that the danger of war emanates from the Soviet Union, was fatally mistaken. In the opinion of the minority the NATO armaments drive is detrimental to democracy in the West, that what is needed is an independent Socialist policy not identified with the "Western world." The Netherlands, according to the minority, should, by disarming, make its contribution to an international détente and thus take the ground from under the feet of the diehards who talk about an alleged threat of military occupation by the Soviet Union.

The conference noted that this new trend in the Dutch Labor Party makes for a new situation in the entire working-class movement in Holland, that is, in the parties representing the workers who aspire to socialism, and that the Communists should define their attitude accordingly.

For a number of years the Communist Party was alone in urging that Holland should make its contribution to a détente. For this the Communists were hounded. The fact that this idea is now being voiced by the Labor Party is to be welcomed for it will have far-reaching effects. Although the Labor Party has still not taken a clear-cut stand on the question of neutrality, the conference of the Communist Party was able to record that support for the idea of neutrality, as called for by the Communists, was growing.

The theses circulated among the delegates before the conference stated that "it is a question of safeguarding our country's security through a national policy of neutrality. This implies not only immediate unilateral disarmament; a genuine neutrality also implies withdrawal from NATO and the European Economic Community, as a result of which Holland will no longer be committed to any military or economic bloc."

The conference adopted a manifesto *For Immediate Disarmament! For a Neutral and Atom-Free Holland!*; the manifesto has been issued in one and a half million copies.

The Party's election platform calls for:

—reduction of military expenditures by half and the funds thus saved to be used for social needs;

—higher wages for factory and office workers; support for the small farmers and reduced taxation;

—no nuclear weapons to be stationed on

Dutch territory and rejection of all nuclear armaments;

—firm resistance to the plans for creating West German and French nuclear forces in Europe and to all steps in this direction; no Bundeswehr troops on Dutch territory;

—defense and regeneration of democracy; no discrimination against the Communist Party in radio and television.

The conference called on the people to insist on a new political course for the country. For this it is necessary that all trends, parties and trade unions be united in the working-class movement. The Communist Party sets itself the task of working for united action by the entire working-class movement, that is, by the Communist Party, the pacifist Socialist Party, the Labor Party and the Trade Union Federation.

The Party's electoral program calls for the defeat of the Right-wing government. The present government must be replaced by a government representing the working-class movement and which will put into effect the demands advanced by the Trade Union Federation and the three parties representing the Socialist workers, especially the demand for higher wages and reduced military expenditure. Such a government, states the program, would be a step forward.

In the light of this task the conference also discussed the question of strengthening the Party organizationally and ideologically. In his report on this question Comrade Henk Hoekstra said:

"The Party has gained strength. In the past 18 months 1,683 new members have been admitted. We now again have over 7,000 members in Amsterdam, that is, as many as we had before the counter-revolutionary putsch in Hungary; 300 members joined the Amsterdam organization this year. According to the latest figures published by the Labor Party it has lost 274 members in the capital and for the first time now has a membership of less than 12,000 (11,800). This decline should be seen as the result of the membership's criticism of the anti-communism peddled by the Right-wing leadership."

The favorable results of the 1962 elections, Comrade Hoekstra noted, which gave the Communists 38,000 more votes compared with 1959, show that the Party is making headway. The revisionists have been completely defeated. The task now is to overcome all the obstacles in the way of unity.

He said: "The sectarian Rights in the leadership of the Labor Party, and the sectarian Left-

ism in our own ranks must be combated as trends dangerous to unity. We had to carry on a fight to retain our initiative in the battle for trade union unity. We had to fight against the revisionists who wanted to isolate our Party from the working people. We defeated the revisionists. This cost us votes in the beginning. However, in the struggle against sectarianism we sowed the seeds of the Party's further development. We must continue in this direction.

We must do everything that lies in our power, we may then rest assured of further success."

Comrade Marcus Bakker, member of the Political Bureau, reported on the activity of the parliamentary group. The prevailing spirit at the conference was one of optimism and militancy. It adopted decisions which will be of great importance to the working class and also to the peace movement in Holland.

Joop WOLF

More Emphasis on Organizational Work

THE Tenth Congress of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), held last year, was a landmark in the life of the Party and the people. After fruitful and constructive discussion in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, which helped to clarify the basic issues of the struggle, the Congress unanimously adopted the Party program which will be its compass for the next few years. For the first time we now have a concrete and realistic program of action which fully meets the requirements of the present economic and political situation in the country.

The program sets as its immediate goal the achievement of national independence which is part of the struggle for the abolition of all foreign nuclear and other military bases on the island, the struggle for independent development and the democratization of its political institutions. As its ultimate goal it proclaims the building of socialism and communism.

The political resolution adopted by the Congress defines the main political tasks confronting AKEL, the progressive movement and every Cypriot at the present stage of the struggle. It ends with a call to all members to carry out these tasks.

While the program is a big event in the life of the Party, we Communists, brought up in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, realize that no decision or program — no matter how realistic it may be — can be effective if it remains on paper and if steps are not taken for its implementation.

That is why our Congress paid particular attention to organizational problems; it charted measures that will bring the organizational work of the Party into line with its political course and developments in the country.

Here we are guided by the Leninist principles of collective leadership, criticism and self-criticism, strengthening the contact with the

masses, fostering the initiative of the members, and inner-Party democracy. The Party leadership is consistently applying these principles in the daily life of the Party.

Lenin always taught that the Party should maintain close contact with the masses. We are guided by this principle in our work to build a mass party. A few years ago the Party, which held that its numerical strength was not in keeping with its political influence, advanced the task of making AKEL a mass party. It decided to achieve this by recruiting thousands of new members from among workers, peasants, artisans and intellectuals — both Greeks and Turks, men and women. This would enable the Party to have branches in every district, in every enterprise and office, in every town and village, in a word, enable it to gain a foothold wherever people worked and lived.

For the past six years we have been enrolling new members according to yearly plans. These plans provided for a certain number of members to be recruited in the course of the year.

We go about this in different ways. For example, some branches in enterprises or in residential areas first draw up a list of workers and intellectuals known to sympathize with the Party, then establish contact with these people and explain the aims and program of the Party and then invite them to join its ranks.

In other instances the Party branch invites sympathizers to a meeting at which it explains the role of the Party, what it is fighting for. After the meeting they are invited to join AKEL. All newly-admitted members are accepted on a three-month probationary term.

The Central Committee had every reason for saying at the Tenth Congress, that:

"In the past six years we have had good results in organizational work. The plan to raise the membership up to 10,000, the target laid down by the Ninth Congress in September

1959, has been exceeded. We have recruited many women members, many peasants, handicraftsmen and artisans. New branches have been formed in dozens of villages. In short, our Party has more than trebled its membership in the past six years."

Since the Tenth Congress the membership has risen by another 10 per cent. While most of the members belong to the working class, considerable headway has been made of late in enlisting members also from the peasantry.

The good results achieved in this and other spheres of activity are due to a number of factors. It should be noted that the progress made by the socialist countries, especially by the USSR in space exploration, has been an inspiration to us in our work, and has won large numbers for socialism and for our Party. This progress has helped to dispel the anti-socialist prejudice drilled into the minds of the ordinary people over the years by the imperialist propagandists; it is proof of the superiority of socialism over capitalism, helps people to understand the ideas of communism, and encourages them to join the Party.

But this factor, although highly important, is not the sole explanation for the success in recruiting new members. The success has been made possible also by the Party's correct political line, by its correct approach to the problems confronting the people in their day-to-day struggle, to its growing prestige among the masses.

Another factor is our systematic organizational work, the measures taken to combat sectarianism and bureaucracy and to encourage initiative and control from below, and, lastly, the district, regional and national meetings of the Party activists and the various conferences at which the results of the work are summed up and shortcomings criticized.

Another important matter facing our Party is that of cadres, of training and promoting new people. AKEL is giving every attention to this question, for its solution will help to overcome a number of shortcomings and to improve our political and organizational work.

Here, too, good results have been registered in recent years. We have trained a large number of new cadres mainly from among the youth, who are working side by side with experienced veteran functionaries. This has enabled the Party successfully to cope with major political, organizational and other problems. The tireless activity of the membership as a whole, and in the first place, of the cadres, has made AKEL the major political force in the country.

In training and educating new cadres we are guided by the principle that practical activity must be combined with ideological and political training. Practical work alone does not produce good cadres, it is essential also systematically to raise their ideological and political level. Otherwise there is the danger that they may become no more than just experienced practical workers who will be at a loss when it comes to tackling complex economic and political problems, and will find themselves trailing behind political developments. On the other hand, the Party fully realizes that cadres who rest content with a purely theoretical training, and fail to apply their knowledge in practice, in the every-day struggle, might eventually become dogmatists who at most will be proficient at quoting from the works of Marxism-Leninism but who will be anything but real Marxists-Leninists, the cadres the Party needs.

That is why AKEL is trying, as far as it is possible, to combine the practical work of cadres with theoretical training. To this end newly-promoted functionaries are entrusted with special assignments under the guidance of experienced cadres. In all circumstances the principle of collective leadership is observed at all levels of the Party.

While we have made good progress in this respect in recent years it would be an overstatement to say that we have solved this problem and are no longer short of able and trained personnel. Our Party, conscious of its responsibility to the people in the present situation, is taking the necessary measures to train ideologically and politically developed cadres able to carry on practical work as well.

The problems facing the Party, including the undermining activities of the imperialists and their agents, make it imperative to raise the ideological and political level of the members and functionaries if they are to combat effectively the anti-communist propaganda. In order to be a match for the imperialists, who in our country often resort to the tactics of murdering political opponents, we need an ideologically and politically tempered party.

Formerly AKEL attached little importance to ideological work among its members, although in words it recognized the need for this. The Party, however, is now remedying the situation. Every month lectures on current political and theoretical subjects are read in the branches. One-month and two-month Party schools have been opened in all provinces. A national school with a two-month course on the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, includ-

ing political economy, was opened over a year ago for leading functionaries.

The program of ideological and political work is supplemented by talks with the activists on important issues, as, for example, the 1960 Statement of the Moscow meeting of the representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties and the materials of the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU.

Our Party today is more of a mass party than before, it is stronger, more monolithic and united around its Central Committee. Its influence has spread in recent years and its prestige among the people is higher. The working class, broad sections of the peasantry, handicraftsmen and artisans and also intellectuals repose their confidence in the Party in which they see the main political force of the country, tackling the problems of the people in the spirit of patriotism and with a keen sense of responsibility.

At the same time the Party is not blind to the fact that although it has registered gains

in membership there are still many sectors where its organized strength does not correspond to its political influence, as, for example, among the peasantry and the intellectuals. Despite a considerable improvement in Party work as a whole quite a few of the branches still suffer from shortcomings — sectarianism, inertia, and do not display the necessary initiative.

That is why the resolution of the Tenth Congress emphasizes: "If the Party is to accomplish the political tasks confronting it, it must raise its political and organizational work to a level in keeping with its political line, with the requirements of the political situation."

In the light of our experience we are confident that we shall cope with our tasks, and thereby still further strengthen the Party and enhance its leading role in the struggle for complete independence, for a peace-loving, democratic and happy Cyprus.

Andreas FANTIS

"Asturias"

The Call that Is Swelling the Ranks of the Communist Party of Spain

IN October last year the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Spain addressed a call to the Party membership, to the revolutionary intelligentsia and all working people announcing the opening of a campaign to enrol new members and to form new branches of the Party and of the Communist Youth League.

"In honor of the heroism displayed by the miners," states the appeal, "this call to join the Party will be given the glorious name of 'Asturias' which symbolizes the militant spirit and political consciousness of the working class, the leading force in the democratic movement in our country."

The call noted that the action of the Asturias miners in April and May 1962 sparked off strikes and demonstrations by hundreds of thousands of working people and students throughout the country, showed the miners' determination to fight for better conditions and for democratic liberties.

The strike struggle which was renewed in Asturias last August and the strikes of the metal workers in Bilbao and at the Siemens plant in Barcelona confirmed that the action of the miners had ushered in a new stage in

the class struggle which could spell the end of the Franco regime.

"In the course of these big actions," states the call, "the role of the Communist Party, the importance of its organizations and its contact with the masses were strikingly revealed. During a few months of struggle tens of thousands of workers, peasants, students and intellectuals realized the significance of the Party and felt that they should join its ranks in order to contribute to the triumph of our just cause."

The Executive Committee of the Party believes that now when its members are preparing the ground for a general political strike as a prelude to a grand national strike, admission to the Party should be made easier for all intellectuals, all working people and consistent anti-fascists eager to join it.

This decision follows from the resolution of the Sixth Congress of the Party in 1960 when Comrade Santiago Carrillo said: "At the moment our Party must pose and resolve new problems. But this must be done in keeping with the conditions in Spain."

What were those conditions?

The decline of the dictatorship. The growing

contradictions between the dictatorship and the people. The growth of an anti-Franco opposition. The powerlessness of the regime to prevent this process. The political upheaval caused by the strike of June 18, 1959 and its consequences.

In this situation thousands of young workers of the post civil war generation turned to the Party. In some places they formed their own organizations in the hope of establishing contact with the Party. New organizations arose in the areas which had been subjected to the most severe repressions after the June 1959 strike, in the rural provinces where revolutionary traditions have deep roots and also in areas where the Party had never had any organizations. New organizations made their appearance in big industrial centers among workers, intellectuals and students. The Party's forces multiplied despite the repressions.

Hence the political resolution of the Congress emphasizing the need to reinforce the Party. This resolution stated: "In order to organize and lead the actions against the consequences of the stabilization plan and against the dictatorship and in order consistently to develop all forms of mass action and to consolidate anti-Franco unity the Party must be reinforced." The resolution stressed that "even though our activities are limited because of our illegal position the Party must become a mass party, a militant organization counting tens of thousands of members."

The resolution, which was carried out under more auspicious conditions than was the case with resolutions adopted before the Sixth Congress, helped the Party to become a mass party in the industrial centers and in the main agricultural areas both as regards numerical strength and contact with the working people. The resolution played its part in the April and May strikes.

The "Asturias" call will, we believe, be of further help in building the Communist Party organizationally.

The young journalist Antonio Jiménez Pericaz, until recently on the staff of a Franco newspaper, joined the Party in response to this call. During the trial of Comrade Ramon Ormazabal, member of the Central Committee, Pericaz turned to him and said that he wanted to be admitted into the ranks of the Communist Party. He did this in the presence of the military tribunal which convicted him for writing about the struggle of the Asturias miners.

The document contains an impassioned call to the young workers and students who played an important role in the recent strikes and demonstrations.

The Communist Party addresses itself also to the women workers and intellectuals who fought bravely during the strikes in defense of their children and freedom. It calls on them to join the Party.

The "Asturias" call addresses itself to "the thousands of Communists all over the country who have not yet joined one of the organizations of our Party." It calls on them to form branches of the Party and of the Communist Youth League where none as yet exist, and to take an active part in strengthening existing organizations.

It is essential "to have a strong party and youth organization in every enterprise and educational institution, in every village and in every working-class district, an organization capable of leading the actions of the masses for their demands."

Addressing itself to the intellectuals, "Asturias" calls on them to join the Party "which best expresses and upholds the interests of science and progress, culture and art, the party of the new humanism which is shaping the future in the struggle for socialism and communism."

The veterans of the working-class movement who are joining our ranks, the call states, should be regarded as veterans of the Party. After all, the point is about people who at one time belonged to other labor and democratic parties and organizations, but who now realize that if they are to remain true to the ideals which have inspired them all their lives, then their place is in the ranks of the Communist Party.

A friendly attitude should be taken towards the many representatives of the Catholic youth who support our program and who are eager to carry on the struggle in the ranks of our Party. Their religious beliefs should not be regarded as an obstacle to their joining the party of the working people.

"Asturias" addresses itself to those working people who under the Franco regime were forced to emigrate, in particular to those who left the country as a consequence of the so-called Stabilization Plan. "By strengthening the ranks of the Party and the Communist Youth League, they will contribute to the common effort to put an end to the regime which compelled them to leave their native land and their dear ones and which exposed them to the double exploitation of the Franco regime and the foreign imperialists."

The point is made that the recruiting into the Party and into the Communist Youth League of thousands of new members, both men

and women, should be accomplished without violating the rules of underground work. While reinforcing their ranks the Party organizations and members must take care that no police and provocateurs infiltrate into them.

Recruiting new members is the honorable duty of Communists and Communist Youth League members, a duty that should be ful-

filled with revolutionary enthusiasm. Its fulfillment "will enable the Communists to organize still more effectively the battles ahead, and will be the best guarantee that all the maneuvers of the enemy will not be able to nullify the sacrifices made by the people in their struggle for bread and liberty."

Alvaro SANZ

Meetings of Central Committees

COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA

THE results of the parliamentary elections, the tasks of the Party and problems of the international Communist movement were discussed at the January meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria.

The meeting approved the report made by Franz Muhri, member of the Political Bureau, and instructed all Party organizations to be guided by the basic principles outlined in the report.

Analyzing the results of the elections, the meeting noted the aggravation of the contradictions and the class struggle in the country. The reactionary People's Party polled 64,000 more votes than the Socialist Party, which lost two seats. This victory has encouraged the ultra-rights in the People's Party, and the reactionaries have launched an offensive against the working class. In this situation, it was pointed out, the primary concern of the Party must be to rally the workers and employees for joint struggle, for unity and vigorous action to rebuff the reactionary onslaught.

The meeting defined the policy of the Party on the main problems of the day.

On the question of nationalization, the Communist Party supported the statement issued by the leadership of the Socialist Party on December 7, protesting against the return of the nationalized enterprises to their former owners, and demanding strict parliamentary control over the management of nationalized enterprises. The Communists stress that nationalization affords effective protection against penetration by foreign capital into the national industry and is, therefore, in the interest of the country's independence. And closely linked with nationalization is the problem of ensuring full employment.

Denouncing the plans of the People's Party to curtail democracy, the Communists demand reforms designed to extend democratic free-

doms, an end to the non-democratic coalition machinations and full restoration of the constitutional rights of Parliament. They urge that the people be given the opportunity to decide important problems by means of a popular vote and a national poll both on a federal and local scale.

In connection with the loss of Socialist votes in the elections, the policy pursued by the leaders, particularly the policy of anti-communism and cooperation with the bourgeoisie, is being criticized in the Socialist Party. Addressing itself to the Socialists, the Central Committee urged that ideological differences should not be an obstacle to joint struggle in the interests of the working people. The meeting urged all members of the Party to engage in a principled and comradely discussion with the Socialists on the current issues both in the enterprises and in their neighborhoods.

The Communists maintain that democracy and the rights of the working people can be guaranteed not by the coalition politics of the ruling parties, but in class struggle, by rousing the working people to fight against the reactionaries in the government.

"The true extension of democracy," it was pointed out, "means first and foremost ensuring our country's neutrality and more nationalization, abolishing privileges in education, and banning the cartels. Democratic reform should include, among other things, the right of the workers to participate in the management of industry, and more rights for the production councils. Democratic reforms should be linked with efforts to improve the economic and social position of the workers."

