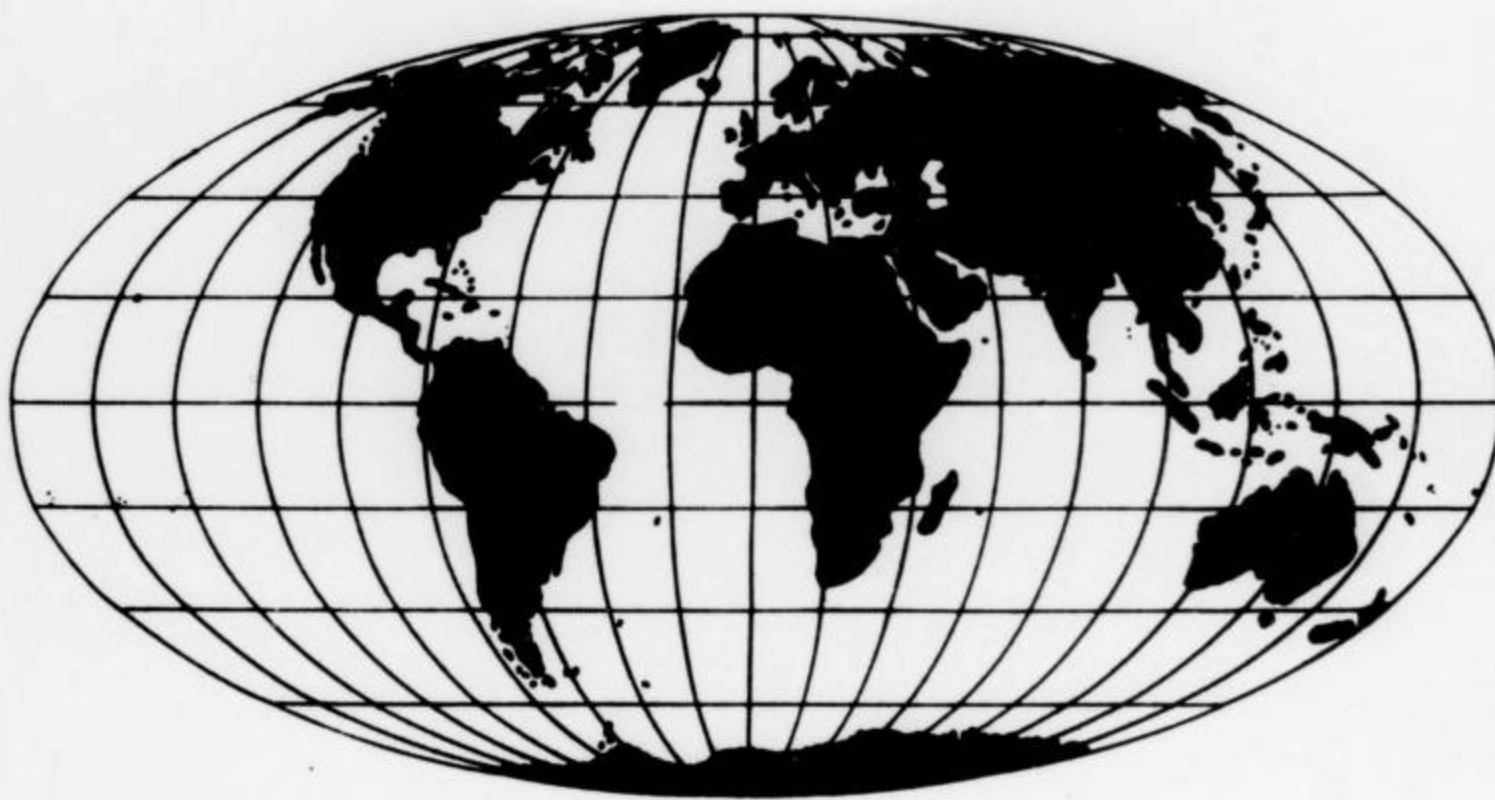


WORLD MARXIST REVIEW



Problems of Peace and Socialism

In This Issue:

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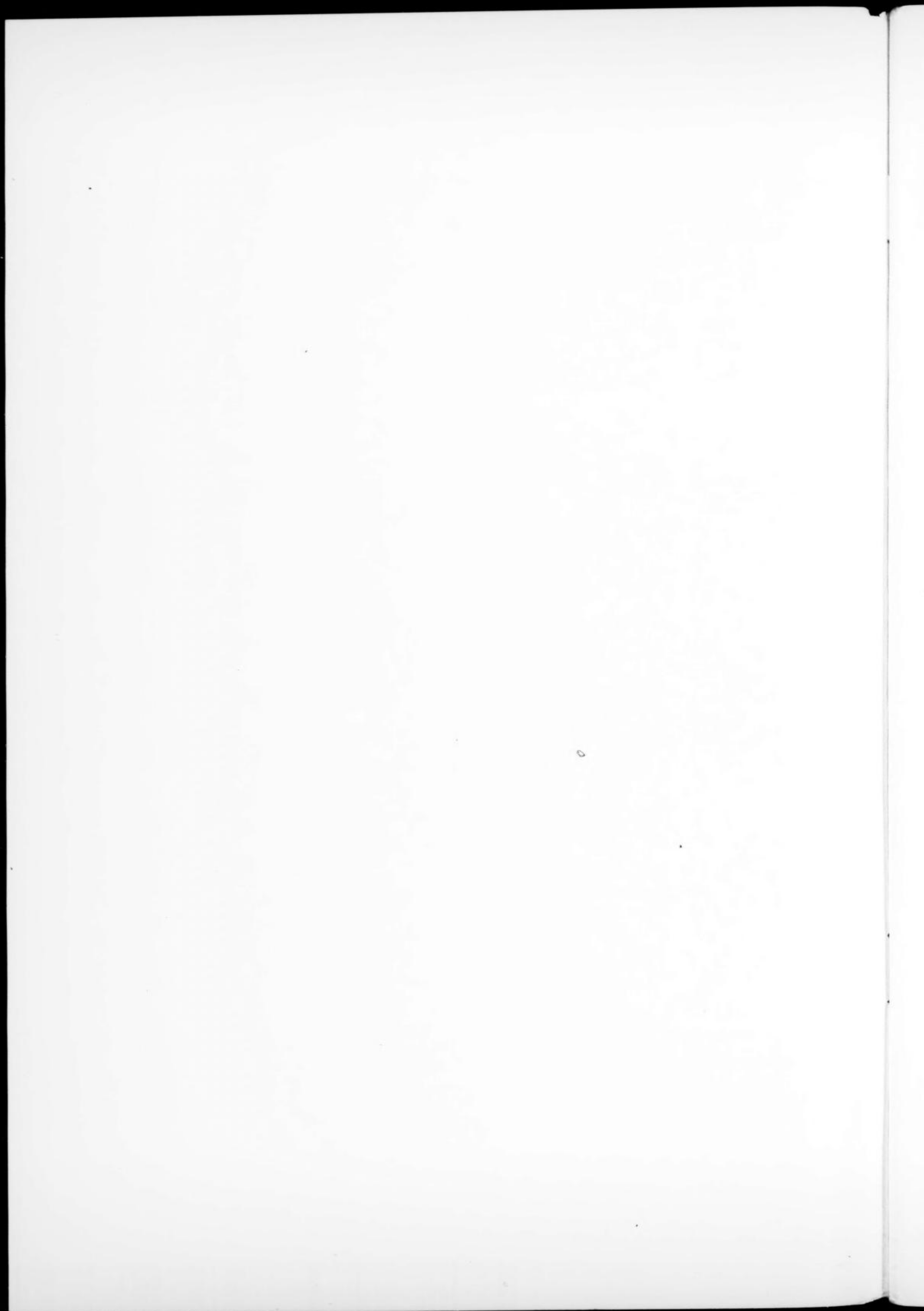
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—O. Reinhold

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WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW: Problems of Peace and Socialism

Theoretical and Information Journal of Communist and Workers' Parties

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Britain, the Political Situation, and the Coming General Election

John Gollan

NINETEEN sixty-four, the year of the next general election in Britain, opened with no changes in the continued setbacks for the Tory Party. In November and December 1963 a series of parliamentary by-elections showed a substantial fall in the Tory vote compared with the 1959 general election, and in one, Luton, an industrial center, the Tory vote fell by 10,000 and Labor won the seat. The new Tory Prime Minister, Sir Alec Douglas-Home (previously Foreign Minister Lord Home, but now a "commoner," having resigned his peerage) succeeded in getting elected to the House of Commons in a Scottish constituency, Kinross. But contrary to his claim that Kinross was the first page of a new chapter for the Tories (after two years of declining votes in by-elections), further by-elections continued the steady Tory decline, and the *Daily Herald* commented: "The new chapter never got beyond page one."

The results of Gallup Polls (of public opinion) showed a slight advance in Tory support in December, but so slight that the *Daily Telegraph*, under the headline "Premier No Boost to Party," said that Home's appointment as Prime Minister "has not, so far at least, assisted the Conservative Party," and *The Times* commented "Sir Alec's prediction the other day that the tide was about to turn for the government still remains to be fulfilled."

At our Party Congress last Easter we warned that the loss by the Tories of a big part of their traditional political support did not mean an automatic election victory for Labor, or that the Tory loss was permanent. The Tories are out to postpone the election till the last moment. They are ruthless and unscrupulous. They could ditch Macmillan tomorrow and attempt by demagoguery and maneuver to regain lost ground."

Now Macmillan, whose prestige was at a low ebb, has been ditched, and the Tories are making an intense drive with Home as Prime Minister to regain the lost electoral support. They have promised a "spending spree" with Britain's future finances, with big schemes for road building, help to the distressed areas of Britain, higher education and housing —

which they had previously said Britain could not afford to undertake. They have also promised small increases in some social service benefits. In their campaign they are seeking to take advantage of the weaknesses in the policy of the Labor Party and of the fact that the Labor leaders are giving no leadership to the mass movement among the workers for improved wages and conditions.

In deciding on the date for the general election, the Tories are in considerable difficulties. Between April and May the local government elections will take place in all parts of the country and, on present showing, the Tories are likely to lose heavily which would be a bad dress rehearsal for the general election. The new budget will be announced in April, and the belief is widespread that the government will be forced to introduce unpopular financial restrictions to deal with the so-called "inflationary" pressure in the economy; and this, should it take place, would also weaken their electoral chances. So there is growing talk of a March election, a probable date being March 19th. If the election is not held then, other possible dates are June or October.

The Background to the Election Year

The political situation in Britain today must be seen against the background of the growing crisis of bankrupt and historically outdated British imperialism and of the entire Western imperialist alliance. Britain's stagnant economy is the weakest in the capitalist world; her attempt to find salvation in the Common Market failed; her "defense" policy is in ruins. The monopoly capitalists and their Tory Party have brought the country to an impasse.

The Profumo scandal last year highlighted the degeneracy of the ruling class and the racketeering which has been encouraged by Tory legislation on behalf of big business and property. The scandal made inevitable the change in Tory leadership, which was long overdue. But the choice for the new Prime Minister and Tory leader, thanks to the intrigues of the "Establishment," fell on Home,

representing the most reactionary aristocratic circles and the most wealthy groups. Home, it will be recalled, accompanied Chamberlain to Munich, and he has always upheld Chamberlain's notorious Munich policy. His rivals for the premiership were Butler, McLeod and Maudling, representing the more "modern" and "liberal" sections of the capitalist class.

The divisions in ruling-class strategy and policy have been seen in the Common Market, the multilateral NATO nuclear force and West Germany, "defense" policy as a whole, and in relation to the economy, the conflicts between the different monopoly groups representing the "growing" and "declining" industries and the conflicting claims on resources involved in modernization, the demands of the cold war and the new social needs, especially in relation to higher education.

Macmillan, associated with all the government policies which had failed, had to go: but the Tories cannot win merely by changing their leader. Only a fundamentally new line of policy can change the situation facing the British people, and this, as our Party Congress put it, cannot come from capitalist circles: they have nothing new left, only variations of their old policies. The essence of the Tory leadership position is, therefore, a compromise. The British monopoly capitalists have to be tough: they realize that they are moving into increased struggle for their whole future. So we have not only Sir Alec Douglas Home, but also Butler, Maudling and the rest. The government team is largely as before. There is an essential continuity with past policy, but at the same time they are seeking some new, however limited, departures which they hope can regain electoral support. They have succeeded in avoiding any real split and in closing the Tory ranks for the election, but this in itself sets a limit to their possible maneuvers.

THE MAIN ISSUE AND TORY POLICY

Defense, Foreign and Colonial Policy

The line followed by the main section of the British bourgeoisie is adherence to the NATO Alliance, but at the same time attempting to maintain Britain's special imperialist aims. We have always said that the Anglo-American alliance was an antagonistic alliance, and the antagonism is constantly bringing new disputes to the surface.

The so-called independent British deterrent has lost all meaning, and the boasted "special relationship" with the United States is in fact declining. The Nassau agreement on the

Polaris submarines with the late President Kennedy was a further surrender by Britain to the increased pressure from the United States. The prohibitive costs involved in making a really independent deterrent are now beyond the means of the British economy.

In reality the argument on the deterrent is more and more boiling down to the issue of *political pressure* within NATO. This found expression in Home's arguments for the importance of Britain's keeping its independent nuclear weapon, not as a "deterrent" but because it was essential for prestige and pressure in the councils of the world.

Behind all the arguments and conflicts, within NATO lie the actualities of the present world situation. The growing bankruptcy of cold-war policies, in view of the change in the balance of world power and the strength of socialism, is a fact. The partial test-ban treaty was an important first positive sign of this. The need now is to develop the mass movement for new lines of agreement which correspond with the needs of the people and the country.

If the partial test-ban agreement is not followed up by further measures to ease international tension, then an intensification of the war danger will result, with the spread of nuclear weapons, the MLF scheme to give West Germany a hold, even if for the moment only partial, on nuclear missiles, and the constant conflicts that arise on unsettled issues.

The international situation following President Kennedy's death is fluid, and the Tories are attempting to exploit it for their own advantage, as with Butler's proposed talks with Gromyko and resistance to American pressure for the limitation of credits to the USSR.

These Tory moves are reflected in their electoral presentation of international issues. Past experience has shown that the appearance of a conciliatory approach to the USSR is a necessity in any general election. But in 1964 the need for such an approach is more compelling in reality. The Tories will also demagogically stress in their election campaign that Britain must remain independent and cannot rely exclusively on the United States.

All this has already brought the warning from C. L. Sulzberger in the *New York Times* on December 11, who writes, "Kennedy's murder has had the curious effect of both underscoring this country's [Britain's] American tie while simultaneously reviving Britain's confidence in its role as a global power." And he adds, Britain should be content with the

"more modest role allotted by current history."

British monopoly capitalism has to face contradictions not only with the United States but also with West European monopoly capitalism. The essence of the Common Market development is the Bonn-Paris axis, aiming to be independent of both United States and British imperialism. The Macmillan government's reply, supported by the dominant sections of British imperialism, was the attempt to join the Common Market.

The attempt failed, because of the resistance of the British people. The people forced Macmillan to demand concessions which de Gaulle refused to concede. So Britain was forced back on the EFTA alliance, but has been unable to create a viable and developing counter-grouping to the Common Market.

With de Gaulle now creating new tension in the Common Market, and with the conflicting interests between French and West German imperialism coming to the surface, the Home government seeking to turn the situation to Britain's advantage, is busily courting West Germany. Despite divisions in the ruling class on the issue of the Multilateral Force, it is being discussed with Bonn, and some compromise arrangement is being sought. It is noteworthy that Butler's first visit as Foreign Secretary to another country was to West Germany. But these contradictory and dangerous tactics, leading to the spread of nuclear weapons and an increase of the war danger, would obstruct any real advance in Anglo-Soviet relations.

The Butler-Schroeder communique, for instance, spoke of the need to improve East-West relations but then went on to say that Britain would not take any steps in this direction without consulting West Germany—in other words, a Bonn veto.

Britain's relations with the other imperialist countries are bound up with the key question for British ruling circles—maintenance and expansion of their super-profits from colonial exploitation. The British economy more than any other capitalist economy is still essentially based on colonial exploitation. Among the twenty largest British monopolies, the biggest profits come from overseas. Britain's balance of payments deficit mainly arises from the continuous and rising overseas military expenditure to protect her imperialist interests, and from exports of capital to extend the exploitation of the colonial and newly independent peoples.

The line of the British bourgeoisie, in view

of the rising tide of national liberation, is two-fold.

(a) To continue the process of partial retreat where the forces of national liberation are too strong, for example in Kenya, Rhodesia, etc., but to ensure that the ending of direct rule leaves room for strengthening Britain's neo-colonial grip.

(b) To make a direct concentration of force on the remaining key positions: the Middle East, for the extremely profitable exploitation of oil; the newly established Malaysia, for tin and rubber; South Africa, where British imperialism has £1,000 million of investments; and British Guiana and other smaller colonies.

This dual line of colonial policy not only places heavy burdens on the British people and increases the balance of payments deficit, it also involves strain on the country's resources by developing both nuclear and so-called conventional arms.

The Economic Position

The relative backwardness of Britain's industry as compared with that of her capitalist rivals, and the acute need of modernization and new investment to support her export drive, is recognized by the Tories, and a lot is said regarding a policy of modernization and expansion. In practice any serious development on these lines comes into conflict with the ever-rising costs of foreign and colonial policy.

Far from attempting to ease the strain of these competing pressures on the economy by arms reduction, the Home government issued in December a "White Paper" forecasting rising arms expenditure in the next four years. At present "defense" is costing £1,905 million a year, and with "aid" and other overseas expenditure the current total is £2,215 million. By 1967-68 the projected total for these items is to rise to £2,535 million, "defense" alone rising to £2,170 million.

Unwilling to make arms cuts, the Tories see in intensified exploitation of the working people the way to find funds for modernization and large-scale investment. This is the essence of the so-called "incomes policy" which the Tories have been trying to popularize through the National Economic Development Council (which "plans" a steady four per cent growth annually of the economy, declaring that this requires an "incomes policy" of restraint), and through the National Incomes Commission, which issues denunciations of any wage settlements which exceed three-and-a-half per cent.

But with an election approaching, the Tory

government is in a dilemma: it must offer better prospects for the people, but it must keep down wages and salaries to ensure increased profits for the monopolies. So it resorts to a division of labor—Home puts the best face on the situation for the election, while Chancellor Maudling calls attention to the harsh realities, and in lieu of prophesying a steady four per cent annual growth of the economy, says that so far we have only taken up the slack and brought into production the idle capacity which now exists.

The result of all this has been a growing class struggle which extends beyond the industrial workers, embracing wide sections of clerical and professional workers, and alienating many of those on whom the Tories traditionally depended for political support.

The advances in the socialist countries and Tory efforts to restrict social advance in Britain have also brought big social questions to the front. Even before recent developments the so-called "Welfare State" was under pressure, with increasing costs and demands from the people for all-round improvements in housing, education and the health service.

On top of this the crisis in higher education in Britain, which has been receiving more and more attention in view of the comparative backwardness in this field, has come to a head with the publication of the Robbins Committee report on Higher Education. This report puts forward plans which, though not adequate to meet the real needs, involve greatly increased costs, rising from the present £206 million to £742 million in 1980. Big increases in expenditure on school buildings, for both primary and secondary education, are also overdue; the Tory Government has been relentlessly cutting down the building plans of Local Authorities in recent years.

Far from finding any solution to the chronic housing problem, the Tories have made it more difficult than ever for working people to find any way out of their housing difficulties, with the Tory Rent Act removing large numbers of dwellings from any form of rent control, the ending of housing subsidies to Local Councils, and the consequent outrageous speculation in housing and land.

Nor have the Tories even attempted any amelioration in the basic problems of health and poverty of the millions of underpaid workers and old age pensioners.

In its outlook on Britain's economy and the conditions of the people, Tory policy fundamentally serves the interests of the top monopoly imperialist groups and the landowning class. This policy is in sharp conflict with a

"popular" electoral program, so the Tories are now engaged in social demagoguery on a big scale, offering rosy prospects for the future together with attempting to bribe some sections of the people before the election. But the economic realities set limits to these tactics and to the extent to which they make any impression on the electorate.

The Political Effects of Bankrupt Tory Policy

The results of Tory policy are to be seen in the developing struggles in all fields. The fight for higher wages has spread all through industry, and the employers are being forced to grant increases considerably in excess of the limits which the government tries to enforce. The struggle on all aspects of the foreign and colonial policy of the government, especially the Anti-Apartheid movement, is being maintained. Tenants are in constant action against rent increases and evictions. There is a sustained struggle against the government's restrictions on education and the health services. All these struggles, involving much wider sections than the industrial workers, have contributed to the loss of electoral support for the Tories.

Much of this support has been transferred to the Liberals, whose ranks have grown considerably, although the effect of Liberal candidates in by-elections has mainly been to reduce the Tory vote without electoral success for the Liberal party.

The swing away from the Tories to Labor is therefore only *partial*. Its character has been more negative (desire for a change from the Tories) than positive (support for Labor's policy).

The Position of the Labor Party

The attitude of the Right-wing Labor leadership and official Labor policy are to a large extent governed by this whole background.

There is a burning need in Britain for a new turn, a new policy to meet both the crisis in the cold war and the new problems of economic development. What is required is a new independent foreign policy to replace the cold war with peaceful coexistence, and a broad popular anti-monopoly home policy which would make decisive inroads into monopoly power and satisfy the social demands of the people.

How far does official Labor policy meet this need?

Up to Gaitskell's death, official Labor policy was dominated by the Right wing, although there was strong and increasing opposition to

its line, particularly in the trade unions. Tory fortunes were at a low ebb, and the general election was approaching. The Left in the Labor movement, with reason, regarded the election of Harold Wilson as the new leader of the Labor Party as a victory over the Right, represented by the unsuccessful candidate, George Brown. The Left did not, however, press forward with its campaign for a basic change in Labor policy; on the contrary, it suspended its activities in response to the appeal for unity in view of the approaching election, and it did so despite the fact that the "Shadow Cabinet" (from which the future Labor government would be drawn) remained under Right-wing domination. Thus the Left virtually abdicated on a spurious plea of unity.

As a result, Labor's "defense" policy has remained in essence unchanged: full support for NATO and its nuclear strategy; abandonment of an "independent" British deterrent (though in the House of Commons on November 13, George Brown, the Labor spokesman, said: "What is our position? It is not, when we come to power, to destroy the nuclear forces which the government leave behind," but to use them to negotiate "an Atlantic alliance nuclear organization in which we can keep a share of the command and control of other weapons not our own"). This means that the next Labor Government will keep the bombers, the Polaris bases, and the new TSR-2 plane, and as for the Nassau Agreement, "it will decide what to do about it when we see the stage reached." On the multilateral force, the ambiguous attitude of the leadership has become more pronounced, especially since the Wilson-Brandt discussions and the movement away from the French Socialists.

In an article in the *New Statesman* (Dec. 13,) headed "Will Wilson Keep the Bomb?", Paul Johnson, close to the Labor leaders, declares that the difference between Labor and Tory policies on the strategic deterrent "is more apparent than real." A Labor Government's decision on British nuclear weapons will be guided, according to Johnson, "by practical considerations arising from its economic and foreign policies," and he adds, "there is no guarantee that by eliminating the strategic deterrent we should in practice reduce the total defense budget." In regard to colonial policy, Johnson argues that Britain is dependent on the Middle East and Malaysia: "in both these areas, therefore, Labor will inherit military obligations which it cannot prudently or honorably renounce. The question therefore is posed: can they be fulfilled without nuclear weapons?" The Johnson article, with

its unquestioned support of imperialist interests and its threat to the peoples of the Middle East and Malaysia, undoubtedly represents the views of Right-wing Labor.

The Labor leaders had established close relations with the late President Kennedy, and claimed to have reached agreement with him on the general lines of foreign policy. But it is unlikely that they will have the same close relations with President Johnson.

The defense policy outlined by the leadership in the House of Commons, and the obvious domination of the Right-wing outlook, has started a new Left revolt in the Labor Party. An editorial in *Tribune* (Dec. 6, 1963) headed "Why Labor Lost" says: "The Australian election results are a warning to the British Labor Party. Shilly-shallying on defense, it has been made clear down under, neither wins votes nor influences people." Pointing out that British Labor's defense policy "is still only a series of negatives and evasions," the *Tribune* calls on Labor to declare its intentions to cut out the "independent" deterrent, and adds: "If it is decided that Britain must continue to play a major military role in the world, whether in a conventional or in a nuclear way, then we can say good-bye to many of the prospects that opened before us at Scarborough" (where the last Labor Party Conference was held in October).

As against this, the progressive items in Labor's foreign policy, adopted by previous Party Conferences and endorsed by Harold Wilson when he succeeded Gaitskell, lose much of their significance—measures of disengagement, nuclear free zones, and compromise steps towards Soviet and Western disarmament, and refusal of arms to South Africa.

Labor's economic policy is in no better plight. While the wages struggle is reaching new heights, and the trade unions are increasingly challenging the so-called "incomes policy," the Right-wing promises to maintain the Tory wage-cutting instrument, the National Economic Development Council, though "in a new form," on the ground that an "incomes policy" is essential for industrial expansion. There is talk about restricting profits as well as wages and salaries, but no one has put forward any definite proposal on how profits are to be restricted.

The leadership has declared its intention to plan Britain's economy. This will be "democratic" planning — which in Right-wing terminology means that a committee will draw up the plan, but the government, entrusting

the monopolies to carry it out, will not take any effective steps to ensure its realization. Nor will it secure control by nationalizing the monopolies. But with the existing domination of Britain's economy by the great monopolies, real planning and consistent economic expansion are impossible unless the commanding heights in the economy are nationalized.