Comrade Franz Marek, member of the Political Bureau, reported on the problems facing the international Communist movement. Touching on the lessons of the Caribbean crisis, he stressed that they had demonstrated that it was possible, relying on the forces of peace,

to prevent a world war, and had confirmed the necessity of and possibility for peaceful co-existence.

Speaking of the controversy that had arisen in the international Communist movement, the speaker voiced the opinion that it should be conducted in such a form as to avoid aggravating the differences.

The meeting unanimously adopted a resolution endorsing Comrade Marek's report, approving the position of the Political Bureau and the statements made by the Austrian Communist Party delegations at the recent congresses of fraternal parties.

K. SCH-R

LETTER TO THE EDITORS

DEAR comrades,

A publication called *Hammer and Steel* has been sent around the world from the U.S. This sheet is edited by one Homer Chase, who was expelled from the C.P., U.S.A. two years ago.

He is a renegade with Trotskyist views and now openly fighting the C.P., U.S.A. through the bourgeois press. He is receiving support from unsavory sources.

Before his expulsion he favored a united front with the then President Eisenhower. But at the same time opposed the Party's policy of "an anti-monopoly coalition."

We suggest that this information be given to responsible Party workers and editors and that the publication *Hammer and Steel* as well as Homer Chase be considered provocateurs. There is another such publication called *Progressive Labor* edited by Wilt Rosen, expelled from the C.P.U.S.A. that is being circulated internationally.

We hope this information will be of use to all Communist and Workers' Parties.

Fraternalty yours,

C.P.U.S.A.

The Socialist World System and the National-Liberation Movement

This was the subject of an international seminar held last December in Prague under the auspices of World Marxist Review.

Subjects discussed were: 1) The existence of the socialist world system as a guarantee of the victory of the national-liberation movements; 2) World socialism and the economic independence of the newly-emerged states; 3) World socialism and social progress in the newly-emergent states.

Below we publish a point-by-point review of the discussion. The full text will appear later in book form.

I. EXISTENCE OF THE SOCIALIST WORLD SYSTEM AS A GUARANTEE OF THE VICTORY OF THE NATIONAL-LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

THE national-liberation movement is a highly important revolutionary factor the strength, scale and perspectives of which depend on the vigor with which the fight for freedom is conducted. The speakers were in agreement that the problems of this movement can be correctly appreciated and understood only in the light of the basic contradiction of our time — that between socialism and capitalism.

Until the October Socialist Revolution in Russia and the emergence of the first country under working-class rule, said Academician Arzumanyan (USSR), all the efforts made to overthrow colonial rule ended in failure. The first socialist revolution lent impetus to the emancipation struggle in the colonial world, and the colonial system entered the phase of profound crisis.

With the emergence and consolidation of the socialist world system the conditions arose which led to the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism, and to the victory of the national liberation struggle. World socialism is now becoming the determining force of social development. It is now the decisive international factor leading to the worldwide victory of the national-liberation movement. In all continents the people have risen in the struggle for emancipation. The simultaneous action against colonialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America has made the struggle much more effective. Imperialism has suffered irretrievable losses. Its political, economic, military and ideological weakness is revealed more

and more in the conflict between the two systems. In the new conditions imperialism is no longer in a position to prevent the crumbling of colonial empires.

The peoples building socialism and communism, the revolutionary movement of the working class in the capitalist countries, the national-liberation struggle and the general movement for democracy — all these powerful forces are merging into a mighty stream eroding and destroying the imperialist world system.

"The statement of the 1960 meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties emphasized," said Alberto Suarez (Uruguay), "that the liberation struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples is a development ranking second in importance only to the October revolution. It is not fortuitous that in its survey of the modern world, this document links together these two developments destined to change the face of the world in the most radical manner and in the briefest space of time.

"There are theoreticians who, claiming that Marxism-Leninism is unsuited to countries fighting for emancipation from imperialism, deny that the October revolution has had any effect whatever on the disintegration of the colonial system. But could the breaking of the chains in which imperialism fettered hundreds of millions of people have taken place without the October revolution? Could the new upheaval now shattering the colonial and dependent world have taken place unless Hitler-Mussolini fascism and Japanese militarism had been smashed in the Second World War?

And lastly, could this process have acquired its present momentum without Marxism-Leninism?

"Today the bourgeois ideologists are finding it increasingly difficult to conceal the international significance of the October revolution and its decisive influence on the liberation of colonial peoples."

The relationship between world socialism and the national-liberation movement was discussed by Nyoto (Indonesia):

"The relation between the socialist system and the national-liberation movement is a relation between two forces deployed on a single front, namely, the front of the new emerging forces, which include the socialist camp, the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial newly-independent countries and the other progressive forces throughout the world, in their fight against the old forces, which include all the imperialist states, all forms of colonialism and neo-colonialism and all the reactionary forces of the world. The relations within the front of the emerging forces are relations of mutual support and mutual benefit. The country receiving support should receive it with gratitude. And the country giving support should do so with a sense of fulfilling its duty."

Comrade Nyoto then read excerpts from a written contribution submitted by D. N. Aidit: "The victory of socialism in one country made it possible for the bourgeois-democratic revolutions in the colonial and dependent countries to blend with the national revolution against imperialism. Under these conditions, the national-liberation movement has become a broad anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movement for the establishment of people's rule as a stage leading to socialist society. t

"The fact that there is now a mighty socialist camp provides a basically objective advantage for the national-liberation movements. It is a factor which helps to hasten victory for the national-liberation struggle everywhere. The existence of the mighty socialist camp compels the imperialists to think twice before taking action against the peoples waging a struggle for national liberation.

"The socialist camp and the national-liberation movement form a powerful anti-colonial and peace-loving anti-imperialist international front. They are closely bound to each other by the common interests of the struggle against world imperialism. This singleness of interest is the indestructible foundation of the mutual relationship that has grown up between these two mighty forces, of their cooperation and of their mutual aid and support. The imperialists, naturally, are doing everything they can

to split this international front, to weaken the bonds which link the national-liberation movement and the socialist camp, and at the same time to eliminate the anti-imperialist struggle . . ."

In a written contribution Raul Gonzales (Bolivia) pointed out: "Experience and the historical developments taking place in our days show that the perspectives of the national-liberation revolution do not depend solely on the conditions existing in the particular country. These perspectives are closely linked with the conditions in which the struggle between socialism and capitalism is being fought out, in the conditions created by the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems."

Socialism was characterized by Pedro Motta Lima (Brazil) as *the catalyst of the liberation movements*. Present conditions and the growing influence exerted by socialism on world development extend the choice of paths leading to the victory of the national-liberation revolution.

Raymond Barbé (France) drew attention to the following factor when he spoke about the fight for freedom in Africa: "The peoples of Africa," he said, "have taken advantage of the weakening of imperialism and its growing difficulties. The colonial powers — Britain, France and Belgium — were no longer in a position to contain the urge of the people for independence. The liberation struggle in Africa, including the former French colonies, was supported by the working-class and democratic movement in France. The support of the socialist countries, and in particular the foreign policy of the USSR and its firm stand in the international organizations, as well as the aid rendered by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to the newly-emergent peoples in the matter of building their economy and consolidating their independence, were of great significance for the liberation of African peoples. It was in this situation that the countries of Black Africa, simultaneously or nearly so, gained political independence peacefully."

Elaborating on the influence exerted by the world balance of forces on the liberation movement, Tewfik Takali (Morocco) said:

"A hundred years ago a frigate or even a gunboat was enough to crush a revolt for freedom. Today, however, thanks to the revolutionary experience of the socialist countries, the international solidarity of the peoples fighting for national independence and the aid of the socialist camp, the liberation struggle can no longer be stifled at birth. The national-

liberation movement is not an isolated thing; moreover the situation existing in the world and the policy of peaceful coexistence are conducive to its success. In the conditions of peaceful coexistence the peoples directly oppressed by imperialism or affected by it economically can fight more successfully for national emancipation. This can be either an armed or peaceful struggle (Communists do not ignore the possibility of a liberation war wherever imperialism resorts to direct violence)."

Peaceful coexistence, enduring peace and general disarmament — these are the essential conditions for the advance of the liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the speakers pointed out.

"Could there be any talk of prospects for the national-liberation movement in the welter of destruction caused by a nuclear war?" asked Aziz Al-Hajj (Iraq). "The events of the past few years," he went on, "have shown that only in a time of peace can the national-liberation movement advance to further successes. This is confirmed by the rise of dozens of newly-independent states in recent years, as well as by the example set by the revolution in Cuba. The Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence pursued by the Soviet Union enjoys the wide sympathy of the people. It signifies that communism stands for peace, while capitalism and imperialism are sources of war.

"Abandoning the policy of peaceful coexistence endangers life and the security of our planet. The importance of the fight for peace and peaceful coexistence and its organic link with the national-liberation struggle demand that the Communists in the colonial, dependent and newly-independent countries should see national problems and events in relation to the general development of the international situation and the common tasks of the international revolutionary movement, particularly the tasks of fighting for peaceful coexistence and general and complete disarmament."

"The struggle for national independence," said Alcira de la Penha (Argentina), "is a hard struggle which includes development of the national sectors of the economy, the natural resources which the government utilizes or will utilize, means of communication and the principal sources of power and fuel, finance and foreign trade. Inevitably it is linked with the struggle against economic and political concessions to imperialism, against the aggressive pacts and foreign bases.

"But in view of the need for the proletariat to organize and lead the united struggle of

all social sections for each of these pressing national demands, we should never forget that there is an objective tie-up between these demands and the task of our time — to prevent imperialism from carrying out its aggressive designs on a local and world scale, in other words, *to fight to preserve and consolidate world peace.*"

The objective conditions of our time, extremely favorable as they are for the world liberation movement, do not, naturally, operate by themselves. Hence the significance of the subjective factor, of the correct orientation of the mass struggle, of the correct strategy and tactics of the parties. This point was stressed by Ramon Amaya Amador (Honduras):

"The growth of the national-liberation movement and its victories depend on the degree of political consciousness acquired by the masses both in their day-to-day struggles and in the struggle for long term objectives, on their understanding of the link between working-class struggles on a national scale and the actions of socialism in the world arena. They depend on the unity and consolidation of the vanguard of the peoples — the Communist parties.

"It is indisputable that the existence of a powerful socialist camp will not mechanically lead to victory for the oppressed peoples. Export of revolution, a feckless idea, has no perspective. Export of counter-revolution, too, must be averted. The main thing, the essential thing is to organize the revolutionary mass struggle.

"History proves that a revolution can be successful only provided there are the necessary objective and subjective conditions and a favorable international situation . . ."

Many speakers pointed out that the historic turn in the world Communist movement the beginning of which was marked by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU was of great significance in the matter of working out a correct strategy and tactics of the working-class movement in countries fighting for emancipation.

"Since the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and the 1957 meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties the struggle against colonialism has gained new strength," said Fernando Cortes (Mexico).

"In formulating its strategy and tactics," said Aziz Al Hajj, "the Second Conference of our Party relied on the line set forth by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU. The Conference stressed that the Twentieth Congress 'has clearly and precisely revealed the features of

our present era, deeply analyzed the general trend of the liberation movement throughout the world, and hence its historical and international significance'.

"World developments are closely intertwined. The more the patriotic forces in our country realize this important fact, and the more they formulate their policy in conformity with these new possibilities and new perspectives the more will they be able to carry out their responsibility for heading the mass movement in the country."

The significance of a creative approach to problems of the national-liberation movement was stressed by Tewfik Takali.

"A correct Marxist analysis makes it possible to avoid such mistakes as, for instance, underestimating moral and even emotional factors. Such factors exist among colonial peoples or peoples on their way to liberation, and they may appear reactionary to those who have been impressed by the development of public thinking, but objectively they operate in a positive direction."

In the light of his country's experience, Tewfik Takali further said that, bearing in mind the attempts made by colonialism to deprive the people of their national identity, to knock them out of the saddle morally, to violate their traditions and customs, to overshadow the wealth of their historical past, the progressive standpoint at each given moment signifies defending, restoring and popularizing the past of the people in all its multifarious aspects. This, according to the speaker, to a certain extent and under certain circumstances can also refer to religion inasmuch as it is an element of the differentiation with the colonialists and, therefore, contains progressive points. The moral and cultural regeneration of the nations is an essential factor promoting the struggle against colonialism not only in the sphere of economic and political demands but also on the ideological plane.

Utilization of every possibility latent in the international situation by the forces of national liberation is all the more important, speakers emphasized, in view of the fact that imperialism spares no effort to retrieve its lost positions, resorts to subterfuges to sidetrack the urge of the peoples to freedom.

"The imperialists," according to D. N. Aidit, "vainly attempt to counter the upsurge of the national-liberation movement by spreading the concept of gradual decolonization in the colonial territories. It is ludicrous, indeed, to hear the imperialists who for centuries have kept hundreds of millions of people in colonial bondage parading today as the 'champions of

liberty and freedom.' On the pretext that the colonial countries are 'not yet mature enough for self-government' and that the end of colonial rule would plunge them into chaos, the imperialists try by devious means to 'guide the peoples gradually' towards independence in such a way as to preserve their political, economic and military domination . . .

"The peoples of the newly-independent and colonial countries understand full well that this sudden change of face in the imperialists, proclaiming that they will lead their colonial territories towards freedom, is in reality not a change at all. It is simply a crude attempt on the part of the imperialists to retain what they can of their domination in the former colonial territories, to save what they can of the wreckage.

"The fundamentally favorable conditions for the national-liberation struggle brought about by the existence of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp in this era of transition from capitalism to socialism have compelled the imperialists to resort to more subtle methods of domination. The spread of neo-colonialist methods confronts the national-liberation movement with new tasks, in particular the task of unmasking the real purpose of the apparent change of face, of explaining why it is that nowadays we are treated to the spectacle of the imperialists themselves talking about the 'challenge of imperialism'."

At present the main channels of neo-colonialist strategy are (1) the Common Market, (2) anti-communism, and (3) the extension of the so-called aid schemes, designed to maintain its political influence and economic grip on the independent states, said Idris Cox (Britain).

Raymond Barbé, discussing the neo-colonialist methods of imperialism, stressed that imperialism, compelled to make concessions and to abandon the old forms of domination, has advanced the theory and practice of neo-colonialism. The Portuguese and Spanish colonialists alone still cling to the doomed policy of direct colonialization. Other European capitalist powers have turned to more flexible forms of rule, seeking as they do to fetter the newly-independent states with bonds of economic, military and political subordination.

"With regard to the former French colonies," Barbé went on, "a particularly pernicious role is played by the European Economic Community which, in exchange for minor advantages, often illusory, seeks to get the African countries to relinquish their sovereignty. Moreover, the present boundaries of the African states were arbitrarily carved out by the colonial powers at the time of (or after) seizure. And

these artificial boundaries leave unresolved many problems of a national character. Moreover, French imperialism has prosecuted a 'Balkanization' policy in West and Equatorial Africa, which, at the time of independence, resulted in the creation of sparsely-populated states whose leaders feel their weakness in the face of the big imperialist powers. Hence the trend towards regrouping. And again, imperialism never misses a chance to influence these regroupings."

Exposing the neo-colonialist policy of West German imperialism, Paul Friedlaender (German Democratic Republic) pointed to some of its features, and among them the following:

1. *West German imperialism is in very close contact with the USA*, the most aggressive imperialist power, which is also the leading force in the world neo-colonialist set-up. In performing its function of world gendarme, the USA relies less on the traditional colonial powers such as Britain or France, and more on West Germany. Needless to say, the intertwining of West German and U.S. interests by no means precludes an independent policy by West German imperialism.

2. The particular aggressiveness of this imperialism is conditioned by the *nature of the West German state — an imperialist state of a clerical-military type*.

Bonn's policy is in many respects a neo-colonialist policy, a striving to avenge the two defeats sustained in the struggle for re-division of the imperialist spheres of influence in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

3. Bonn's extreme aggressiveness derives also from the fact that in the Federal Republic, more than anywhere else in the imperialist countries, *anti-communism has become a state doctrine*. Federal Germany advanced credits on neo-colonialist terms and holds out other imperialist baits wherever the newly-emergent states have satisfied themselves that cooperation with the socialist countries is decisive in

consolidating their political sovereignty and attaining economic independence.

By virtue of a number of circumstances, West German imperialism has a certain power of attraction for the bourgeoisie of the newly-independent countries. Above all this is due to the hypocritical anti-colonialist camouflage of the Bonn rulers, the objective basis of which is that German imperialism has not had any colonies since the end of the First World War. Of no small importance in this respect is the myth of the so-called "economic miracle," i.e., reference to the fact that for a relatively long time the West German economy has developed at a faster rate compared with other capitalist countries. West German propagandists try to persuade the peoples that the best way to overcome the legacy of colonialism is the way taken by Federal Germany, i.e., the capitalist way which will solve all their problems.

Closely related to the ideological bait emanating from the "economic miracle" myth are *material* baits dangled in the shape of "economic aid."

In view of the fact that West German neo-colonialism is a menace to the independence of the newly-emergent states, the role of the German Democratic Republic as a force exposing and averting this danger acquires a special significance.

Speakers stressed that the socialist world system as a factor essential to the victory of the national revolutions acts also as a shield for the national-liberation movement, safeguarding the gains of the people against the imperialist export of counter-revolution. As Friedlaender put it, the socialist world system fulfils an anti-neo-colonialist function. "It is a general law," he said, "that the forces of world socialism restrict, constrain and render ineffective the aggressive forces of imperialism spearheaded against the newly-independent states, and frustrate their colonialist designs which in the conditions of the disintegration of the colonialist system acquire a neo-colonialist character."

II. WORLD SOCIALISM AND THE ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE OF THE NEWLY-EMERGENT STATES

Helping the newly-emergent states in building and developing their economy, socialism thus helps them to overcome their age-old economic and cultural backwardness, and to complete their emancipation from imperialist domination.

All the participants in the exchange emphasized that the national-liberation or na-

tional-democratic revolution cannot be limited to the task of forming a sovereign state (all the more so since the political independence of the liberated countries often proves to be formal). The task is to utilize the power won as a lever for building and developing the national economy, of digging up all roots of the economic domination of the monopolies. In

view of this the economic aid extended by the socialist camp to the emerging countries should not be underestimated.

"Today," writes D. N. Aidit, "the evil designs of the imperialists . . . meet with a powerful challenge in the growing economic might of the socialist countries . . . Trade with the socialist countries opens the way for the newly-independent countries to obtain the capital goods needed to industrialize their economies and to raise the standard of living of their people.

"The lack of modern productive forces, the absence or near absence of an industrial sector and the extreme impoverishment of the people make it essential for the newly independent countries, in addition to mustering their own resources, to obtain economic aid from the more developed countries, particularly for building heavy industry. The aid which the socialist countries have rendered and are continuing to render in this respect proves that the socialist world system is a mighty bulwark for the newly-independent countries in their efforts to build a national economy, to free themselves from dependence on the imperialists and to raise the standard of living."

Basically distinct from capitalist "aid," the economic cooperation between the underdeveloped countries and the socialist camp, said Tewfik Takali, is not aimed either at consolidating reactionary economic structures conflicting with the interests of the country, or at undermining the national sovereignty. Its purpose is to promote industrialization, to develop the country's economic basis by building factories, hydro-electric stations and roads, through extending long-term credits at low interest rates.

The recipient country will have national enterprises independent of the monopolies and will be in a position to cover its debts not in convertible currency but by selling its raw materials or manufactures at prices higher than those paid by the monopolies.

There are some who look askance at certain aspects of socialist aid when it is given to countries whose political system is not democratic enough. But the socialist countries are building schools, hospitals and roads, i.e., they are improving health and well-being and raising the cultural standards of the people. *Over the heads of the rulers this aid opens the door to the future for the masses.*

Aziz Al-Hajj also examined the role of socialist aid. This aid, he said, is extremely important in strengthening the anti-imperialist character of the newly-emergent countries,

consolidating their economic and political independence, developing the state sector and encouraging the national bourgeoisie to take a more resolute stand against imperialism.

Some people, said Aziz Al-Hajj, maintain that the Soviet aid to national bourgeois governments in Asia and Africa, particularly where the democratic movement is suppressed, strengthens the ruling bourgeoisie and encourages an oppressive policy against the working people. These views, as I see it, reveal inability to link the interests of the national movement in a given country with those of the world revolutionary movement. Extending aid to the bourgeois governments opposed to imperialism, the Soviet Union takes into consideration the fact that this aid consolidates the political independence of the countries and contributes to their economic independence. This aid helps to develop their national economy and to build heavy industry, thus serving the basic interests of the working people. It isolates the ruling national bourgeoisie from imperialism.

Doubts with regard to the socio-historical significance of Soviet aid to the newly-independent countries, he went on, harm the struggle against imperialism and weaken the solidarity between the peoples of the socialist countries and the peoples fighting for independence. It should be borne in mind, however, that this solidarity is the earnest of victory over imperialism.

The aid of the socialist countries to the newly-emergent states and the new economic relations between them enable the latter to achieve better results in the struggle to overcome the consequences of colonial rule, for changing the pattern of world economic ties. This question was discussed by Yuri Popov (USSR):

"With the development of the socialist world system, important qualitative changes have taken place in the sphere of world economic relations. One of these is the *abolition of the imperialist monopoly of loans, export of capital goods and technical know-how*. In order to achieve this, at least two conditions were essential. First, in a situation of the disintegration of the colonial system most countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have been able for the first time in their history to establish *direct* economic contact with the socialist countries. Second, the growing economic potential of the socialist countries has enabled the latter to increase the volume of aid to the underdeveloped countries.

"With the imperialist monopoly undermined, *the underdeveloped countries acquire the real*

possibility of compelling the capitalists to make substantial concessions. In the competition with the socialist countries 'concessions' by the imperialists become inevitable. In point of fact, they constitute a peculiar indirect help of the socialist to the underdeveloped countries. Aid to these countries is nowadays an important area of the peaceful competition between the two socio-economic systems."

Socialist aid is particularly important in the matter of building the state sector the role and place of which in the economy of the newly-emergent countries was discussed in detail.

"The state sector alone," said Academician Arzumanyan, "in which are concentrated the key branches of the economy, is in a position to resist the monopoly grip, to break the colonial structure of the economy and ensure nationalization in the underdeveloped countries. The new countries, as we see, are nationalizing the property of foreign companies and concentrating the basic branches in the state sector. This signifies backing away from the traditional capitalism."

The public sector, according to Arzumanyan, is in the nature of state-capitalism. Nevertheless it is an objective factor spearheaded against imperialism and the anarchy of private capitalism.

In an attempt to keep the underdeveloped countries in the orbit of capitalism, the imperialists are supporting "private enterprise" against the state sector. And sensing that the state sector is becoming firmly established in these countries, the imperialists have resorted to a new tactic. While granting the need for industrialization and agreeing to aid the state sector, they are trying to squeeze the latter into the backyard of the economy, to seize positions in the machinery of state that would enable them to give free rein to private capitalism and thus retain these countries in the orbit of world capitalism.

The backing of all the progressive forces in the former colonies and semi-colonies for measures aimed at strengthening the state sector derives from the awareness that the development of this sector in the economy of these countries:

- is the logical continuation of the anti-imperialist struggle and, in many cases, a direct attack on the position of the imperialist monopolies;

- can be and often is an effective means of accumulating national resources and channeling them into the basic sectors of the national economy;

- restricts the area of private capitalism;
- safeguards (especially if there is a monopoly of foreign trade) the country against the pernicious influence of the capitalist world market;

- creates and develops productive forces in a manner best suited to their transition to socialist ownership;

- facilitates utilization of the experience gained by the socialist countries in planning, industrialization and peasant cooperation, etc.

"Today the state sector in the newly-emergent countries," Arzumanyan went on, "is but a complex of government enterprises, which, in view of its minor role in the economy, does not, in our view, change the basic form of the production relations in society."

Some speakers agreed with this assessment; others, however, thought that in this case a general assessment was not enough, that a concrete approach to the role of the state sector in the particular country was needed.

Fernando Cortes said that the oil nationalization in Mexico had enriched the ruling bourgeoisie at the expense of the people who are now forced to pay higher prices for oil and fuel and higher transport fares. At the same time, he said, we hold that the nationalization has taken the enterprises from the hands of the imperialists, and hence its significance for the country's economic development. Thanks to nationalization a state sector has been established.

The dual nature of the role played by the state sector was discussed by Mohammed En-nafaa (Tunisia). "In order to get a correct understanding of the essence of state capitalism in the newly-emergent countries," he said, "one should go back to its origin in these countries. In some of the countries a national bourgeoisie is still non-existent. In others this bourgeoisie had come into existence by the time of independence. Commanding political power, this bourgeoisie seeks to utilize it in order to build the economic base, which imperialism prevented it from building. In the first instance, understandably, recourse is had to private capital. But the more far-sighted elements of the bourgeoisie soon realize that this path ends in a blind alley. And, realizing this they turn to state capitalism. Consequently, in the initial phase state capitalism arises as a means of building an economic base for the national bourgeoisie.

"In Tunisia, for example, a feature of the state intervention in the economy was that it originated from the weakness of national capitalism rather than from a desire of the government to take the country along the non-

capitalist path. The state intervened and acquired the means of production only in those areas which could not be tackled by the Tunisian bourgeoisie. On the other hand, free rein was given to it wherever it was in a position to go ahead, namely, in agriculture and trade.

"There is yet another factor to be mentioned — the attitude of the U.S. and other foreign capitalists to state capitalism in some of the Afro-Asian countries. It would be wrong, or, at any rate, it is no longer correct to say that U.S. capitalists help only private enterprise, at times they have nothing against a state sector and state-owned enterprises. And they act in this way, because in some of these countries there are no big private capitalists to whom the aid could be extended. The neo-colonialists are well aware of the advantages accruing from a *definite* state capitalism, a *definite* state sector. Hence, both these factors should be taken into account.

"While we in Tunisia take a positive attitude to some aspects of state capitalism, we cannot agree with those who see it only in the positive light. That is why even if we support state capitalism against the self-seeking private capitalists, we should not lose sight of its negative aspects which are primogenital, so to say, in the sense that they reflect the need of the bourgeoisie for an economic basis of its own, and also the influence of neo-colonialism. It would be wrong, then, to say that in all cases state capitalism or the state sector is of an anti-imperialist character. In some countries state capitalism may be the result of a compromise with neo-colonialism.

"Nor would it be correct, in my view, to say that state capitalism necessarily improves the conditions of the people; as regards our country we have satisfied ourselves that in the state-owned or mixed enterprises the exploitation is even greater than in some of the private enterprises.

"As I see it, then, the role of state capitalism depends both on the mass struggle in its anti-imperialist aspect, i.e., the general national aspect, and on the class struggle in the country to force the bourgeoisie to improve the conditions of the workers and peasants. In the long run, everything depends on the kind of State."

The need for a concrete approach to the different forms of state capitalism in the newly-emergent countries was also expressed by Petko Petkov (Bulgaria).

"The essence of state capitalism is determined by the nature of the state power," he said. "There are important differences between state capitalism in those countries where

power belongs to the national bourgeoisie in the main, and in those headed by the reactionary, pro-imperialist bourgeoisie and feudal elements. There are also differences between the forms of state capitalism in the first group of countries. For example, alongside purely state-owned enterprises there are the mixed, state-private enterprises with the participation of foreign monopoly capital and home private capital. These enterprises, too, are a variety of state capitalism.

"I think that the mixed enterprises functioning with the participation of the national state aspiring to economic independence should not be regarded as a variety of state-monopoly capitalism. Enterprises of this kind are a variety of state capitalism which only includes elements of state-monopoly capitalism by virtue of the participation of foreign monopoly capital. In some countries the national governments are striving for a dominant role in the mixed enterprises. For these enterprises to become a form of state capitalism which would be a base for independent economic development the participation of foreign capital would have to be eliminated. In some countries the foreign firms act as contractors for the state-owned enterprises. This, too, cannot but affect the enterprises in which the state cooperates with foreign companies.

"Another variety of state capitalism with its own features are the mixed enterprises in which home private capital plays a part. In these enterprises there is, in my view, the danger of state property being subordinated to and utilized by private capital.

"In my view only state capitalism in the form of purely state-owned enterprises can fully contribute to the economic development of the newly-emergent countries. Mixed state-private enterprises can be a step forward in those cases where the enterprises were formerly privately-owned and especially foreign-owned, and where there are the prospects of their being turned into purely state-owned enterprises. The task of the progressives in these countries vis-a-vis state capitalism is to ensure that those varieties which can still be utilized by private and especially by foreign capital evolve in a way that will benefit national economic development and the aim of independence."

Pavel Tretyakov (USSR) examined other aspects of the state sector. As he sees it, the process of building state property in the newly-emergent countries is linked up with the abolition, to a certain extent, of the private form of appropriation in these countries; this view is confirmed by the indisputable fact that

the governments are investing more in that part of the public sector which does not redistribute the funds in favor of, say, groups of the national bourgeoisie.

While not abolishing the capitalist mode of production as a whole (since the means of production do not as yet belong to the working people), the state-owned property in these countries cannot be said to be the property of capitalists or of groups of capitalists like the monopolies or the state-monopoly combines typical of the imperialist countries. In the way in which it is developing, this variety of state-ownership plays a progressive role, weakening as it does the grip of foreign capital and consolidating the sovereignty of the young countries. In other words, state capitalism can be an essential factor promoting transition from a colonial-type economy to the non-capitalist way of development. True, the emergence of other forms of the economy as a substitute for the present-day state-owned property is not excluded in some of the countries in this transitory stage. But it may well be that elsewhere state ownership will pave the way to socialism. And conversely, in the event of an unfavorable correlation of class forces, the state form of property, progressive though

it is today, can regress into a means of increased exploitation, into a mechanism for redistributing wealth in favor of the exploiters. Hence, the future of the state sector and the democratic changes associated with it largely depend on who exercises power. In countries where power belongs to the progressive sections of the population, to patriots not associated with national and foreign capital, state-ownership can play a progressive historical role.

All speakers were in agreement that in order to build a firm foundation of independence and to overcome the legacy of backwardness, it is necessary to put an end to direct imperialist exploitation, to nationalize foreign-owned property and place it under state control, to solve the problem of accumulations and to develop industry with the direct participation of the state, basically to resolve the agrarian question and remove from economic and political life the parasitic class of landlords, usurers and profiteers. Such are the tasks around which the broad sections of the nations are being rallied: the working class and the peasantry, the forward-looking intellectuals and a considerable part of the national bourgeoisie.

III. WORLD SOCIALISM AND SOCIAL PROGRESS IN THE NEWLY-EMERGENT STATES

Speakers turned to the perspectives of the national-liberation revolutions in the present third stage of the general crisis of capitalism. The national-liberation movement, it was agreed, presents a highly complex picture in which various contradictory trends exist and conflict, and in which the role of the progressive forces is steadily growing. Unless this is seen, it will be impossible to understand correctly the character of the national-liberation, national-democratic revolution.

"The national-liberation or national-democratic revolution," said Academician Arzumanyan, "is aimed at overthrowing the rule of imperialism, winning national independence, resolving the agrarian question along democratic lines, breaking up the colonial structure of the economy and attaining economic sovereignty and democracy in socio-political life. It does not set as its immediate aim the task of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a national and democratic revolution. However, in the conditions of the existence of the socialist world system and the general crisis of capitalism, this revolution cannot be limited to solving tasks of a bourgeois-democratic nature as was the case in

the past. Consistent implementation of these tasks inevitably deals a blow at imperialism."

It was pointed out that the perspectives of social advance in the newly-emergent countries were delineated in the Statement of the 1960 meeting of the Communist and Workers' parties and in the CPSU Program which stressed that progress in these countries is linked up with the non-capitalist way, in the direction of a national democracy.

Oscar Creydt (Paraguay) submitted a written contribution:

"The need for the non-capitalist way is determined by two essential factors. First, as things are in the capitalist world, with the growing domination of the monopolies now closely linked with the state, the capitalist way limits the opportunities of the backward countries to build an independent economy capable of withstanding competition on the domestic and world markets, and of gathering accumulations of capital and building a powerful industry. In other words, in our time the capitalist way, until recently the traditional way, has, in my view, become a brake on the comprehensive, intensive and independent development of the productive forces.

For this same reason, it has become an obstacle in the way of satisfying the demands of the masses who have, under the impact of the national-liberation movement and the world socialist revolution, awakened to political life.

"Another factor making the non-capitalist path an objective necessity is the existence of the socialist world system which with its present level of technology, economic and cultural development is capable of extending effective aid to the backward countries in building the material base needed for their industrialization and the mechanization of agriculture, capable of releasing their foreign trade from the grip of the imperialist monopolies."

Other speakers said that the destiny of the newly-independent states is affected by both the positive example of socialism and the negative experience of capitalism. What has capitalism given to the countries taking the path of independence? — asked Ramon Amaya Amador. He answered by referring to the experience of the Latin American countries: "A century and a half has passed since our countries won independence. What are the conditions of the Latin American peoples today? The political independence achieved under the influence of capitalism has proved to be a sheer formality. Life in our 'free, sovereign and independent republics' is, in fact, an appalling tragedy. What we really have is economic dependence, political subordination and social slavery, i.e., semi-colonial dependence retarding the normal development even of the bourgeoisie itself.

"As a result, our peoples are compelled to wage an unceasing struggle for freedom and for what has been considered achieved since the time of independence. Today this struggle has assumed unprecedented dimensions. In effect, it is a struggle for national emancipation."

It is not only the peoples of Latin America that have arrived at the conclusion that the capitalist way is devoid of any perspective.

"More than 55 years have passed since the bourgeois revolution in Iran," said Ardeshir Avanesian. "But capitalism has not resulted in any appreciable progress; in point of fact the country is stagnating, and the people still suffer under the yoke of the imperialists and feudal landlords. Like other underdeveloped countries, our country is faced with the problems of abolishing misery and disease all the way to building an economy independent of imperialism. The bourgeoisie, however, is incapable of tackling these problems. And that

is why the idea of the non-capitalist way is making headway in Iranian society."

Tunisia became independent a bare five years ago. But even in this brief period many now see for themselves that capitalism cannot ensure genuine development. This point was made by Mohammed Ennafaa who stressed that the cultural, social, economic and political changes in Tunisia since independence, while valuable, could have been greater still had full use been made of the possibilities arising from the favorable national and international conditions. Prompted as often as not by the narrow interests of the ruling national bourgeoisie, these changes have failed either to bring about a really serious development of the country or to improve living standards in any substantial way.

The lessons drawn from the five years of Tunisia's independence have been so bitter, said Ennafaa, that even the ruling Néo-Destour Party, which earlier had expressed itself through the President in favor of the capitalist path, declared in 1961, again through the President, that it favored a planned economy under the aegis of the state ("Neo-Destour socialism").

In our times the search for an alternative to the capitalist way has been considerably facilitated. The force of socialist example, the significance of which was stressed by Lenin, is evident today when socialism is winning more and more in the competition with capitalism.

"The achievements of the Soviet economic plans," said Tewfik Takali, "the high rates of industrial and agricultural development and the advance of science and culture, in short, the rapid advance of socialism in the USSR, could not but open the eyes of the oppressed peoples. Another example which enthused them was the destruction of the prison of nations that Russia was before the Revolution, the emancipation of the former tsarist colonies and the aid rendered them in the spirit of respect of their traditions and customs, based on the right of the nations to be the masters of their own destiny, which has resulted in their full development and well-being. Lastly, the rise of the people's-democratic states and the victory of the Chinese revolution — a typical example of completing the national-liberation movement — have demonstrated to the colonial countries that imperialism can be resisted and vanquished. This truth, obvious since 1917, is today overwhelming."

In what way does the experience of the socialist construction help the national-liberation movement? This question was posed and an-

swered by D. N. Aidit: "The socialist countries have a big experience of waging the revolutionary struggle and building socialist society. The national-liberation movement in all parts of the world must draw the lesson from these experiences, while adapting the general truth of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions in each country. The experience of the socialist countries convincingly proves that consistent struggle for national independence can be waged only under the leadership of the working class, a class which is most consistently and implacably interested in establishing socialist society and irreconcilably opposed to colonial oppression. Without working-class leadership, the national-liberation movement cannot possibly be successful and will inevitably fall into the trap of compromise with the imperialists.

"The socialist countries also possess a wealth of experience in regard to the paramount question of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. In the colonial and former colonial countries, where peasants are the vast majority of the population, sometimes 70 per cent and more, they, as the main productive force, are subject to severe feudal exploitation and in many cases live and work in mediaeval conditions. It is only under the leadership of the proletariat and with a correct anti-feudal agrarian program that the peasants can be brought into the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal front for the victory of the national-democratic revolution. The experience of the socialist countries in Asia is of particular interest for the colonial and former colonial peoples because of the similarity between the social forces in these countries. The experience of the socialist countries shows how vital it is for the peasants to free themselves from the feudal survivals that still exert a stranglehold on life in the countryside.

"The role of the urban petty-bourgeoisie is also vital to the success of the anti-imperialist struggle, while unity with the national bourgeoisie, which is greatly interested in putting an end to imperialist domination, furthers the national-liberation struggle.

"The existence of the socialist world system has created conditions under which the national-liberation movements can step out along the national-democratic way to socialism."

Proceeding from the experience of his country and his Party, Aziz Al-Hajj elaborated on the significance of the example of socialist construction.

"The success of the great Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in the economic,

social and cultural fields," he said, "has helped the Communist movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The experience of our own country shows that this success has helped us in the sphere of propaganda, in popularizing scientific socialism, in directing stronger blows against the organizers of anti-communism both ideologically and politically, and in winning wider sections of the people to the banner of the working class. The economic progress of the socialist countries, free as they are from capitalist crises and unemployment, has raised living standards and has solved the peasant problem. This is a solid foundation for the propaganda work of our Party among the masses, for the struggle to rally more people around it.