Official Labor's tenderness towards big business is such that the *Financial Times* (June, 28, 1963) wrote: "When you hear prominent Labor politicians murmuring without a flicker that Labor and expansion would be 'good for equities' (i.e., company ordinary shares) you know they really mean it . . . Industry is less fearful of Labor and in parts may even feel that a Labor Government would offer better prospects for growth than the Tories." It adds that so far as economic policy is concerned, "the ideologies have gone out of British politics."

In fact, this is no new thing so far as concerns the Tory ideology and that of Right-wing Labor; what is important is that this continues to be true of the present Labor leadership under Harold Wilson.

Despite the so-called "Welfare State," there are major social problems still facing the British people. Labor has put forward a number of proposals on education, housing and health which in general are valuable, even if limited in relation to what is needed. But in fact these proposals in the main are not so radically different from those that the Tories are now putting forward. Labor's criticism of the latter proposals mainly takes the form of asking where the Tories will get the money to carry them through, but the same question arises in relation to Labor's proposals.

Any social reform program of a Labor Government will run into difficulties unless the central issue of military expenditure is tackled. Foreign policy and social advance are inextricably bound up with each other. The cold war with its crippling expenditure menaces Britain's existing standards, apart from hampering any advance.

Official Labor policy, therefore, does not meet the radical challenge facing Britain. The fight for the new policy Britain needs is at the heart of the General Election struggle.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S LINE IN THE GENERAL ELECTION

Great opportunities exist to defeat the Tories in the General Election, despite all the maneuverings of the Douglas-Home Government.

As a result of the new political developments in Britain a certain loosening up of traditional Party ties has taken place. This is shown in the crisis in Tory political fortunes, the swing to Labor and the Liberals, and the resumption of the growth of the Communist Party.

Our Party fights *both* for the defeat of the Tories *and* for a change in policy. An essential part of our fight is the struggle to return a group of Communist M.P.s.

As we put it at our 28th National Congress:

"What is our aim in the coming General Election? It is put clearly in the resolution. In the coming General Election the Tories must be defeated and a Labor and Communist majority returned. Why a Labor and Communist majority? Because the replacement of a Tory Government by a Labor Government is not enough. The pressure of the mass movement must force the Labor Government to break with bi-partisan policies. A necessary guarantee of this would be a group of Communist M.P.s."

Why do we put the matter in this sharp form? Not only because the whole British political situation is calling out for this new policy, but because of the experience and limitations of previous Labor Governments.

We have had the experience of three previous Labor Governments. The late G. D. H. Cole in his official History of the Labor Party, wrote that the first Labor Government of 1924 "ended in inglorious fiasco" and that the fall of the second in 1931 "was even more ignominious than that of its predecessor seven years before." The reason for the collapse then was that British social democracy made no real challenge to capitalist rule. The result was 14 years of Tory rule up to 1945.

It could be argued that the two Labor Governments before 1945 were minority governments. That argument could not be used in the 1945 victory. Yet the postwar Labor Government was defeated in 1951 and for the same basic reason — support of the cold war and no real challenge to capitalism. The result of this defeat has been 12 years of Tory rule.

That is why we have argued with those on the Left who say: leave the struggle on policy in view of the overriding necessity to get rid of the Tories. This is no solution.

Again to quote our Congress: "Certainly the first step is to sweep the Tories from power. We'll get no real change till this is done. Our case is that the more challenging Labor's program, the more the Tories

will be routed. . . . But the matter goes deeper. To solve Britain's crisis a new policy is needed. Right-wing policies won't solve it, won't bring the economic, social and political changes now possible, but will create the danger, as after 1945, of a further Tory revival."

The fight for the new policy and the election of Communist candidates goes hand in hand.

In the General Election we will have 35 Communist candidates, twice as many as in 1959. Our candidates will fight for a radical change in the country's foreign policy, basing it on peaceful coexistence instead of the cold war.

It involves working for agreed measures of disarmament, carrying forward the agreement on the partial test ban; a non-aggression pact between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty organization; a peace treaty for Germany with West Berlin a guaranteed and demilitarized city; the withdrawal of British troops from Germany, and a nuclear-free zone of disengagement in Central Europe; a European Security Treaty based on the United Nations Charter to replace both NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization. People's China must occupy her rightful place in the United Nations.

The Communist Party calls for full solidarity with the national liberation movement, opposition to all colonial aggression, immediate independence for remaining British colonies, and the withdrawal of all armed forces overseas; the restoration to the peoples of all assets and resources controlled by Britain, and mutually beneficial economic relations between Britain and the newly-independent countries.

The home and economic policies put forward by the Communist Party derive from its foreign policy of coexistence and independence for all countries. It starts also from the basic principle that there can be no common purpose between the monopolies and the working class and the majority of the British people, such as official Labor's policy implies.

The Communist Party stands for economic growth, but declares that the limits to growth under capitalism are not technical but social. The crux of the problem is to end the domination of the country's life by the great monopolists. Britain's crisis will not be solved unless the monopolies are nationalized.

As against the "incomes policy" aimed at restricting wages, the Communist Party urges higher wages and shorter hours, high-

er social insurance benefits, and a large program of expansion for the social services; the necessary finance for these measures can be found by cutting down military expenditure on the basis of the foreign policy we advocate.

Instead of the closure of pits for the benefit of the oil monopolies, we call for an integrated fuel policy with the fullest use of coal and the development of electrical and nuclear power. Instead of the Beeching plan to cut down the railways for the benefit of privately-owned road transport, we call for an integrated transport policy for all forms of transport.

In regard to foreign trade, the Communist Party rejects restrictions based on political discrimination and any attempt to improve Britain's position by entry into the Common Market or other capitalist blocs; it calls for a vast expansion of East-West trade and trade with the Commonwealth countries, above all, the newly independent countries; Britain's aim must be to trade with the whole world, and to help forward the industrial development of the underdeveloped countries.

This in broad outline is the policy on which the Communist Party will fight the General Election; it is the program which can give socialist aim and purpose to the entire Labor Movement.

Our Party has pledged its support in united action with all sections of the Labor Movement for such aims and to defeat the Tories. In all the constituencies where we have no candidates we will do all in our power to ensure a Labor victory.

Our own election campaign will be the most important means by which we can campaign for the new program. It will spearhead the anti-Tory campaign and present the real alternative program for the British people.

Because of our undemocratic electoral system of the simple majority vote and the comparative smallness of our Party — an electoral break-through is the most difficult problem facing us.

But steadily and systematically we are extending our electoral effort. In the coming Local Elections in the spring, we will have 1,000 candidates, one of the biggest electoral efforts we have ever undertaken. At an appropriate time we will make an official approach to the Labor Party about the possibility of an electoral discussion.

We are the foremost anti-Tory fighters. And a key task is our propaganda to convince the most class-conscious workers of

the need for Communist representation in Parliament and Local Government as a central feature of the new political advance in Britain which the defeat of the Tories would open up.

The election of a Labor Government would mark a definite step forward in the

British political situation. But even more important would be the success of the mass movement in compelling that government to carry through militant progressive measures and returning a group of Communist Members to Parliament to spearhead that struggle.

Among Our Contributors

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Master All Forms of the Revolutionary Struggle

Kostas Kolliannis

Why It Is Necessary to Master All Forms of the Class Struggle

AT present when the world revolutionary process leading mankind to socialism and communism has become a truly worldwide phenomenon, it is imperative for the Communist parties to master all forms of the class struggle. All peoples, all continents are today actively helping to shape history. The most diverse socio-political trends and forces, merging into a powerful revolutionary stream, are entering into relations which are making for an unprecedented variety of forms and methods of struggle and political activity.

The task of the Communist parties is to unite the revolutionary forces, to lead them, taking into account the specific features of the new situation which require, as never before, that the Communists, the working class and their allies heed Lenin's precept that "... in order to fulfill its task the revolutionary class must be able to master all forms, or sides of social activity without exception. . . .", that "... the revolutionary class must be ready to pass from one form to another in the quickest and most unexpected manner."*

For the Communist Party of Greece, and also for the entire revolutionary movement in the country, it is essential to study the rich experience gained by the Communist parties of the world in their many years of activity. The forms of the class struggle are not universal in character, are not necessarily effective at all times and in all circumstances. Each form corresponds to a definite situation, to a definite sphere of human activity. Although the economic, political and ideological struggles are inseparably linked, the one often following from the other, each has its specific features and variety of forms which are constantly enriched by life.

Of particular importance is the political struggle which is fought out in the most varied ways—peaceful and non-peaceful, legal and illegal, Parliamentary and extra-Parliamentary, in the form of mass actions such

as meetings, demonstrations and political strikes.

For all the differences in their programs and arguments, the opportunism of the Rights and Lefts, against which the Communist movement has waged unrelenting struggle over the years, leads in the ultimate to one and the same result—to fitting the forms and methods of the revolutionary struggle into the narrow framework of their opportunist tactics and counterposing one form of struggle to another. The Rights insist on purely peaceful and legal forms of struggle, i.e., Parliament, economic action, petition campaigns, etc. The "Lefts," on the other hand, underestimate and even reject the peaceful way and insist on violence, that is, armed insurrection, guerrilla warfare, civil war, etc. Both the one and the other deprive revolutionary tactics of their flexibility, hamper the Communists and the revolutionary forces in using different forms of struggle, in making the necessary preparations in keeping with the changing situation for the coming battles with the enemy.

Today the Communists and the working class are more and more frequently compelling the bourgeoisie and its political parties to accept the forms of struggle that best meet the interests of progress and social emancipation. The dogmatists are blind to this fact. They insist on obsolete forms of struggle, or on forms that do not suit the situation, they proceed from the thesis that the forces of the old world are superior to the forces of the new world and that it is the enemy who still chooses the weapons and the means of struggle.

The Communist Party of Greece is combating the Right opportunism and the Left sectarianism which held sway in our Party during the decade 1946-56. Left sectarianism, scorning the legal possibilities, clings to old, outworn and even reckless methods of struggle which hamper the reorganization of the Party's ranks and the progressive forces in general and confine the mass movement to circumscribed, sectarian bounds. The Rights, on the other hand, scorning underground activity, advocate purely legal forms of strug-

*V. I. Lenin, "Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder.

gle. In practice this would restrict the activity of the Party, confine it to the framework imposed by the anti-democratic regime; this, in effect, is an attempt to impose on our movement the policy of trailing in the wake of events.

What is needed in order to master the various forms of the class struggle? As the staff of the revolutionary struggle, the cadres of the Communist Party are expected to *make a profound study of the experience accumulated by the revolutionary movement of the past and the present*, creatively to interpret this experience and apply it accordingly.

To underestimate or belittle the experience of the international Communist movement and to see the absolute in one's own party is tantamount to withdrawing into the shell or narrow nationalism, to courting defeat. The previous leadership of our Party failed to take into account this international experience and we know only too well what the consequences were.

The *experience of one's own country*, positive or otherwise, is undoubtedly valuable, for every instance of revolutionary action, whether past or present, can be described as a rehearsal for the battles ahead, showing the alignment of forces and the methods of struggle that may have to be employed.

The experience of our Party is not inconsiderable. It matured in grim, hard-fought battles in the course of which it used many forms ranging from peaceful, legal, semi-legal or illegal (the Party has been illegal for 25 years), to armed struggle. The more we, the Greek Communists, study this experience, both positive and negative, as part of the international experience of the other Communist parties, the more effective our activity will be.

It is common knowledge that revolutionary struggle is the best school for training the masses and Party cadres. *Participation in this struggle, critical appraisal of all the major events of this struggle, of the shortcomings and mistakes made, and drawing the right lessons therefrom* — this is the best way to learn how to guide the struggle, to discard all that is outdated and unsuitable, to find and develop new and better forms of struggle.

At the present, third stage of the general crisis of capitalism, in view of the specific features of the situation, *many new forms of struggle are making their appearance, while the old, traditional forms are acquiring a new content*. The Communist parties cannot fail to take cognizance of the new conditions. They are opposed to voluntarism, however, in the matter of the established forms of

struggle, bearing in mind that these are conditioned by the objective circumstances; nor do they arbitrarily think up new forms, for they know that these are engendered by the mass struggle itself. The Party closely studies the experience of the mass struggle, and it supports and popularizes those forms which it considers best.

The Zahariadis cult and the abnormal state of affairs that prevailed in the Party during the years 1946-56 prevented it from critically assessing its activity and from drawing the necessary lessons. The consequences, needless to say, were harmful. An enlarged meeting of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission held in 1956, and later the Eighth Congress of the Party, put an end to this state of affairs, abandoned the wrong policy and created conditions that will enable the Party to carry out its historic mission.

Peaceful and Non-Peaceful Forms of Struggle

The question of the peaceful and non-peaceful forms of struggle is a particularly acute one at the present time. The course adopted by Communist parties to utilize to the full the peaceful forms of struggle has been one of the main targets of the attacks made by the leadership of the Chinese Party on the strategy of the international Communist movement, a strategy jointly elaborated by the Parties at their international meetings.

The Chinese leaders, advocating dogmatic, sectarian views, proclaim violence as almost the sole form of the revolutionary struggle and qualify any effort to find and apply other peaceful forms as opportunism. They, evidently, would like to impose on the international Communist movement reckless tactics, the bitter consequences of which are all too well known to our movement. At the same time the Chinese leaders charge the fraternal parties with cowardice, with being afraid to wage armed struggle against the imperialists and the bourgeoisie. These charges, however, are refuted by everyday experience.

There is not a Communist Party in the world that has excluded the weapon of armed struggle from its arsenal.

In a number of countries, among them Portugal and some Latin American states, the Communists are elaborating their tactics in accordance with the view that struggle for revolutionary change in their countries will, in all probability, necessitate armed insurrection.

Marx, Engels and Lenin taught the Communists to regard armed struggle as an art. "To be successful," Lenin wrote, "insurrection

must rely not upon conspiracy and not upon a party, but upon the advanced class. That is the first point. Insurrection must rely upon the *rising revolutionary spirit of the people*. That is the second point. Insurrection must rely upon the *crucial moment* in the history of the growing revolution, when the activity of the advanced ranks of the people is at its height, and when the *vacillations* in the ranks of the enemies and in the *ranks of the weak, half-hearted and irresolute friends of the revolution* are the strongest. That is the third point. And these three conditions in the attitude towards insurrection distinguish *Marxism from Blanquism*.

"But when these conditions are operating it is a betrayal of Marxism and of the revolution to refuse to treat insurrection as an art."*

From this standpoint the Communists consider it to be of the utmost importance to know just when to start an insurrection and how to direct it successfully.

In those cases where the situation necessitates rejecting armed struggle we must be able in good time to withdraw the forces of the revolution from the line of fire, to reorganize our ranks and turn to new forms of struggle which will help us to consolidate the victories won in the closing stage of the revolution and to develop them in new conditions.

In those cases where the Parties in some countries were unable for one reason or another to find their bearings in the changed situation and to decide in good time to switch over to peaceful forms of struggle, the revolutionary movement found itself in critical straits. Both the past and the recent history of the world Communist movement knows of such cases.

But the development of the revolution is also adversely affected when the Communist parties fail to make the necessary preparations for armed struggle and to determine the right moment when all forces must be thrown into armed action to defeat the enemy.

This was the case with our Party in 1945-46 when it committed a twofold mistake. It failed correctly to assess the changed postwar situation, disregarding peaceful forms of struggle which would have enabled it to unite most of the population around it; it resorted to armed struggle without first making the necessary preparations, and the enemy was not slow in taking advantage of this. These two grave mistakes, together with other resulting from the sectarian policy of the

leadership at the time, had serious consequences for our movement. The Eighth Congress of the Party formulated the lessons of that period as follows:

"In the conditions of pressure brought to bear by the British imperialists and plutocratic oligarchy which were bent on starting civil war, the Central Committee of the Party did not assess correctly the full complexity of the situation. The C.C. meeting held in February 1946 decided to boycott the elections and take the way of armed struggle. A new revolutionary crisis matured. In the fight for independence and democracy the Party had the support of the bulk of the working class. The peasantry and the middle strata once again united round the working class. The people were eager to carry out a program of democratic regeneration along peaceful lines. The opportunities for doing this were there. The only correct policy therefore was to have all forces take part in the elections. This would have added to the influence of the Party and the EAM, would have strengthened their contact with the people and won them new positions. In these circumstances one of two things would have happened: either the policy of normal development would gain ascendancy under mass pressure or, in the event of the British imperialists and the plutocratic oligarchy preventing this, the masses would realize that the only course left was armed struggle.

"The Party leadership, however, incorrectly assessed the situation and the popular sentiment and allowed itself to be drawn into the armed conflict dictated by the British imperialists, without first exploring all avenues of peaceful development and assuring the masses that the only solution was armed struggle. The boycott of the elections had grave consequences for the Party and the entire democratic movement.

"Another serious mistake was that having decided on armed struggle the leadership did not take the necessary practical measures to organize it."

From the foregoing we see how valuable and valid is Lenin's counsel that one cannot play at revolution, how necessary it is that Communists should in all circumstances make sure of the support of the people. No matter what the form of struggle adopted by Communists it must be such as to strengthen the Party's contact with the masses. Forms of struggle that might weaken that contact have no place in the arsenal of the Parties.

As we know, the working people in other countries likewise resorted to armed struggle in the postwar years, some successfully, oth-

*Marxism and Insurrection.

ers unsuccessfully. We think that it would be extremely useful to make a joint study of the experience of the countries concerned and to draw the necessary lessons.

Diversity in the forms of struggle does not mean that they preclude each other, that they cannot be combined. Just the reverse.

Strikes, mass meetings and demonstrations have always figured prominently among the peaceful forms of the working-class struggle. Their effectiveness, far from diminishing, has grown, as has their impact on the political life of the country. In this respect the international working-class movement knows of hosts of examples and possesses a wealth of experience which is constantly being enriched. The Communist Party of Greece considers it its duty to make a close study of this experience. To cite a few examples. The general strike of the working people of Italy combined with the mass demonstrations of July 8, 1960, barred the road to fascism in the country and swept the reactionary Tambroni government out of office. The two general strikes in France — in December 1961 and in February 1962 — in which more than 24 million people took part, upset the plans of the OAS putschists and demonstrated the will of the French people for peace in Algeria. They helped the people of Algeria to achieve liberation.

Lessons in this respect can be drawn from recent developments in our own country. In recent years servile governments of the Right like the ERE government which set up an anti-democratic, police regime, were imposed on Greece with the connivance of foreign imperialists. By falsifying the 1961 elections, the ERE government managed to obtain a majority. The Party repeatedly stressed that this servile regime could be overthrown, that the road to democratic Greece lay through mass action. And indeed the 1963 crisis that shook this regime and subsequently toppled it was sparked off by last year's actions which were on a scale unprecedented in post-war Greece. In 1963 nearly one million workers went on strike. This figure does not include the actions by other strata of the population. Political mass actions took place practically all over the country. The struggle reached peak with the political demonstration of more than 500,000 people on the streets of Athens following the murder of Dr. Lambrakis, Left MP and courageous peace fighter.

Highly important for us was the fact that the Rights, who had been buttressed by the machinery of state and by a semi-official neo-fascist apparatus, who had the majority in Parliament, and who seemed all-powerful

were removed from power not by armed struggle but as a result of persistent, united front struggle combined with a parliamentary struggle. Of great importance too was the fact that the Lefts played the decisive role in these mass actions and demonstrations (this was recognized by the leaders of the other parties).

These actions dealt a crushing blow to the Karamanlis government and shook the reactionary regime. The elections of November 3, 1963 gave legal sanction to the changes brought about by the mass struggle and deepened the governmental crisis. The Greek Communists, needless to say, are focusing attention on these developments, analyzing how they were prepared and directed, what mistakes were made at the time, what was accomplished and what could have been accomplished.

Political strikes and other mass actions, and especially *general political strikes*, have become widespread in the postwar years. This was not the case in the years before the Second World War.

The first Russian revolution in 1905 showed the power of mass strikes. But it also revealed the weakness of the general strike when the revolutionary forces do not enjoy preponderance over the enemy. Lenin wrote at the time that "the general political strike should be regarded at the present stage of the movement not so much as an independent means of struggle, as ancillary to insurrection..."*

However, considering that it was only in the concrete situation of the 1905 revolution that the general strike led to insurrection, Lenin noted that under other circumstances a peaceful general strike can help the working people to defeat the reactionary forces.

He also noted that two conditions were essential to achieve this: the strength, determination and organization of the revolutionary people and the inability of reaction to use the armed forces. "If the troops laid down arms, refused to open fire on the people the peaceful strike would, undoubtedly, under certain circumstances be vicious."**

The conditions without which the general political strike referred to by Lenin cannot expect to be victorious are maturing in some of the capitalist countries. Firstly, the strength, degree of organization and preparedness for action of the working class and masses in town and country have grown immeasurably. Secondly, the armed forces where Communists carry on extensive explanatory work are no longer always a reliable

*Dissolution of the Duma and Tasks of the Proletariat.

**Tactical Platform for the Unity Congress of the RSDLP.

support of the reactionary regimes and, consequently, the possibilities for using them to crush the popular movement are less. Thirdly, the might of the socialist camp and of all progressive forces is making the export of counter-revolution increasingly difficult.

As a result, the general strike and other militant political actions of our times are becoming a powerful peaceful means of struggle against the neo-fascist offensive and for democracy, as is the case in our country, and for the transfer of power into the hands of the working people.

The experience of recent years (the aforementioned examples clearly bear this out) shows that this classical form of working-class struggle is becoming the weapon not only of purely proletarian actions but of *nationwide action*, for now other sections of the population are taking part in the general strike and other political mass actions — clerical workers, peasants, the urban middle sections, the youth and students — in a word, all who have reason to be dissatisfied with the policy of the monopoly bourgeoisie. Interlaced in the general strikes of today are the economic and political demands of the different strata of the population. By means of strikes and under certain other favorable conditions a wide range of demands can be won — from wage increases to fundamental reforms in the social system. In the general strikes nowadays the working people no longer confine themselves to purely economic or even internal political demands, they invade the sphere of foreign policy too. Strikes play an important role in the fight for peace, disarmament, the closing of foreign military bases, in the fight to end colonial wars and to avert a new world war.

So that if in the past Marxists regarded the general political strike at the time of revolutionary crisis merely as a means for rallying the masses, as a prelude to armed insurrection, today they regard it as a means of achieving progressive, democratic reforms. The Communist Party of Spain, for example, regards the general strike as a means for abolishing the Franco dictatorship and establishing a democratic system.

Forming a Mass Army of Revolutionary Fighters

Every class or social stratum taking part in a revolution pursues not only its own specific aims and tasks; it wages the struggle in its own way and with its own methods. It has its own organizations, which in character correspond to the aims, social features and

traditions of the class concerned. It is on these organizations that the Communist Parties concentrate their attention.

The working class, particularly the working classes of the leading capitalist countries where they total nearly 200 million, constitutes the main part of the world army of the revolution. The strength of this contingent lies not only in its numbers but also in its level of organization. Of the 90 million trade union members in the non-socialist world the overwhelming majority are industrial workers. The *trade unions* are the biggest mass organizations of the working people. For Communists work in the trade unions is a prime duty. In our country recent developments have opened prospects for putting an end to police dominance in the trade unions, for restoring normal democratic procedures in them, for turning them into truly militant mass organizations upholding the interests of the working class.

Communists have made considerable headway in the unions. Right up to the Second World War the national unions were, as a rule, under the influence of reformists. Today, however, a substantial part of the union membership and their organizations, including national organizations, take a firm revolutionary stand. The fact that in Greece the Coordination Movement of 115, which pursues a consistent policy, has been joined by another 108 trade unions is a matter of no little significance. Its power of attraction is growing steadily and the prospects for a unity congress are greater.

At present the trade unions in the developed capitalist countries, in addition to fighting for wage increases, a shorter working day, the abolition of unemployment and for social security, are advancing a broader program in which economic demands are formulated as part of the fundamental social and political issues awaiting their solution.

The unions also play a big role in strengthening international working-class solidarity. The working class of Greece was always conscious of this solidarity in the difficult days of the struggle against the anti-democratic regime.

The capitalist monopolies are waging an offensive not only against the workers but also against other sections of the population—peasants, intellectuals, handicraftsmen, small employers, and the national bourgeoisie. With Greece having joined the Common Market the prospects for these sections are **bleak**. To counteract the competition of foreign capital they are joining forces, seeking the support of the working class as the

most revolutionary class in society. The unity of these forces around the working class confronts the Communists with the task of finding forms of struggle best suited to joint struggles by all sections of the population against the common adversary — monopoly capital.

The Communist Party regards the *peasantry* as an ally of the working class in the revolutionary struggle. Threatened by the monopolies with ruin, the millions of peasants, mainly small and middle peasants, are coming round to the idea of united action with the working class, are beginning to adopt proletarian forms and methods of struggle.

As in many other countries, Greece has in recent years been the scene of mass peasant movements which have taken the form of marches on towns, barricading roads, mass meetings and strikes often accompanied by clashes with the police.

The Communists champion the interests of the peasantry, of all the tillers, help to organize their struggle, to enlist the active support of the working people of the towns and organize joint action by all working people.

Among the different forms of struggle waged by the peasantry special mention should be made of the *cooperative movement in the countryside*.