"The experience of the socialist countries, and in the first place that of the Soviet Union, is an example, for the peoples fighting for national liberation and democracy. Soviet experience is the experience of a multi-national country which was very backward not so long ago. Hence its significance. The non-capitalist road followed by the peoples of Soviet Central Asia is a source of rich experience that can be drawn on in determining the prospects of development of the newly-independent countries. The solution of the national question in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries on the basis of proletarian internationalism and complete equality of nations is of the utmost importance for countries like Iraq where the Kurds, besides other national minorities, comprise a considerable part of the population."

Ardeshir Avanessian stressed the value of the experience in solving the national question in the socialist states for most Afro-Asian countries:

"Azerbaijanians, Turkmenians, Tajiks and Kurds are part of the population of the Soviet Union," he said. "The same people are found in Iraq. The former backyards of Russia — Azerbaijan, Turkmenia and Tajikistan — have become prosperous Soviet republics whose economic and cultural progress amazes visitors from the West. This progress has made an even bigger impression on public opinion in the Afro-Asian countries. More and more people in these countries are becoming convinced that only under socialism is such progress possible.

"The effect of the example of the Soviet republics on the national-liberation movement in Iran is particularly big in view of the contrast between the free, prosperous and cultured life of the Soviet peoples and the plight of the Iranian working people under the des-

potism of the Shah and the yoke of the landlords and foreign imperialists. Some 85 per cent of the population is illiterate. Medical help is practically out of the question for the working people whose lot is hunger and misery."

The people fighting for national emancipation are drawing up their program of struggle making use of the example of the socialist countries. Jose Gonzales (Chile) said that the program advanced by the Popular Action Front in Chile takes into account the experience of the peoples which have now won socialism.

The Cuban revolution has had a big impact on the liberation movements in Latin America. Cuba, the first socialist state in America, is an example and a model for other Latin American republics, speakers emphasized.

"It would be difficult, if not utterly impossible, for the dependent or colonial peoples to win were it not for the influence of socialism," stressed Pedro Motta Lima. "In this sense Cuba is a most eloquent example, the first example of a victorious liberation revolution in America. As we see it, it demonstrates that peaceful transition from the stage of national liberation to the stage of socialist construction is possible. The example of Cuba exerts a many-sided influence, inspiring as it does the movement against the latifundia, against poverty and the high cost of living, against illiteracy and against imperialist plunder and oppression.

"Our liberation movement is greatly influenced by the alliance between Cuba and the other socialist countries, and above all with the Soviet Union. The action of the Soviet Union in the Caribbean has helped our national and democratic struggle enormously. It saved world peace, safeguarded the Cuban revolution and the example of Cuba, which is extremely beneficial to the peoples of Latin America and the whole world."

This view was supported by Fernando Cortes who stressed that it was under the impact of the Cuban revolution that big sections of the national bourgeoisie and the small radical bourgeoisie in Mexico joined the struggle against imperialism and for democracy.

Alcira de la Pena pointed out that the support given Cuba by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, helping it to overcome the consequences of the U.S. blockade, has demonstrated to the Latin American peoples that real conditions exist for the Latin American countries to follow a political and economic line based on their national interests. The aid rendered by the socialist countries to Cuba refutes the "geopolitical" arguments ad-

vanced by bourgeois ideologists to the effect that the proximity of these countries to their "Northern neighbor" renders any independent policy impossible.

The fact that theories of social development, such as "African socialism," "Arab socialism," etc., are appearing in the newly-emergent countries prompted Ardeshir Avanesian to pose the question: Why is it that special theories of socialism are appearing in the economically underdeveloped countries?

"The explanation, in my view," he said, "is that the socialist system has now become such a powerful force that it is winning recognition at every step. And so, aware of the sentiment of the masses and the requirements of the times, even the national bourgeoisie proclaims itself in favor of a socialist road. These concepts should be examined in each case. It is essential to know which group of the national bourgeoisie advance them, what their programs are, and, what is more important, which classes or social sections follow these concepts. It may be that in future, development will take those now advocating socialist concepts into the camp of scientific socialism. Others, on the contrary, may fall into the lap of reaction. All depends on the correlation of forces, on the degree of militancy of the working class . . ."

Turning to the situation in the Central African states, Raymond Barbé drew attention to the factors operating in those countries where capitalist relations have not been greatly developed, a situation giving rise to an urge towards socialism and to a variety of concepts about it.

In Central and South Africa, he said, where capitalism is to be found in an embryonic state, there are objective conditions for non-capitalist development, i.e., direct transition from pre-capitalist forms of organization to social relations of the collectivist type. In view of the fact that the foundation on which capitalism rests is weak there, the possibilities of choice are wide, depending mainly on the direction of the people's movement and the outlook of its leaders.

However, the forces earnestly striving towards socialism are still weak in these countries. The working class is young, often small numerically, and usually scattered. The awakening of the peasants is a recent development, while their outlook, imbued as it is with views of an ethnical (or tribal) origin, is still uncertain.

At the same time the success of socialism is demonstrating to the world the superiority of its system. The countries remaining in the

orbit of imperialism and subordinate to the laws of capitalism see how their relative, and not infrequently absolute, economic backwardness is increased. On the other hand, the countries which have chosen the socialist path have achieved rates of development that will enable them to overcome their centuries-old backwardness in the space of a few decades.

The social realities in Africa explain why socialism has a particular appeal to the masses there, and why the concept of socialism is interpreted in so many ways in the different countries.

In his contribution Idris Cox examined the various concepts of "African socialism."

"There is no doubt," he said, "that the growth of the socialist world system has made a deep political impact on the African peoples. This is recognized by many African leaders, but they hesitate to align themselves too closely with the socialist world. Most of them are intimately associated with the class interests of the rising national bourgeoisie (sections of whom are influenced by the strategy of neo-colonialism) and try to find an intermediate position by their concept of 'African socialism'. Almost all African leaders now proclaim themselves in favor of 'African socialism'. This has its positive and negative aspects. It is positive in giving a vision of the future Africa, but negative when used as a screen to keep aloof from the socialist world system."

Idris Cox then reviewed the varying concepts of "African socialism" presented by leaders of different political trends, namely, the "socialism" of Leopold Senghor of Senegal, of Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika, and of Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, and concluded that Senghor's "socialism" is really a political screen to justify close cooperation with imperialism; the "socialism" of Nyerere is based on an unrealistic idea of a return to tribal society and idealizes obsolete forms of social life; Dr. Nkrumah's concepts are far more positive and advanced, opening the door to progressive development in Ghana.

Turning to the future of socialism in Africa, Idris Cox said:

"In the vastly different conditions of Africa the forms and methods of a socialist society cannot be an exact copy of the existing socialist countries . . . There may be an African road to socialism, or even different roads within Africa. The form of socialism in Africa may differ, but the basic content of socialism is universal. It is a new stage of society, leaving behind it all previous stages."

What is the objective significance of the different concepts of socialism advanced in

the newly-emergent countries? Official declarations about socialism as the aim of "state policy," said D. N. Aidit, "lead to a variety of interpretations and open the way for the most reactionary elements, in the name of 'state policy', to split the national unity on the pretext that the socialism officially adopted as the state objective is a special 'national brand' that has nothing whatsoever to do with the socialism to which the Party of the proletariat has always striven. Their purpose is to isolate the Communist Party from the national-liberation movement, all in the name of 'socialism'.

"On the other hand, official recognition of the socialist aims can greatly assist the progressive movement in its revolutionary struggle for political changes and in its efforts to strengthen official relations with the countries of the socialist camp, provided, of course, the democratic forces are strong. In the newly-independent countries which have adopted socialism as the official state goal, it is absolutely essential for the Communist parties to work for a correct understanding of scientific socialism, so as to unmask the falseness of those who proclaim their adherence to socialism without recognizing that socialist society cannot be established until the completion of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution. Unless this is done, proclamation of socialism as the official aim can lead to a weakening of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle."

In the final analysis, practice alone is the criterion of any theory. Speakers were unanimous that social progress and realization of the socialist concepts depend on the social forces that will put them into effect.

Discussing the experience gained by the national-liberation movement in the postwar, Anushavan Arzumanyan said: "The masses — the working class, the peasantry and progressive intellectuals — these are the motive forces of the national-liberation revolution. This is the case also in countries in which power belongs to the national bourgeoisie. The tasks of the revolution find their fullest and most consistent solution when the most revolutionary class of society — the working class — becomes its leading force.

"For one or another reason, however, the proletariat did not have hegemony in the national-democratic revolution in most countries, with the result that other forces came to power.

"In one group of countries the imperialists, before withdrawing, succeeded in installing in power reactionary groups of the bourgeoisie and allied feudal elements. In this group of countries the advance of the national-liberation

revolution is resisted by the local reactionaries. Hence the principal task here is the winning of power by the national anti-imperialist forces.

"Another group of countries saw the advent to power of the national bourgeoisie opposed to the imperialist monopolies. The logic of the revolution impels it to strengthen the state sector, to build an industrial base, encourage the cooperative movement in the countryside and take other steps which, objectively, further the revolution.

"Of course, this group of countries is still subject to foreign economic exploitation and is bound up with the world capitalist economy. But this should not lead one to belittle the significance of the political independence they have won.

"In the third group of countries, power was taken by the representatives of the revolutionary national democracy and progressive intelligentsia expressing the interests of the people and resolved to settle the agrarian question and to achieve economic advance by revolutionary means. With the backing of the masses they are taking the road of resolute anti-imperialist struggle, striving to curb the capitalist elements.

"In tackling the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, general democratic revolution, and provided they do this consistently, the national-democratic forces are bound to rally around the banners of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism."

Proceeding from the study and analysis of the experience already gained by the national-liberation movement, and also of the trends of development, the nature of the class contradictions, the participants in the seminar expressed their views concerning the perspectives of national liberation.

In the light of Tunisian experience Mohammed Ennefaa said:

"The class antagonisms blurred only recently by the common struggle for independence are now coming into the open and becoming more pronounced. These contradictions engender opposition to the social and economic policies of the government, a trend hostile to the narrow interests of some sections of the national bourgeoisie. This trend, the weight of which is felt today, can grow and become strong enough to ensure that our country takes the non-capitalist road, the progressive and national road.

"The international situation today, which is characterized by the increased role played by the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp, will continue to develop under the influence of

the ideas of scientific socialism. The example of Cuba shows that any country, no matter how small, can follow the socialist path."

Mohammed Ennefaa went on to say that the process upon which the Néo-Destour leaders are embarking, that of developing state capitalism, even if in an embryonic form and organizing cooperation, is irreversible. With the balance of forces changing, it will become possible to counterpose the alternative of the non-capitalist way to private ownership.

"Hence," he said, "it is from the standpoint of the new world situation and with an eye to the perspective of the popular struggle for a state of national democracy, that we should assess what may come about as a result of carrying into effect the views of the nationalist leaders. The program adopted by the Seventh Congress of our Party takes cognizance of this perspective. As this program states, we are fighting for a state sector of industry, for more state intervention, for nationalization of foreign and wholesale trade, agrarian reform and more cooperation. We insist also on meeting the demands of the workers and the people generally, on respect for democracy and its extension, on imparting a more progressive social and democratic content to the state, namely, the content of a state of national democracy. Lastly, we advocate a consistently anti-imperialist foreign policy, a policy of struggle against the neo-colonialist intrigues, one that helps to secure the triumph of peace and peaceful coexistence.

"This perspective will be materialized as the result of a persistent struggle to change the present balance of forces in our country. It calls for conscious activity on the part of the Marxist-Leninist party. We have this party in Tunisia — the Communist Party. This perspective calls also for a stronger and independent political role of the working class and the poor peasants, stronger unity of all the national forces. It is towards this goal that our Party is working."

The perspectives of the struggle for a non-capitalist way, for national democracy, depend on who heads this struggle. Speakers emphasized that different social forces adhering to progressive positions can be in the leadership of this struggle at its various stages. But steady growth of the role of the working class in alliance with the peasantry is a must.

The role of the working class in the national-liberation movement was discussed by Ahmed Iskenderov (USSR).

"Of late," he said, "ideologists of monopoly capitalism and of part of the national bourgeoisie have been harping on the inexperience

and immaturity of the working class in the desire to prove that it is incapable of adopting an independent and active stand in the national-liberation movement. True, the working class in the newly-emergent countries is still young and it varies from country to country. But the facts speak of a steady numerical and organizational growth of the working class, they testify to the emergence of more Marxist-Leninist parties, to the advance of the working-class movement, to the growing role of the working class in the national-liberation revolutions and its becoming an influential political force. It is these features that determine the social role of the working class in the new countries.

"Clearly, the differences in the socio-economic and political position of the countries leave their imprint on the working-class movement, determining the forms and methods of the class struggle of the proletariat. Whereas in countries in which local capitalism is not developed in any substantial way, the working class is actually fighting against foreign capital and its mainstay — feudalism, in countries with a fairly developed capitalism things are more complicated. The situation there is such that unless the working class wages a vigorous struggle against the home variety of big capital which is closely linked to the imperialist monopolies and the local reactionaries, it will be impossible to abolish the dependence on imperialism.

"In a number of Asian, African and Latin American countries favorable conditions are taking shape for the working class to become the leading force of the national-liberation movement. I think that the further advance of the national-liberation revolutions will, in large measure, depend on the political maturity, unity and organization of the working class, on its ability to rally around itself its allies, primarily the peasantry, and on the steady growth of the prestige and influence of its vanguard — the Communist and Workers' parties."

Aziz Al-Hajj expressed his view on the role of the working class in the struggle for social progress in the newly-independent countries.

"There are, in my opinion," he said, "some wrong evaluations in the studies of some Marxists concerning the state of national democracy and the non-capitalist way of development. These could be summed up as an exaggeration of the progressive role of some national governments. There are views that some regimes led by progressive intellectuals can carry out general democratic transformations in the independent countries where capitalist rela-

tions exist but are not dominant, or where such relations have only recently become dominant and where, as a result, the national bourgeoisie is relatively weak. Supporters of these views even visualize the possibility of building socialism by these leaders. In my opinion, however, radical democratic reforms cannot be attained under the sole leadership of either the national bourgeoisie (even its Left wing) or the progressive intellectuals from among the petty bourgeoisie. For these transformations to be realized, the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party must play an active and influential role in the political development of the country. I do not see how it is possible to speak about the non-capitalist way of some of the African countries when their economies are restrained by imperialism.

"The active and influential role of the working class and its Party and the alliance of workers and peasants under the leadership of the working class is essential for the establishment of the state of national democracy and for non-capitalist development. The development of this role within the framework of the national and popular movement and also in the state bodies is essential for the further advance of the state of national democracy and for the transition from non-capitalist to socialist development.

"Naturally, the forms of the state of national democracy and the role which the various revolutionary class forces will play at a particular stage of its development, will differ from country to country depending on the particular conditions. The growth of the socialist camp, especially in the economic field, is a very important factor accelerating this process."

In regard to the state of national democracy Ardeshir Avanessian expressed the view that this state could be established under the leadership of the working class, the peasantry, the small bourgeoisie, intellectuals and army officers. Any of these classes and groups could, in his opinion, initiate the national-liberation movement and head it. However, it is only under the leadership of the progressive forces that a state of national democracy can arise. In countries with a developed working class, this class alone can be the leader of this state. In countries where the working class is poorly developed or non-existent, national democracy can win provided there is a firm alliance of the democratic forces. But in all cases the socialist system is bound to make a big impact on these processes.

Many speakers observed that regardless of the differing conditions in the various coun-

tries, one condition is indispensable for successful struggle for the non-capitalist way, for national democracy — and that is the unity of all the forces fighting for social progress.

"The realities of the situation," said Raul Gonzales, "have forcefully impressed on the national-liberation movement in Bolivia the need to fight for national independence, to build a front of all democrats and progressives in the struggle against imperialism and for a government representative of all democrats, headed and led by the working class enjoying effective support of the peasantry, progressive intellectuals and even progressive sections of the national bourgeoisie.

"The united front is needed in order to win genuine national independence, ensure independent, non-capitalist economic development, set up a representative government of all democratic forces, solve the social and cultural problems, abolish backwardness and take Bolivia onto the path of freedom, progress, social welfare, independence and happiness."

José Gonzales, describing the situation in Chile, said:

"Working-class unity will guarantee the success of the anti-imperialist coalition. The unity of the people's parties, above all of the Socialists and Communists, trade union unity and broad anti-imperialist unity should be the backbone and the motive force of the national liberation movement, the aim of which is to establish a people's government capable of fulfilling its tasks. The way to the formation of this government lies through united action by the working class and all progressives. The government should be representative of all the parties interested in implementing the common program."

The conditions for unity in Morocco and the role of the Communist Party in achieving this unity were examined by Tewfik Takali.

"Our policy of unity," he said, "should be founded on the need to ensure ultimately the advent of the proletariat and its Party to leadership. Of course, we must be vigilant with regard to the opportunist tendencies of the bourgeoisie. But the most important feature of the policy of alliance is its clarity and sanity. The Left forces in Morocco are by far not homogeneous, neither ideologically nor socially. They include large numbers of workers (belonging to the Labor Alliance), peasants and a considerable part of the small and middle bourgeoisie. The standpoints change and often are contradictory, depending on which social section wields the strongest influence at the given moment. But thanks to the day-to-day experience of the masses, the growing

contradictions in society and the painstaking explanatory work carried out by our Party, political awareness is growing and the Left are adopting correct positions.

"In an address to the Congress of the National Alliance of the People's Forces Comrade Ali Yata said: 'We have come here as your natural political allies who are waging the same struggle as you are, whose aims are the same, who meet with the same difficulties and who are registering the same success'. This is exactly the point at issue: the conditions of the national front are being concretized and we already have the core of this front — the Moroccan Communists, the National Alliance of the People's Forces, the Labor Alliance and the National Students' Union. Around this core all the sound forces looking forward to progress and democracy can and must be rallied.

"In the more distant perspectives — if we avoid any sectarian attitudes as, for example, disbelief in the ability of the Left forces to cooperate in the common struggle and jointly with us to give it guidance, if we carry on our explanatory work in a friendly and objective way but uncompromisingly when it comes to principles, and, moreover, thanks to the evolution of progressive forces on the international and domestic scale, an evolution which enhances political consciousness and ousts the Rights — the petty-bourgeois illusions and ideological confusion can be dispelled and the conditions created for building a single Marxist-Leninist party of the working class, the peasantry and the people as a whole.

"This, certainly, is not an immediate objective but a more distant aim. This aim can be reached if we work persistently towards it, if we fulfil our task, that of upholding the advanced ideology and combating all manifestations of sectarianism which can but repel sincere friends looking for the right road, and if we consolidate our Party and its mass basis.

"True, the rapid pace of the evolution and the development of scientific socialism will help the Party in its work. The better the Party is organized and linked with the masses, with the living sources of the nation, the more it will be in a position to apply Marxism-Leninism not as a dogma but as a means of emancipation, and the better it will be able to unite the progressives, attract them to genuine socialism, and extirpate the roots of imperialism and the remnants of feudalism."

Speakers stressed that the new conditions and the scale of the liberation movement engender a rich variety of forms of the struggle for social progress.

"The first question which arises before us in the political plane," said Majhemout Diop (Senegal), "is the character of the transition of the present Senegal state whose political independence is incomplete (limited as it is by membership in the French-African Community, the existence of military bases, etc.) to an independent state of national democracy. Will this transition be peaceful or violent?"

"As for us, we favor the least painful way since it is both humane and Marxist. The choice, however, does not depend on us alone. But, bearing in mind the world balance of forces, the existence of a powerful socialist camp and, consequently, the impossibility of export of counter-revolution (strikingly confirmed in the Cuban crisis), it is not excluded that the patriotic forces in our country, to the degree in which they unite and organize the masses, will be in a position to effect the necessary changes without having recourse to a violent revolution. However, if the parliamentary and bureaucratic bourgeoisie relying on neo-colonialism resists the changes and continues, as in the past, to use anti-democratic and violent methods against the people, it alone will be responsible for the inevitable retaliatory blow."

Majhemout Diop continued:

"Transition from the state of national democracy to socialist society in Senegal is a matter for the future. In this respect we have not made any great headway in our discussions. But we can visualize it as a peaceful transition. For, if peaceful coexistence on the international scale signifies peace between countries with differing social systems, could not national democracy in Senegal signify that a violent revolution is not inevitable? All the more so since the united patriotic elements are being educated and re-educated in the process of material and spiritual production."

The peaceful way to national democracy is possible also in Latin America. Summing up the experience of his Party, Oscar Creydt (Paraguay) wrote:

"On more than one occasion history has demonstrated that ill-timed revolts, instead of consolidating the national-liberation movement, weaken it. Be it the peaceful road or the way of armed struggle, the main thing is that Marxists-Leninists should from the start of the revolutionary process work to prepare the majority of the people for struggle for the state of national democracy which is the only effective means of combating imperialism and the latifundists, for passing over to the non-capitalist way and establishing relations of

close and permanent cooperation with the socialist states."

The problem of the non-capitalist way attracted the attention of all to the contribution of Zhambyn Batmunkh (Mongolia) who described the experience of his country, one of the first to take the non-capitalist way.

"The conditions that led to the victory of the people's revolution in Mongolia in 1921 should not, of course, be identified with the present-day conditions," he said. "First, at the time of the revolution in Mongolia the correlation of forces in the world arena was far less favorable for the progressive development of an economically backward country than is the case today. Today, as we all know, there is the socialist world system.

"Secondly, our country had to follow the then untrodden road of non-capitalist development. Today, on the contrary, there is a rich experience of countries evolving from colonialism and semi-colonialism to socialism, bypassing capitalism.

"Thirdly, at the time of the rise of People's Mongolia the disintegration of the colonial system had just begun, today this process is nearing completion. There is now ample opportunity for pooling the efforts of the newly-independent peoples in their struggle against imperialist pressure.

"For the countries remote from the socialist world the advantages which Mongolia had in having the Soviet Union as its neighbor are now compensated by the international weight of the Soviet Union and its technological advance.

"Mongolia's taking the non-capitalist way was the direct result of the ever-expanding and growing revolutionary contact between the working people of Russia and Mongolia after the October revolution. In point of fact, this was, as Comrade Tsedenbal put it, a class alliance of the victorious working class of Russia and the Mongolian arats (peasants), which ensured the victory of our people's revolution and subsequently the country's taking the non-capitalist way to socialism, and its successful advance.

"At the time of the revolution our country was under the yoke of foreign oppressors. Feudalism and serfdom were the order of the day. Mongolia was one of the most backward countries of Asia in its general level of economic and social development. All this conditioned the anti-feudal character of the revolutionary changes. The struggle was spearheaded against imperialism and then against feudalism, for the non-capitalist way.

"Of the greatest significance in implementing these tasks were the establishment of close trade relations with the Soviet Union, the opening of a joint-stock bank with the participation of the Soviet Union and the emission of our own currency, the foreign trade monopoly, and the beginning with Soviet aid of a national industry, modern transport and other economic and cultural facilities.

"A feature of the development of the state and cooperative sectors of our economy at the democratic stage of the revolution was that right from the beginning it followed *socialist lines*. In this it differed basically from the state sector of the economy of the newly-independent Afro-Asian countries.

"The growth of the state and cooperative sectors had a profound social consequence — the fact that a new, socialist formation took shape on their basis and a young working class was developing later to become the leading force of the people's democratic system.

"Our experience has shown that given definite conditions it is possible to solve a twofold task at the general democratic stage of the revolution in the newly-emergent countries, i.e., abolish the remnants of feudalism and at the same time create the socialist elements of the economy. By the 1940's our country had gradually passed over to the socialist stage of the revolution. Overcoming the grave difficulties of this transition, our people achieved outstanding success in every field of endeavor.

"Today Mongolia is a prosperous agrarian-industrial socialist republic, marching in step with the other fraternal countries towards completing socialist construction.

"Our experience has proved beyond doubt that given the existence and consolidation of the socialist world system the non-capitalist way can raise the people of the underdeveloped countries from their poverty, ignorance and backwardness to the material and cultural levels of the advanced countries within the life span of one generation.

"In our time the possibilities of non-capitalist development for the backward countries, far from shrinking, are being extended."

The seminar was addressed by A. M. Rumyantsev (Chief Editor of *World Marxist Review*) who stressed that it was not the purpose of the discussion to draw final conclusions, but to compare points of view and find common points. Not all aspects of the relationship between socialism and the national-liberation movement had been discussed; some had been examined more or less thoroughly, others merely mentioned. Many of the problems raised were still debatable.

Rumyantsev turned to a number of points raised in the discussion.

It is said sometimes that one of the basic contradictions of our time is that between the *developed* and *underdeveloped* countries. Is this view correct?

In analyzing social problems Marxists take as their starting point the class contradictions. In the socialist camp, too, there are countries at differing levels of development. But there are no contradictions between them. This is not the case in the capitalist world where the contradictions between the relatively more developed countries and relatively less developed countries are often very acute. And this is so not because the level of production in some countries is lower than in others, but because the underdeveloped countries are exploited by the developed imperialist powers.

Equally, we cannot accept the views of those who invoke Kipling's "East and West will never meet," that is, those who reduce everything to geographic or ethnographic differences. The real contradictions are not between East and West, but between classes, and above all there is the basic contradiction, from which all the others flow — the contradiction between socialism and capitalism.

This basic contradiction of our times determines all the processes of social development, including the national-liberation movement. There is not, nor can there be, a national-liberation movement in isolation from this basic contradiction. Nor can there be any victory of this movement without the successful advance of the socialist world system. This, which is the main thing, was emphasized by all who spoke here.

Of course, there are people in this world who deny or question the indivisible link between the movement for national liberation and the growth of the socialist world system. These are, above all, the enemies of socialism, the enemies of the freedom of peoples, who dream of sowing discord between the socialist and the emergent countries, to isolate the latter and thus facilitate the task of strangling the liberation movement. To break the bond between socialism and national liberation is one of the strategic aims of imperialism.

On the other hand, the link between socialism and national liberation is questioned sometimes by those whose Marxist knowledge is not enough to see the far-reaching character of the interaction and interconnection of world socialism and the national-liberation movement.

Some believe that the relationship between the socialist world system and the countries which have recently won political independence has nothing to do with social progress in the latter. Moreover, it is claimed that objectively the aid of the socialist states to the economically underdeveloped countries helps to maintain the status quo and gives comfort to the reactionaries. Such views, needless to say, have nothing in common with creative Marxism.

In the conditions of today the question of political and economic independence of *literally all countries and peoples* is on the order of the day. The material conditions for this have ripened long ago; today there are also the social possibilities. The material conditions existed even at the end of last century, but imperialism with its monopoly of the means of economic, political, ideological and military pressure, enslaved and ruthlessly exploited the colonial countries. Today things are totally different. And the determining factor in this change is the rise of the socialist world system.

The cooperation of the socialist countries with the national-liberation movement *helps to implement the inexorable laws of history* which cry out for the abolition of all national oppression. This alone testifies to the historically progressive role of this cooperation.

With the socialist world system now determining the basic content, the main direction and the main features of the march of history, the influence exerted by this system is multiplied, affecting as it does every aspect of the life of peoples fighting for freedom. The principal features of the all-round ideological, political and material support rendered by the socialist system to the national-liberation forces can be summarized as follows:

- the general line of socialist foreign policy (peace and general and complete disarmament) helps to create the most favorable conditions for national liberation and regeneration; the socialist countries are decisively countering the attempts made by the imperialist powers to meddle in the internal affairs of the new states, frustrating the designs to export counter-revolution;

- good relations with the socialist countries cement the political independence of the new countries, enhance their international prestige, and help to expand the "peace zone," the front of struggle against imperialism and for peace;

- the growing economic cooperation between the newly-emergent countries and the socialist world system is important for the development of these countries, an essential

element of changing the world economic patterns; this cooperation helps to abolish the unequal economic relations between countries, relations fostered by imperialism (direct plunder, unequal exchange, export of profits, etc.), helps to break up the colonial economic structure of the newly-independent states; at the same time it helps these countries to launch the production of the means of production, to build modern industry, to consolidate the state sector and to engage in economic planning;

- the newly-independent states find the experience gained in overcoming the backwardness of the one-time economically underdeveloped countries in the socialist world system useful in building an independent economy;

- no less useful is the cooperation in science and education and generally in training people for the various professions.

Objectively, the aid of world socialism to the liberation movements is indeed a powerful blow at the entire system of imperialist oppression. Naturally, imperialism does not scruple about the means it employs in order to maintain its grip in the former colonial and dependent countries, does not hesitate to use armed force (the latest example is British intervention in Brunei).

However, the existence of the socialist world system, the scale of the national-liberation struggle and the growth of the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries have created such a climate in the world that exercise of the old imperialist policy *as a whole* is no longer possible.

Examples are not wanting. Recall how the imperialists failed at Suez, how the socialist camp upheld the Iraqi revolution against the imperialist encroachments, how revolutionary Cuba was twice defended. Let me recall another example — Guatemala. At the time of the Guatemalan revolution socialism was not as powerful as it is today. And this enabled imperialism to perpetrate its black deed — to strangle freedom in Guatemala.

In present-day conditions the imperialists are on the retreat. In most cases they have had to recognize the political independence of their former colonies. The more far-sighted of them are forced to concede this in order to gain at least the reputation of being "benefactors" and to maintain their economic grip. At the same time they are looking for new ways of maintaining the *dependence* of these countries on the imperialist powers, economic dependence in the first place.

Winning political independence is undoubtedly a big gain for the liberation movement;

but the factor which ensures independent development is economic independence, the building of an independent national economy. And this is far from being an easy matter. Building a modern industry requires much capital and many trained people and these are the things the new countries lack. Hence the exceptional importance of socialist aid in helping the new states to get rid of the dependence on the imperialist powers and build an independent economy.

In this way, the main feature of the present phase of the national-liberation movement leading to the complete disintegration of the colonial system is the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism in its third stage, which is expressed above all in the growth and consolidation of the socialist world system.

What I have said, naturally, does not by a long way exhaust the content and the significance of the relationship between world socialism and national liberation. Their interconnection derives from their being expressions of the world revolutionary process, the ultimate result of which will be the triumph of socialism. Today, when capitalism has outlived its time, when the capitalist system as a whole is ripe for socialism, socialism has become a *universal* issue and at the same time an internal issue for each of the newly-independent countries. The social implications of the national-liberation movement are becoming more far-reaching and its progressive social trend more pronounced. Objectively, the mutual relations with world socialism facilitate this process, facilitate the entry of the newly-independent nations into the fairway of non-capitalist development which, through a series of intermediate stages, can lead them to socialism.

Little wonder, therefore, that in this situation different theories of socialism appear in the new countries. Many of these theories, let it be said, have little to do with scientific socialism. But even the proclamation of socialism as an aim and the adoption of corresponding programs can on the whole be assessed as a progressive phenomenon. It shows that in growing measure socialism is attracting the attention of all peoples, that it is seen as the opposite of capitalism in the sense that it is forward-looking and progressive, so that the act of proclaiming it as an aim helps to create and extend an ideological climate unfavorable to capitalism.

Here I would like to stress the following. The movements and forces striving towards socialism are wide and varied. The forms of life in the newly-independent countries are so

rich that no one yardstick suffices to measure them. Each country has its peculiarities. But the common, uniting factor is anti-imperialism. That is why the way and the manner of the change over to socialism should be regarded concretely in each particular case.

The perspective of the social development in the newly-independent countries is closely linked with the character and the social consequences of the growth of the state and co-operative sectors in these countries. The character of these sectors and the social content of the relations prevailing in them can be determined only if account is taken of the totality of social relations. These countries are tackling the tasks of socio-economic development from a low level of productive forces and social relationships, which in some places are of a feudal and semi-feudal or even tribal character, and without private capital.

This being so, the state and cooperative sectors embracing the most important branches of the economy represent a special form of *state capitalism*. The main thing here is that this is not state-monopoly capitalism, that it is pointedly anti-imperialist, its purpose being to uphold the national interests. Of course, state capitalism does not preclude the development of a national bourgeoisie, and power in the former colonies does not yet belong to the working people. Therefore, depending on the outcome of the struggle between the progressive and reactionary forces in these countries, their development may be marked either by the spread of capitalist relations or by the rise of socialist relations. For this reason I cannot agree with those who maintain that the state sector in the former colonial countries represents an intermediate stage between capitalism and socialism.

Even today it is obvious that the appearance of the state and cooperative sectors will have highly significant social consequences for these countries. Given the weak development of the national bourgeoisie, the establishment of state-owned enterprises is bound to be followed by the rapid growth of the proportion of the working class to society as a whole. I will not discuss the danger, at times grave, arising from the growth of bourgeois bureaucratic elements. Cooperative agriculture means increased farm production, all the more so since as a rule communal relationships prevail among peasants in the former colonial countries. Tendencies of this kind create the conditions for further progress, and strengthen the political base of the non-capitalist way, of the state of national democracy. This will be all the more evident if there is an extension

of democracy, education for the masses and better living conditions.

All this confirms over and over again the progressive role played by the interaction and interconnection of world socialism and na-

tional liberation, the significance of the all round support rendered by socialism to the forces of national liberation. Clearly, social progress on the world scale largely depends on this interconnection.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE COLONIAL SYSTEM

BY the time of the October revolution, colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries comprised 77.2 per cent of the area of the world and 69.2 per cent of the population. By the end of 1962, countries with a population of nearly 1,500 million had cast off the chains of colonialism. Their territory comprised 56.2 per cent of the globe.

The colonial powers have lost the major part of the territories in which their rule was undivided. Britain, for example, has lost 60 per

cent of the territory and 90 per cent of the population of its empire.

Today sovereign states account for some 97 per cent of Asia and about 75 per cent of Africa. More than 50 sovereign countries have replaced the former colonies. Fifty-five Afro-Asian countries are members of the U.N. (total membership is 110).

Still chained to colonialism are countries comprising 7.6 per cent of the area and 1.5 per cent of the population of the world.

ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE IN FIGURES

BEFORE the Second World War the mean annual rate of industrial growth in the colonial and dependent countries was in the neighborhood of one per cent, in the 'sixties it reached four per cent. The share of the economically underdeveloped countries in the industrial output of the capitalist world rose from 9.1 in 1948 to 13 per cent in 1961. This is the result of national emancipation, of the abolition of the extra-economic forms of colonial exploitation. This, however, is but the first step, for the countries in question account for well-nigh two-thirds of the population of the capitalist world.

★ ★ ★

Total annual "tribute" raised by imperialism from the Asian, African and Latin American countries in the shape of non-equivalent exchange and profits on investments is in the

vicinity of \$20,000 million, the equivalent of one-sixth of their gross national product.

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The scale of the tasks facing the newly-emergent countries can be gauged from the following figures:

—annual per capita income is about \$60, whereas in the developed capitalist countries it is \$800;

—daily food consumption in the underdeveloped countries is 1,850 calories, in the developed countries, 3,140 calories;

—the number of those who can read and write per 1,000 of the population is 135 and 985 respectively;

—the number of doctors per 100,000 of the population is eight and 102 respectively;

—the average life span is 35 and 65 years respectively.

SOCIALIST AID

THE socialist states are generous in their aid to the new countries.

The total of Soviet credits and other aid to the economically backward countries has amounted to nearly 3,000 million rubles over the past few years. Among the recipient countries are India, Indonesia, Afghanistan, the UAR, Iraq, Cuba, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Mali and other states in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The scale of Soviet aid is growing annually. In 1959, for instance, the USSR helped in building 100 industrial enterprises in the newly-

independent countries, in 1960—300, and in 1961—350. According to figures available by the end of 1962, about 480 industrial enterprises and other projects are being built in Afro-Asian countries with Soviet technical aid. These include 34 iron and steel and non-ferrous metals works, over 30 engineering plants, over 20 oil refineries and chemical plants, and 20 power stations.

Over 400 projects are being built in the newly-independent countries of Asia and Africa with the aid of other socialist countries.

Thanks to the socialist aid these countries

are in a position to obtain credits from the imperialist powers at lower interest rates. Whereas some ten years ago credits were

granted at an interest rate of 7-8 or more per cent, today the rate has dropped to 3-4 per cent. Such is the indirect aid of socialism.

V. I. LENIN SAID:

"... the revolutionary movement of the peoples of the East can now develop effectively, can reach a successful issue, only in direct association with the revolutionary struggle of our Soviet Republic against international imperialism."

(Address to the Second All-Russian Congress of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East.)

"If the victorious revolutionary proletariat conducts systematic propaganda among them, while the Soviet governments come to their assistance with all the means at their command — in that event, it would be wrong to assume that the capitalist stage of development is inevitable for the backward nationalities . . . These backward countries can, with the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries, pass over to the Soviet system and, through definite stages of development, to communism, without having to go through the capitalist stage."

(Report of the Commission on the National and Colonial Questions to the Second Congress of the Communist International.)

W.M.R. INTERVIEWS

Patriotic Forces of Venezuela Grow Stronger

Rodolfo Ghioldi

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW interviewed Simon Saez Merida, one of the leaders of the Left Revolutionary Movement and member of Parliament in Venezuela, concerning the situation in his country. We print here a record of the interview.

HOW did the Left Revolutionary Movement come into being and what is its program?

The party was formed after President Betancourt and his associates betrayed the workers, peasants and students who formerly belonged to the powerful Party of Democratic Action. Democratic Action, which had won considerable support, advanced a program of anti-imperialist struggle, agrarian reform and independent economic development for Venezuela to repair the damage wrought our country by Washington's colonialist policy and the semi-feudal economic structure.

The people rallied behind this program, hence the mass support for the Democratic Action. The mass following was due least of all to the extraordinary qualities attributed to the leader himself. The demands advanced by the Democratic Action sustained the people's faith during the struggle against the Jimenez dictatorship. It was this popular faith in the

fulfilment of these demands by the party leadership that brought Betancourt to power in the 1958 general election.