The experience of our Party and of other parties shows that cooperation can, together with other forms of organization, become a powerful weapon of the anti-monopoly struggle in the countryside, provided it is in the hands of the peasantry. The Italian comrades, for example, link their cooperative movement with the struggle for agrarian reform, for establishing control over the monopolies. Thus, cooperation, an old form of organization among the peasantry, can in certain circumstances acquire a new and broader meaning.

Working-class forms of organization are becoming widespread among the peasantry. In France, for example, there are unions of viticulturists, associations of corn and tobacco growers. In Italy a big role in the peasant movement is played by the sharecroppers' federation which is affiliated to the General Confederation of Labor. In Indonesia peasants are united in the powerful Peasant Union which is fighting to complete the revolution in the countryside. In Greece there are several peasant societies.

Trade unions in the countryside make for closer contact between peasant and worker, help the former to acquire the methods of struggle used by the working class.

The Communist parties also conduct painstaking work among civil servants, the urban middle sections including handicraftsmen.

Also a militant force in our day are the youth and women, whose actions enrich the revolutionary movement with new forms and contribute greatly to the united action of all the progressive forces. The youth of Greece, active and militant, are in the forefront of the struggle, inspiring it with their revolutionary ardour.

We can say, then, that coordination and united action by the various classes and social strata taking part in revolution, of their political, trade union and other organizations are features of the tactics of the Communist parties today.

The *parliamentary struggle* is of particular importance in the new situation.

"The Communists in Western Europe and America," Lenin wrote, "must learn to create a new, unusual, non-opportunist, non-careerist parliamentarism; . . . and the effort must be directed towards fulfilling *practical* tasks, ever more varied, ever more closely connected with all branches of social life, winning branch after branch and sphere after sphere from the bourgeoisie."*

Today the Communist and Workers' parties in a number of countries, responding to the new circumstances and guided by the 1960 Moscow Statement, are creating a new parliamentarism, one that serves the interests of the working people. The same can be said of the work of Communist councillors in the municipalities.

When Communist MPs were but few there was little they could do in Parliament, at most they could expose the policy of reactionary governments. Today the big Communist groups in a number of countries, enjoying mass support, are a political force to be reckoned with. They form an effective opposition jointly with other groups of MP's and work for the passage of legislation making for broader democracy and facilitating the development of the revolutionary process. Thanks to the combined parliamentary and other forms of struggle, plans for structural and agrarian reforms, for nationalizing branches of industry, for workers' participation in management and for extending democracy have become feasible in the countries concerned.

Legal and Illegal Forms of Struggle

From its very inception the Communist movement encountered bitter opposition on

*"Left-Wing" Communism; an Infantile Disorder.

the part of the reactionary classes who left no stone unturned in their attempts to smash the Communist parties. Most of the parties have experienced the grim school of illegality. At the moment nearly half of all the Communist parties in the non-socialist countries are denied legal status. This makes it necessary for the parties in the capitalist countries to master both legal and illegal forms of struggle.

Only by properly combining the two can they hope to be successful in underground work. A party which confines itself to illegal forms of struggle runs the risk of isolating itself from the masses and becoming an exclusive conspiratorial group doomed to failure. Lenin noticed that "revolutionaries who are unable to combine illegal forms of struggle with every form of legal struggle are poor revolutionaries indeed".*

When the forces of revolution and progress were still weak, reactionaries were able to strike heavy blows at some of the parties and even to paralyze their activity. This was the case, for example, in Greece at the time of the Metaxas dictatorship and in other countries in Europe during the period of fascist domination.

But the fundamental changes that have taken place in the world since the end of the Second World War have *greatly restricted the forces and possibilities of anti-communism*; the arbitrary actions of the reactionaries encounter growing resistance in all parts of the world.

The possibilities for legal work among the masses, on the other hand, have greatly increased. Even in countries with arch reactionary regimes the mass struggle forces the governments to grant some rights and to suffer the existence of mass organizations. What is more, some of the reactionary rulers are trying to form mass organizations, under their aegis, of course.

Although the Communist Party of Greece is outlawed the Communists have, with mass support, won the right to legal activity in the various organizations of the working people. This right was won step by step in a difficult struggle which must be continued until the Party gains legal status.

Developing the mass struggle by way of a broad united front of all the patriotic forces, and using various forms (meetings, strikes and demonstrations) and all legal avenues and by properly combining legal and illegal work—this is the best way to overcome the

sectarian tendencies which are ever present in conditions of illegality. Experience has shown that this can be done. Take the mass actions of the working people of Spain and Portugal, not to mention several other countries. Under the leadership of the Communist parties they hold strikes and demonstrations, undaunted by fascist laws. In some countries the illegal parties find ways and means of participating in elections. Under the leadership of Communists the people are step by step winning democratic rights, and the illegal Communist parties are more and more frequently appearing on the political arena.

The Communist Party of Greece, while critically examining its own experience in this sphere, is attentively studying the rich experience of other fraternal parties, among them the Communist parties of Spain, Portugal, West Germany, Latin America, etc.

The new situation also poses in a new way the question of Party building in conditions of illegality. Each Party, proceeding from the Leninist principles of Party building, approaches the matter with due regard, of course, for the specific features of its own country. In this connection it might be noted that a number of illegal Communist parties, among them the Communist parties of Spain, Argentina, West Germany, Portugal and Jordan, have set themselves the task of *turning their parties into mass parties* capable of heading the popular movement.

This policy of course necessitates greater vigilance and stricter measures of secrecy, especially in view of the vindictive persecution of the Communist parties by the class enemy.

The experience of the international Communist movement is of inestimable value to our Party and we are studying it carefully. But we are not copying it. The struggle in Greece, headed by our Party, has its specific features. This struggle has foiled the attempts of the class enemy to isolate us from the masses and has opened the way to the launching of a truly mass movement. It would be a grave mistake, let alone the worst kind of dogmatism and shortsightedness on the part of our Party, to ignore these specific features.

Of great help to the illegal parties in their struggle are the international campaigns against fascist and anti-democratic regimes and for democratic rights, amnesties, release of political prisoners, and the drives for funds in aid of strikers and victims of the persecution.

By their courageous struggle and also thanks to active international support the

*"Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder.

Greek people have in recent weeks secured the liberation of several hundred fighters who had been in prison for the past 15-19 years. Our people are deeply grateful for this international support. It is important to continue the fight to secure the liberation of the several hundred patriots still held behind bars.

New prospects have opened before the democratic movement in our country and new opportunities for restoring democratic rights, for advancing the struggle for bread, democracy, peace and social progress. But difficulties still lie ahead, not least of them the obstacles created by the local reaction-

aries and the imperialists of the USA and other NATO countries.

Greece will shortly have another general election (February 16). The Communist Party will work to bring about the defeat of the servile Rights and to strengthen the position of the democratic Left and thereby consolidate and extend the democratic victory of November 3, 1963.

If our Party is to accomplish the tasks facing it — and the same holds true for the other fraternal parties — it must make the most of the different forms of the revolutionary struggle.

On Arab Unity

Fuad Nasser

THE Arab unity movement started before the First World War in Bilad al-Sham (which later came to be known as Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Jordan), and later spread to Iraq. The unity movement can be attributed to the fact that at the time of the Ottoman Empire this part of the Arab world was divided into provinces whose inhabitants fought for liberation from the tyrannical Turkish rule and for a united Arabia.

But the domination of this part of the Arab world by Britain and France after the First World War, its arbitrary carving up into five states, the act of opening the doors of Palestine to Zionist invasion and the erection of political and economic barriers between these states, resulted in difficulties for the people in their fight for liberation and unity. Later, this state of affairs split the united Arab national movement and produced relatively independent national movements. Each of the countries pursued its own way in economic, political and cultural development. The thread which still linked the countries was the solidarity of the people and the common struggle for liberation from the new Anglo-French imperialist domination.

But despite the difficulties the people never bowed to the imperialists, nor did they forsake their aim of unity. Arab unity was the cherished desire at all stages of their struggle.

But the new circumstances led them to concentrate on getting rid of imperialist rule and achieving political independence as a prerequisite for Arab unity.

The basic feature of this unity movement is that it emerged and developed in the struggle and solidarity of the Arab people against the various forms of foreign domination and against Arab feudalism.

The unity movement, having emerged beyond the boundaries of the particular countries, now embraces the entire Arab world. It is now a mass movement. All classes, political parties and governments in the Arab countries speak of unity. And this is understandable, for after most of the countries gained political independence their people drew closer together and their solidarity grew.

In recent years Arab unity has become a particularly urgent matter. As we know, unity between Syria and Egypt was concluded in February 1958 but it soon faced difficulties and collapsed in September 1961. In April 1963 representatives of the Egyptian, Syrian and Iraqi governments reached agreement on federal unity between their countries. But the attempt never materialized. The project for Iraqi-Syrian unity, fostered by the leaders of the Baath party, also failed. An earlier Arab Union established by Britain in 1958 between the leaders of Iraq and Jordan likewise ended in failure.

This article is published by way of posing and discussing the problem of Arab unity.

The failure of these ventures was due not to an incorrect slogan of Arab unity, nor to the reluctance of the people to achieve unity. They failed because of the unsound policy in which some Arab leaders persist to this day, and also because of the imperialist conspiracies against unity.

Two Trends in the Arab Unity Movement

Two main trends have crystallized in the movement for Arab unity in recent years, especially after the establishment of Egyptian-Syrian unity: a Right-wing bourgeois trend, that of the pro-imperialist Arab bourgeoisie and reactionary nationalists, and a revolutionary-democratic trend which expresses the standpoint of the proletariat, the peasants and that part of the national bourgeoisie not associated with imperialism.

The Right-wing bourgeois trend. The ideological, political and practical activities of this trend stem from the narrow class interests of the bourgeoisie. Its economic base rests on the desire of the bourgeoisie in the economically more developed Arab countries. Lenin noted that "the complete victory of commodity production requires that the bourgeoisie capture the home market; it requires politically united territories with a population speaking the same language."

Capturing the markets of the other countries is done in the guise of Arab unity and Arab nationalism. The Cairo newspaper *Al-Akhbar* wrote in March 1958 that "a preliminary result of the unity will be greater possibilities for the circulation of Egyptian and Syrian capital, which is a basic principle of economic policy. We will be able to establish an Arab common market which will be joined by countries akin to us geographically, economically and politically." However, the greater possibilities for the circulation of capital became available only to the Egyptian bourgeoisie who subjected the Syrian economy to their domination.

This Right-wing bourgeois trend ignores the class contradictions in the Arab countries, and does not take into consideration the objective conditions in each Arab country. This trend, in addition to running counter to the interests of the overwhelming majority of the Arab people, is beset with another contradiction—that between the bourgeoisie of the various Arab countries. The varying economic levels of these countries impel the respective bourgeoisie to adopt a contradictory attitude towards Arab unity. They support unity and work for it to the extent to which it serves their particular ends. The Syrian bourgeoisie, for instance, sought after

the Second World War to establish unity with either Iraq or Jordan; it wanted their markets, for both Iraq and Jordan are economically less developed than Syria. In those days the Syrian bourgeoisie did not advocate unity with Egypt, since she is industrially more advanced than Syria. The unity that later took place between Syria and Egypt not only ran counter to the interests of the masses, it conflicted also with the interests of the Syrian bourgeoisie.

This contradiction between the bourgeoisie of the Arab countries was most pronounced between the Egyptian bourgeoisie, the strongest and most developed, and the bourgeoisie of all the other Arab countries. And this contradiction between the bourgeoisie of Syria and Egypt was the basic reason for the collapse of the Syria-Egypt union in September 1961. A similar contradiction was also manifest between the Egyptian bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the people of Iraq and the Iraqi bourgeoisie, on the other, when the former tried to bring Iraq into the United Arab Republic after the July 14 Revolution of 1958. It was this contradiction which prevented Iraq from joining the United Arab Republic. But we should not forget in this context that the antagonisms between the bourgeoisie of the various Arab countries with regard to unity may be temporarily relegated to the background. Despite the fact that in many instances the antagonisms assumed an acute form, we should bear in mind that the Right forces in every Arab bourgeoisie will not hesitate to compromise if by so doing they can strengthen their positions and deal a blow to democracy. That was what happened during the Egypt-Syria union. Although that unity was not in the interests of the Syrian bourgeoisie and some of them expressed their discontent—at least with the form of this unity—the Right, and especially the leadership of the Baath party, seized upon it as an opportunity to wipe out democratic freedoms in Syria, for the time being, at any rate, to strike at the progressive forces, especially the Communists and to retard democratic development of the country. In pursuit of this they made big political concessions to the Egyptian bourgeoisie, even to the extent of the leadership agreeing to dissolution of the Baath Party.

The Baath leaders jointly with other reactionaries tried to do the same thing in Iraq after the July 14 Revolution. They were ready to make big concessions to Cairo and to merge Iraq with the UAR, the idea being to seize control of the country, halt its democratic development and to deal a blow to the

progressive forces headed by the Communist Party which had played an outstanding role in the July 14 Revolution.

But the moment the "danger" to the big bourgeoisie and the Right forces disappeared, the intra-bourgeoisie contradictions came to the fore. They then shed crocodile tears about "democracy" and "collective leadership" and attacked dictatorship. One of the reasons why the Cairo leaders turned to "anti-Communism" was to stampede the bourgeoisie in the other countries and to force them to surrender to the Egyptian bourgeoisie.

Perhaps the most dangerous aspect of the Right bourgeois trend is the alacrity with which the ultra-Right enter into compromise with the imperialists and reactionaries and conspire with them on the pretext of fostering Arab unity. That was what the leaders of the Baath Party did in Iraq and Syria when they plotted with the imperialists the coup d'état in Iraq on February 8, 1963, and the reactionary coup on March 8 of the same year in Syria. The plotting was done in co-operation with CENTO, with the British and American oil monopolies, who wanted an alliance of the "Fertile Crescent" countries directed against the national-liberation movement of the Arab people.

Experience has shown that the Right bourgeois trend in the Arab unity movement can be implemented only through a bourgeois dictatorship exercised by one Arab country over another. The path taken by this trend is the path of conspiracies, coups d'état and subversion. The union concluded between Syria and Egypt in 1958 was, despite its "democratic" facade, the outcome of a semi-military coup which had long been prepared. If the Rights utilized the democratic regime then existing in Syria to achieve unity in a "democratic" way, this was due to their desire to kill democracy by "democratic" means, exactly as Louis Bonaparte did in France.

The Right bourgeois trend, expressing the expansionist aspirations of the pro-imperialist Arab bourgeoisie and its readiness to compromise with imperialism and internal reaction, poses a grave threat to the movement for Arab unity, to the national and social emancipation of the Arab people. This trend has nothing whatever in common with the interests of the working class, the peasants, the urban small bourgeoisie and considerable sections of the middle bourgeoisie. Instead of fostering Arab solidarity and reinforcing the struggle against imperialism and feudalism, and instead of strengthening friendship with the socialist countries and the interna-

tional working class this reactionary trend sows the seeds of discord among the Arab countries, endangers the national and democratic gains, and weakens the common struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

The revolutionary and democratic trend. As distinct from the Right bourgeois trend, the revolutionary democratic trend holds that Arab unity, a lawful demand, fully coincides with the aspirations of the Arab people, with their determination to win complete liberation from all forms of colonial dependence, abolish imperialist domination in the countries, and uproot the feudal and semi-feudal relationships. It advocates the non-capitalist way of development and unity of the Arab countries resting on a democratic foundation. The revolutionary democratic trend expresses the interests of workers, peasants and big sections of the national bourgeoisie.

The present situation in which the national-liberation movement and the movement for Arab unity are developing differs basically from the times in which the bourgeois-democratic revolutions took place in the West: these revolutions ended in the rise of bourgeois nations and the creation of national states. The basic problem for the Arab people today is not unification of the markets of the Arab countries on a capitalist basis and the creation of united bourgeois states, but complete liberation from imperialist domination and the establishment of national-democratic regimes. Only thus can the way be paved to voluntary unity between Arab countries on a basis of equality.

Lenin, who paid special attention to the national and colonial question, clearly defined the circumstances under which the national, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolutions in the East were developing. Writing in 1914 he pointed out: "Whether Asia will have crystallized into a system of independent national states, like Europe, before the downfall of capitalism, we do not know." Is there any need to demonstrate that the times we live in are the times of the disintegration and abolition of capitalism, that the national-democratic revolutions and the movement for Arab unity are taking place and developing in the era initiated by the October Revolution? "*The chief result of these years,*" says the 1960 Statement, "*is the rapid growth of the might and international influence of the socialist world system, the vigorous process of disintegration of the colonial system under the impact of the national-liberation movement, the intensification of class struggles in the capitalist world, and the continued decline and decay of the capitalist world system. The*

superiority of the forces of socialism over those of imperialism, of the forces of peace over those of war, is becoming ever more marked in the world arena."

The principal feature of our time is that the socialist world system is becoming the decisive factor of social development. The worldwide national-liberation movement, including the Arab liberation movement, is winning victory after victory in close alliance with the socialist world system and the struggle of the international working class. The common struggle waged by these basic revolutionary forces to preserve world peace, to avert a nuclear war, for general and complete disarmament and for abolition of the colonial system is ultimately directed against the very foundations of the capitalist world system.

The Scientific Way to Arab Unity

The Right bourgeois trend sees Arab unity as an isolated issue. It denies that the formative process of the Arab nation and its unity, like any other social phenomenon, follows objective laws. The Arab nation is not exceptional in this respect. Some of the necessary conditions for the formation of the Arab nation set in centuries ago, while other conditions, for instance a "common economic life," are still in their infancy.

The manner in which the Arab nation will take shape and effect unity will depend on the way in which this "common economic life" is achieved: will it come about spontaneously by one or another Arab country taking over the markets of the other countries and then forcibly uniting them — as in the case of the Egypt-Syria unity — or by way of conspiring with the imperialists and their oil companies, as the Baath leaders are doing? Or will it take place in keeping with the will of the Arab people, i.e., with the formation of a nation free from imperialist economic, political and ideological domination, which would be tantamount to establishing Arab unity on the basis of equality and mutual fraternal cooperation of all the Arab peoples?

Realization of a "common economic life" in each country and on the scale of the Arab world as a whole, and the creation of other conditions necessary for the formation of the nation and for the unity of these countries — these reflect the aspirations of the Arab people. Democratic regimes in the Arab countries and their transition to the non-capitalist way of development would open up good prospects for Arab unity.

Many nations have been able to by-pass the stage of spontaneous formation and unity. The peoples of Soviet Central Asia, formerly

subjected to national oppression, lacked the necessary conditions for their formation as nations (some of them did not even have a developed language of their own). The October Revolution and the fraternal aid of the Russian working class and the Communist Party liberated these peoples, revived their national heritage, enabled them to develop into free and equal socialist nations and to unite into the single family of Soviet peoples. Thus, they avoided the pain and anarchy which accompanied the formation of bourgeois nations. Today they are confidently advancing alongside the entire Soviet people towards a communist society.

The revolutionary democratic trend maintains that achievement of Arab unity must correspond to the wishes of the Arab people and be an expression of their will. Unity cannot be achieved by force. The people will achieve unity by their own free will and in accordance with their own interests. At present the movement for Arab unity is passing through the stage of struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, and against reactionary, despotic regimes. As this struggle broadens and deepens, resulting in the formation of progressive regimes in the Arab countries, the process of Arab unity will take a swift and more correct course.

The Arab country or countries, which achieve liberation from imperialism and abandon the capitalist way before other countries, will be an example to the other Arab countries and a rallying center for their unity.

Non-Capitalist Way of Development or Socialism?

Attainment of Arab unity is one of the tasks of the national-democratic revolution. But it sometimes happens that the national-democratic revolution fails to fulfil some of its tasks, whereupon the socialist revolution tackles the unresolved problems. The possibility of achieving Arab unity in the course of the national-democratic revolution derives not only from the aspiration of the peoples and their urge for unity, but also from the actual conditions in these countries and from the favorable international situation. It will be possible too for broad sections of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal national bourgeoisie to play their part in the fight for Arab unity in keeping with the revolutionary democratic trend. Furthermore, this way of posing the problem facilitates the winning over of these circles, and helps to isolate the reactionary bourgeoisie and all Right extremists. Posing the problem in this way also takes into account the possibility of the revolution-

ary wing of the petty bourgeoisie heading the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal front, of taking the country along the non-capitalist way and of realizing Arab unity.

The conditions in the Arab countries favor the setting up of a national-democratic front with the participation of representatives of the workers, peasants, progressive intellectuals, and of those sections of the national bourgeoisie who stand for democracy and who are anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, even before the proletarian leadership of this front has matured. These conditions have arisen thanks to the steady growth of the influence of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, to the spread of socialist ideas and of the Arab liberation struggle, and thanks to the bankruptcy of "anti-Communism" and the isolation of the extreme Right.

It should be borne in mind that the conditions that prevailed in Russia before the October Revolution differed greatly from the present conditions in the Arab world. Russia, prior to the October Revolution, was an imperialist power exploiting and oppressing many non-Russian nations. Hence a union of these nations and peoples with Russia was impossible before the destruction of Russian imperialism, before the overthrow of capitalism and the abolition of class exploitation and national oppression. In the Arab world there is not a single imperialist country. The unity of the Arab countries does not signify unity with one of the former colonial powers or with a country still exploiting and oppressing them. The overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of these countries are fraternal Arab peoples who have many unifying bonds and links, especially in their common struggle against imperialism. This solidarity and affinity, despite the ominous clouds gathering over them from time to time, are reinforced by the common struggle against the hangovers from imperialist rule and for economic emancipation.

The problem of the varying levels of economic development in the Arab countries, which still exerts a negative influence in the matter of unity, can be resolved by their taking the non-capitalist way. Unity of the Arab countries resting on a revolutionary-democratic foundation will be decisive for coordinating their economic advance and will subsequently create the material prerequisites for their advance to socialism.

Arab unity should be seen in the light of the objective conditions prevailing in the Arab countries, and, of course, in the light of the international situation. For Marxism-

Leninism there is no "Chinese wall" between the national-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution.

"Arab Socialism" and Arab Unity

How does the doctrine of "Arab socialism", especially in the UAR, regard the problem of Arab unity? In 1958 when unity was established between Egypt and Syria the UAR had not announced its intention of building socialism as loudly as it does now. The decrees which nationalized the property of the big capitalists were issued in July 1961, i.e., two months before the collapse of the said unity. Since then measures to nationalize the property of big national capital have continued. According to government statements, 90 per cent of Egyptian industry is under state control. Foreign trade is controlled by the government. The maximum land that can be owned by a single person has been reduced to 100 feddans (1 feddan = 0.4 hectares).

These measures have struck hard not only at the big bourgeoisie — in the past the economic base of the Right bourgeois trend on the question of Arab unity — but at the bourgeoisie as a whole. Yet it is to be noted that so far no essential change has taken place in UAR policy. It still adheres to the old policy which runs counter to the interests of the Arab people. There is a glaring contradiction between the important economic changes which have taken place of late in the UAR and the continued adherence of the ruling circles to their old reactionary ideological and political positions. This state of affairs, in the event of it being maintained, is likely to endanger the economic, social and political gains. For the contradictions between the Egyptian people and imperialism have not been abolished or weakened. On the contrary, the contradictions have become more pronounced. The class contradictions in Egyptian society, far from having been abolished, are more apparent than ever. The adherence of the rulers to the old reactionary ideological and political positions and their hostility to democracy and communism, have enabled the imperialists, the feudal lords and all reactionaries to close their ranks and direct blows against the regime with a view to wiping out its achievements. The situation is aggravated by the fact that foreign monopolies, especially the U.S. monopolies, are entrenched in the economy. Foreign capital flows into Egypt in the shape of loans and "aid." The imperialists resort to intrigue and plotting with the aim of involving Egypt in dangerous gambles and thus retard its demo-

cratic growth and prevent it from taking the non-capitalist way.

In this situation the only way to safeguard the gains and to advance along the road to socialism is to ensure a democratic administration, to bring the workers and the working people and the progressive forces generally into active participation in the economic and political life of the country. It would be premature to speak of the way which Egypt will go in her development. This will depend on many factors, both internal and external. Besides the negative aspects of the regime, there are many positive aspects which affect the country as a whole. The important economic changes and the growth of friendly relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have become possible thanks to the struggle of the Egyptian people and government against imperialism, feudalism and monopoly. The Egyptian people are working to consolidate these gains, for the complete economic independence of the country.

The changes that have taken place in the UAR should not be regarded in isolation from the international situation. The success of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community, the triumph of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence and the generous aid of the socialist world system to the UAR and other Arab countries — all have influenced the people of Egypt and help them in choosing the path of development which corresponds to the interests of the majority of the nation. The social and economic changes carried out in the UAR serve as a solid basis for development along non-capitalist lines, ultimately leading to socialism. These measures enjoy the support of all the democratic and progressive forces in the Arab world. The UAR, being the biggest and economically most developed of the Arab countries, can play a big part in the Arab unity movement and in the entire Arab liberation movement, provided its government pursues a consistent national policy against imperialism and colonialism in all its forms, relinquishes its anti-communism and its hostility to democracy and strengthens its relations with the socialist countries and all the peace-loving and progressive forces in the world.

The Position of the Imperialist Powers on Arab Unity

The attitude of the imperialist powers towards the liberation movement and Arab unity can be best understood in the light of the following facts:

1. The imperialist oil companies control all the oilfields and pipelines in the Arab countries, not to mention the vast direct and indirect foreign-monopoly investments in these countries.

2. By virtue of its geographical position the Arab East occupies an important place in the military-strategic plans of the imperialist powers.