The forces now united in the Left Revolutionary Movement are people who at the time of the struggle against the Jimenez tyranny had grave doubts as to the loyalty of Betancourt and his group to the national-revolutionary demands. Hence, as the Left wing of the Democratic Action, we vigorously opposed his nomination for the presidency, and after the election we waged an ideological struggle against the Betancourt supporters.

As soon as he came to power Betancourt began openly to act as an agent of the North American monopolies. He made a pact with the reactionary military and the anti-national pro-imperialist bourgeoisie, and distorted the basic principles of the agrarian reform. He has taken part in all manner of campaigns and maneuvers against revolutionary Cuba, and has

been steadily encroaching on the democratic freedoms which the people won on January 23, 1958.

These circumstances explain why we could no longer remain in the Party of Democratic Action. Joined by large numbers of young people, workers, peasants and intellectuals, we formed a new party — the Left Revolutionary Movement. At the same time we announced that our ideological standpoint, our basic doctrine was Marxism-Leninism. The proclamation of our adherence to Marxism-Leninism was no political "aberration" on our part. On the contrary, we turned to Marxism-Leninism because we recognized the ideological paucity of Social Democracy and had experienced its opportunism at every step, because we had been the victims of its unprincipled muddle-headedness. We are building our Party on a Marxist-Leninist foundation, convinced that Marxism-Leninism is the only reliable compass that can help us to move forward, explaining the causes of our country's backwardness and pointing the way to its liberation.

As regards our program, it proceeds from the imperative need to achieve the complete national liberation of Venezuela. We consider ourselves the new vanguard which has unfurled the banner of national liberation and is striving, together with other parties and groups, to accomplish this task. In general outline our program provides for agrarian reform, independent economic development and industrialization, nationalization of the key industries and services, an end to the power of the North American monopolies and the establishment of a national democracy in Venezuela. The program of our Party regards these objectives in the light of the specific features of our national development.

What is your Party doing to unite the forces of the people against the reaction?

We maintain that North American imperialism is the chief enemy of our development and our freedom. The struggle against this enemy reflects the basic contradictions of our society. Like Jimenez before him, Betancourt and his supporters are the agents of North American imperialism. This is the cause of our country's backwardness. Hence we are concentrating our efforts primarily on the struggle against U.S. imperialism. And while our main blow is directed against this enemy, we are vigorously combating those who act as its agents in the country or who may serve as its political reserve.

In view of the grip of U.S. monopolies on our economy, in view of the political control which U.S. imperialism exerts over our govern-

ment and in view of the huge U.S. capital investments and the strategic value of the raw materials extracted in our country, we believe that to defeat imperialism the only correct strategy is to build up a broad front of national liberation. This front would unite the working class, the peasantry, the middle sections, progressive intellectuals and the bourgeoisie not associated with the monopolies, and would help to organize and extend the emancipation struggle. Jointly with the fraternal Communist Party of Venezuela, we have fought consistently for the establishment of such a front and will continue to do so.

Today we can say that the front is functioning, directing the struggle against the Betancourt government. But at the moment it embraces only four of the political sectors of the broad opposition movement, hence it should be bigger and better organized. Our hope is that eventually it will be. We know that it takes time to build up a front of this kind. It cannot be established by decree. It takes shape in the course of the struggle, and its effectiveness corresponds to the development and needs of that struggle.

The National-Liberation Front is the best instrument and the most effective form for waging the fight against imperialism, against domestic reaction and for national independence. We are doing everything in our power to broaden the front and will continue to do so.

In what way do you see Venezuela achieving full independence?

The political forces and progressives united in the National-Liberation Front have from the very beginning of their struggle against the Betancourt government placed the accent on normal peaceful activity. But as soon as he took over power, Betancourt clamped down on the Communist Party and tried to isolate it. He succeeded in splitting the broad democratic unity which on January 23, 1958, overthrew the Jimenez dictatorship.

Neither our peaceful struggle nor our efforts to solve in a normal way the tasks confronting the country were any indication of passivity. The simple development of these forms of peaceful, constitutional struggle was enough to set the government machine of repressions in motion against the opposition parties and the people. On August 4, 1959, a mere five months after Betancourt took office, a peaceful demonstration of unemployed was fired upon, with the result that four people were killed and dozens wounded. In 1960, Betancourt, ignoring constitutional guarantees, caused the offices of the Left parties to be raided, banned the oppo-

sition newspapers, introduced censorship, and imprisoned hundreds of people.

Faced with a policy of brute force, which destroyed civil liberties and crushed any attempt at popular protest, any demonstration, trade union or student strike, the popular movement was forced to prepare itself for all forms of struggle, peaceful and non-peaceful, and to apply them depending on the circumstances. The government was the first to resort to violence. In the beginning, the popular struggle took the form of simple self-defense and protecting mass actions.

However, when the repressions were intensified and the farce of representative democracy abandoned for naked dictatorship, we were forced to raise the non-peaceful forms of struggle to a higher level. In the four years of Betancourt's rule these forms of struggle have crystallized in four permanent centers of the guerrilla movement in the rural localities, dozens of armed detachments in the towns and a broad patriotic sector in the army. All this comprises the armed forces of the Front of National Liberation.

But while the popular movement has been compelled to resort to non-peaceful forms of struggle, this does not mean that it has ceased

to use peaceful forms. It is for this reason that the more advanced contingents of our movement are today waging a struggle on all fronts: in Congress, in the legislative assemblies and in the municipal councils. But imperialism and its lackey Betancourt have left us with no other choice than accent on non-peaceful forms.

The winning of economic independence and genuine emancipation by peaceful means does not depend solely on the popular movement. We would like nothing better than to solve all problems peacefully in order to free our people from the grave consequences which are inevitable when force is used. But imperialism and its puppets have shown by their actions that they do not want a peaceful solution which would lead to complete national liberation. Venezuela is one of the most important imperialist colonies in Latin America. The vast foreign investments, the strategic value of the raw materials and the present balance of forces in Latin America lead us to this conclusion. However, although we continue to rely largely on armed struggle, we are, nevertheless, preparing the people for different forms of struggle to be employed depending on the attitude taken by our enemies.

Reviews

The Way of a Revolutionary

OVER 30 years ago, in 1929-1930, two groups of Indian revolutionaries were put on trial charged with "conspiracy for the violent overthrow of the lawful government," i.e., the British colonial regime.

The first trial, which took place in the city of Meerut, involved a number of trade unionists and Communists, including leaders of the young Communist Party of India. Two of the accused, S. A. Dange and Muzaffar Ahmed, had appeared earlier in the Kanpur conspiracy case. Others like Dr. Adhikari, S. V. Ghate, S. S. Mirajkar, Sohan Singh Josh, P. C. Joshi, etc., were active in the Workers' and Peasants' Party and subsequently in the Communist Party.

The scene of the second trial was Lahore, which not only had its historic associations with many anti-imperialist actions in the past, but was, in a few months, to witness the session of the Indian National Congress which defined its objective to be complete independence from British rule.

The leader of the group tried in Lahore, Bhagat Singh, and two of his associates were sentenced to death and executed. The three martyrs, particularly the leader of the group, Bhagat Singh, became legendary figures who inspired millions of freedom-loving Indians.

Ajoy Ghosh, who subsequently joined the Communist Party and acted as General Secretary from 1961 to 1962, an associate of Bhagat Singh, was among the accused in the case.

Ghosh's moving story of how the bureaucrats of the colonial regime tried in vain to break the will of the revolutionaries and how the courageous fighters for freedom led by Bhagat Singh fought back is the subject-matter of the first article written in 1945 in the collection of his works reviewed below.*

Ajoy Ghosh told this story against the background of anti-communist hysteria worked up by the Congress leaders. No less a person than

*Ajoy Ghosh. *Articles and Speeches*.

Pandit Nehru had said "the Communists were on the other side when the people of India were fighting imperialism."

These words were seized upon by Nehru's followers for their anti-communist campaign which at times led to physical assaults on Communist leaders and to raids on Party premises. It was, therefore, with a sense of righteous indignation that Ajoy Ghosh told the story of these heroic fighters and concluded with the words: "And when a national leader of Pandit Nehru's eminence repeats the same charge, the faces of these comrades who spent the best part of their young lives in prison rise before my eyes. Of Gaya Prasad who was dying of T.B., of Shiv Varma who, when down with pneumonia and groaning with pain during the hunger strike, refused not merely medicine but even a sleeping pill, of Jaidev who was flogged for upholding the honor of the political prisoners, of Kishori from whom after months of torture the police failed to extract a single word.

"Are these the men who would be devoted to a cause which is the cause of traitors? Are these the men who would be loyal members of a Party of traitors?"

"Let the Pandit ponder over the question."

The article unfolds the process through which a generation of Indian revolutionaries relinquished the ideas of individual terror and adopted the revolutionary practice and theory of Marxism-Leninism. A sense of frustration prevailed in the ranks of the revolutionary youth after the failure of the 1921-1922 mass movement led by Gandhi. Interminable discussions took place to decide on what action to take.

"Socialist literature began to trickle in," says Ajoy Ghosh. "The triumph of the October Revolution, the consolidation of the socialist regime in Russia and, more than anything else, the aid given by the Soviet Union to Asiatic countries like Turkey and China against imperialist powers attracted us to the new socialist state and to the ideas and principles it embodied." The young people were stirred too by the big strike of the Bombay workers led by the Girni Kamgar Union, and by the strike struggles in Calcutta, Kanpur and other centers.

But they were still under the all-pervading influence of the philosophy of terror. "Armed action by individuals and groups," says Ajoy Ghosh, "was to remain our immediate task. Nothing else, we held, could smash the constitutionalist illusions, nothing else could free the country from the grip in which fear held it."

This belief in terror was the main point of difference between Bhagat Singh and his comrades, on the one hand, and the group of revolutionaries involved in the Meerut trial, on the other. "Bhagat Singh and some others among us," Ghosh writes, "had even contemplated some kind of a working alliance with them — the Communists — to organize the masses and conduct the mass movement, we of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association to act as its armed section. But when we discovered that the Communists considered armed action by individuals to be harmful to the movement, we dropped the idea."

Gradually, however, the experience in jail, as well as developments outside, convinced them that the method of individual and group terror was futile and many of them accepted Marxism-Leninism. The article explains how the author joined the Communist Party after his release, how many of his comrades who were not released joined the Communist Party while in jail.

Ghosh's experience of revolutionary work both before the Lahore case and during the trial was an asset to the Party. It was, therefore, not surprising that he became a member of the Central Committee and, subsequently, of the Political Bureau.

As a leading member of the Party and as member of the Editorial Board of the *National Front*, the Party's weekly paper, Ghosh played an outstanding role in winning anti-imperialists for Marxism and for the Communist Party. His articles on the diverse topics of the day made the *National Front* an effective tribune of the Party and helped to mould the thinking of young patriots all over the country and to educate them in Marxism-Leninism as applied to the concrete problems of Indian reality. As one who was so influenced by the *National Front* and by the Ghosh articles, I would like to see in subsequent editions of the present volume his writings of the *National Front* period.

The articles and speeches brought together in this book throw a clear light on the complex problems facing the country in a period of great significance in India's political history.

The year 1952 saw the political influence of the Party growing fast. It became the leading opposition party in Parliament and in some of the state legislatures. But it lacked ideological and political unity in its ranks. It was a period in which, with the rapid growth of membership, the task of building an ideologically steered and tempered Party acquired great importance. The situation called for the leader-

ship of a genuine Marxist-Leninist who could combine firm and uncompromising adherence to fundamentals with flexibility in applying them to the concrete and ever-changing conditions in the country. And this leadership was supplied by Ajoy Ghosh, as can be seen from the articles and speeches collected here.

The basic question posed before the Communist movement in India at that time was the role of the Indian bourgeoisie. The theory that the attainment of independence had resulted in the Indian bourgeoisie losing its national character, in sending it into the arms of imperialism and feudalism had become thoroughly discredited. It was becoming clear that the progressive role of our bourgeoisie had by no means been exhausted.

New relations of friendship and cooperation were cultivated between the government headed by the national bourgeoisie and the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union. Together with such other Afro-Asian countries as the UAR, Indonesia, Burma, etc., and with socialist countries like People's China, India began to play a significant role in strengthening the anti-colonial struggles in Asia and Africa. The principles of Panch-Shila, jointly evolved by India and People's China, were thorns in the side of the imperialists headed by the United States, as well as of reactionaries in India.

Economic and cultural cooperation was developing between India and the socialist countries. These developments were reflected in the internal policies as well, as could be seen by the new economic policies, such as the building of heavy industry with Soviet aid, the establishment of a strong public sector, land reform, etc.

A fairly strong trend in the Communist Party refused to note the significance of these developments. Those who held this view saw the basic policy of the government headed by the bourgeoisie as compromise with imperialism and feudalism and believed that the above-mentioned shifts in policy were not of great significance. Ghosh argued against this trend, saying:

"The big bourgeoisie entered into a compromise with imperialism not in order to retain the colonial order intact but in order to realize its own ambitions — capitalist development in its own interests as distinct from imperialist interests." Furthermore, "the general election in India and subsequent events revealed the growth of mass discontent in the country, a serious weakening of the mass base of the ruling Congress Party, and growing radicalization of the masses manifested in

the demand for basic economic and social reforms, for rapid abolition of the backwardness of the country and the poverty of its people. This was an extremely serious state of affairs with which the dominant bourgeois leadership had to reckon. The rise of the socialist world market offered new opportunities for industrial development and also an extremely useful bargaining counter with the imperialists. Hence the antagonism with imperialism which had always been present — though in a dormant form after 1947 — began to come to the forefront, the conflict began to sharpen."

This conflict between the Indian bourgeoisie and imperialism opened the way to united action between the progressive forces led by the working class and the state headed by the bourgeoisie. This, however, did not mean that the progressive forces led by the working class should join hands with the government, as advocated by some comrades. These comrades argued that the bourgeoisie had split into a compromising, reactionary section and a progressive section; that the government headed by Nehru represented the progressive section; that is why certain progressive trends can be observed in the policies of the government; hence the conclusion: the task of Indian Communists and other progressives is to support this progressive section as against the reactionaries. Rejecting this whole understanding, Ajoy Ghosh pointed out: "The Indian bourgeoisie is certainly no undifferentiated, homogeneous mass. There are monopolists and non-monopolists, the big and the small, those with greater links with imperialism and those with less, those with closer ties with feudalism and so on. But the whole bourgeoisie is national in the sense that its interests as a class are not identical with imperialism but on the contrary come into conflict with it. The class as a whole wants independent capitalist development.

"Again, the class as a whole wants to carry through this capitalist development by (a) strengthening its position vis-à-vis imperialism; (b) by curbing feudalism; (c) by simultaneously maintaining its links and compromise with British capital and alliance with landlords; (d) by throwing the burdens of this development on the mass of the people. This is the general policy. On this general, basic policy, there is agreement among the bourgeoisie as a whole, especially among all sections of big bourgeoisie. The conflict over policies that arises is within this basic framework. Compromise and struggle are not two different policies of two different sections but two

aspects of the basic policy of the class as a whole."

The practical conclusion which emerges from this analysis is that while the proletariat and its Party take a positive attitude to those government policies and measures which help the cause of progress and democracy at home and peace in the world, the Party cannot afford to renounce its independent role of opposition to the government and its policies wherever they come into conflict with the interest of progress, democracy and peace. This general stand of the Party towards the government is explained again and again in relation to issues that cropped up and which are examined in the articles and speeches.

An interesting aspect of the analysis of the political situation made by the author concerns his assessment of the Congress and the other political parties:

"The Congress has been and is an extremely important factor in the political life of our country. This is not surprising in view of the role it played in the struggle for national freedom and taking measures to consolidate independence under Nehru's leadership. The influence of the Congress, though less than it was in the days of the freedom struggle, is vast and extensive. It extends to all classes — including big sections of the working class. It extends to the peasantry, the artisans, the intellectuals, and others. Nehru's influence is even wider. We cannot build the national democratic front by ignoring this big reality of the Indian situation."

But, he points out, it would be wrong to think "that a general united front with the Congress is possible today — that is, with the Congress *as it is*." Why? "Because the Congress is the organ of the national bourgeoisie *as a whole*—including its Right wing. Moreover, after independence, it has been joined by many reactionary forces that opposed the national struggle — landlords and others. Many of the old leaders have got corrupted by their links with big business. Many new people have come in who had nothing to do with the national movement. All this finds reflection in many of the practices of the Congress and its governments."

"At the same time," the analysis continues, "it would be a big mistake to *equate* the Congress with parties of Right-wing reaction. Many of the declared policies of the Congress and some of the measures are, in today's context, *progressive* — foreign policy, public sector, secularism, and so on."

Calling for earnest efforts to build unity with the Congress as a political party, he asks:

"Can we defend India's foreign policy, can we defend the public sector, can we defend the parliamentary system — without forging links with Congressmen and winning their support? Can we fight communalism effectively except in cooperation with them?" And he answers: "Evidently we cannot. It follows, therefore, that an approach has to be adopted which takes into account the loyalty of Congressmen towards their organization and their sentiment. Time and again direct appeal will have to be made not only to the Congress masses, Congressmen, but also to *Congress committees* — taking into account the issue concerned and the concrete conditions in the locality."

While emphasizing the importance of striving to build unity with Congressmen and Congress committees, warning is also given against the tendency to consider "that there are no progressives and democrats in the other parties and also among those who belong to no party." It is pointed out that, on the other hand, progressives and democrats in other parties and belonging to no party "constitute a vast number." "While a big section of the masses owe allegiance to the Congress, there is also a big section which either follows parties other than the Congress or is not attached to any party. We have to make every effort to draw all of them into common activity."

Special mention is made, in this connection, of the parties of Social Democracy — the Praja Socialist Party and the Socialist Party: "The leadership of these parties, especially that of the PSP, is in many respects more Rightist than the Congress. At the same time, the ranks are, broadly speaking, Left and socialist-minded. Hence the need, while waging a sharp ideological struggle, for a correct approach to these parties so as to draw them and especially their following, wherever possible, into common activity and struggle."

The emphasis, in short, is on the need to intensify efforts to unite all patriotic and democratic forces in the country — regardless of whether they belong to the ruling party or opposition parties, or whether they do not belong to any political party at all. This unity is to be built in order to bring about "democratic reforms: defend and strengthen all that is progressive in the government's policies; oppose those policies which harm the people and retard the pace of economic development; reverse those policies; and bring about a sharp *shift to the Left*."

Such is the content of the political line evolved by the Party under the leadership of Ajoy Ghosh. In the process of elaborating this policy, he had to carry on a simultaneous

struggle against the Right as well as the Left opportunist trends which made their appearance in the Party. The extent to which he succeeded in this simultaneous struggle and in building the Party as the militant vanguard of the Indian working class and as the leader of

the progressive forces, is seen by the universal esteem in which he was held by all sections of the Party, and by the warm tributes paid to him by all sections of the people.

E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD

Communications and Comment

Nigeria Awakens

(Letter from Lagos)

NIGERIA is not only important as the largest African country in terms of population (38,000,000) but also as one of the richest and most strategic countries on the African continent. Four-fifths of the population follow agricultural pursuits and specialize in the production of palm oil and shea-nuts. For output and export of these goods Nigeria ranks first in the world. Other crops include peanuts, cocoa, rubber, cotton and bananas. These are also the country's main items of export. For home consumption, the Nigerians grow cassava, yam and millet.

Nigeria is rich in minerals — tin, columbite, iron ore, oil and coal. Its output of columbite is the world's biggest. In 1960 oil output equalled 1,500,000 tons and coal output, 800,000 tons. It is a country with vast possibilities if only the remnants of colonialism can be eradicated and the social energies of the people mobilized for national reconstruction.

Political Parties

All in all, there are 20 political parties in the country, but most of them have no nationwide organization and do not wield much political influence. The three major parties are the National Convention of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), the Northern People's Congress (NPC) and the Action Group (AG).

The NCNC is the oldest, best organized and most experienced party. It controls the Eastern Regional Government and is a partner in the Federal Coalition Government in Lagos. It secured 29 per cent of the votes in the 1959 federal elections and won 90 seats in Parliament.

The NCNC, the vehicle of the republican socialist traditions, heads the national struggle for independence. In addition to workers and peasants, its membership includes artisans,

small and middle bourgeoisie, intellectuals and students. The chiefs of the Ibo tribe have also joined the party. The peculiarities of its class structure — the main source of inter-party dissension — and the Fabian tactics of its bourgeois leadership prevent it from following a full-blooded socialist program.

The Northern People's Congress is a party of the feudal emiral elements and upper classes in the predominantly Muslim North. In the 1959 Federal elections it secured 24 per cent of the vote and 150 seats in Parliament. It is the ruling party in Northern Nigeria and holds most portfolios in the Federal Government.

But it has no nationwide appeal or organization—and it has relied strongly on British imperialist advice and is oriented towards pan-Arabism. The NPC was the last of the major parties in Nigeria to accept the demand for independence and it is no accident that the democratization of local government and social organization have been slowest in its area of authority (Northern Nigeria).

Even so, like the NCNC and the Action Group, the NPC has since independence stepped up the training of local officials to replace foreign technicians and administrators. In recent years it has made some attempts to introduce democratic elements in local administration and to establish new industries under state auspices — textile, cement, canning, plantation and handicrafts industries.

As for the Action Group, it won 72 seats in the 1959 elections. Until recently it controlled the regional government in Western Nigeria. A social diversity of membership and different political views held by Party leaders resulted in an inconsistent and wavering political course of the Group, in a combination of

progressive and reactionary elements in its activity.

The Right-wing clings to the old tribal-chauvinist traditions. This led to an open split in the party last year. Arising from rumors of corruption in its administration and plots to stage a coup d'état, the Federal government set up a commission of inquiry into the party's administration of public funds in six public corporations in the Western regional government, which was suspended for six months and a state of emergency proclaimed. Subsequently 25 of the party's leaders, including the President of the party Chief Obafemi Awolowo, were charged for treasonable felony.*

Ways of Economic Development

The new industries established in the country in the last six years have provided employment for many people and increased the production of consumer goods. In some cases, these industries have been established in partnership with foreign private enterprise which prefers the quick-profit-yielding industries like brewery, cigarette-making, banking, insurance and trading. Little or no attempt is made by the state to control either profits or wages, and the result is that often more is taken out of the country than is brought into it by foreign capital.

Economic development has been haphazard, in spite of the existence of a national economic council and the attempt by the various regional governments to set up state enterprises (banking, insurance, steel rolling, textile and produce trading) which would compete with private enterprise.

It is often forgotten by many African leaders that with independence mere nationalism will no longer be sufficient to inspire the masses with loyalty and enthusiasm for the task of social reconstruction that lies ahead, for there is a tendency for nationalism to go with the imperialism that brought it into being.

For to continue to depend on the imperialist countries for one's ideas, capital and technique is to be subject to them even if they have no army of occupation or colonial administrators in one's country. Colonialism consists essentially in economic exploitation of a dependent country, its resources and manpower, in the interests of the big monopolies of the imperial power, in the strategic domination of the country and its absorption in the imperialist bloc on the world scale.

Colonialism means the "development" of the country primarily as a source of raw materials and cheap labor, markets and spheres of investment, and in the maintenance of a political system capable of fulfilling these aims whatever its outward forms.

For intimating, two years ago, that, while at the moment we in Nigeria are encouraging the establishment of partnerships with foreign firms this country may in the future consider nationalizing certain basic industries like tin and oil mining, banking, insurance, steel and foreign trade, this writer was pilloried by the Right-wing leaders who saw it as a "creeping communism." But, as Nehru wrote in 1933, "if an indigenous government took the place of the foreign government and kept all the vested interests intact, this would not even be the shadow of freedom."

With the state ownership and control of the railways, ports, airlines, electricity, coal and the partial control of cement, catering, textile and ceramic production and produce trading it goes without saying that nationalization has been accepted in principle in Nigeria, and the only issue now is whether or not it shall be extended to other fields.

And here, it is interesting to recall that étatism is implicit in Nigerian law since the passing of the Mineral Ordinance in 1945 which vested in the Government "all minerals and mineral oils in, under, or upon any lands in Nigeria, and of all rivers, streams and water courses throughout Nigeria," and the present Constitution provides for the procedure for the compulsory acquisition by the government of private property. In its *Economic Survey*, 1959, the government expressly states that nationalization will not be ruled out in the future — all of which punctures the case of the dominant Right-wing leaders.

It has been argued that to speak of nationalization now will scare foreign investors. But this is a specious argument as old as imperialism itself. Replying in 1939 to African demands for higher taxation on the Gold Coast (Ghana) gold mines exploited by foreign monopolies, Governor Hudson said: "I am sure it would be a short-sighted and extremely harmful policy for the government to interfere in a matter of this sort, because capital is very sensitive and it might have the effect of driving it away to other parts of the world."

In an age when the Soviet Union is only too eager to offer huge loans at low rates of interest to the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa and the USA feels compelled to compete with it, no one really fears that the capital for our development will not be forth-

*The state of emergency was lifted as of January 1, 1963. Samuel Akiutola, former deputy leader of the AG, was appointed Premier of Western Nigeria. He has founded his own party—the United People's Party — and, in coalition with the NCNC, has formed the regional government.

coming. Even U.N. has devised special technical and other aid programs for the underdeveloped countries.

And here it might be stated that Nigeria, unlike many other African countries, is not poor in potential and what is needed is a new system of economic organization which would abolish foreign exploitation and allow the people to retain and use a reasonable share of their national wealth.

Foreign capitalists do not invest their money in other countries out of generosity or sympathy but in pursuit of profits, and these they get in areas where wages, taxes and living standards are lower and raw materials cheaper than in their home countries.

Foreign capitalists have had all the guarantees they needed in Nigeria during the past 100 years, but what have they invested in? Brewing, trade and mining mainly; in short, in the extractive, quick-profit-yielding industries in which they rob rather than enrich the country — one of the foreign companies in Nigeria recorded a turnover of £55 million in 1960 alone — while leaving the heavy industries severely alone.

Foreign investments in Africa never amount to much: for instance, between 1945 and 1955, U.S. investments (loans and aid) in Africa totalled only \$233 million, which is 0.6 per cent of U.S. overseas investments most of which were sunk in Taiwan, South Korea and South Vietnam in the interests of the cold war; in 1957 alone these three countries had \$670 million, half of the aid to the remainder of the underdeveloped world with a population of 1,250 million. European investors in Africa add perhaps another \$700 million a year, taking double that amount in profits while at the same time extorting political and economic concessions in the process.

Has this system of haphazard private investment solved the fundamental problem of the nation — the problem of unemployment, of uneven development and unequal prices for local produce, of extensive public education and health services? No, and it never will. As experience in Liberia, Puerto Rico, Iran, Guatemala and other countries has shown, foreign capital is a Trojan horse, that is, not what it seems.

Merely drifting on the eddies of chance and mendicancy will not do: there must be a national plan giving priorities and limiting the field of private investment, as countries like India, Ceylon and the United Arab Republic have done.

As a new country in the nuclear age, time is not on our side in Africa and we must

close the gap of centuries in a few years, in other words, live through the ages of steam, electricity and the atom in one generation. To do so, there is a need to mobilize all available materials and banking, insurance, mining, shipping, municipal transport and foreign trade. This will assure the state of more resources to plan the nation's development.

The Six-Year Plan for Economic Growth

The current six-year plan (1962-1968) shows a cautious sense of direction towards planned development. Estimated to cost £676 million out of which only £259 million is expected to be raised internally and the rest from overseas — including 80 million already promised by the USA, 15 million by Britain and nine million by Federal Germany — the Plan provides for a £70 million Niger dam project "to generate electricity and attract industries," an iron and steel project (£30,000,000) to produce 125,000-250,000 tons of steel with foreign participation, and a £4 million National Development Bank. Today only the state can bring the industrial revolution to an underdeveloped country since private enterprise is obsessed with security and quick dividends and lacks the capacity and mental approach to undertake the industrialization of the country. In a country where both capital and technique are generally lacking to the citizens, it is imperative that the state should play an increasing role in the development of industries and social services rather than merely coordinate the private plans of entrepreneurs.

For this is an age when the planning and direction of public services must be carried out by the government either directly or through its agencies; and already in Nigeria, in addition to workers' demands for nationalization of more industries, Nigerian traders and businessmen are protesting against the massive penetration of foreign monopolies in all spheres of our economic life. But merely to restrain the monopolists is not enough: the government should encourage the existing Development corporations to enter the industrial field in a big way and go all out to create a network of co-operatives to take over the distributive trade and handicraft industry.

* * *

The face of the new Nigeria is in many ways Janus-like, with one side looking backwards to the past where corruption, inefficiency, class-distinction and exploitation were the order of the day, and the other turning to the future with greater efficiency as the keynote.

The tradition of revolutionary struggle and the unquenchable yearning for a better life

encourages one to believe that this large and potentially rich country has a great future. At all the critical moments in its history the people's will has always been the supreme law. What is lacking today is a united organization of all progressives who are scattered

in various parties and organizations; however, in the inter-play of social forces these progressives represent the future and in time will be the determining factor in Nigeria's development.

Mokwugo OKOYE

Britain After the Brussels Talks

(Letter from London)

THE break-down of negotiations over the Common Market came after a period of utter humiliation. As is known, after being kept waiting for hours on the door-mat outside the Council chamber where Britain's application was being discussed, the British Minister had the door slammed in his face by de Gaulle. This humiliating rebuff set Britain in a turmoil.

In order to try to assuage the blow, and to explain away this collapse of his policy, Prime Minister Macmillan spoke to the people over television. He confessed that not only had his policy broken down, but that he did not have an alternative to place before the people.

Having over the past 18 months upbraided the people for their insularity, for their failure to realize that Britain was merely a small off-shore island of Europe and for their obstinacy in clinging to the outworn concept of national sovereignty, in which only Communists and Socialists believed, Macmillan appealed to the people to stand together, shoulder to shoulder, as we had done after Dunkirk. He spoke as if he had the entire nation behind him in his negotiations over the Common Market, when it is common knowledge that the nation was split, with the majority, including the working class, against entering EEC.

In order to deflect the people's anger from his policy he appealed to national pride. France was to blame, de Gaulle in particular. De Gaulle's "Napoleonic" ambitions were endangering the West. The unity that had sprung up in the free world between Europe and the United States was threatened. That unity had been forged when the "Russian Communist" threat looked like spreading right across Europe. "What folly," said Macmillan, "for anyone to put all this to risk."

It is all very well to invoke nationalism, but when the first wave has died down, there must be a policy to replace it, and the Tories have no policy. They are back to 1961 when the negotiations began. Now that the magic formula of the Common Market has been banished how are they going to solve the problems

of a stagnant economy? To that they have no answer. Despite the harassing economic problems facing the government, it is not these that are causing them concern.

It is a significant fact that most of the top Tory politicians and most of the Tory journals relegate the economic problems to a subordinate place when discussing the effects of Britain's rejection. Priority is given to the politico-military problems which it has brought in its wake. This underlines the truth of the point stressed by the Communist Party, that the Common Market was but the economic arm of NATO. "The worst effect of General de Gaulle's takeover bid for Europe is not the barring out of Britain, bad though that is for Britain and for Europe; it is the threat which the autarchic French new order presents to the Atlantic Alliance and to the whole structure of Western collaboration," commented the *Economist* in a leading article, and it concluded by saying that the political and military implication of de Gaulle's "sabotage" of the Europe the British wanted and needed to join far outweighed the economic. In the bitterness of defeat, the bourgeoisie are admitting the truth which they had long hidden.

Although the Tory government has had to acknowledge its bankruptcy, its prestige must be restored, or at least a semblance of it. And while it is true that the ruling class no longer dread a Labor Government, they would naturally prefer to have their "own" Tory government.

With a general election on the horizon, and with the public polls showing a majority for Labor, after the first few days of panic, a new sort of propaganda began to appear. This defeat was a "good" thing for Britain. Failure to gain admittance was after all not really the disaster we had first thought it to be.

In the quest for an alternative to the Common Market, the government is resurrecting long abandoned plans. The once despised EFTA organization has been disinterred. They have begun to flirt once more with the Commonwealth, and now give strong hints that the United States will extend a fraternal hand.

But these subterfuges are having little success. The drift away from the Tories continues. The people want a new government, a government with a policy that will lead Britain out of the present stagnation and defeat. The bourgeoisie cannot provide such a leadership nor such a program.

How has the Labor leadership reacted to the Tory debacle?

The Labor leaders have not abandoned the idea of entering the Common Market. There has been no demand for an immediate general election.

Mr. George Brown, M.P., deputy leader of the Labor Party, has suggested the creation of a National Planning Board (the big monopoly firm Imperial Chemical Industries has made a similar demand). Brown has called for powers to direct industry to the depressed "special" areas. He has also suggested "inducements" in the shape of tax relief and a higher investment allowance to entice private industry to open factories in these areas.

Mr. Dennis Healey, M.P., Labor spokesman on Commonwealth and colonial affairs in Parliament, has also made some proposals. According to the *Times* he said "providing we can pull ourselves together . . . there is still a great deal we can do to create new markets in the Commonwealth and EFTA and the United States." But this is exactly what Macmillan said he is going to do. Where, then, is the difference which might induce an elector to vote for Labor instead of the Tories?

The Communist Party states clearly, as it has done all along, that the Common Market was never a cure for Britain's ills, neither politically nor economically. The breakdown of negotiations was not a disaster. On the contrary the rejection of the Common Market mirage will enable Britain to face the facts: to understand that progress can only be made once the waste and parasitism of Tory policy is finally abandoned; that the economy can only be expanded on the basis of extensive planning and extended nationalization and control.

In order to begin to meet Britain's needs, we must put an end to the cold war and all that it means in terms of wasted effort and wealth. Let there be an expansion of trade with the Socialist countries, with the Commonwealth and developing countries of Africa and

Asia. Let British industry be modernized and expanded. Above all, so that all barriers can be removed, let there be an immediate general election.

Let the Labor Party once and for all come out clearly and unambiguously against the Common Market. Let it finally reject it, then Britain can attend to the business of getting its house in order.

There must be, says the Communist Party, a real effort to expand East-West trade. British adherence to the United States trade bans must be ended. So also must the refusal to grant favorable credit to the socialist states. There must be no refusal to accept Soviet products — as with oil — in part exchange for goods which they are prepared to buy.

The Communist Party endorses the demand for efficiency and increased production which is so often urged on the working class, but there are two sides to this question.

To the working class efficiency also means an end to Tory financial policies which help the banker, but which seriously affect industry and production and keeps the economy below capacity.

Increased production and efficiency also means an end to the wastage of national wealth in the arms race unparalleled for any country except the United States. No other European state will have such an enormous arms burden as will Britain in 1963-64.

No wonder the British economy is collapsing under the strains of such wanton waste and expenditure. By putting these resources to proper use, production and the standard of living would soar.

A genuine alternative policy would end the wage-freeze, would adopt genuine national planning, based on further nationalization in the interests of the people instead of in the interests of the capitalists as was done during the years 1945 to 1951 when Labor was in power.

Such an alternative policy to the Common Market would enthuse the working class. Adopted as an election policy by the Labor movement it could ensure a sweeping victory at the next general election. With the Tories out of power, the way would be clear for the advance of the British people.

H. FAGAN

Against the Persecution of Democrats

STAY THE HAND OF REACTION IN IRAQ!

DEVELOPMENTS in Iraq following the coup d'état of February 8 have aroused the deep concern of all democrats and friends of the Iraqi people.

The military putsch engineered by a group of reactionary officers sparked off a wave of atrocities directed against all progressives, all democrats and above all against the Communists.

On the very first day orders to "wipe out the Communists" were broadcast repeatedly over the Baghdad radio. Agency dispatches from Baghdad in the first few days of the coup reported that thousands had been murdered or arrested. Colonel Aref's cutthroats are hunting down democrats and Communists. So-called "national guards" break into the homes of democrats, slaughtering them and their families and plundering their possessions. The streets of Baghdad are strewn with corpses.

An account of the terror was given by Rudolf Werner, a deputy of the West German Bundestag, on his arrival in Beirut from Baghdad on February 11. "The hunt for Communists went on all day yesterday in all quarters of Baghdad. Police and the national guard are combing the streets and breaking into houses, tracking down and killing Communists."

As these lines are being written, the massacre is still going on. According to a France Press dispatch, the number of arrests is so great that it is difficult to determine the exact figure. Army barracks have been converted into prisons. Among the public personalities arrested is Aziz Sherif, General Secretary of the National Peace Council of Iraq and winner of the International Lenin Peace Prize.

Behind this orgy of blood unleashed by the reactionaries lurks the sinister shadow of the oil trusts.

That is why the anti-Communist hysteria in Iraq has caused such jubilation in the imperialist camp, writes *l'Humanité*. The new government is obviously anti-Communist, and this is a good sign, crowed John Glubb, ex-chief

of staff of the Arab Legion in Jordan, writing in the London *Daily Sketch*.

The Iraqi people, however, do not consider it a good sign. The new regime is encountering stiff resistance. Fighting continues in Baghdad, Basra and other parts of the country. Many civil servants are boycotting the new government.

"There is now the terrible danger," says the London *Daily Worker*, "that thousands of heroic patriots and democrats who have striven to achieve the aims of the July revolution will also be forced into an early grave."

Al Jaryda (Lebanon) stressed that the organizers of the coup have struck a blow at national unity and placed the future of the Iraqi people in jeopardy.

The French Communist Party statement declares that the French Party which has always supported the struggle of the Iraqi people and other nations for independence and for the right to dispose of their own national wealth, protest against this policy which can only play into the hands of the imperialists in the Middle East. "The French Communist Party calls upon all working people and republicans to demonstrate their solidarity with the patriots and democrats of Iraq."

On behalf of the Soviet people, the Central Committee of the CPSU issued a statement condemning the terror. "We firmly believe," it states, "that the policy of violence aimed at annihilating the best sons of the Iraqi people is doomed to fail. The freedom-loving people of Iraq will muster strength and, by united and vigorous action, will rebuff the frenzied reaction."