3. The Arab states together with the other Middle East countries which are also rich in oil and occupy an important strategic position, are still the arena of a sharp inter-imperialist rivalry. The change in the world balance of forces in favor of peace and socialism and the rise of the national-liberation movement in the Arab East have compelled the imperialist powers to change their tactics and resort to new maneuvers in order to weaken the anti-imperialist struggle of the Arab peoples.

The history of the Arab peoples knows not a few attempts to deprive the liberation movement of its revolutionary content and to use it for aggressive ends. At the time of the First World War Britain exploited the Arab national movement and the aspirations of the people for liberation and unity against Turkey. Before the Second World War Britain made repeated attempts to implement, with the aid of the Hashimite dynasty, the "Greater Syria" and the "Fertile Crescent" schemes with the double aim of striking at the Arab liberation movement and undermining French influence in the area.

At the time of the Second World War Britain took the initiative in establishing the League of Arab States with a view to achieving the following objectives:

- a) to use the League for buttressing the shaken reactionary regimes and as a barrier to the advance of the liberation movement and the growing urge of the Arab people for unity;

- b) to use the League in order to eliminate French influence in the area, to take the place of the French and to block infiltration of American influence.

In the fifties "sympathy" for Arab aspirations for unity was no longer confined to Britain. American interests too declared their "understanding" of Arab nationalism and their desire to "support" Arab unity. It is common knowledge that the USA encouraged the establishment of the Egypt-Syria union in 1958, with a view to achieving the following ends:

—to involve the Cairo rulers in "anti-communism," to strike at the national forces in

each of the Arab countries, to destroy Arab solidarity, to abolish democratic freedom in Syria, and in this way isolate the Arabs from their best friends—the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries;

—to use “Arab unity” as a means of exerting pressure on Britain and compelling it to make concessions to the U.S. monopolies. Britain’s response was the creation of the union between Iraq and Jordan, a union which collapsed after the revolution of July 14, 1958, in Iraq.

Thus the Anglo-American imperialists exploited the slogan of Arab unity to deceive the masses, to win over the Right-wing Arab nationalists and to use them in their conspiracies and coups. The imperialists have never been, nor will they ever be, supporters of a unity expressing the will of the Arab people to win liberation from imperialist domination.

Only naive and short-sighted politicians can believe in the “unity” offered by the imperialists and Arab reactionaries. They alone can believe that the imperialists will stand aside while the Arab peoples unite in a state which sets itself the task of doing

away with imperialist influence, abolishing the oil concessions and achieving complete national and social liberation. The imperialists are working hard to divide the Arab people and to incite one country against the other.

* * *

The Arab people are learning from experience that the complex problems facing the national-liberation movement, including the problem of unity, cannot be solved along the lines of capitalism, which bodes more suffering and privation. “The experience of implementing the general democratic program,” said N. S. Khrushchov, “increasingly demonstrates that capitalism cannot become the banner of the people’s struggle for national revival and social advance, that it cannot be an ideal for them.”

The Arab people, drawing support from the fraternal solidarity and cooperation with the Soviet Union, with the other socialist countries and with the international working class, can frustrate all the designs of the imperialist monopolies and achieve genuine unity.

People of Cyprus Demand Complete National Independence

Ezekias Papaioannou

IN FEBRUARY 1964 five years will have passed since the signing of the Zurich agreement on the basis of which Cyprus was proclaimed an independent republic on August 16, 1960.

Since then Cyprus has become a member of the United Nations and played an active part in the Afro-Asian solidarity movement. The Republic of Cyprus was one of the first countries to sign the Moscow partial test-ban treaty.

The Zurich agreement did not, and could not, solve the Cyprus problem because that agreement was not the result of the free expression of the will of the people; it was the result of imperialist imposition and *diktat*. The imperialists, taking advantage of the internal situation in Cyprus, particularly the conflict between the Turkish and Greek communities, imposed a solution which served their interests.

The British colonialists have secured special rights in a considerable part (99 sq. miles) of the territory of Cyprus and in 32 other localities for their military bases, as well as the right to use the roads, ports and air space for military purposes. Turkish and Greek troops are quartered in Cyprus under the Zurich agreement. The Turks and Greeks on the island should be united against the common enemy — imperialism. However, the latter, in keeping with the old "divide and rule" principle, has created a permanent source of friction between the two peoples.

There are in the Constitution of the Cyprus Republic articles which are undemocratic and, from a practical standpoint, unfeasible, and these are a source of conflict. A particular point is that of separate Turkish municipalities in the five principal cities of the island. Experience has shown how impractical this is, since the differences on this issue have led to the abolition of the municipal authorities in these cities.

The Constitution enables the Turkish minority in Parliament virtually to veto bills of vital importance. For example, there is no income tax law in Cyprus because the Turkish M.P.s, who are in the minority, voted against it.

Another undemocratic article is that which accords citizens of Turkish nationality almost twice as many places in the civil service, in the police and in the army, in proportion to the number of Turks in the population.

The Greek population, which is not hostile to the Turkish minority, is anxious to cooperate with it, recognizes and respects the minority's equality and rights, and is ready to guarantee these rights. But, as is clear from the foregoing, many of the articles in the Constitution, instead of guaranteeing equality, confer privileges on the minority at the expense of the majority.

The Hand of the Imperialists

The imperialists deliberately granted these exclusive rights to the Turkish minority in order to create a chronic source of friction.

Amending the Constitution on these and other issues would normalize relations and help create conditions under which the co-operation between the two communities would develop in the interests of both and to the detriment of the imperialists.

In August 1963 Archbishop Makarios, President of the Republic, expressing the unanimous demand of the Greek population, stated that the Constitution would be amended, the treaty of guarantee* annulled and the way thus paved for complete national independence and self-determination of the Cyprus people.

At the beginning of December President Makarios submitted to the leaders of the Turkish community proposals for revising 13 articles of the Constitution. The proposed changes envisage the abolition of separate voting by Greek and Turkish deputies in the House of Representatives, the setting up of joint municipalities in the cities, proportional representation in the army, police and civil service, joint courts, abolition of the Greek House of Commons and annulment of the President's and Vice-President's right to veto.

These proposals, reasonable and just, are supported by the Progressive Party of Cyprus

*Treaty under which Great Britain, Turkey and Greece undertake to guarantee the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus and respect its Constitution.

Working People (AKEL) and by the entire Greek population of the country.

However, instead of agreeing to negotiate, the chauvinist leaders of the Turkish community threatened to destroy the Greek Cypriots in the event of any attempt to revise the Constitution and the Zurich and London agreements. Some representatives of the Turkish government even went so far as to threaten the people with invasion. Neither the Constitution, the treaty of guarantee nor the Zurich agreement has ever been approved by the people of Cyprus through a plebiscite, a Constituent Assembly or through Parliament. There is no doubt that had this agreement been submitted to the people they would have rejected it. The same can be said of the Constitution. After all, the Constitution of any country is the internal affair solely of the people of that country, and of no one else. Moreover, a Constitution is finally approved by the people either through a plebiscite or by some representative body. This cannot be said of the Constitution of the Cyprus Republic, it was simply foisted on our people.

Every Constitution contains provisions for amendment. In the Cyprus Constitution there are, of course, articles which are basic and not subject to change. But we now have the incredible situation in which the people are not entitled to amend the Constitution of their own country! However, no Constitution in the world can remain unchanged forever, all the more so a Constitution which was not discussed and approved by the people of the given country.

The question naturally arises: who gains from the irreconcilable attitude adopted by the Turkish leaders? There is but one answer—the imperialists. The press has featured reports to the effect that the U.S. Government does not agree with the statement made by the President of Cyprus concerning revision of the Constitution and treaties. The same was said by the BBC on the attitude of the British government. Behind the Turkish leaders stand the imperialists, supporting the irreconcilable attitude of these leaders and their interventionist designs against the people of Cyprus.

The Makarios statement on revision of the Constitution and the treaties was not to the liking of the imperialists, and this explains the pressure exerted on our people and the ensuing subversion. The imperialists want Cyprus to join NATO, an act which, they claim, would solve the Cyprus problem. The same forces which obdurately resisted the struggle of the people for self-determination,

those who each time in UNO voted against the just demands of our people, and who in the final analysis imposed the Zurich agreement on Cyprus, now want to deceive the people again, to enmesh them, this time for good, in the imperialist net.

Should the imperialists succeed in getting Cyprus to join NATO, the Cyprus problem would indeed be solved, but in interests alien to the people, in the interests of imperialism.

It is not the imperialists, not the NATO countries, but the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and the countries of the Afro-Asian solidarity movement who support the demand of the people of Cyprus for self-determination and complete national independence, and who are unconditionally against foreign interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus.

What is Behind Anti-Communism?

Anti-communism is one of the instruments used by the imperialists in the struggle against the people of Cyprus. "Cyprus is in danger of becoming a second Cuba," "The Communists will take power in the next general election," "The Communist danger is growing," "The Archbishop has entered into alliance with the Communists" — these are the slogans of imperialist propaganda. The bogey of communism is brought out in order to mislead the people, to divide them, and thus frustrate the revision of the Constitution and treaties, prevent genuine self-determination for the people, complete the transformation of the island into a nuclear base and isolate the people from their natural allies — the socialist countries and the Afro-Asian countries.

Behind the smoke-screen of anti-communism the imperialists are reinforcing their economic and political positions on the island. Recent times have seen a flow of foreign monopoly capital into the country. The American Forest Oil Company has secured oil-prospecting and extraction rights on terms similar to those which the imperialist monopolies have long since ensured themselves in other countries of the Middle East. The British-American Tobacco Co. and Craven A dominate the tobacco industry in Cyprus. An oil refinery and a fertilizer plant are to be built by foreign companies. The Portland Cement Company (British) has built a cement factory. The American KME mining company, which has been extracting pyrites since 1925, netted a grand total of £66 million profits by 1962. A British-Dutch ammonia company has been operating in Cyprus for decades.

Alongside British imperialism with its

military bases, U.S. and West German imperialists are active on the island. The Americans have three radio monitoring stations in the country, used mainly for espionage purposes.

There are more than 1,000 private cars in Cyprus bearing the lettering ATL, signifying "American temporary licence." This "licence" was not granted by the Cyprus authorities, it was appropriated by the Americans in violation of the law; they do not pay a penny in taxes to the Cyprus government.

The U.S. Sixth Fleet is a frequent "guest" in our ports, and the U.S. "Peace Corps" has been active in Cyprus for several months.

Economic Problems

Since the proclamation of the Republic various irrigation installations have been built, other important projects have been completed and unemployment has been reduced — thanks to the struggle and selfless labor of the people.

However, much remains to be done to overcome the economic backwardness. Cyprus needs water to make agriculture more profitable. The irrigation systems installed are still inadequate. It is necessary to build dams in order to store rain and subterranean water, to enact laws providing for a more rational allocation of water.

Land held by big owners should be expropriated and distributed among the landless peasants and smallholders. The problem of peasant debts and credits for peasants must be tackled, and a system established of purchasing and marketing agricultural produce.

Cyprus must have its own industry which should be protected against foreign monopolies. The difference between the national industry and the industry owned by foreign monopolies is tremendous. By developing the national industry everything would remain in the country, but with industry foreign-owned the profits are exported abroad and the economy is controlled by foreign capital, and this has political consequences. The foreign monopolies, having no desire to renounce their rights in Cyprus, are resisting the struggle of the people to win complete national independence.

A sound policy of industrial and economic development would block the road to foreign capital. The capital needed could be obtained from abroad in the form of low-interest loans; it could be turned into Cypriot capital rather than let foreign capital exploit the natural resources. AKEL and the democratic movement generally in Cyprus stand for a policy of this kind.

The European Common Market and Cyprus

When Britain was negotiating for entry into the Common Market the government of Cyprus also applied for membership.

The most weighty argument in favor of joining was that in the event of Britain's entry Cyprus should follow suit, since Britain is the best market for Cyprus goods. As a result of joining the Market, said the Cypriot advocates of this step, we would be able to sell our agricultural produce in a zone with a population of 200 million and this would provide support to our industry.

When Britain's application for Common Market membership was rejected, Cyprus was no longer directly confronted with this issue. However, we cannot fail to see the catastrophic economic and political consequences which entry into the Common Market would entail.

Firstly, Cyprus as a country which still has to complete its independence would have no weight among the NATO countries which form the core of the Common Market.

Secondly, Cyprus is an underdeveloped country with a backward agriculture, large numbers of partially unemployed and a poorly developed industry and handicrafts. In 1960 the national income amounted to £52.8 million in the stable prices of 1950, or £78.4 million in current prices. In 1959 agriculture accounted for 25.4 per cent of the national income; in 1960 the figure was 23.3 per cent. Industry's share was a bare 13 per cent in 1959 and 12.5 per cent in 1960.

The principal agricultural products are citrus fruits (oranges, lemons and grapefruit), grapes, raisins, vegetables, tobacco, wine and cheese. Britain is the main market for these products. According to official figures for 1961, exports of agricultural products, beverages and tobacco in that year were valued at £6,581,192, of which 65 per cent (£4,277,773) went to Britain.

In the same year Cyprus' exports to the Common Market countries amounted to £5,815,400, the bulk of which was in the form of ores and other minerals; the import conditions for these commodities would not be changed by joining the Common Market since these items are duty free.

The fact that Britain is the largest single buyer of our agricultural products is explained not only by preferential tariffs but above all by the fact that we buy from Britain three times more manufactures and other goods than she buys from us.

The solution to the problem of marketing Cyprus agricultural produce is not in joining

the Common Market but in extending trade with all countries, and especially with those who will buy Cyprus products on a basis of equality. In the last two years the socialist countries have bought £2 million worth of our products under bilateral trade agreements.

Joining the Common Market would be fatal not only to the economy of Cyprus, but also to its independent policy. Conscious of this, the people are waging a struggle to prevent any link-up with the EEC.

The Policy of Our Party

From the foregoing it follows that Cyprus is confronted with difficult problems. And the reason is, as we have said, the Zurich agreement which infringes on the freedom of our people and is a source of friction. Solution of these problems is hampered also by the subversive activities of imperialism and its stooges aimed at dividing the popular forces and completely subordinating Cyprus to the neo-colonialists.

Imperialism is enemy No. 1 of all the people of Cyprus, both Greeks and Turks. But the chauvinist Turkish leaders refuse to recognize this truth, and, by their conduct, are helping the imperialists, not the Turkish community on the island. At this writing a regime of terror prevails in the Turkish community, and many Turkish democrats and patriots have been killed because of their opposition to the pro-imperialist policy of the Turkish leaders.

However, despite the terror thousands of Turkish Cypriots realize that the interests of their community can be ensured only by waging a joint struggle with the Greek Cypriots against the common enemy — imperialism.

In the Greek community, too, there are terrorists in the service of imperialism. There have been numerous cases of assaults on the fighters for the cause of the people.

The terrorists are used by the imperialists to intimidate the people, to confuse them and divert them from the main task of the struggle—to defeat imperialism and complete the independence of Cyprus.

The people of Cyprus are on the threshold of developments which will be decisive for their future. The Makarios proposals to revise the Constitution with a view to strengthening the country's sovereignty and independence were seized upon as a pretext for the armed clashes engineered by Turk extremists last December. The latter are backed by the imperialists who in turn took advantage of the conflict to interfere in the internal affairs of the Republic.

In a unanimously endorsed statement the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of AKEL pointed out that the clashes in Nicosia, and on a lesser scale in other towns and villages, resulting in numerous fatalities on both sides, had their source in the fact that the Cyprus question had not been solved on the basis of self-determination. The Cypriot people have been deprived of this right by imperialist force, and instead they had imposed on them the regime of the Zurich-London agreements which are a standing source of friction among Greeks and Turks.

The main responsibility for the present abnormal situation, the statement says, rests with the Turkish government with its repeated threats of an armed invasion. The "treaty of guarantee," part of the London-Zurich agreements, was used by the Turkish government to justify its provocative policy in relation to Cyprus, and its "right" to interfere in the internal affairs of the Republic.

The three years of the Republic of Cyprus have shown beyond all doubt that for the normal functioning of the state and for the political advance and economic development of the country, it is essential to deliver Cyprus from the Zurich-London agreements and to revise the undemocratic articles of the Constitution.

The efforts made by Archbishop Makarios to revise the Constitution, which could and should have led to a round-table conference of Greek and Turkish Cypriots, was frantically resisted by the Ankara government. And this attitude resulted in the Turkish Cypriot leaders refusing to discuss the President's proposals. Turkey retaliated with the threat of invasion.

In these circumstances a single incident between unlawfully armed Turkish extremists and a police patrol sufficed to spark off an affray by Turkish armed groups against law and order, resulting in bloodshed.

In the grave situation thus created our Party repeated its decision to give all its support to the government of the Republic and to offer every help in restoring law and order, in repelling the Turkish invasion should it be essayed. The Party considers the unity of all Cypriots, both Greek and Turk, regardless of their political views, to be essential for the defense of the Republic.

The AKEL statement pointed out that the Party approved the decision of President Makarios to take part in the London conference on Cyprus on the condition that this did not prevent Cyprus from putting its case to the United Nations. The Party also approved the President's program for this conference: the

complete independence and unity of Cyprus, guaranteed rights for the Turkish minority, abolition of the "treaty of guarantee" and the "treaty of alliance." Should the conference fail to yield the desired results, the statement concluded, prompt action should be taken through the United Nations.

AKEL upholds the national interests of the country, the equality of the Greek and Turkish population. Our Party, which correctly assessed the Zurich agreement and foresaw the present course of events, calls for the unity of all Cypriots, both Greek and Turk, in the struggle against the common enemy — imperialism — for completing the independence of Cyprus. The program adopted by the Tenth Congress of the Party called for the closing of the imperialist bases on Cyprian territory, for a nuclear-free zone in the Mediterranean.

AKEL welcomes the fact that the idea of complete independence and self-determination has now been taken up by the entire Greek population of Cyprus.

The times we are living in do not brook interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Turkey, like any other foreign country, has no right whatsoever to interfere in the internal affairs of Cyprus, and should it persist in doing so the consequences for it would be even more disastrous than were the consequences for the British, French and Israeli aggressors of their gamble against Egypt in 1956.

In its struggle for the revision of the agreements and for paving the way to self-determination AKEL, far from ignoring the economic problems of the country, regards these as an integral part of the fight for peace, for dismantling the military bases and winning complete national independence. In the struggle for the immediate needs and demands of the people, the Party is consolidating its ranks and is doing everything to reinforce the unity of all the democratic forces opposed to imperialism. AKEL, the standard-bearer of the anti-imperialist unity of the people of Cyprus, stands foursquare for this unity, and for the sake of unity is making every possible concession, without, of course, retreating from its principled positions.

The Party is pursuing a broad and flexible anti-imperialist, national-liberation policy

aimed at rallying all the people against imperialism. And understandably, the imperialists detest AKEL and would like to destroy it, hence their cry that AKEL is "dangerous" and must be abolished.

Nothing, however, will divert the Party from its path of consistent anti-imperialist, national-liberation struggle. AKEL considers its every step, every action, assessing how far they advance the cause of unity in the struggle against imperialism, for the vital interests and national aspirations of the people. These criteria prevail in every action undertaken by our Party.

Together with AKEL many nationalists believe that consultation and cooperation are necessary if the common interests are to be upheld. AKEL is ever ready to exchange views on any issue affecting the interests of the people and to accept any proposals which further these interests. Our Party is ready to cooperate and to coordinate actions at all levels with the aim of serving the people and the national-liberation struggle. It will do all in its power to ensure the success of the struggle for revision of the agreements, for completing the national independence.

AKEL's banner is the banner of brotherhood of the peoples in the fight for freedom, peace and progress. The Party enjoys the respect and confidence of broad sections of the people, a sign of the soundness of its policy of fighting for the people. In carrying out this policy the Party is greatly helped by the policy of peaceful coexistence pursued by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Difficulties lie ahead of the people of Cyprus. However, they know that their just struggle is supported by the Soviet people and all the peoples of the socialist camp, by the working class in the capitalist countries, the national-liberation movement and the great movement for peace.

Blows are being struck at colonialism every day. And soon the day will come when it will be wiped out completely. Ours is the era of victory for the peoples, the era when the best dreams of man are beginning to come true. That is why we are confident that the struggle of the people of Cyprus, no matter how difficult it may be, will ultimately end in success.

Socialist Economy and International Cooperation

Wolfgang Berger

FOR THE Socialist Unity Party of Germany, as for most other Communist and Workers' parties, the revolutionary strategy of peaceful coexistence elaborated by the world Communist movement is accepted as the only correct strategy, and is consistently pursued in all its activity. The contribution made by the socialist countries to the victory of socialism on a world scale can be measured primarily by the part they play in the economic competition of the two systems, through the rapid expansion of the productive forces of the socialist community. Hence the international significance of the task confronting all the socialist countries of building the material and technological base of socialism and communism.

The Communist strategy presupposes resolving the urgent economic problems with the maximum efficiency in the shortest possible space of time. Only in this way can imperialism be combated and at the same time the well-being of society as a whole and each of its members promoted to the maximum. This applies equally to each socialist country and to the socialist world system in general.

The countries affiliated to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance hold identical views on these questions. They are in full agreement with the decisions of the June 1962 and July 1963 meetings of the First Secretaries of the Communist and Workers' parties and heads of government of the member countries and, in particular, with the "Basic Principles of the International Socialist Division of Labor" adopted in 1962.

Why, then, this unanimity notwithstanding, is international socialist division of labor making comparatively slow headway? One of the reasons would seem to be the inadequacy of the solutions found for a number of specific problems. For instance, we still lack the organizational and methodological means of coordinating plans, and of assessing the economic effect of joint construction programs. Difficulties have arisen evidently because we have not demonstrated in all clearness both the possibility and the necessity of mutual cooperation, especially in the matter of spe-

cialization and coordination, nor have we demonstrated the very substantial advantages that would accrue to the member-countries from this cooperation even with still sizeable discrepancies between their levels of economic development.

I should like to stress in this connection that, besides elucidating general theoretical questions concerning the socialist world economy, we should all contribute to the solution of the many, and often extremely complex, concrete problems common to our countries. For optimal solutions could be greatly facilitated by pooling experience. With a view to such an exchange of experience, let us examine the solutions found in the GDR to two problems which we believe are of interest from the standpoint of promoting international socialist economic cooperation.

I. Guidance of the Economy and Economic Cooperation Between Socialist Countries

The Moscow conferences of June 1962 and July 1963 underlined the need to make full use of the economic laws of socialism on the scale of the socialist world system. This is of utmost importance. The experience of the GDR, however, shows that consistent observance of these laws in each socialist country is an essential prerequisite. So long as they are not given free rein, or if they are misused, difficulties will be encountered in utilizing them on the scale of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, in promoting inter-country cooperation through harmonized plans and specialized and coordinated production.

It took the GDR years of hard work to achieve the present level of utilization of the economic laws of socialism.

The division of Germany left the economy of our republic in a difficult position, geared as it had been to the heavy industry of the Western part of the country. To begin with, it was necessary to compensate for this, to lay the foundations of our own economy, and, lastly, to gear in a rational way the gradually emerging national economy of the GDR to the expanding socialist world economy. Complete-

ly new branches of industry had to be established, and this process is still going on. Far-reaching changes are taking place in the existing branches, some of which will be curtailed and others, on the contrary, expanded. This is being done in a situation marked by ceaseless struggle and competition with West German imperialism. Moreover, for many years this struggle went on in the adverse conditions of an open frontier. It will be appreciated that during those years the economic laws of socialism could not be fully observed.

After the triumph of the socialist relations of production (1961-62) and the blow suffered by the West German revenge-seekers in the economic cold-war through the closing of the state frontier at Berlin, the situation changed and the Sixth Congress of the Party ushered in the all-out building of socialism in the GDR.* This is primarily a matter of building a national economy along entirely new lines. Petro-chemicals, secondary metallurgy, big power stations operating on brown coal, and electronics have come to the fore. A more rapid rate of growth is envisaged for those branches facilitating technological progress. This in turn paves the way for a rapid increase in labor productivity in other branches and for maximum advance in science and technology.

This crucial task cannot be achieved without consistent observance of the economic laws of socialism. Hence the decision of the Sixth Congress to go over to a new system of economic planning and management.

The aim is to ensure maximum productivity of labor and technological progress in the leading branches. We want the GDR not only to overtake the most advanced countries in this respect but to become the technological *pace-setter* for the world in a number of important fields.

The new system can be defined as an organic combination of scientific management, long-range state planning and an integrated system of economic levers. We see in the complete harmony between the requirements of society and the interests of the individual workers and groups of workers the main-spring of our economic and social development. We are striving to achieve in *day-to-day practice* full accord between the material interests of individual workers, teams and the personnel of factories, on the one hand, and the requirements of society, on the other. In

this harmony we see one of the most effective stimuli to the free development of initiative.

Much importance is attached to the gradual implementation of the principle set forth in the new program of the Party—"Everything that benefits society should benefit also the enterprise and the individual worker." This important principle had often been violated in the past. There was also a gap between the planning and the use of the economic levers in the enterprises, due both to the administrative nature of planning and to incorrect use of the levers. Plants often failed to put out the full range of goods planned or tolerated sub-standard quality simply because the price policy and the penalties for breach of contract were such that the material interests of the plants were not affected even when they failed to meet the needs of society. On the other hand, unwarranted losses were caused at times by detailed planning of the range of consumer goods without due regard for demand, which led to the accumulation of stocks of textiles and other goods for which there was no market.

We are now working to do away with such disproportions by putting the state plan on a more scientific footing, investing the industrial amalgamations and the individual plants with greater responsibility, and making comprehensive use of all economic levers.

Under the new system of planning and management the long-range plan retains its decisive role and, if anything, is even more important than before. This is due, in particular, to the technological revolution affecting both production and management. With the accent on long-range planning as the *decisive* means of guiding a dynamic economy, the need to enlist the services of scientists and other experts in planning becomes obvious. Defining the programs of the leading branches, the long-range plan focuses attention on the key problems of technological progress and provides for their coordinated solution as well as the material and technical means needed for this.

The new system assigns a major role to the industrial amalgamations. These amalgamations have existed for some years now, but so far they have been primarily administrative bodies serving up to a point as agencies of the National Economic Council. Now they bear full managerial responsibility for their respective branches. Each amalgamation is, strictly speaking, a corporation of a socialist type taking in all the enterprises in the given industry with the exception of small plants under regional jurisdiction.

*See article "Some Aspects of the Full-Scale Building of Socialism in the GDR" by K. Hager, *World Marxist Review*, No. 7, 1963.

One of the advantages afforded by this form of organization is that it enables the general manager of the amalgamation to coordinate technological policy throughout the sphere under his jurisdiction; moreover, the results of this policy can be easily assessed by the overall showing of the amalgamation. The amalgamations are also expected to give technological guidance to the smaller enterprises under regional jurisdiction, to direct the research in these enterprises and to chart their general development, specialization, division of labor and cooperation with other plants.

Within the framework of the balanced and coordinated basic targets of the long-range plan, the amalgamations and their managers draw up the targets for the given branch. Net returns are the decisive criterion of performance. The amalgamations operate on a self-supporting cost accounting basis and have their own plans, while the enterprises subordinated to them retain their economic and juridical entity and enjoy a wide range of powers. We believe that the new status of the amalgamations and the precise definition of their responsibility and their relationships with both the National Economic Council and the enterprises under them will put an end to management by administrative orders.

In working out the new system we made a thorough study of management methods in large enterprises in the capitalist countries and applied some of the conclusions suggested by this study.

Planning methods are being readjusted so as to provide stimuli to progressively better performance. One of the tasks is to coordinate such elements of accounting as cost, prices, turnover and profit and incentives like wages and bonuses to stimulate initiative and heighten awareness that the better the plans are fulfilled the greater the benefits accruing to society as a whole and to each worker.

Profit acquires particular importance in the system of economic levers as a mirror of the performance of both the amalgamations and their enterprises. Indeed, it is becoming the main criterion of the achievements of associated socialist producers. However, the interaction of all the economic levers should be such as to bring the biggest profits to those enterprises and amalgamations which show rapid technological progress, make full use of modern techniques, steadily raise productivity of labor, reduce costs, and put out high-quality goods in an assortment demanded by the market. On the other hand, enterprises that fail to measure up to these basic requirements should incur a loss.

Incentives stimulate a conscientious approach on the part of executives and workers in elaborating and fulfilling plans. The old practice of prescribing to the amalgamations and enterprises what they should do in minute detail must be discarded. The new system of planning and management rests, firstly, on confidence in the competence of personnel and, secondly, on strict evaluation of the results of their labor by economic yardsticks. In this way the survivals of bureaucratic methods can be eliminated.

We attach much importance to the correct utilization of the law of value, primarily exact measurement of the expenditure of socially necessary labor. The job here is to ascertain exact cost of production, to work out a sound system of prices for industrial goods, and to assign to profit its proper role. In sum, these measures provide management, factory personnel and the individual worker with a useful instrument of control.

It is imperative to revise the prices of industrial goods. We are now revising prices for coal, electricity, gas and some other basic items, and we are introducing new, realistic depreciation rates. This is essential since hitherto the production of basic items was subsidized and their prices were not based strictly on the cost of production. Industrial price reform is the first step towards an integrated price-cost structure reflecting the actual expenditure of socially necessary labor. We believe that the unified price structure should take in imports and exports as well.

The new functions of the industrial amalgamations as the guiding bodies in their respective branches will have a positive effect also as regards their participation in economic cooperation with the other socialist countries.

According to Party directives and Government decisions the amalgamations should outline *their views on the future of their respective branches of industry*, including proposals for international economic cooperation. We expect this to produce useful results. Experience has shown that the State Planning Board and the National Economic Council are not in a position to examine and resolve all the questions affecting scientific and technological cooperation and specialization and coordination of production between the socialist countries. Hence the decision to shift a substantial part of this highly responsible work to the amalgamations.

This new way has proved its worth. The Amalgamation of Mining Equipment Plants, for example, is cooperating with buyers and consumers (but not as yet with producers) in

other countries, with good results. Enterprises in other socialist countries have placed advance orders for production units for open-cast mining up to 1970, and this enables the Amalgamation to work out its output programs for years ahead, not to speak of standard designs and specialized production. Switching over to standardized design facilitates specialization, cooperation and quantity production. Long-range production programs, moreover, make for better planning of technological progress and capital construction. Labor productivity rises considerably and production costs are reduced.

The measures taken to date provide the amalgamations with the organizational facilities needed for cooperation with their counterparts in the fraternal socialist countries.

Consistent observance of the economic laws of socialism within the country is of great importance from the standpoint of putting economic cooperation with other socialist countries on a sound footing. The former practice of including the subsidized prices of imported raw materials and semi-manufactures in the costs of an enterprise distorted the price structure and acted as a brake on foreign trade. A gap developed between production and foreign trade. Both the amalgamations and the individual enterprises were anxious to produce primarily those export goods which netted the biggest profits irrespective of foreign currency income. Foreign currency inflow meant nothing to them. As for foreign trade organizations, these were interested above all in exporting the goods most in demand on the world market. For them cost of production was not important, since the difference between the home price and the world price was covered by state subsidies.

By more precise cost accounting we can create a solid basis for weighing our prices against those on the world market. Moreover, opportunities are opened for closer cooperation between industrial amalgamations and foreign trade organizations on the basis of an equal interest in the returns. The amalgamations and enterprises will be able to judge by their profit and loss accounts what the profitable export items are and where state subsidies are essential, which was not the case in the past. And from this they can conclude at what links in the production process measures have to be taken to raise labor productivity and to reduce production costs.

The new price structure will no doubt spur efforts to improve efficiency by drawing on latent potential. It should provide an incen-

tive to ensuring the maximum efficacy of social labor.

The new system of planning and management has not yet been worked out to the last detail. In some important areas it is still necessary to conduct economic experiments. But the results so far leave no doubt that we are on the right path.

II. Joint Effort to Advance Technology

The worldwide victory of socialism depends in the final analysis on its achieving a higher productivity of labor than that under capitalism. And to make maximum headway towards this goal it is essential to make full use of the latest achievements of science and engineering, to place the emphasis on petrochemicals, on up-to-date technology, in particular automation, in both production and management. *Here the decisive role will be played by the most modern branches.*

To this end it is imperative for the socialist countries to increase the output of a specified range of goods over and above their home requirements. The Soviet Union is the exception in this respect for it has, on the one hand, a vast home market, and on the other, the scientific and technological wherewithal and economic resources needed to carry on production along modern lines within its own bounds. Consequently, in participating in joint actions with other member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, the Soviet Union is guided not by any exclusive interests but by socialist internationalism.

While the GDR has a developed industry, in the world context it is a small country, moreover, one with not too abundant raw material resources. Therefore the considerations outlined above apply to it in full.

In conformity with the June 1962 decisions, the Sixth Congress of the Party adopted an economic program which outlines the prospects for the GDR in the overall system of the socialist world economy and, in particular, within the framework of the Mutual Assistance Council. This program states: "In building its economy, the German Democratic Republic takes into account the operation of the law of planned proportional development on the scale of the countries associated with the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the entire socialist world system. The GDR is becoming a stronger link in the socialist world economic system, playing an increasingly active part in the economic competition with the world system of imperialism. And in the process the disproportions in our

economy caused by the division of Germany will be gradually overcome."

Although the GDR has a developed industry its labor productivity lags on the average 25 per cent behind that of West Germany. The lag is easy to explain, but explanations do not alter the fact itself. Every effort must be made to do away with this discrepancy. This is a political issue of prime importance for our struggle against West German imperialism. But our position in this respect does not differ fundamentally from that of the other socialist countries; the only difference is that the consequences of being behind the leading capitalist countries are felt by us in a more direct way, in both the political and economic spheres.

All the socialist countries are faced with the question of what is the most effective way to make good this lag. Coordination of the long-range and current plans of our countries is a common answer. And it is the right one. But the coordination should not be understood in a schematic way.

Our experience is that rational introduction of the new technology in the leading branches is the key to a general and rapid rise in labor productivity. Hence our aim is to achieve the highest possible technological level in the leading branches, and especially in petrochemicals, secondary metallurgy, electronics and automation devices.

To solve this problem by our own forces would require extreme exertion of effort. The same obviously applies to the other socialist countries, for none has as yet achieved the highest modern technological standards in all important branches.

Here are a few facts. Experts in the socialist countries unanimously agree that the oxygen-blast method (the Lintz-Donawitz process) marks a revolution in steel production. It cuts the investment needed per ton of steel and greatly reduces cost of production. But despite the obvious superiority of this process over the open-hearth method, it still plays a negligible role in the overall production of steel in our countries. In this respect we are greatly behind the industrially developed capitalist countries. And the reason is that in no socialist country has the oxygen-blast technology been fully assimilated. We are still building steel mills which, when they go into operation, will be inferior from both the technological and economic standpoints to the best plants of this type in the Western countries.

Similar difficulties are met with also in other leading branches of industry. For ex-

ample, in petrochemicals not one of our countries has its own method of producing polyethylene under high pressures. Nor do we produce high-capacity gas diffusion installations.

Many other examples could be cited. What is the conclusion to be drawn from all this? Primarily that we are still dependent to a certain extent on equipment manufactured by capitalist firms. There is no longer any justification whatever for this state of affairs.

With these common difficulties and the consequent common interests in mind, we are pressing for a joint solution of this problem. At the last two conferences of the leaders of the Council countries Comrade Ulbricht submitted a number of proposals concerning joint technological development plans of prime importance. *We believe that coordinated joint work in carrying out plans in key areas is the best way to achieve a second-to-none technological level in the leading branches with the least delay.*

As we see it, common endeavor in key areas should be the basic method of coordinating the plans of our countries. The experience of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance since the June 1962 conference shows that jointly defining the key tasks (for example, steps to meet fuel and power needs) can yield splendid results on an international scale.

Evidently in coordinating plans it will be necessary to proceed from the decisive tasks in the leading branches of the economy, science and technology and to solve these first. If all branches were to be tackled at once the results would hardly be appreciable. But joint work in key areas, coordination of plans for scientific and technological development and the manufacture of equipment which our countries do not yet produce would enable us quickly to free ourselves from dependence on capitalist concerns, primarily as regards metallurgical and petrochemical equipment. Moreover, the experience gained would no doubt be very helpful in further joint effort in the spheres of coordination and specialization.

By concentrating on the principal sectors we could also quickly organize mass production of important engineering, electro-technical and electronic items on the basis of specialization and coordination agreements between countries. It would be detrimental to our common struggle against imperialism if we were to continue to ignore the fact that mass production and automation constitute one of the main factors making for high pro-

ductivity of labor in capitalist enterprises. We will be able to surpass capitalism economically only if we concentrate our efforts on jointly elaborating technological processes ensuring maximum productivity of labor. This is not only an economic but also a political question.

The economic law of concentration of production which Marx discovered has lost none of its validity under socialism. It will make itself increasingly felt with the development of production techniques. Concentrated production in big enterprises employing the most efficient means of production proceeds on the basis of extending the social division of labor, specialization and cooperation. Hence effective specialization and coordination are basic for full utilization of the economic law of concentrated production. Consequently, a careful study should be made of how the specialization and especially the coordination are being effected bilaterally or multilaterally by the socialist countries.

Our experience is that specialization can yield lasting results only when it is based on standard designs. Our experience also shows that even when practised on the scale of one country cooperation between several producers makes heavy demands on management. All the more is this the case when it comes to smooth-running cooperation between the

enterprises of a number of socialist countries based on a well-thought-out division of labor and an optimal technology ensuring high-quality output at minimum cost. The profit resulting from lowering production costs through specialization must under no circumstances be swallowed up by additional expenditure caused by managerial inefficiency. Consequently, no less attention should be paid to the organization of cooperation on the basis of contract arrangements than to the technical problems attending specialization.

By working together to improve technology in the leading branches, the socialist countries will be able to create the conditions for evening up their economic levels in a way advantageous to all. When industrialization is effected at a high technological level labor productivity is bound to be about the same at all newly-built enterprises regardless of country. The net product and accumulations will increase and differences between levels of development will be rapidly ironed out.

Rapid industrialization of the socialist countries based on international socialist division of labor in keeping with up-to-date scientific and technological standards is in the interests of the GDR both from the standpoint of its own development and because it is a member of the socialist world system of economy.

West German Monopoly Capital and the Common Market

Otto Reinhold

MARXISTS have by and large achieved clarity on the nature and perspectives of European monopoly integration, and this is essential for the elaboration of correct strategy and tactics by the Communist and working-class movement. There are, however, a number of urgent problems which it is necessary thoroughly to examine and appraise. One of these is the role of West-German imperialism in the European Economic Community.

1.

The manner in which, on the initiative and with the support of the USA and other Western countries, German imperialism was restored in West Germany was varied and often devious. But probably no other institution or organization fell so much in line with its aggressive aspirations as did the EEC and the European integration schemes connected with it, although, of course, the EEC came into being not only because the West German monopolies wanted it.

The role of the Federal German monopolies in the EEC and similar international state-monopoly organizations can be traced above all to the following circumstances.

First, the rapid postwar growth of West Germany's productive forces and industrial output has long since burst through the national confines. The progress in many branches of the engineering, electrical equipment and automobile industries became possible only as a result of the export of 40 to 50 per cent or more of their output. In other branches, for instance in steel, new forms of monopoly association emerged making a certain international division of labor essential.

Second, as a result of the uneven development of capitalism, the economic potential and power of the Federal German monopolies have greatly increased in recent years. West Germany's share in the industrial output of the capitalist world went up from 3.6 per cent in 1948 to 9.2 per cent in 1961; this placed it second among the imperialist countries. Again the characteristic and at the same time fatal contradiction of German

imperialism asserted itself — the contradiction between its economic potential and its place in the world markets, spheres of investment, etc. Redivision of markets and spheres of influence, consequently, again became the aim of the monopolies. But nowadays it is hardly possible to effect redivision between the imperialist powers by force of arms, not to speak of attempting to do so at the expense of the socialist countries. A war between the leading imperialist powers (in view of the strength of the socialist camp and the peace forces generally throughout the world) would endanger the very existence of capitalism. Hence the German monopolies are relying primarily on the EEC and similar international state-monopoly organizations to gain their ends in Western Europe and to facilitate the realization of their neo-colonialist designs. Symptomatic in this respect was the statement made by a Bonn spokesman the day after the Rome agreements were signed. "Formerly," he said, "events of this order were usually materialized through the agency of generals and actions on the battlefield, today we achieve the same thing through treaties. That we have done so through legal procedures I consider no less a good thing."

Third, entry into the EEC fully accords with Bonn's revenge-seeking policy vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, the GDR and the other socialist countries. They see the Common Market, NATO and other international imperialist organizations as the basic instruments for rewriting history.

The objective necessity of internationalization of economic life due to the growth of the productive forces has in a way favored Bonn's aggressive policy, tending to strengthen its economic, political and military positions and to extend its influence in the capitalist world. But at the present time these aggressive designs are increasingly coming into conflict with the new balance of forces in the world arena.

2.

Official spokesmen of the Bonn government claim that the EEC has disproved Marxist-

Leninist theory. In reality the designs of German imperialism and its role in the EEC, as well as the growing contradictions between the imperialist powers, confirm what Lenin said in 1915 in an article entitled *The United States of Europe Slogan*. Lenin wrote: "From the standpoint of the economic conditions of imperialism . . . a United States of Europe, under capitalism, is either impossible or reactionary. . . . Of course, temporary agreements between capitalists and between the powers are possible . . . as an agreement between the European capitalists . . . but what for? Only for the purpose of jointly suppressing socialism in Europe . . ." and, he went on, of jointly protecting colonial booty against imperialist rivals.

Federal Germany's drive to harness the international state-monopoly organizations to its aggressive plans is based primarily on its economic potential. The West German monopolies occupy commanding heights in all the decisive branches of the economy of the EEC; more, their positions have been considerably strengthened since the conclusion of the Rome Treaty. It is on this objective basis that their influence has grown in all the main areas of economic and social life in Little Europe.

The other members of the Six are now dependent to a far greater extent on the West German market than West German exports on the markets of these countries. According to official figures, in 1958-61 Federal Germany exported capital amounting to DM 3,300 million, of which more than 75 per cent went to EEC countries.

By the end of 1961 nearly 200 West German companies had investments in France. The West German monopolies are particularly active in Alsace and Lorraine, in two departments of which they control one-quarter of the enterprises.

The Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party pointed out that the West German monopolies were using their economic potential and also the trend towards internationalization of the economy in order to increase their influence in the EEC through new forms of interpenetration of capital. As a result of this interweaving powerful international monopolies have been established with West German capital playing the decisive role in many of them.

A particularly important role is played by subsidiaries and "supra-national" concerns, joint production of armaments, transfer of licences, specialization and coordination of production, joint research projects, etc. This is stimulated by the international associations

of employers which have been springing up within the EEC set-up. In 1959 there were some 50 such associations in industry and about 40 in trade, banking and other spheres of business, but by March 1961 the figure had climbed to 140.

The monopolies and the Bonn government have been especially active in joint arms production. They play first fiddle in the so-called Starfighter project which is being carried out together with Belgium, Holland and Italy using Lockheed licences and which has been allotted a key place in the West German air-strength build-up. The U.S. Hawk missile is manufactured by the West German AEG electrical concern together with its French subsidiary and the leading Italian, Dutch and Belgian monopolies. Besides, there is the "European" missile in the making. For all practical purposes the restrictions on West German armaments have been lifted.

With their monopolies dominating both production and the market in many important branches, the West German imperialists have the decisive say in the EEC. Nor do they make a secret of the fact that they regard this as a means of extending their power far beyond the bounds of the Common Market. The influential *Rheinischer Merkur*, in a special issue put out last June had this to say: "The EEC is too small, all the more so since Europe's main industrial area is cut up by frontiers. Actually, everything points to the powerful forces of economic development leading to a grand European integration within ten years. As far as the German economy is concerned, everything depends on this . . . The present integration is restricted to Europe. It could take in the basic industrial areas, where the levers of economic policy are located, and a free trade association of peripheral regions."

The decisive influence of West German imperialism in the EEC is dangerous primarily because integration gives it control over the economic base of NATO in Europe, and this, in turn, is used to extract recognition of its right to nuclear arms.

At an international symposium in Moscow in 1962 and in an article published in the journal *World Economy and International Relations* (No. 10, 1962), Academician Varga discussed the prospects of the EEC and kindred state-monopoly organizations bringing about radical changes in the European capitalist market. It seems to us that developments in recent years have shown clearly enough that this kind of integration cannot abolish the basic contradictions of the capital-

ist market. At the same time, however, the example of West German imperialism shows that the EEC and other international economic communities can cause both transient and more lasting changes in the structure of imperialism in Western Europe, changes which cannot but affect the market as well. In our opinion, a big role here is played by the fact that such state-monopoly associations do not spring up of themselves but are closely connected with factors deriving from the influences exerted by the socialist world system, with the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism, and with the revolution in technology and science, etc.

The influence exerted by the socialist world system heightens the militancy of the working class in the capitalist countries, compels the dominant monopolies to make concessions to the working people generally, and forces the rulers to take other considerations besides profit into account in shaping their policies. Economic competition with the socialist world system impels the monopolies to accelerate scientific and technological progress, stimulates investment, etc. The EEC and other state-monopoly associations are an attempt to solve the new problems posed by the struggle against socialism. Therefore the EEC and other similar "communities" can be correctly assessed only if the imperialist policy of integration is examined in the light of the influence of the socialist world system, the growing pressure exerted by the working class and democratic forces generally, technological progress, and other factors.* Moreover, note should be taken primarily of the uneven development of the different imperialist states and monopoly groups which enables some of them to strengthen their economic power and influence.

The top monopoly groups in the FRG took an exceedingly active part in setting up the EEC, and they did so to gain certain economic, political and military advantages. Briefly these advantages can be described thus:

a) Elimination of barriers to the movement of goods and capital between the EEC countries has greatly helped the leading West German monopolies to extend their power and influence beyond the bounds of Federal Germany and to make more rational use of scientific and technological achievements in many spheres, all of which has swelled their profits and increased their competitive capacity.

b) By strengthening their positions in the EEC the West German monopolies have been able to expand markets for their goods outside the Common Market. The fact that branches of industry decisive from the standpoint of technological advance (engineering, electrical equipment, chemicals, etc.) are highly developed in the FRG, has facilitated West German expansion.

c) The Bonn rulers have made extensive use of the free movement of manpower in the EEC in order to obtain cheap labor in the countries of the Six and well as in the associated states where unemployment is widespread and wages low. The FRG now has more than 800,000 foreign workers, whose conditions are considerably worse than those of the West German workers. In other words, the finance oligarchy draws on the industrial reserve army of the entire EEC and associated countries to ensure maximum profit and to extend its influence.

d) The EEC and kindred international state-monopoly organizations play a big part in the neo-colonialist designs of Bonn imperialism. The West German monopolies are now working to extend and consolidate their foothold in Africa through the association of former colonial territories with the EEC and the so-called "development fund" in which the FRG and France have the biggest shares. Especial importance is attached to trade with the associated states since the steady decline in the prices of goods exported by the African countries and the rise in the prices of many types of engineering output hold out a promise of lush profits. This alone brings in profits far in excess of the amounts allocated by the EEC for "aid" to the African countries.

e) The more bellicose West German monopolists — the ultras who determine the overall policy of the FRG — regard their economic ascendancy in the EEC as a means of realizing their aggressive aims.

3.

The West German rulers have never left any room for doubt that they look upon the EEC and the dominant economic positions they occupy in it as a means of exerting the necessary influence in NATO for achieving their revanchist aims. Hence, the motives impelling the leading West German monopolists towards integration are not only economic. With the growth of its influence in the EEC, Federal Germany has been making bigger and bigger demands aimed at increasing its military potential, obtaining more key positions in NATO, and laying hands on nuclear weapons. Nor have these demands

*See exchange of views on Problems of Modern Capitalism, *World Marxist Review*, Nos. 11 and 12, 1962.

gone unheeded; most of them have already been conceded. The blackmail tactics employed by Bonn vis-a-vis the Western powers are facilitated by the positions-of-strength policy pursued by the latter, the cold war, and the arms drive.

A step-by-step examination of the record shows that every expansion of the economic influence of the Federal German monopolies in the EEC has been accompanied by political and military concessions to Bonn on the part of the other NATO powers. Without these concessions the ultras would never have made such headway towards the cherished goal of unrestricted nuclear armament.

West German imperialism is using its economic positions more than ever before to achieve this goal, at least in the form of the so-called "multilateral nuclear force" to begin with. One of the leaders of the ruling party, von Guttenberg, wrote in an article entitled "The Western Concept" that the Europe of the Common Market is bound to catch up with the technological and scientific potential of the USA. Therefore, he declared, "there is no reason why this Europe on the way to unification should be prevented from planning its own nuclear armaments under one central political authority. Nor is there any reason for nuclear America to have less confidence in a nuclear Europe than the non-nuclear countries of Europe have today in the United States."

The striving of the Bonn ultras to make maximum use of the EEC to prevent a détente, disarmament and peaceful coexistence and thereby to further their own aggressive aims was one of the reasons for the failure of the Brussels talks on Britain's entry into the EEC and for the aggravation of many of the contradictions in the imperialist camp.

Von Hassel, the Bonn Defense Minister, speaking at a closed conference of the Christian Democratic Union, explained why his government could not agree to the unconditional admittance of Britain and its EFTA partners into the EEC. Pointing to some of the dangers this would present to the mining and textile industries, shipbuilding, agriculture, fishing, etc., he stressed that the political connotations were the main cause of apprehension. *Die Welt* reported this part of von Hassel's speech as follows: "The way the Chancellor puts it is this: how would this Europe be expanded, what would its political physiognomy be like? It would include socialist Denmark, socialist Norway, socialist Iceland and possibly a Britain governed by Labor. Socialist Sweden is already neutral, and so is Finland. What would hap-

pen later in Italy with its Rights and Lefts is unknown. The Federal Chancellor thus has political apprehensions that if everybody were to come in, a situation may arise when Socialism, which places the emphasis on neutralism, will set the tone throughout Europe."

The ruling monopoly groups fear that the pressure exerted on the governments of the European capitalist countries by the masses demanding peace and a détente may grow in the immediate future, and are seeking to use the Common Market to counteract it. The same aim is pursued by the Paris-Bonn axis.

Not long before his retirement Adenauer declared that the purpose of the Paris-Bonn axis was primarily to ensure the expansionist aims of the Bonn ultras at the expense not only of the socialist but even of the imperialist countries. In an interview granted to *Bild-Zeitung*, he said: "After what has happened we cannot shape world policy by ourselves. But we must shape it, and it is for this purpose that our neighbor has offered to enter into partnership with us. Singly we cannot gain the advantage, cannot make the political weather in our own country, in Europe and in the world. . . ."