The World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Union of Students, The World Federation of Democratic Youth and other international organizations have protested against the massacres.

The blood of democrats, men and women, the prisons packed with thousands of people are a challenge to all peoples, to humanists everywhere. The enemies of imperialism, democrats and peace champions and all international organizations are protesting against the crimes perpetrated in Iraq.

AN UNJUSTIFIED MOVE

ON January 8, the government of Tunisia gave the Tunisian Communist Party formal notice to suspend its activities. This decision, a flagrant violation of the Constitution, followed the closing down of the Party's national newspaper *At Talia* and the progressive newspaper *Tribune du Progres*, and the institution of legal proceedings against the editors of both papers on a trumped up charge of "incitement to rebellion."

Seeking to justify these arbitrary actions, some Tunisian leaders have sought to cast aspersions on the Tunisian Communist Party, charging it with "sabotaging" economic and social progress and "undermining" the unity of the nation. They have gone so far as to allege that during the Protectorate the Communist Party had "opposed the struggle for independence."

These allegations are utterly false. Everyone knows that the Tunisian Communists made a big contribution to the national liberation. Many of them fell victim to the colonial repressions. Mohammed Ennafaa, First Secretary of the Party, for example, was sent to a French concentration camp. Hundreds of Communists gave their lives for the independence of their native land. During the French aggression in the Bizerte area, the Communists were in the front ranks of those who fought to wipe out this last stronghold of colonialism.

After independence was won, the Communists advanced a constructive program for the economic and social development of the country. They called for deepgoing reforms which would accord with the just aspirations of the people. Only recently, when the plot against the Bourguiba government was discovered, the Communists adopted a firm and unequivocal stand, condemning the method of assassination and conspiracy as alien to their principles and democratic convictions.

The Bourguiba government has sought in vain for a pretext to justify its action in the eyes of the public. It will have a hard time now to convince anyone that Tunisia is governed by democratic principles. Until recently Tunisian leaders pointed to the legal existence of the Tunisian Communist Party as proof of democracy in Tunisia. By banning the Party they have cut the ground from under their own feet.

The government's move in outlawing the Communist Party and closing down two progressive newspapers is a flagrant breach of the Constitution which proclaims freedom of the press and freedom of organization. The

fate of democracy now hangs in the balance. Public concern is also expressed in the resolution adopted by the Paris branch of the General Student's Union of Tunisia which "emphatically condemns the recent anti-democratic measures of the government and regards the banning of the two opposition newspapers *At Talia* and *Tribune du Progrès* as well as the outlawing of the Tunisian Communist Party, the only opposition party in the country, to be a serious encroachment on the last vestiges of democracy still existing in Tunisia."

That the alarm evoked by these anti-democratic measures is fully justified is confirmed by the fact that the authorities have called in the passports of all the leading members of the Party, as well as that of Dr. Slimane ben Slimane, chairman of the Tunisian Committee for Peace and Freedom.

Looking at the political situation in Tunisia one cannot but note that the anti-democratic campaign has coincided with increased pressure on the part of the imperialists. It is nearly six years since Tunisia won its independence, yet the economic situation is worsening and the suffering of the people is increasing. The government has thrown open the doors to the foreign monopolies. Only recently negotiations between France and Tunisia took place, and an agreement granting credits for the Bourguiba government was reached with the United States. The conclusion is obvious: the imperialists are presenting their terms and conditions, the former colonialists are dreaming of neo-colonialism (and not only dreaming!), and in Tunisia those who want to cooperate with imperialism are pursuing and supporting a reactionary policy. By their actions the Tunisian leaders are undermining the unity of the patriotic forces and jeopardizing the interests of the nation.

The decision of the government to outlaw the Communist Party has evoked protests both in Tunisia and abroad. In a statement issued on behalf of the Tunisian Communists, Comrade Mohammed Ennafaa declared: "This unjust measure will arouse the indignation of all working people, all democrats and all those who for years have been following with sympathy the struggle waged by the Tunisian Communists. It will arouse the indignation of all true friends of the Tunisian people."

This statement elicited a warm response from the democratic public in all parts of the world. The Communist Party has received messages of solidarity from many countries,

among them the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the French Communist Party, from the Communists of Algeria, Morocco and from other fraternal Communist Parties. Italian Communist and Socialist senators sent a letter of protest to President Bourguiba.

Democrats the world over cannot remain

silent in the face of action which strikes at the ardent champions of the national interests of the Tunisian people. They condemn the unjust measures of the Bourguiba government and declare their solidarity with the Tunisian Communists.

P.B.

IN DEFENSE OF PERUVIAN PATRIOTS

THE military junta headed by General Pérez Godoy which seized power in last year's coup d'état in Peru has set up a regime representing the financial oligarchy and the big landowners. This regime has introduced heavy taxes, thus adding to the impoverishment of the working people, and is crudely violating the democratic rights proclaimed by the Constitution.

In an effort to crush the resistance of the people demanding better conditions and an agrarian reform, the government early this year proclaimed a state of siege and launched a campaign of repressions against democrats. About a thousand workers, peasants and students, political leaders, school teachers, journalists, members of the National Liberation Front, members of the Communist Party, the Social Progressive Party and the Popular Action Party were arrested on the day the order went into force.

The repressions are being carried out with the aid of the police, the troops and mercenary shock guards made up of murderers and bandits. The patriots are thrown into jail or sent to hard labor camps in the jungles without trial.

Among the arrested are Luis Allvarado, Guillermo Sen and Emillano Uamantica — well-known trade union leaders. Miners of the Serro de Pasco Copper Corporation, dockers who demonstrated in the port of Callao, and many other patriots have been jailed.

In an attempt to crush the growing movement of the peasantry, the government resorted to a dastardly crime: the shock guards slaughtered close to a hundred peasants in Chauaiaya. The bodies of the murdered men were thrown into the river.

But the massacre failed to halt the mounting struggle. In reply to the crimes of the junta, some 700 peasants took possession of the land belonging to the Maray estate and which had been the property of the peasants from time immemorial. The peasants had been cruelly exploited on this land, forced to work from dawn till dusk for the miserable pittance of 25 cents a day. With the backing of the armed forces, the land-owners and employers in

a number of districts have smashed the trade unions and are dismissing workers wholesale. Some 500 workers employed at the gold mines have been thrown out of work.

These actions have the approval of the U.S. imperialists. The *Washington Post and Times Herald*, for example, writes that the arrests in Peru are the first real effort to strike a blow at the Communists rather than at the moderate Lefts. Washington officials, says the paper, believe that the suppression of Communists in Peru may pave the way to an improvement in the United States' relations with the ruling junta.

Protesting against the persecutions, the Peruvian Communist Party has declared that they are in the interests only of the oligarchy and the imperialists, who are seeking to crush the struggle, to destroy the trade unions and turn the coming elections into the greatest swindle ever perpetrated in the history of Peru.

The Communists and all progressives are exposing the lies about an alleged "Communist conspiracy" circulated by the government to justify the repressions. This maneuver is not new — it was employed in Peru in the dark days of the previous dictator, Sanchez Cerro. The present terror pursues the same aims.

The Communist Party, denouncing the conspiracy charge, has warned the government and those who support it that the people will not tolerate the brutality. In its appeal to the people, the Party urged all workers, peasants, and students, all revolutionary, progressive and democratic organizations and parties to join forces against the tyranny, and to give a swift and energetic rebuff to the provocations of the oligarchy and imperialism. It calls on the people to demand a general amnesty for all political prisoners.

The Communist call has met with a lively response both in Peru and abroad. The Students Federation of Peru, for example, has asked its attorneys to undertake the defense of the arrested students. It declares that it will not cease to fight for the release of all the prisoners and for observance of Constitutional guarantees.

Many of the prisoners are on a hunger strike,

protesting against the brutal prison regime. "More than a hundred of us have been packed into one small room," writes a group of prisoners. "The room is so crowded that we are obliged to stand on our feet day and night. The food and the sanitary conditions are unspeakable."

On behalf of millions of working people the World Federation of Trade Unions has issued a statement protesting against the repressions, the abolition of trade unions and civil liberties and the violation of the principles laid down by the Declaration of Human Rights. It has resolved to send a complaint to the International Labor Office and to appeal to the United Nations Committee on Human Rights to demand protection for the lives and liberty of the working people and trade union leaders

of Peru. The World Federation of Democratic Youth has declared its solidarity with the people of Peru. The International Association of Democratic Lawyers has sent a message to lawyers in all countries to petition the military junta in Lima or the Embassy of Peru for the release of the democratic lawyer Dr. Carlos Ferdinand Quadros, who has been exiled to a prison colony, and of all those arrested.

Displaying international solidarity, the progressive forces everywhere are warmly supporting the struggle of the Peruvian people for their rights, for freedom and democracy. They are demanding the release of all political prisoners, voicing their belief in the ultimate victory of the progressive forces of Peru.

I. SUMAR

FREEDOM FOR THE GREEK ANTI-FASCISTS!

DAY BY DAY the news from Greece gives increasing cause for anxiety, as the Karamanlis government proceeds with cold-blooded brutality to carry out its plan for the physical annihilation of political prisoners. Within the space of one month three National Resistance fighters — Jannis Vlahos, Lyssandros Nikolopoulos and Gheorgios Erithriadis — have fallen victim to this criminal plan. The lives of 1,200 prisoners, many of whom have been confined in mediaeval jails for the past 19 years, are in danger.

Who are these people? What crimes have they committed?

Gheorgios Erithriadis, for example, was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. In his youth he experienced all the hardships of life as a worker in the capitalist world. At an early age he tasted the bitterness of poverty, injustice and humiliation. Erithriadis joined the ranks of those who were fighting for the interests of the working people. As a member of the Communist Youth League, and later the Communist Party, Erithriadis for 35 years marched in the vanguard of the workers' struggle.

In recognition of his selfless service he was promoted to leading posts in working-class organizations and in the National Resistance Movement. He was elected member of the Central Committee and candidate member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party. Neither prison nor exile could break the spirit of this patriot.

Under threat of the death sentence, his judges tried to force him to break with the Communist Party. But Erithriadis did not falter. And so he fell victim to the accursed

regime which has borrowed its methods of treating political prisoners from Salazar and Franco and which is carrying out Karamanlis' notorious plan.

What is this plan and what is its history?

In 1952 the people of Greece, backed by the support of the socialist countries and progressives everywhere, forced the government to suspend the death sentences passed on the Resistance fighters. Thus deprived of the simplest method of dealing with patriots — execution — the authorities resolved to bury their victims in jails, to undermine their health and doom them to a slow but certain death.

Chronic undernourishment, combined with the rigorous prison regime have done their work; today there is hardly a single prisoner who does not suffer from one or more ailments. Among them are many war invalids and National Resistance fighters, several aged men and eleven women. Unless they are wrested from prison we shall before long be mourning fresh victims.

What happened to Gheorgios Erithriadis can happen to any of them. Though seriously ill, Erithriadis was kept for 17 months in strict isolation in the Idzedin prison on the island of Crete. And only when there was no longer any hope for his recovery was he removed to hospital.

A similar case was that of Jannis Vlahos. After his health had been thoroughly undermined, the authorities finally heeded the innumerable petitions for his release. But it was as a corpse that he finally passed through the prison gates.

This inhumanity has aroused wrath and indignation all over Greece and beyond its bor-

ders. Not long ago Bertrand Russell, writing in the *Guardian* said that many Greeks who fought in the Resistance and were thrown into jail by the Nazis are still in prison, where they have been joined by many other opponents of the intolerable regime. There is no excuse, the British philosopher declares, for a society which keeps its political prisoners in prison for twenty years, turning them into human wrecks.

The people of Greece are protesting against the mounting reaction. Thanks to their efforts, the Aghios-Eustratios prison camp has been closed and the national hero Manolis Glezos released. Prominent leaders, as well as workers, peasants and persons from all walks of life, are demanding the immediate release of the prisoners and a general amnesty.

In a statement on the occasion of the death

of Gheorgios Erithriadis, the Central Committee of the Communist Party declares that "in this hour of mourning we raise our voice to condemn the crimes of the Karamanlis government which keeps the national resistance fighters — the honor and glory of the nation — in chains until they die. The Central Committee urges all true men and women in Greece and other countries to redouble their efforts to wrest the imprisoned National Resistance fighters from the clutches of the executioners. Let the prison gates be opened so that the national heroes may come out alive, not dead."

The lives of our patriots are in danger. They must be saved! The tocsin sounds from Greece. Hundreds and thousands of voices throughout the world are demanding: "Freedom for the Greek anti-fascists!"

D. LAKKAS

ITALIAN WORKERS IN THE FIGHT AGAINST REACTION

THE reactionaries in Italy are continuing their drive against the working class and, particularly, against the strike movement. Recently arrested were Fioretto Fioretti, secretary of the Sesto San Giovanni (Milan Province) branch of the Chamber of Labor, and 19 workers of the Sapsa Pirelli plant. The charge against these men is that they took part in a demonstration at the time of the metal workers strike in June 1962 when they "obstructed traffic and insulted two policemen. . . ." Fioretto Fioretti was further charged with having "organized a trade union meeting at which more than five people were present."

These arrests, which can be described as one of the most flagrant anti-labor provocations in recent years, show that the ultra-reactionaries, having become more brazen, dare to attack the working people even when they were acting within their constitutional rights.

The charges preferred against the arrested men were so groundless that they had to be dropped and, as a result of the powerful movement, the workers were released.

In Avellino 66 workers in the Baiano canning plant were sentenced to a total of 55 years imprisonment on a "sedition" charge, that is, for their part three years ago in a trade union struggle for higher wages. Yet a Milan employer who opened fire on his workers at the time of the metal workers' strike is at liberty.

What is behind this offensive against the working people and democratic liberties? What is its relationship to the general political situation in the country?

To begin with there is the crisis in the "Center-Left" government. It is clear that the Christian Democrats have no intention of carrying out the policy of regeneration, of living up to their promises to curb the powers of big monopoly capital. From the very outset the Communist Party concentrated its political fire on this important issue, which was the basis of its January resolution of no confidence in the government.

The wave of strikes and public manifestations which set in with the formation of the "Center-Left" government demonstrated the militant spirit of the working people, their growing awareness of the need for a radical economic and political reconstruction. Besides purely economic demands, the metal workers, the most militant contingent of the working class, wanted democracy to be extended to the enterprises, and a bigger say for the trade unions in the matter of collective bargaining.

These actions infuriated the industrialists who retaliated with intimidation and victimization. The government resorted to the police in an effort to settle the labor disputes, thereby supporting the employers. This, naturally, encouraged the reactionaries. The arrests that took place in January showed what was in the wind. They pin-pointed the scorn of the Christian Democrats for the Constitution and for the democratic system generally.

In the light of the foregoing it is obvious that this offensive is aimed at depriving the working people of their democratic rights, including the right to strike.

What is equally obvious is that the reaction-

aries seek, with an eye to the forthcoming general election, to aggravate the situation in the country and to cause a split in the working-class struggle.

The working people, however, are becoming increasingly conscious of their strength, of the fact that right is on their side, and that reaction must be smashed. They are countering the anti-democratic offensive by intensifying their struggle and enlisting the support of all democratic forces. The strike movement is spreading to provinces hitherto unaffected by strikes.

Municipal councils, youth organizations, Left parties and deputies and intellectuals are joining in the struggle.

A relief fund has been started on the initiative of trade unions. The Trade Union International of Metal and Engineering Industries has addressed a call to the trade unions throughout the world for a solidarity campaign. The conditions are thus being created for going ahead with the trade union struggle, the most widespread in the country since the end of the war.

As pointed out by the Communist Party only a powerful and nationwide movement of the people, which will include Catholics, Socialists and Communists, can halt the reactionary offensive and turn the tide leftward.

E. SANNA

LETTER FROM SPAIN

THE HEARTS of the Spanish people are overflowing with pain, Spanish patriots have nothing but contempt for the Franco regime. The sentiment of the people is expressed in the many letters addressed to progressive newspapers and journals. One such letter has been received by our journal. The author, whose name for obvious reasons cannot be divulged, exposes the nonsense about the alleged "liberalization" of the Franco regime.

The report of the International Committee of Lawyers had the effect of a cold douche on the falangists. We Spaniards have not been able to see the full text of this important document, but the little revealed in the extremely confused and illogical statements made by Fraga Iribarne, the Minister of Information, and by the Minister of Justice Irujo were enough for us to understand why the Falangist chiefs were so put out by it. They know how they are detested by the people, whose eyes are being opened more and more to the rottenness of the regime.

The "liberalization" of the Franco regime is a myth. If Franco should ever venture to allow free expression of opinion his regime would collapse like a house of cards. Franco has never had the support of any but his own sycophants and adventurers. No man of honor can serve a regime which arose out of an ocean of blood and which rests on the bones of its victims.

The Franco regime was born by the sword and it lives by the sword. This is not past history, it is today's tragedy. The fate of that valiant son of Spain Julian Grimau and of many other patriots whom the Franco butchers tortured, bears witness to this.

Senor Iribarne recently made a sensational announcement: his accomplice Irujo is about to present the world with a pamphlet

giving the names of those who were sentenced to death and subsequently pardoned and who are now, thanks to the "magnanimity" of Franco, "freely walking the streets of Madrid."

What does the Franco government expect to gain by publishing such pamphlets? If they want to give some legal substantiation to their pamphlets they must do more than enumerate the names of those pardoned. They would have to give the legal grounds for the sentences. The functions of the Franco courts are obviously identical in every province. Here in Las-Palmas, for example, where the fascists took the upper hand in the very first day of their insurrection, their sentences were so brutal that to this day the inhabitants cannot think of them without a shudder.

The Franco government should give the world the names of those whom they hunted down, those whom they hurled into the Jinar pit, into the ravines of Agaete and Galdar. The victims are legion, the tortures they endured defy description!

A group of patriots in Arucas were condemned to death. If Fraga Iribarne wished, he could investigate the frame-up against these men. We, democrats, are determined to do so the moment liberation is won. Many other patriots were annihilated in the same way. Franco in those days staged a disgusting legal farce in an attempt to intimidate the people.

Peaceful citizens, who though sincere democrats, were unable to see through the diabolical cunning of Spanish fascism, lived for years in the hope that a glimmer of light would eventually pierce the gloom. Minister Iribarne might publish the lists of those of us who month after month sat in jail waiting each night to be hauled before a firing squad at dawn. Every night at the same time the fatal list was read out. These are the lists the Franco government should reveal to the world.

The people of the world know where the truth lies when the question of the tyranny

of the Spanish fascist regime is brought up. If Ministers Iribarne and Iturmendi had a spark of conscience they would be unable to utter a single word in defense of the worst regime in Spanish history.

Why don't the Ministers invite the International Committee of Lawyers to investigate the trials which figure in the pamphlet they are preparing for the press? The answer is clear: because Franco and his government, the whole police regime are rotten to the core — the worst enemies of Spain.

Las-Palmas-de-Gran-Canaria

B.S.

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