The architects of the Paris-Bonn axis are determined to use their creation, and through it also the EEC, not only against the masses but also against that part of the international bourgeoisie, primarily British and the USA, which is beginning to take a more realistic view of the world balance. For this reason the West German reactionaries, relying on the economic potential of the EEC, want to put their hands on nuclear weapons so as to pursue independently an aggressive war policy towards the socialist countries and to prevent the USA and Britain from drawing more sober conclusions from the balance of forces between the two world systems.

The Swiss professor Roepke, writing in *Die Aussprache*, throws additional light on the connection between West Germany's economic potential and its aggressive aims. According to Roepke there is a "ridiculous discrepancy" between the economic power and cultural prestige of capitalist Europe, on the one hand, and its "paltry role" in world politics and in the overall front against the socialist camp, on the other. "The U.S. government," Roepke argues, "is so weak, indecisive and lacking in vigor that Europe's strength has to be built up politically and militarily if disaster is to be averted." In view of this he urges support of the present policy of de Gaulle so that "we should cease

to be under the tutelage of others and become equal partners bearing equal responsibilities in the Atlantic alliance."

It is clear that in the hands of the more reactionary and aggressive groups of West German and French monopoly capitalists the EEC is a weapon aimed against lasting peace and progress.

Needless to say, West German imperialism is dependent in all decisive issues on the USA, it is subordinated to the latter and hopes to realize its plans for revanche with U.S. assistance. At the same time it is vying with the USA for domination in Western Europe. As the Program of the Socialist Unity Party points out, through the EEC Bonn imperialism "has become so strong that the USA, in carrying out its own imperialist policy, needs its consent whenever European problems are affected."

Since Adenauer's retirement some signs of flexibility can be detected in Bonn foreign policy. But there can be no talk of the old policy having been superseded before Bonn makes a complete break with the old aggressive line.

4.

Modern science and technology necessitate internationalization of the productive forces. This objective need, in the final analysis, underlies the EEC too. But having been set up by the imperialists the EEC is not only the economic base of NATO in Europe, but also the economic foundation and tool of the groups of finance capitalists which present the greatest danger to peace.

This gives rise to serious contradictions. Clearly, the aggressive policy pursued by the Bonn revanchists and de Gaulle by means of the EEC runs counter not only to the overall trend of history, to the interests of the working class and all other sections of the working people. It clashes also with the interests of a large segment of the bourgeoisie. It is a policy which engenders deep crises in the imperialist camp and aggravates the danger of a new war. The EEC shows that with the intertwining of economics and politics, economic and political contradictions converge in a tangle which increasingly impinges on social development in Federal Germany and Western Europe generally. The most important economic contradictions are these:

1. The contradictions between the imperialist powers, primarily between West Germany and Britain. The Federal Republic has practically overtaken Britain in industrial production and volume of foreign trade. Yet Bonn is afraid that so long as the present

balance remains the FRG would lose its dominant position in the Common Market, or that at least this position would be endangered if Britain were to join the EEC. And indeed, such an eventuality would greatly intensify the competitive struggle, especially in the mining, shipbuilding, engineering, automobile and textile industries as well as in a number of others.

The attitude of the West German monopolies towards Britain and the other EFTA countries is highly contradictory. On the one hand, Bonn would like to keep them out of the EEC not only for political reasons but also because of economic considerations—the desire to cut their exports to Little Europe to a minimum by means of high tariff barriers. On the other hand, the EFTA countries are the principal buyers of West German export goods, and trade with them gives the FRG a favorable balance several times higher than its balance with its Common Market partners. Hence any aggravation of the economic and political contradictions between the Six and the Seven threatens to worsen Federal Germany's position as an exporter.

Because of the uneven development of capitalism the disparity between the industrial output volumes of Western Europe and the USA has diminished while the share of the former in the foreign trade of the capitalist world as a whole is now considerably bigger than that of the USA. This alone has engendered many contradictions and time and again has sharpened the competitive struggle between the USA and the EEC in such areas as agriculture, and the automobile, chemical and electrical equipment industries. Taking advantage of the dependent position of the FRG, the USA has for many years exported twice as much to the Federal Republic as the latter sells to the United States. The Bonn rulers, needless to say, have no intention of allowing this state of affairs to go on endlessly.

The U.S. monopolies are employing the Trojan horse method on an increasing scale in order to retain their influence in the EEC. By exporting capital, buying enterprises wholly or in part, and building or expanding production capacities they are strengthening their old positions and creating new economic positions for themselves in capitalist Europe. The influx of U.S. capital, primarily into the FRG, is such that the West German press is openly speaking of a "second U.S. invasion."

In 1961 and 1962 Western Europe, and within it the FRG, came still more to the forefront as importers of U.S. capital. According to the U.S. Department of Commerce,

of the \$4,760 million exported by private investors in 1962, \$1,810 went to Europe as compared with \$928 million to Latin America and \$1,100 million to Canada.

In 1959-60 U.S. corporations obtained their highest profit rate in the FRG, higher than even in some dependent countries. This was due, besides low wages, to tax exemption and other privileges granted by Bonn.

It should be noted, moreover, that the U.S. investments are concentrated in branches of decisive importance for both technological progress and armament production — oil refining, electrical equipment, electronics, measuring instruments, tele-control and regulation equipment, transport machinery, etc. This too cannot but aggravate economic contradictions between the U.S. and West German imperialists.

2. Many of the powerful West German monopolies have gained much economically and politically from the EEC. They have increased their profits and accelerated the concentration of production and capital. But at the same time integration has had a grievous effect on a number of branches of West German economy, in particular light industry and agriculture.

As a result of reduction of tariffs imports of textiles increased in 1955-61, the excess of imports over exports rising from DM 200 million in 1955 to DM 1,200 million in 1961. The situation is aggravated by the fact that the imports come mostly from EEC countries (France and Italy) which take advantage of the lower tariffs within the Common Market, while the exports go mainly to third countries. A similar situation prevails in the leather industry and in various branches of the food industry.

For a number of reasons the prices of agricultural products, grain included, are considerably higher in West Germany than in the other EEC countries. According to West German estimates, the fall in these prices envisaged in the EEC program threatens some 800,000 peasants with ruin. This explains the peasant protests against Bonn's integration policy.

3. Experience has shown that the EEC is incapable of abolishing the basic contradictions of capitalism. An analysis of the dynamics of industrial output and the gross national product shows that the EEC has not accelerated economic progress in the member countries with the exception of Italy. On the contrary, the growth rate has declined and differs only slightly from the rate in many other capitalist countries.

The fact is that industrial output in the

Six increased by 47 per cent in the five years preceding the Treaty of Rome (1953-57) whereas in the following five years (1958-62) the increase was only 36 per cent; in the FRG the corresponding percentages were 62 and 36, in France 48 and 28, and in Italy 50 and 63. In Japan, which is not an EEC member, the 1953-57 percentage was 102 and the 1958-62 figure, 103. In recent years the rate of growth has sharply declined in West Germany, from 10.7 per cent in 1960 to 4.9 in 1962, and 3.4 per cent in 1963 (January to November).

Two important conclusions can be drawn from this. First, the rather high rate of growth registered for a time in the EEC countries was not due to the Common Market. Second, although the EEC has increased the economic and political power of the various monopoly groups and netted them huge profits, and although the more aggressive monopoly groups, especially those of the FRG, are using the integration to gain possession of nuclear weapons and to prevent any relaxation of the international tension, the Common Market does not do away with the contradictions of capitalism, nor does it ensure stable economic growth of the FRG or its partners in the EEC.

* * *

The struggle against the consequences of imperialist integration and the dominant monopoly groups in the EEC takes many forms in the FRG — including mass peasant actions and trade union struggles to give the working class a bigger say in the enterprises. These forms and methods of struggle are of course necessary in order to dislodge the monopolies from one position after another, but at the same time it is not enough to fight for immediate demands alone in the various spheres of the economic life of the EEC.

The imperialist way of internationalizing the economy through the EEC and other bodies of this kind have been inevitably associated with the division of Europe and the aggravation of international contradictions. It deepens the gulf between the socialist and capitalist states and it intensifies rivalries between the imperialist groups and blocs.

Concentration of power in the hands of the more aggressive revenge-seeking groups of the West German monopoly capitalists is a grave danger to peace. Hence the struggle waged by the working class and all progressives in Federal Germany against the narrow class policy of the financial interests dominating the EEC should be focused on promot-

ing normal trade without any discrimination, especially between the capitalist and socialist countries, and, in the case of the FRG, primarily between the two Germanys. It is essential to set all the peace forces in motion to foil the plans for harnessing the EEC to the aggressive aims of West German imperialism. With this in view the Socialist Unity Party and the government of the GDR have advanced a comprehensive program of peaceful coexistence of the two Germanys. Realization of this program would normalize economic and political relations between the two on a footing making for maximum expansion of trade and preventing nuclear armament. The

basic aim of this program as well as the seven-point plan put forward by the Sixth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party is to isolate and curb the more aggressive West German imperialists who today set the tone in the EEC.

A genuine alternative to the integration policy of the Bonn ultras presupposes linking the struggle for economic and social demands in the various spheres of the EEC with struggle for peaceful coexistence, for disarmament and relaxation of international tension, and to remove all the obstacles raised by the imperialists to the free development of trade with all countries.

Centenary of the First International

THIS year the international Communist and working-class movement will celebrate the centenary of the founding by Marx and Engels of the First International (International Working Men's Association). The birth of the International reflected the growing political awareness and activity of the forward-looking workers in a number of European countries and the urgent need to unite the proletariat on an international scale. It paved the way to the world Communist movement of today.

The International was founded on September 28, 1864, at a meeting of workmen of different countries in St. Martin's Hall in London. Marx was its moving spirit, the author of its Inaugural Address, its Rules and many of its resolutions and other documents. The Inaugural Address and Rules set forth in general terms the aims of the proletarian movement, proclaiming "that the emancipation of the working classes must be won by the working classes themselves."

In the various countries the International was supported by the existing workers' organizations which declared themselves its sections and united in national federations.

The *First Congress* of the International was held on September 3-8, 1865, in Geneva, Switzerland, with 60 delegates from 25 sections in England, France, Switzerland and Germany taking part.

The decisions adopted in Geneva, according with the ideas of scientific socialism, were a heavy blow to the followers of Proudhon. The Congress recognized the importance of the strike movement, noted the significance of

the struggle for the 8-hour day, and adopted a resolution on replacing standing armies by the armed people.

The Congress resolution on the trade unions was a blow to the Proudhon followers who denied the need for the working class to organize, to the followers of Lassalle who likewise scorned the idea of trade unions, and also the narrow outlook of British trade unionism.

The *Second Congress* met on September 2-8, 1867, in Lausanne, Switzerland. The 63 delegates taking part represented workers' organizations in Switzerland, France, Germany, Britain, Italy and Belgium. At this Congress the thesis was advanced that the social emancipation of the workers was inseparable from their political emancipation. The Congress declared for state ownership of transport and means of communication; this was a victory for the Marxist idea of public ownership of the means of production.

The *Third Congress* took place on September 6-13, 1868, in Brussels, Belgium, with 99 delegates from seven countries attending. Here Marxism won another victory over the Proudhon trend when the Lausanne resolution, adopted at the instance of the Proudhon followers, was amended and strikes recognized as a legitimate and necessary instrument of working-class struggle. The Congress adopted an anti-war resolution urging all its sections and workers' associations to combat war by means of a general strike.

The *Fourth Congress*, held in Basel, Switzerland, on September 6-11, 1869, was attended by 78 delegates from eight countries.

At this Congress a struggle took place against a new adversary of the revolutionary movement — the Anarchists, led by Bakunin.

In March 1870 a group of Russian emigres formed a Russian section of the International in Switzerland and requested Marx to represent it in the General Council. "I accept with pleasure the honor you offer me of being your representative in the General Council," Marx replied.

During the Paris Commune, Marx and Engels did much in the General Council to rally support for the Communards, calling for solidarity with them and rendering them moral and material aid.

After the fall of the Commune, reactionaries everywhere bitterly attacked the International. Membership of it in some countries was declared to be treason and its sections were driven underground.

In connection with the undermining activity of the Bakunin Anarchists the General Council endorsed on March 5, 1872, a circular letter on the subject. This letter, drafted by Marx and Engels, exposed Bakunin's reactionary petty-bourgeois views, his double-dealing, his disruptive activities.

The *Fifth Congress* met on September 2-7, 1872, in The Hague, Holland, with the participation of both Marx and Engels. The meeting was attended by 65 delegates from 11 countries.

The Congress confirmed the decision of the London Conference concerning the establishment in each country of an independent working class party and amended the Rules accordingly. Bakunin and his associate Guillaume were expelled from the International. It was also decided to move the General Council to the United States. This Congress, the last held by the First International, was marked by the ideological and organizational triumph of Marxism over the sectarian petty-bourgeois varieties of socialism.

In 1876 the Philadelphia Conference dissolved the International. By then it had fulfilled its mission of bringing scientific socialism to the advanced workers in the leading capitalist countries. "The First International," Lenin wrote, "will never be forgotten, it will live forever in the history of the workers' struggle for emancipation. It laid the foundations of that edifice of the worldwide socialist republic which we have the good fortune to build."

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

U.S. Communists and Their Tasks

AT a recent meeting the leading personnel of the Communist Party USA reviewed questions of Party work. The report made by Gus Hall, formulated the main task confronting the U.S. Communists — that of renewing the Party and Party work. In order better to cope with the tasks facing the Party, to enhance its role in the political life of the country, the speaker suggested testing the outlook and participation of the Communists in the mass political movements with a mobilization for the next few months of all forces for Party renewal, for refreshing and retooling the Party, ideologically and organizationally. "We must find the strength," said Gus Hall, "to raise the level of our work in these times. This new political upsurge requires a higher standard. We must adjust our regulators and governors upward . . . We must also develop that quality which makes us stand out as part of the parade."

The need for these steps is conditioned by the objective factors — the changes that have taken place in the social life of the country in recent years — and by the subjective factors — the growth of the Party, the improvements in its functioning and better leadership.

In the past 15 years beginning with the arrest of its leaders in 1948, the Party experienced the hardest trials in its history, trials which could not but cause enormous difficulties.

In these ordeals, in the fight against the danger of war and fascism, it proved to be a militant Marxist-Leninist party and inscribed some of the brightest pages in the history of American labor. Nevertheless, as William Z. Foster wrote, we made blunders. Most of these mistakes were Left sectarian in character which, together with other factors, Foster stressed, contributed to isolating the Party from the masses. The same period also witnessed the appearance of a Right deviation aimed at undermining the organizational foundations of the Party and transforming it into an amorphous "association of political action." In other words, this implied the dissolution of the Party. The objective and subjective factors led to a situation which Foster described as a crisis of the Communist Party.

This critical situation in the Party reached peak at the Sixteenth National Convention in 1957 when the Party was threatened with a split: the Rights argued that a Marxist-Leninist Party was not necessary in the USA. The merit of the Convention was that it prevented a split in the Party. The liquidation proposal made by the Rights was rejected by the staunch core of the membership.

The deep-seated contradictions of capitalist society are manifesting themselves with growing force in the United States today. People are discussing the vital questions affecting the country. Signs of the turn of the working people to active struggle for their rights through democratic solution of the social contradictions are the movements against racial discrimination, for peace and peaceful co-existence, the reinvigoration of trade union life, the growing movement of students and intellectuals. Students and young workers are debating the problems of the working of the socialist world and Communist ideology.

This democratic upsurge raises the question of organized leadership capable of fusing together the various democratic and progressive movements in the country.

The proposals made by Gus Hall at the meeting are a concrete plan of organizing Party work that takes account of the new phenomena in the social life of the country and the position of the Party.

"The fight for the Party," said Gus Hall, "is not an abstraction. It is a fight for this Party and for the specifics of Party organization. The Party must always have an organizational form, for that which has no form does not exist, and that which is beginning to lose its form is also starting to disappear."

"To speak of fighting for a Marxist-Leninist party and not to fight for this party is demagoguery. There are those who say they are eager to build a new party if this one dies. But all experience shows that such a demise would be used only to bury the science of Marxism-Leninism itself. Fortunately, the wishful thinkers in the enemy camp who want to exterminate this party have been repeatedly disappointed, and both the science and the party live."

Not to fight for this party, Gus Hall went on, is to accept the advice of "flee to the wilderness." It is to accept the reasoning of the *Monthly Review* that the working class today is not able to sustain a party of scientific socialism. The two concepts together add up to no fight for our Party and nothing else on the horizon. Nor must any idea be permitted to take root that this is an "interim party," to continue only until "something new" comes along. Such an idea is a liquidationist death warrant. No serious Marxist-Leninist party can be an "interim party."

"If any comrade," Gus Hall continued, "has ideas that there are competing trends of Marxism-Leninism, such a comrade will not fight for the party. We cannot accept such a concept. There can be only one science of Marxism-Leninism, only one scientific socialism."

"That science cannot be correctly represented by two parties and two policies in a single country. There are opportunistic swings from the correct path of that science. There can be differences in tactics, as the science is applied and as it develops, but there cannot be two varieties of that science. One cannot fight for this party and for Marxism-Leninism if one has the idea that these are conflicting entities."

The line of the Party is tested in the fight for organizational forms, for a system of Party organization, for Party structure as well as for policy. The report stressed that the number one priority is Party building.

"We have two tasks," said Hall, "to correct the damage done through excesses in the name of security; and to take a fresh look at the problems and the tasks of Party building. We must find the way, in spite of, and in defiance of harassment to build the Party and the press, to increase our public activity. The active forces in the mass upsurge today take risks and involve themselves in acts of defiance, which must be considered in any fresh look at how we have met similar problems. We cannot expect a silent party to grow in any district. Silence is not a party virtue."

Decisive in any system of organization, Gus Hall stressed, is the Party club. Thus, there must be a fight for Party clubs, for their regular functioning, for their participation in Party building.

A party that does not increase itself by new members becomes a dying party. This involves contacts, reaching them with literature, participating with them in mass activities, utilization of the press and similar activities. Those are the elements of a system of organization.

"The political needs of today," said Gus Hall, "make a breakthrough a real possibility."

We must guarantee it. As to the relationships between mass work and independent Party work, this is not a static relationship and we should be repeatedly reviewing it. We had to fight to break the isolation of our Party, and we still need to do so. Furthermore, our growth has not been in keeping with the increase of our influence. Much more is possible and necessary.

"Today we must put much more emphasis on the independent work of our Party in many fields. Thus, in the election campaign, we should increase our efforts to have our Party speak directly through one or more candidates."

Communist initiative is always an essential feature of our very existence. Whenever and whatever dullness develops and our initiative is blunted, that weakness must be overcome. Our role is to initiate ideas, movements, actions. We have a responsibility as Communists to initiate for the broad masses, for the Left, and for our Party.

"All too often," Gus Hall went on, "we limit ourselves to being reactors and supporters, but we must also be initiators, giving a higher quality to leadership and fulfilling a vanguard responsibility while participating in the mass movement. It is not enough to be reactors to events, to be supporters of what someone has started. We must do both — initiate and support."

The report stressed the need for some clarification of the concepts of "militancy" and "Leftism." "Of course," the speaker said, "they are not the same. Militancy must be developed and Leftism must be fought. To fight against Leftism and adventurism does not at all mean to fight against militancy."

The measure of militancy is always related to the level of the struggle and to the forces involved in it. We need to give more attention to the role of militancy as a feature of our work, and we need to fight against an easy-going, non-mobilizing routinism which has appeared in our ranks. In these days, such easy-going routinism has an aura of "fleeing to the wilderness."

The report stressed that a most important factor in Party building is the building of the press, of circulation and support to the *Worker* and to *Political Affairs* and, in a different relationship, of support to the *Peoples World*.

"There is one added point," Gus Hall continued, "which must not be overlooked: our proclaimed views do not mean much unless tested in practice. All of our discussion, whether political or ideological, must be tested by our action. I emphasize this because it has

become increasingly possible to test our views in practice.

"For example, the primary test of how well our white comrades understand the Negro question is what we do concretely in mobilizing white Americans for participation in and support to the struggle for full equality and first class citizenship. This must be the foundation for the struggle against white chauvinism. This is the new basis for the unity of Negro and white. This is the test of our new understanding of the Negro question in the setting of today's upsurge."

The report also dealt with youth work. A group of youth, the speaker said, have evinced a desire to proceed with the launching of a new national organization having a scientific socialist quality in its program. We welcome this desire. In this situation, when many young people have joined our ranks, we can be very helpful in this broader youth movement and must give much more attention to the work and activities of our younger comrades.

The task ahead, Gus Hall stressed, is a big one. We need, he said, simultaneously to mobilize the Party and to strengthen ourselves—organizationally, politically and ideologically.

And we must do this while doing ever more in the field of mass work. There must be a new quality and depth to our work. The further increase of our influence largely depends on this. As the struggles develop, ever new problems come up for solution, and solutions demand more fundamental answers. The active participants in this new political upsurge tend to look at new and more distant peaks. They want to know how we Americans are going to reach these peaks. More and more, they want to discuss a plan of march.

"If we are to carry out these responsibilities," Hall continued, "higher standards of leadership are demanded. There is a need to develop greater self-discipline, to reduce subjectivity and to establish closer contact with our membership."

We go into this mobilization in the next few months, Gus Hall stressed, because we cannot continue as of old. Either we "get with it" or the parade passes us by. The mass struggles of today demand a better-organized and a stronger Communist Party. Our mobilization is not for the purpose of taking advantage of the upsurge but to serve it, to strengthen it, to help guarantee its victory.

J. RICHARDSON

Japanese Communist Party Forges Ahead

THE results of the November general election in Japan are highly interesting as a reflection of the political moods in the country. The election campaign was fought between two diametrically opposed political lines. One of these is the line of the pro-American and domestic reactionaries aimed at strengthening the position of monopoly capital at the expense of the people with a view to reviving, with U.S. aid, militarism and imperialism. The other is the line pursued by the working masses who are resisting the reactionary policy and fighting for national independence, democracy, peace and higher living standards. The first line was represented during the election by the government Liberal-Democratic Party; the second, by the Communist Party.

The Liberal-Democrats and the government resorted to all kinds of subterfuges to prevent the democratic forces, and particularly the Communist Party, from gaining success. For example, the parliamentary representation of constituencies where the population had grown, was not increased, although this is provided for by law, and the elections were

conducted on the basis of an unjust electoral law which gave all the advantages to the Liberal-Democratic Party and placed the Communist Party in a particularly unfavorable position.

During the session of parliament that preceded the election, the ruling circles ensured themselves the support of the Socialist Party and the Party of Democratic Socialism neither of which had any desire to see a Communist victory at the polls. In this way they managed to secure the adoption of an "emergency law" restricting the political and electoral freedom of the voters still more. Besides resorting to diverse illegal practices such as wholesale buying of votes, with money (reportedly exceeding 5,000 million yen) provided by the monopoly capitalists, the Liberal-Democrats exerted every effort to bar the Communist Party from television, radio, the press and other mass media. In constituencies which were expected to vote Communist, the reactionaries hired gangs of terrorists to harass the Communists. It was against this background in Osaka that an attempt was made at the height of the election campaign on the

life of Comrade Sanzo Nosaka, Chairman of our Central Committee.

These were the methods by which the American and Japanese reactionaries hoped to win more than 300 seats for the Liberal-Democratic Party and to oust the Communists from the House of Representatives.

In the event, however, the Liberal-Democrats lost 320,000 votes as compared with the previous general election. Their percentage of the vote dropped from 57.5 to 54.67. This gave them 283 seats, 13 less than in the previous election.

The Communist Party increased its vote by 490,000, polling a total of 1,650,000. The percentage rise was from 2.9 to 4.01. The Party won five seats, two more than in the previous election.

The overall result, as regards the total number of votes and the percentage, as well as the number of seats, showed a loss for the Liberal-Democrats and a gain for the Communists, a fact which strikingly reflects the political mood of the Japanese people.

Of course, besides these two parties, the Socialist Party and the Party of Democratic Socialism also took part in the campaign, and each played its role.

But in the struggle between the two political trends representing the two alternative roads confronting Japan today, neither the Socialist Party nor the Party of Democratic Socialism took a sufficiently clear stand, and their middle-of-the-road position affected their vote.

That the Socialist Party took part in the organized actions of the people in 1960 against the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" and played a fairly active role is common knowledge. Today, too, the Socialist Party has not completely withdrawn from the field of united action. However, since the autumn of 1960, under pressure from the American-Japanese reactionary forces, the Right-wing Socialist leaders have been steering a course toward weakening the unity of the democratic forces. They take every opportunity to sabotage the united actions of the masses and to undermine their unity.

The Socialist Party continues to advance slogans protesting against the reactionary policy of the Liberal Democrats. At the same time it carefully avoids the question of putting these slogans into effect by waging a serious struggle against the domination of American imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital. The Socialists have conveniently forgotten that in order to realize these slogans it is necessary to rely first and foremost on the joint struggle of the working class and the other democratic forces. During the election they

kept aloof from the other democratic forces, striving to win as many seats as possible for their own party.

Their policy, in effect, was aimed at dividing the democratic forces and the people generally. Some of the Socialists levelled their main attacks not against the Liberal-Democratic Party but against the Communists, using to this end the differences in the international Communist movement, the partial test-ban treaty, etc. In the trade unions they resorted to organizational methods of pressuring active trade unionists who sympathized with the revisionists expelled from the Communist Party.

Despite capitalist press predictions that the objective situation at the election was shaping in favor of the Socialist Party, the vacillating and sectarian position they adopted worked against them. True, the Socialist Party polled 1,020,000 more votes than last time, and the percentage of the total vote was 29.03, or 1.5 per cent more. However, as regards the number of seats in the parliament it not only failed to win the 180 aimed at, but lost one of its 145 seats. This is a clear sign of the critical way in which the working class and all thinking people have reacted to the Socialist Party's anti-Communist and reformist tendencies and its attempts to split the ranks of the forces combating imperialism and fighting for peace. The leadership of the Socialist Party has admitted that the election was a setback for their party.

The Party of Democratic Socialism emerged as a result of the split which took place in the Socialist Party in 1960. It still professes to be opposed to the reactionary policy of the Liberal-Democrats and for this reason enjoys influence among some sections of the working class and the middle strata. But on fundamental issues of foreign and home policy it has failed to take a resolute stand against the Liberal-Democrat policy, and in its activity it has consistently opposed any united front between the Communist Party and the other democratic forces.

Throughout the three years of its existence this party has invariably suffered losses during elections, an indication that the working people, whose political consciousness is steadily growing, disapprove of its disruptive maneuvers.

In the last election, however, despite the fact that it lost 440,000 votes and polled 1.4 per cent fewer votes than last time, the Party of Democratic Socialism won 23 seats, six more than in the previous elections. This was due to the strong support given it by the monopoly capi-

talists with the aim of preventing the masses on the fringes of the Party of Democratic Socialism from turning to the Left.

Summarizing the results of the election we may say that despite the machinations of the American-Japanese reactionaries, the Liberal-Democratic Party which represented their interests suffered a setback, while the Communist Party and the other democratic forces representing the interests of the working people of Japan made substantial progress.

But despite the setback, the Liberal-Democrats nevertheless polled 54.67 per cent of the vote, which means that it has more than half of the seats in parliament. This, however, does not give the reactionaries much cause for optimism, for they cannot but remember that the Liberal-Democratic Party, which polled 66.1 per cent of the votes in the 1952 election, lost votes in all the four subsequent elections and in the November election as well. The results show that in the past 12 years there has been a steady turn to the Left on the part of the working masses and that the struggle between the two political lines is growing keener.

The reactionaries are apprehensive that if the tendency revealed by the election continues to develop, political upheavals are inevitable in the near future. The united action of the democratic forces engendered by the growth and development of the Communist Party is gaining momentum.

In its issue of November 28, 1963 the *Nikkeiren Times*, a mouthpiece of the Japanese monopolies, drew attention to the increase in the Communist vote. "The fact that the Communist Party, notwithstanding the unfavorable conditions caused by the difference between the Soviet Union and China, was able to increase its vote to such an extent is clear evidence of its real strength. The steps we have taken to counteract the steady growth of Communist Party strength in the past ten years have been almost fruitless."

Why is it that despite the complex international situation and the numerous obstacles to its activity the Communist Party was able to achieve such success?

Firstly, because ever since its Eighth Congress the Party has had a correct and clear-cut program which was outlined in the five concrete points of its election platform.

Secondly, because in the course of the three years preceding the general election the Party built up its strength, cemented its ties with the masses and constantly headed the mass actions. One example showing how our Party's contact with the masses has grown is that the

number of subscribers to the Sunday edition of the *Akahata* has risen to almost 600,000. Although the Party was deprived of the possibility of using television, radio and other mass media during the elections it was able to carry on propaganda work through the Party press.

Appraisal of the election and its results has renewed the confidence of the Party in the correctness of the political line pursued since the Eighth Congress. It is now striving to secure fresh successes for the democratic forces.

Since the elections the *Akahata* has carried articles appealing to all Communists to make the success won during the elections the springboard for further advance, and stressing the need to carry out the resolutions on the present situation and the tasks of the Party in the light of the coming elections adopted at the Central Committee meeting before the election.

A decision adopted by the Presidium of the Central Committee on December 5, 1963, lays emphasis on the following three immediate tasks:

- 1) to consolidate the gains made during the parliamentary election campaign by developing the mass struggle and the united front, extending the scope of mass actions for all the current political, economic and social demands of the working people, primarily through mass protest against the American nuclear submarines entering Japanese ports, against the stationing in Japan of American F-105d aircraft carrying hydrogen bombs, against the conspiracy being hatched under cover of Japanese-South Korean negotiations, etc.

- 2) to build up the Communist Party and extend educational work. All Communists are urged to ensure the fulfillment of the intermediate aims previously set, namely to increase the membership to 150,000, raise the circulation of the *Akahata* to 200,000, and of the Sunday edition, to 600,000 copies. At the same time, the need to strengthen the ideological unity of the Party by holding political discussions and through educational work at all levels is stressed.

- 3) to uphold the purity of Marxism-Leninism and, in order to achieve the genuine unity and progress of the international Communist movement, to combat any manifestation of petty-bourgeois opportunism in the Party. The need for this, as was evidenced by the reactionary maneuvers in the recent elections, is dictated by the growing significance of work aimed at strengthening the Party theoretically and politically, at preserving the purity of Marxism-

Leninism and achieving the correct balance between proletarian internationalism and patriotism, and at safeguarding the unity of the international Communist movement.

The Communist Party of Japan, consolidating the success gained in the general election, is steadily forging ahead.

S. TANAKA

Overcoming Difficulties

(Letter from Tunis)

THE 7th Congress of our Party held in March 1962 noted that despite difficulties, the Party had made considerable progress; it had strengthened its positions in working class centers, some rural areas and among students, and had cemented its contact with the masses. Nevertheless organizationally it still fell short of the important political tasks confronting it.

This was an objective appraisal, for the difficulties the Party had to contend with, especially towards the end of the Protectorate, were formidable. Persecuted by both the French colonialists and the local reactionaries, our Party waged unceasing struggle against the colonialists. At the same time, we had to combat the sectarianism of some of the leaders and militants in the Neo-Destur Party who, being at the head of the national-liberation movement, adopted a highhanded attitude toward all who did not belong to their party.

We had to fight against attempts to divide the patriots who were fighting for liberation, in particular against the vicious anti-communists who sought to debar us from the national struggle; Communists, nationalists, members of the Neo-Destur Party, had together suffered the torment of imprisonment in colonialist dungeons. Many of our comrades, like their non-Communist fellow prisoners, died under torture. It was our joint struggle against the common enemy that had hastened deliverance from the foreign yoke.

Our adversaries do not like being reminded of this. The men of the new regime try to hide this truth from the people, and even go so far as to say that our Party stood aside from the national liberation struggle. The Communists are smeared as "foreign agents" and branded as being unpatriotic. Seeking to justify their class policy, the bourgeoisie accuse us of undermining national unity which they interpret solely from the standpoint of their own narrow interests.

False accusations and false pretexts were used in order to establish a regime which rides roughshod over democratic rights and resorts to intimidation and repressions. At times the Communist Party in some places was virtually suppressed. Some former militants succumbed

to the pressure, others chose the easy way of careerism. But, as the resolution of the Party Congress noted, these were exceptions. "Many of our members," says the resolution, "were subjected to economic and police pressure, amounting in some cases to downright persecution. Yet they stood firm and their courage, loyalty and devotion to their Party won them the respect of the working people in the towns and villages."

In its desire to restrict and, where possible, to stamp out all independent political activity, the regime did not confine itself to clamping down on the Communist Party. It soon found other victims. Most of the nationalist organizations, especially those with long traditions of struggle against all forms of oppression, were cautioned to "be reasonable." The General Union of Workers (trade union center) "has been turned into a bureaucratic organization whose leaders are holding back the working-class movement, sidetracking its lawful demands and aspirations."

Another case in point is that of the Students Union which has a politically conscious minority of progressives and Communists. The government strove might and main to split the student movement and to control it, and not without success. It has impelled the Union leaders to take the path of careerism and bureaucracy.

These and many other facts show that the struggle for democracy in Tunisia is an urgent issue, not only for us and our allies, but also for some sections of the Neo-Destur Party. Many members, disgusted with the encroachment on personal and civil liberties, with the police methods and the despotism, are leaving the party, which has become the tool of the national bourgeoisie; these dissidents are either joining the Communist Party or remaining unorganized as "independents." Some have joined with other democrats in the progressivist movement which has existed for some time but which hesitated for a long while before coming into the open. The advent of this movement on the political arena was marked by two events the significance of which the reactionaries are seeking to minimize.

First was the nomination of "Independent" candidates during the elections to legislative bodies which were contested by two parties, the Neo-Destur and our own. The Independents, however, were debarred from the elections.

The second event was the appearance of the progressive newspaper *Tribune du Progres*. Its editor, Dr. Sliman ben Sliman, one of the most honest and sincere of the progressives, had the temerity to cooperate with the Communists despite his former allegiance to Bourguiba.

These two events show that there are progressive forces in Tunisia which, though as yet unorganized, nevertheless uphold democratic liberties and are taking the anti-imperialist road, the road leading to genuine independence for Tunisia.

In the course of joint struggle waged in adverse political conditions these progressive forces had ample opportunity to convince themselves of the loyalty and genuine patriotism of the Communists, and are marching shoulder to shoulder with us, ignoring the anti-communist fabrications.

The few years of independence have sufficed for the masses to realize that the political course adopted by the government is fraught with disaster, that some of the social gains won in bitter struggle against the hated Protectorate are threatened once again.

Even the meagre wage increase granted to civil servants has been drastically cut. Taxes are often levied arbitrarily. Official propaganda justifies these measures by the need for "sacrifice" to ensure the success of the "austerity" policy. The burden of this policy, however, falls on the peasantry and on all other working people, who are often unable to attain even a minimum standard of living while the profits of the moneybags are left untouched.

The "austerity" policy, which spells poverty and privation for the majority of the people and opulence for the privileged minority and the nouveaux riches, is purported to be aimed at the welfare of the "entire nation." But the clearer the purpose of this policy becomes, the sharper the class contradictions. Mass pressure is making itself increasingly felt, thanks in large measure to the work carried on by our Party.

The government, seeing that our work, inadequate though it is, is effective, has taken steps to bar our access to the masses. Our activities have been restricted to the minimum, particularly in the countryside, where the authorities are employing every means to keep the peasants in ignorance and destitution.

Nevertheless our comrades find ways of overcoming the obstacles. Despite police raids and provocations by the local branches of the Neo-Destur, they arrange clandestine meetings and gatherings. Besides keeping the comrades abreast of events, they expose the government's policy to the peasants who, though remote from the political life of the country, are nevertheless in sympathy with our Party and all forces of progress.

We Communists know full well that if we want to enlist the active support of the working people of town and country we must convince them that our policy upholds their immediate demands and their striving for a better life. Hence we are steadfastly carrying on our work. Of course, at times we stumble, for our path is far from smooth and we are ambushed by a ruthless enemy.

This makes it incumbent on us to work all the harder, rallying the masses not only by slogans but by actions having a direct bearing on their needs and requirements. This was the decision adopted by the last congress of our Party, and it is along these lines that our members are working, thereby blasting the myth of eternal "social peace" fondly cherished by our rulers and their neo-colonialist friends in France and the United States.

The clearest evidence of the fallacy that there are no classes or class conflicts in Tunisian society was the wave of miners' strikes in the south in the summer of 1962, and the strikes in other branches of industry in 1963. For the government, the "social peace" was disrupted by the reactionary conspiracy of December 1962 against the Bourguiba regime and against Bourguiba personally.

And although we have repeatedly and unequivocally denounced all reactionary plots and intrigues as alien to our Party, the government has tried to undermine our influence by identifying our Party with them. The blow struck at our Party in January 1963 and the suppression of our newspaper *Attalia* marked the beginning of repressions aimed not only against the Communists, who were charged with "spreading false reports," "inciting to rebellion" and "undermining the authority of the head of the state," but against many other democrats as well.

These measures which violate the letter and spirit of our Constitution are being undertaken at a time when, after four years of the ill-starred policy of the Government, the latter have to turn to a policy of economic planning. The ten year development plan is designed to bring some order into an economy reduced to

a state of anarchy and stagnation by private enterprise.

In order to win public support for this "economic offensive," the program is being advertised as "neo-Destur socialism."

And in the name of the "happy life" promised the people this "socialism" has filled the prisons with the finest sons of the working class.

"Neo-Destur socialism" believes it can get mass support by depriving the people of democratic rights, that it can stimulate enthusiasm by stifling all criticism of government policy. At the same time it has opened the doors to U.S., West German and other imperialist capital. And its inspirers blithely pocket the loans obtained from the United States and West Germany.

Le Monde, attacking Ben Bella for "haste" in introducing socialism in Algeria, contrasts this to the gradualness with which Bourguiba, to the delight of the De Gaulle regime, is doing things in Tunisia.

This tardiness is particularly noticeable in the matter of nationalization, in returning to the people the land and the natural wealth of

the country which the imperialists continue to plunder. It took Algeria, with a colonial heritage far worse than ours, only one year to return the land to the fellahin. Not a single acre of land in Algeria is now held by foreign colonialists. The Tunisian "moderation," naturally, delights the foreign landowners and capitalists who seven years after independence still dominate the economy and threaten our national sovereignty.

Our country is faced with one of two prospects: either the peoples will be denied the right to make their voice heard, which would mean an intensification of the regime of personal rule, dictatorship, or democratic rights will be restored, which would guarantee success in the struggle of the progressive forces for genuine democracy.

Whether our rulers want it or not, the time will soon come when all civic-minded people, all progressive organizations will resolutely demand an end to the authoritarian methods and insist on respect for the wishes of the people. This is indispensable to the interests and welfare of the nation.

MONGI

For Socialist Relationships

UNFLAGGING effort to strengthen contact with the masses and to foster socialist relations between people in the process of production is an indispensable aspect of our Party work. It is just as imperative to work in this direction as it is for all branches and all members to carry on untiring ideological work, to raise their own cultural level and enhance the efficacy of their activities.

The importance of this effort was underscored at a recent meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party. "The sum-total of working conditions, relations between people within the collective, and their effective participation in managing their socialist enterprise vastly influences the mode of thinking and the attitude towards the enterprise and duties," the meeting pointed out.

The significance attached to the relations between people is reflected in the attention paid to this matter by the Warsaw organization of the Party.

The question was discussed in 15 branches functioning at enterprises in the Praga-South district and later at a meeting of the District Committee. Following this the Party branches in a number of enterprises took steps to improve work with cadres—including sociological

surveys to provide a scientific groundwork for this activity. This initiative was taken up in other districts of Warsaw.

The question of relations between people and in particular the attitude of Party members to it are frequently discussed at meetings of factory committees and branches. Many interesting suggestions were put forward in the course of a discussion between members of the District Bureau of Wola district and the workers of the Swierczewski factory, as well as at a meeting of the Central Council of the Metalworkers' Trade Union.

In these discussions emphasis was placed on honesty, modesty, mutual aid and unselfishness. Careerism, bureaucracy, hypocrisy and pilfering of public property were condemned.

Wherever relations between people are unsound the doors are open to all kinds of negative phenomena. For instance, the facts show that, contrary to widespread belief, material conditions are not always the decisive factor ensuring the stability of the labor force in factory and office. A survey conducted in a Warsaw plant to ascertain the reasons for labor fluctuation showed that nearly one-third of those who quit their jobs in the first quarter of 1963 (and most of them were in essential trades)

left because they felt they had not been treated fairly and that their work was not properly appreciated.

Violations of labor laws and of ethical standards are still encountered, and a bureaucratic attitude on the part of some executives towards the suggestions and wishes of employees often tends to stifle initiative. As we see it, Party members and Party branches should not allow such things to go unnoticed.

We are now engaged in cutting personnel in industrial enterprises and offices where efficiency has been impaired by over-staffing. The problems involved are rather difficult and require, as is stressed both in our laws and in our Party directives, a thoughtful, considered approach. Essential though it is to improve labor discipline and to put an end to overstaffing, this nevertheless often gives rise to complicated situations when the interests of the enterprise and individuals clash. We make a point of seeing to it that each case is properly examined and resolved in conformity with the code of socialist relations between people. In a word, each case should be examined not formally, but taking the human factor into account.

There have been instances, however, when managements laid off workers in violation of the law, without consulting the local trade union committees. We consider it the duty of the Party committees and branches to interfere whenever attempts are made to evade or infringe the labor laws, and to see to it that due action is taken against those guilty of the violations.

Criticism on the part of the public as well as the Party should play a bigger role in shaping correct relationships between individuals.

We believe that all violations of Party ethics and socialist principles in relations between people should be discussed by the Party branches and, when necessary, by the workers of the particular factory or office. In some branches, however, discussion is hampered by the lack of an atmosphere conducive to criticism and self-criticism and frank exchange of opinion among members.

In some branches people lack faith in the efficacy of criticism. As often as not this is due to an underestimation of the educational value of discussing issues at Party meetings and an incorrect attitude towards critical remarks. We have concluded from the many talks we have had on this score that only a minority of the comrades are satisfied with the response evoked by their criticisms. Most of those interviewed felt that their critical remarks had not produced the desired effect.

It often happens that although the situation

at an enterprise seems to be normal—the management copes well with its tasks, there is no nepotism or other abuses, and the law is observed—more or less serious grievances nevertheless crop up from time to time. The roots of these conflicts can be traced to the diversity of skills among the workers. Wherever the production process involves operations ranging from highly skilled to unskilled, it is difficult to find precise criteria of labor productivity and also hard to foresee the effect of wear and tear on the efficiency of the machines and other equipment. These factors affect earnings and give foremen a great deal of leeway in allocating jobs. As a result not all workers may feel equally satisfied.

Under these circumstances the creation of a good working atmosphere and the elimination of reasons for grievances depend mostly on executives and Party workers, on how well they are acquainted with the problems and how able they are to give the proper guidance.

Speaking of relations between people, mention should be made of such an important factor as cadre policy generally. We still have serious shortcomings in taking on new workers, in training and promoting people, and in general in our personnel relations. It often happens that people who cannot cope with one job (this applies especially to executives) are given an equal position in another enterprise or office.

A correct approach presupposes, first, promoting the best workers, those who enjoy the confidence of their comrades, both Party members and non-Party people, and, second, systematic work with people, knowing how they cope with their jobs and helping them in every way to improve their skill and knowledge generally. People should be sized up and their knowledge and ability assessed properly, and the prestige they enjoy among their fellow workers taken into account.

Of great importance is proper allocation of cadres. In this sphere the Warsaw Party organization aims at creating conditions in which skills can be upgraded and workers promoted to leading positions in production and in public life. At one building trades technical school 300 workers have been trained as technicians in recent years. Many of these men studied after work.

We have mentioned here only a few of what we believe are the most important of the many problems connected with shaping new relationships between people, deliberately focusing attention on the negative features which we still encounter.

In our opinion the Party committees and branches should bear full responsibility for

creating an atmosphere conducive to the proper shaping of these relationships. This should be a central aspect of Party work. Our experience shows that the more actively and effectively the branches work to eliminate petty injustices, violation of law, favoritism, nepotism and all sorts of other irregularities in the enterprises, and the more energetically they combat those who stifle criticism, the bigger their role and the higher their prestige in the eyes of the non-Party workers and office employees. The example of many enterprises shows that wherever Party branches vigorously combat shortcomings of this kind we get an influx of new members. Here is a case in point. A large group of workers at a radio plant turned to the district committee of their trade union demanding that a general meeting of the workers be called to discuss what they felt was a wrong wage policy, unfair distribution of bonuses and favoritism. The District Committee of the Party conducted an investigation which bore out the facts cited by the workers. The decision of the District Bureau was that the manager, his deputy, and the chief engineer be removed from their posts. New chairmen of the trade union committee and of the Workers' Council were also elected. All Party members associated in any way with the abuses were reprimanded. These measures were hailed by the public meeting of the workers and the atmosphere in the plant improved. Seven workers applied for Party membership, stating in their applications

that they had decided to do so because the Party had lost no time in righting the wrongs.

The importance attached to fostering socialist relations by Party activists is evident from a discussion we had in the City Committee some months ago. Since then our members have been evincing a growing interest in this question, regarding it as an important component of the work carried out by our Party to educate the new man, the citizen of socialist society.

The annual meetings held in the Party organizations are also indicative in this respect. The sharpest criticism at these meetings is levelled at the shortcomings caused by insufficient concern on the part of managers for the workers and by an incorrect approach to problems affecting wages, allocation and promotion of personnel, safety measures and industrial hygiene, i.e., questions with a direct bearing on the atmosphere and attitudes in the enterprises and hence on the prestige enjoyed by the Party and public organizations among the working people.

Much attention is devoted to observance of the ethical standards obligatory for Party members. The point now is to stimulate further effort along these lines, to ensure that the moulding of socialist relationships between people is given due prominence in the work of all Party organizations.

Zdzislaw ZANDAROWSKI
Secretary, Warsaw Committee,
Polish United Workers' Party

Ideological Work in the Communist Party of Austria

FOR the Communist Party of Austria ideological work is of particular importance at the present stage, and for two reasons.

Firstly, the political situation in Austria affords the Party new opportunities for struggle and, consequently, confronts it with new tasks. After a prolonged period of relative stagnation, the political fronts are livening up. The class contradictions are sharpening, and with them the contradictions between parties and in the parties. In the Socialist Party which influences the bulk of the Austrian working class, there are signs of reappraisal, of a return to the revolutionary goals and principles of the socialist working-class movement. Anti-communism is losing its effectiveness, and the climate for contacts, negotiations and joint actions with the Socialist workers is improving. To make

use of the opportunities thus afforded and to exert a greater influence on political development, the Communist Party needs more well-trained functionaries and activists.

Secondly, in recent years under the impact of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU Marxist-Leninist theory has been rapidly developing, arriving at new conclusions which must be utilized, assimilated by all members and applied in practice. The differences that have arisen in the world Communist movement call for a thorough discussion of these questions at all Party levels. This will help to pave the way to new conclusions, to clarify moot points and overcome the sectarianism which is manifested in diverse forms.

In recent months our educational work has centered around discussion of the differences

with the Communist Party of China. The whole range of questions connected therewith has been examined. In doing so we do not merely seek to counterpose the views of the Chinese Party to those of the world Communist movement, but strive to demonstrate the erroneousness of the Chinese position. We are now about to examine separately the following points at issue.

1. *Problems of peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition. The possibility of averting a nuclear war and effecting general and complete disarmament.* These problems require little elucidation inasmuch as condemnation of war and approval of the principle of peaceful coexistence are more or less instinctive.

2. *Orientation on the peaceful transition to socialism.* As far back as 1956-57 this was the subject of debates in our Party which resulted in the adoption in 1958 of the program thesis "Austria's Road to Socialism." It turned out, however, that for many comrades the question from the point of view of both theory and practical conclusions remained unclear, and the controversy initiated by the Chinese Communist Party has beclouded the issue still more. The problem of the socialist revolution and everything associated with it, i.e., structural reforms, united action, the amalgamation of all democratic forces (the policy of alliances), the relationship between reform and revolution, etc., is of the utmost significance for our Party. The recently published pamphlet "Communism in the Modern World" by Comrade Fuernberg, which is supplemented by the thesis "Austria's Road to Socialism," should greatly assist the study of this problem.

3. *New aspects of contemporary capitalism.* The timeliness of this subject for our Party's struggle is obvious. Its examination within the framework of a study program, however, is rendered difficult by the fact that the analysis of such new phenomena as state monopoly, integration, etc., is as yet far from complete, and many points are still debatable. A valuable contribution in this sphere is the book "An Economic Miracle or Not" by Theodor Prager, member of our Central Committee.

4. *The colonial revolution and the problem of the underdeveloped countries, the interconnection between the national-liberation movement, the international working-class movement, the socialist camp and peaceful coexistence.* Although this theme has no direct bearing on Austrian problems, it is nevertheless of considerable interest to our members.

Our studies are naturally concerned primarily with problems relating specifically to our own

country, e.g., Marxism and religion, the new processes at work in the Catholic Church; neofascism and German nationalism; social partnership and the class struggle; wages, prices and profit.

Our Party devotes special attention to the ideological training of young members. Training and promoting the youth is an urgent task. The difficulty here, however, is that our young people have grown up in altogether different conditions from the older generation. They have not had the practical experience of fascism and war, nor have they suffered from the effects of economic crisis; they have experienced capitalism only in boom conditions. Working-class traditions mean little to them and they are not too well acquainted with Marxism; these are points we keep in mind when choosing subjects for our younger members. Hence our study programs for the younger comrades include, besides the basic questions of Marxism-Leninism, such subjects as the history of the Austrian working-class movement and the anti-fascist resistance, and the development of Austria as a nation.

In order to attract as many members as possible to Party studies, we try to make the study as interesting as possible. Our main efforts are directed at providing facilities for members working in factories and offices. This is not always easy to organize, as the comrades working in the same enterprise often live at long distances from one another. Nevertheless it is among workers in production that ideological work proves most beneficial to the Party.

Debates and lectures on theory or on practical political themes are the most common forms. Lectures and debates are held publicly or in branch and district Party organizations. For over a year now theoretical questions are being discussed, as the need arises, at branch meetings as well.

On a higher plane are the cycles of lectures, seminars and courses organized at regional and district level. As a rule classes are held three or four evenings a week, during which one subject or a group of subjects is thoroughly explored. From time to time "Saturday schools" are held for those attending the seminars.

Study at full-time courses is difficult for comrades who have jobs. Nevertheless now and again we arrange one-week or two-week seminars, for this makes for more intensive study and hence is more useful, even though the number of students is bound to be smaller.

A five-month Central Party School caters mainly to Party officials. In order to provide more thorough training for those functionaries who cannot attend the Central school, the

Upper-Austria Land organization has evening classes of a year's duration which cover the entire study program of the Central School.

The other Land organizations intend to follow suit.

Peter ASCHNER

Meetings of Central Committees

COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA

AT A meeting held in November 1963, under the chairmanship of Comrade Victorio Codovilla, Chairman of the Party, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina discussed the results of the provincial conferences and of implementing the line of the Twelfth Congress.

The meeting adopted a statement on the current political situation and a resolution on the organizational and ideological building of the Party.

The statement emphasizes that during the month of the Illia-Perette government's existence "the events in the country, especially the annulment of the contracts with the oil companies, have confirmed the analysis given by our Party immediately after the July 7 elections; this analysis said that a *democratic opening* had set in in the country, that the task of the democratic and progressive forces was to *widen this opening* through mass actions with a view to creating favorable conditions for the struggle for a people's government of a new type and imbued with a new social content."

Despite the electoral swindle to which the "de facto" government resorted, the ultras failed to get their candidates elected, their attempts being frustrated by the mass actions of the working class and the people.

"The new element in the present situation," the statement goes on, "is that from the hands of Guido, an instrument of the fascist, pro-American military-civil dictatorship, power has passed to the Illia-Perette government which can be defined as a *bourgeois-liberal* government aiming at being independent, at upholding national sovereignty and restoring democratic rights."

Although the new government was elected by only a relative majority and is continually under pressure, it can secure from the people support strong enough to frustrate the reactionary intrigues. To obtain this support the government should fulfil its election pledges, restore political and economic life to normal, and take the country along the road of democracy, progress, independence and peace.

It is imperative that the Party members take a bold stand in tackling the task of rallying all

democratic, patriotic and anti-imperialist forces for support of the *positive steps* of the Illia government, to make it honor all its election pledges and foil the reactionary designs.

The statement speaks of the pressure exerted by U.S. imperialism, the landowning oligarchy, the top military and the clergy on the new government to make it renounce its political program. As a result of this pressure, which is not being rebuffed by the democratic and progressive forces in full measure, the government follows a zigzag course. Either these factors of pressure are reduced to nought, i.e., the so-called "parallel government" is abolished, or the ultimate result will be the reactionaries imposing their will on the government or overthrowing it.

The people welcome the fact that the government rebuffed the Harriman mission and annulled the contracts with the oil companies. But to enable the people to give their full support to the Illia government in its election program, democratic rights and civil liberties must be restored and repressive decrees and laws repealed. The Communist Party declares that the battle for oil and other national wealth of Argentina can be won. The internal conditions favor this: in this struggle the executive authority has the resolute support of the working people, the democratic political parties and other popular forces. There are also favorable external conditions. As the experience of other countries shows, the socialist camp could supply the necessary plant and equipment and render technical aid, should the Argentine government request this.

The statement also describes the attitude of the trade union leaders of the Peronist "Association of 62," the so-called "national Left," the Trotskyists, some leaders of the Socialist Vanguard Party and small groups of renegades who are attacking the Communist Party. Some of them voice the need for an "insurrection" to overthrow the government. And this, the statement stresses, at a time when there is a real possibility of winning the battle for oil and securing democratic freedoms, when it is possible to prod the government towards an independent foreign policy, a policy of upholding

peace and the right of nations to self-determination.

Our Party and with it the most advanced elements of the working-class and popular movement, the statement concludes, while supporting the progressive measures of the Illia government, should pursue an *independent policy*, popularize its own aims, bearing in mind that the truly historical striving of the working class and the people for social well-being, progress, democracy, economic and political independence, socialism and peace can be translated into reality only by *genuinely democratic, national and popular government* under

the hegemony of the working class in alliance with the peasantry.

This aim can be reached through setting up thousands of *militant unity committees* and forming a *broad national democratic front against the oligarchy and imperialism and for peace*.

The meeting adopted a resolution on solidarity with the struggle of the Latin American peoples and the fraternal Communist parties of the continent subjected to fascist and imperialist repressions. It also called for bigger effort in solidarity with Cuba.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN

An enlarged meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain held last November opened by paying tribute to Julian Grimau, the martyred son of the people and member of the Central Committee.

The meeting reviewed two issues: the political situation in the country and the prospects for a general political strike, and the situation in the international Communist movement.

The meeting arrived at the conclusion that the political strike of the Asturian and Leon miners had demonstrated that the perspective of a general political strike was both correct and feasible, that this is the goal of that section now in the van of the Spanish working class. "The miners' strike in the Asturias and Leon," the resolution said, "is the first major step towards the general political strike."

Pointing to the leading role played by the Party in the miners' strike, the meeting declared that the strike was above all a demonstration of unity, especially *unity of the Communists, Socialists and Catholics in Asturias*.

The main reason why the strike did not spread to other areas was that the "level of unity, organization and militancy of the working class in other parts of Spain was not yet high enough for such a complex form of struggle as the general political strike."

The fight put up by the Asturian miners had been prepared by their militant actions since 1956, in the course of which hundreds of working-class fighters had been tempered, the working people had had militant schooling, unity was forged and specific forms of the organization and coordination of the mass struggle evolved. Most important of these is the *broad movement of trade union opposition which finds expression in the most diverse ways. The meeting called on all workers to further this movement, to take the Asturias road and thus pave the way to the general political strike.*

The meeting noted with satisfaction that des-

pite the terror and the heavy losses inflicted on the Party, including its leading bodies, the Party had grown numerically, politically and organizationally. It stated that the Party organizations should play the decisive role in preparing and holding the general political strike and summoned all members to fulfil this task with honor and at the same time boldly to continue the organizational policy aimed at transforming the Communist Party into a mass Party.

The meeting hailed the courageous stand taken by intellectuals in defense of the miners, their protests against the repressions launched by the dictatorship and their demand for freedom of information and speech.

Having encountered the growing activity of the working class, peasants, intellectuals and other social groups, the dictatorship resorted to subterfuge, while at the same time stepping up the reprisals.

This double-faced policy, the meeting stated, is a reflection of the growing degeneration of the dictatorship and of the differences rending the Franco government.

With opposition to the Franco regime growing, *the actual state of affairs imperatively demands from the anti-Franco forces agreement on joint actions in order to offer a democratic way out of the present situation.*

The meeting called upon the working class to pave the way, politically and organizationally, for a general political strike, stressing at the same time that this strike is not a matter for the working class alone. Peasants, intellectuals, students, the small bourgeoisie and all Spaniards who want to end the Franco dictatorship and see the triumph of democracy in Spain, should take part in preparing for this big political action.

The resolution adopted on the report made by Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary, on the situation in the international Communist move-

ment, expressed the profound concern of the Communist Party of Spain over the sharp character of the differences in the world Communist and working-class movement.

"Our Party," the resolution says, "has striven to keep the discussion on a principled basis, avoiding categorical charges. Even at this new and acute stage it is necessary to display the greatest patience in order to restore unity.

"Without the slightest doubt that we express the views of the workers and peasants, the representatives of the Spanish intelligentsia, we wish to say to our Chinese comrades:

"Discussion, insofar as it is necessary; all the patience that is required of us. No encroachments on the unity of the socialist camp. No encroachments on the unity of the international Communist and working-class movement!"

"For us, this unity is sacred. No one on any pretext whatever has the right to divide the socialist camp and the international Communist movement. This is a boundary which cannot be overstepped. He who does so will

bear a grave responsibility before all the forces of the revolution, democracy and peace.

"For us engaged in an extensive underground struggle against the Franco tyranny, violation of this unity would be tantamount to a stab in the back."

Holding that a meeting on the problems of the international Communist movement would be useful, the Central Committee declared that if agreement on arranging such a meeting is reached, the Communist Party of Spain would attend it, being prepared for a comradely discussion and for reaching agreement based on Marxist-Leninist principles. And even in case such an agreement proves impossible, the Communist Party of Spain would still attend the meeting with a desire to strengthen, not to break the existing ties, with a desire to unite and conduct further discussions, "being firmly convinced that discussion and experience are the sole means that can help the Chinese comrades to realize their mistakes and prevent a split in the international Communist movement".

A. S.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia held in December discussed questions of ideological work. The report was delivered by Vladimir Koucky, Secretary of the Central Committee.

The meeting set forth the Party's position on vital international and internal ideological questions.

The Party resolutely rejects all dogmatic-sectarian nationalist concepts. The resolution adopted by the Central Committee pointed out that the struggle against Left dogmatism should not be allowed to lead to a resurgence of Right opportunist and revisionist tendencies.

The Party focused attention on both the economic and the ideological sphere, which are closely interconnected. The attitude to one's work and the results of one's labor are a reliable criterion of one's socialist consciousness, ability and moral qualities. Hence the emphasis is placed on a creative attitude to labor, on creating an atmosphere of socialist labor effort, advancing technology and improving skills. The resolution also pointed out that the responsibility for educational work rests not only on the Party but also on executives in the economic sphere.

Economics as a science is faced with big tasks. To overcome subjectivist influences it is essential to perceive the laws governing socialist economy and to learn to apply these laws in all areas of practical activity.

Ideological work is an important factor in

the consolidation and development of the socialist state. With the abolition of the exploiting classes and the creation of an integral socialist economy, our society became a society of working people the characteristic feature of which is the gradual coming together of the various social classes and groups and ever closer unity of all working people, primarily on the basis of intensive growth of the socialist economy and consistent development of socialist democracy.

The State of the proletarian dictatorship in Czechoslovakia is evolving into a State of the entire people. The mainspring in this process is the working class, whose hegemony is guaranteed by the leading position occupied by the Communist Party in the country. At the same time leadership by the Party is essential for the overcoming of the contradictions still existing at the present stage of our society owing to the surviving social divisions and the influence of bourgeois ideology and diverse erroneous views stemming from narrow group or individual interests.

The Party attaches much importance to solving the national question along Leninist lines.

A prominent place in the educational work of the Party is occupied by education of the youth—the generation which will live in communist society. The Party condemns artificial stimulation of controversies between generations, but at the same time it is aware that the youth have certain distinctive features differ-

ing from those of the older generation. Young people tend to compare not the past with the present, but the ideals of socialism with the reality in which they seek outlet for their talents. In the educational work conducted among them by the Party and by such organizations as the Youth League and the schools, priority should be given to drawing young people into participation in creative labor as well as in social and political activities.

The Party expects the school system not only to give young people basic knowledge and skills but to enable them to augment their knowledge after leaving school, to equip them with the right criteria and to teach them to use these criteria. The Youth League should realize that its task is not only to influence the youth ideologically; it should also teach them to think for themselves.

"Art and culture generally are, in the multiform context of the socialist cultural revolution now under way, an essential component of life and a natural requirement of ever broader sections of the working people," Comrade Koucky said in his report. "Cognition through art is becoming a natural and indispensable component of Party and social cognition." The Party gives every support to art which furthers the aims of the Party, which helps in the revolutionary transformation of reality, in moulding public consciousness in the spirit of communism. The important thing in each work of art is not only its aesthetic but also its ideological impact. Recent experience has demonstrated the correctness of the directive of the

Party Congress concerning the need to combat survivals of the personality cult and dogmatic thinking as well as manifestations of liberalism and opportunism. Socialist realism, which rejects one-sidedness and schematicism and which accords with the social outlook of our art workers, affords ample scope for creative questing in art.

"The entire cultural and art front," the resolution of the Central Committee states, "is confronted with the task of energetically creating a rich and multiform but fundamentally united socialist art, developing the living progressive heritage of the past, stimulating a creative approach to the best achievements of world art and culture, actively and purposefully augmenting the contribution made by our culture to the ideological struggles of our time."

The Party considers it imperative to overcome the lag in the social sciences; the social sciences should be linked more closely with the policy of the Party and research should be free of all traces of subjectivism.

Confidence in people is the Party's basic precept in educational work as in all other aspects of its activity. It can lead the masses only if it maintains constant contact with them, if it correctly voices the people's aspirations. Hence the need for constructive discussion in the press and over the radio and television on questions of topical interest. Moreover, there should be greater coordination of all ideological media.

CURRENT PROBLEMS

Working-Class Unity in the Developed Capitalist Countries

COMMUNIST PARTY POLICY IN DENMARK

THE general political line of the Communist Party of Denmark is aimed at developing the struggle of the working class and, around it, the democratic struggle of the entire people — in a word, to set in motion those forces which eventually will lead the country to socialism. As can be seen from all our activity, this line fully conforms to the spirit of the Declaration of 1957 and Statement of 1960 as well as the Rome Appeal of 1959, and we stand by this line without any reservations.

The class context of our democratic struggle is as follows: relatively developed capitalist relations of production, a rather high degree of specialization of production, a correspondingly skilled labor force, and intensive exploitation; a highly monopolized capitalism, with numerous small and medium-sized enterprises surviving despite monopoly domination. The monopoly capitalists, who hold the reins of society, displaying no mean political dexterity, make considerable use of the machinery of state as their direct instrument without having discarded Denmark's long-established bourgeois democracy. The intertwining of Danish monopoly capital with foreign capital, primarily British, West German and American, has gone far indeed, especially since the war. Monopoly rule, however, comes into direct conflict with the national interest on such questions as peace, independence and all-round economic development; it conflicts with the material and cultural interests of the country and with the traditional striving towards democracy.

At an early stage of its history, the working class became well organized, predominantly under reformist leadership, winning democratic rights and social concessions when these still did not alter the balance of class forces. Many of these gains were won in Denmark before they were won in other countries. Hence the considerable influence exerted by petty-bourgeois ideas and illusions both among the working class and the people generally.

In agriculture and trade, cooperatives play a big part. Outside the working-class movement, organization of the population in diverse interest groups is considerable.

The traditions of democratic struggle are

deep-seated, especially thanks to the struggles waged for bourgeois democracy, for political and trade union rights, and mainly the liberation struggle against the Hitler invader.

A specific and especially complex feature of Denmark's political scene is that the bourgeoisie has succeeded in recent years in widening the split in the Left forces of the working class and other progressives by utilizing the splinter party formed by the revisionist Axel Larsen.

The New International Situation and the Position of Denmark

The future of Denmark depends on victory in the fight for peace. The country's geographic location, its size and the nature of modern armaments all combine to make this a life and death issue for the nation. No Danish political leader dare come out against peaceful coexistence and disarmament on an international scale. What the bourgeois politicians do is to claim that, "unfortunately," it is impossible to achieve either, hence we are "compelled" to take contrary measures.

This is the main argument of NATO supporters in Denmark. On the other hand, public sentiment favors steps easing the tensions in Northern Europe, a policy in keeping with Denmark's traditions of neutrality and capable of improving relations with the socialist world.

NATO policy is dangerous for Denmark particularly because it holds the threat of West German imperialist domination. The lessons of the Hitler invasion have made the people alive to the danger of German imperialism and militarism. Hence West German penetration, which has led, among other things, to the establishment of a joint Danish-West German military command, has seriously discredited the NATO line.

The democratic and anti-fascist sentiment of the people is vividly expressed in the solidarity movements with the peoples of Spain and South Africa. These movements have been officially joined by the National Youth Committee with which all youth organizations of the country, both political and non-political, are affiliated.

The encroachments on Denmark's sovereign-

ty resulting from NATO policy are accompanied by a drive towards economic integration. When the question of Britain's entry into the Common Market came up, the Social Democratic government and the leaders of the capitalist parties decided that Denmark, which is a member of EFTA, should follow suit. But despite the high-pressure propaganda conducted towards this end, widespread opposition developed primarily against the renunciation of basic economic sovereignty, the danger of economic domination by Federal Germany, the subordination of Danish cultural life to West German Catholicism, and the prospect of wages and social gains being levelled downwards. Denmark's joining the Common Market would create more difficult conditions for the democratic anti-monopoly struggle.

Since the Second World War, the exploitation of Denmark by foreign capital has been intensified. For the people this means reduced consumption and higher taxes.

But this does not signify that economic development has been brought to a halt. The postwar years have been marked by extensive renewal of plant in industry and technological progress in agriculture. Since 1957 the economic situation in the capitalist countries has been favorable to Denmark. Its foreign exchange balance has improved, employment has increased and so has production. Unemployment is negligible. But the lion's share of the gain from this is appropriated by the monopoly capitalists. In 1956-63 the total increase in the national wealth amounted to 42,000 million kroner, of which 35,000 million were pocketed by the capitalists, 4,000 million went to social needs, and only about 3,000 million to the working people. Real wages, which for the first time exceeded the prewar level in 1955, increased in these years only by about 15 per cent, whereas profits went up by 70 per cent. The rate of surplus value increased roughly by 20 per cent.

The same period witnessed a considerable growth in the numbers of workers and wage salary earners generally. But the new influx into the working class consisted mostly of non-proletarian and non-class conscious elements. This and the high level of business activity laid its stamp on the working-class movement, even though it did not mean cessation of the class struggle. As a matter of fact, 1959-61 were record years for the number of strikes, though the workers' gains were largely nullified by the economic measures taken by the government.

While the number of wage and salary earners generally increased, the agricultural labor force declined considerably. In periods of high busi-

ness activity, however, the free manpower is readily absorbed by urban industries and trade. But for the small farmers technological advance creates a critical situation, and the monopolies find new ways and means of bringing pressure to bear on the cooperatives which are engaged in processing and marketing farm produce.

Notwithstanding the favorable economic situation and the growing demand for durable goods, housing has become a serious problem, especially since rent and taxes often swallow half the wages of average-income families. To make a normal living, the Danish worker has to look for extra jobs or all the able-bodied members of his family must be in employment. The educational and cultural needs of the people, in contrast to the situation prevailing in the socialist countries, are not satisfied. Hence the achievements of the socialist countries cannot but influence the public consciousness and help to create better conditions in our own country for winning social, cultural and democratic reforms.

Of late the economic situation has shown signs of a turn for the worse. Real wages, after a period of stability, show a tendency to decline, as does employment. The market problem is becoming more acute, so much so that even top capitalist circles are evincing a growing interest in the markets of the socialist countries.

Although these economic processes are by no means simple and elementary and include elements that tend to breed illusions, it can be said that during a boom the discrepancy between the reasonable demands of the people and the possibility of satisfying them grows steadily and makes itself felt in more and more areas. And this is reflected in the struggle and discontent of the masses, even though they may not always know what the basic evil is that should be fought.

In order to direct this dissatisfaction against its root cause — monopoly rule — it is essential to be sensitive to the latest developments in the class struggle. This applies, for instance, to the consequences of modern methods of exploitation, which, as the growing rate of surplus value shows, are extremely effective, even if they impinge on the worker more in the form of greater fatigue, nervous strain and exhaustion than in the form of poverty. It applies also to the effect of the extension of capitalist exploitation to new areas of everyday life where formerly domestic labor or small handicrafts enterprises were the rule (services and entertainment, for instance). It applies likewise to the appreciation of gains, such as full employment, which

rapidly become essential needs that people will not renounce but will defend as their birthright, which was not the case before. To consider such defense of gains and rights to be "less revolutionary" than the struggle for survival as such (and this is the gist of some dogmatic views put forward in the West European working-class movement) runs counter to common sense; it sows confusion regarding the tactics of class struggle in our time and is tantamount to allowing the monopolies to wage with impunity their offensive against the working class in order to add to their soaring profits.

We believe that, whatever transient fluctuations there may be, continuation of the present monopoly policy will create such problems of an economic, military and political order as will make a national crisis inevitable, a crisis from which the ruling classes will not be able to extricate themselves, at least not by their own forces, while the ruled will not accept the elimination of Denmark as a sovereign nation. We consider it our duty to combat this policy and to chart new ways forward before it plunges the nation in disaster.

The Communist Alternative

The Communists counterpose to the policy of the monopolies and NATO a policy of peace and regeneration of democracy. Our aim is to channel the dispersed popular opposition to the present policy into the mainstream of united democratic anti-monopoly struggle which is developing into a struggle for socialism.

Our program, consequently, takes into account the requirements of diverse classes, groups and strata of society. I shall mention here only some of the underlying principles by which we are guided.

1. We propose making nuclear-free zones and neutrality the basic principles of Danish foreign policy. Although there is widespread sentiment for these principles, doubt as to their feasibility tends to retard popular action in their support. Therefore, in order to show that this is a realistic policy, our Party in the spring of 1963 addressed the fraternal parties of a number of neighboring socialist countries—the Soviet Union, Poland and the GDR—with the request that these countries should declare their readiness to support and guarantee the integrity and neutrality of Denmark as a non-nuclear power, as a zone against which nuclear weapons would not be used. The fraternal parties responded with full understanding and supported our initiative. This showed once again that Communist inter-

nationalism is a decisive safeguard for the national interests.

The demand for such guarantees of peace with a view to ensuring national independence also provides a solid foundation for the struggle for disarmament and against the mounting and highly unpopular military spending. It helps to expose the NATO policy, particularly those aspects of this policy which affect Denmark's vital interests.

The Moscow partial test-ban treaty opened up new possibilities in the struggle for a new foreign policy in Denmark and the Northern countries generally.

Today all political parties and trends declare for further efforts to reduce tension as a follow-up of the Moscow treaty. For the Nordic countries it would be only logical to carry out the proposal made by President Kekkonen of Finland that the governments of these countries, which have already given assurances not to allow atomic weapons on their territories, should follow this up by undertaking a definite commitment to make Northern Europe a nuclear-free zone. Refusal to do so would place the proponents of the NATO policy at a still greater disadvantage; it is symptomatic that the broad anti-nuclear campaign which originated mainly as an expression of the peoples' loathing for nuclear weapons now puts forward the concrete demand for nuclear-free zones.

2. Instead of integration in the Common Market, we are for trade with all countries on the basis of economic sovereignty. This does not mean that we deny the objective trend towards economic internationalization and international division of labor. Denmark's economic structure, for instance, makes it largely dependent on multilateral foreign trade. Nevertheless, in order to safeguard the economy against the division of labor dictated by the giant international monopolies which place their own interests above the national interests, the progressive forces should work to ensure the economic sovereignty of the country. We hold that, given the present world balance, this is a realistic policy. It would enable Denmark to develop its economic relations with the socialist countries and the newly-emerged nations and pave the way to winning an equal position in relations with capitalist trade partners. Our Party has conducted a campaign to bring home to the people that dependence on the imperialist powers has prevented the possibilities for trading with the socialist countries from being fully utilized, and this has helped to heighten resistance to our involvement in the integration plans.

3. In calling for the regeneration of democracy we place the emphasis on the demands for democratic public control and the right of the people to have a share in political and economic decisions. These demands are in line with the democratic traditions of our people. Their realization, naturally, includes a number of nationalization measures, which are concretely formulated in our program. But we make a point of not laying the stress on nationalization divorced from democratic control so as not to play into the hands of the reactionaries who are trying to capitalize on the unpopularity of many state enterprises set up in the interests of the monopolies and often run by the Social Democrats along bureaucratic lines. The Right-wing parties, for instance, have struck a liberal pose debating the pros and cons of "state tutelage."

Our advocacy of democratic control has stimulated, especially in the working-class movement, a broad discussion of workers' participation in management and their rights in the enterprises. As regards these rights, Denmark lags behind many other capitalist countries. Although no little effort has been exerted to side-track this discussion and to use it to propagate class collaboration and to extol "people's capitalism," we nevertheless believe that it can serve to promote the democratic struggle against the monopolies. In this connection it should be mentioned that the rights enjoyed by the working people in the socialist countries are an example to the people in our country.

An important place in our program for regenerating democracy, and in particular for solving the problems confronting the farm population and the urban middle strata, is allocated to cooperative development and to democracy in the cooperatives.

Parliament occupies a central place in the political thinking of the people. We propose to widen its powers and the powers of all elected bodies, holding that it is possible and desirable to make these bodies levers of the democratic struggle.

4. A decisive place in the regeneration of democracy should be given to the extension of workers' rights. Workers' organizations are enmeshed in such a web of legislative restrictions that the right to strike, for instance, is largely reduced to nil. The right of the workers to defend their interests must be safeguarded as a basic democratic right. We link this with the struggle to extend democracy in the trade unions.

Under state-monopoly capitalism the state increasingly interferes in the various spheres

of the economy, often in the guise of "planning" or "comprehensive solution of problems." Basically this intervention serves the interests of the monopoly capitalists, even if it takes place under the leadership of the Social Democrats and is sometimes attended by demagogic handouts to the workers designed to prevent them from taking action themselves.

We are combating this kind of "comprehensive solution of problems," exposing its reactionary aspects and, whenever possible, using the promises to stimulate the class consciousness and militancy of the working people. To activate the masses in the fight for democracy the "comprehensive solution" policy must be rejected and a democratic economic policy advanced instead. That the growing state-monopoly intervention in the economy erodes "liberal" illusions and makes for a deeper understanding of the need for democratic, progressive involvement of the state in economic life can be seen if only from the debates on this question at the conventions of a number of big trade unions.

5. Our program for regenerating democracy provides a basis for united action by the democratic forces. But we do not make acceptance of this program a condition for cooperation in general. We seek to build working-class and democratic unity through joint actions around all immediate issues, however limited. As a matter of fact, it is along these lines that unity is being shaped at present.

The Situation in the Social Democratic Party

The Social Democratic Party is the traditional party of the Danish working class. The prestige of its leaders was first seriously shaken during the war when they betrayed the fight for Denmark's freedom, turned away from the resistance movement and collaborated with the Hitler authorities. After the war the Right-wing party leaders, taking advantage above all of the cold war, again entrenched themselves in the leadership. It is they who bear the responsibility for such a dangerous turn in Denmark's policy as its entry into NATO.

Owing to its traditional influence, its organizational grip on the working-class movement and the tenacity of reformist illusions, the Social Democratic Party continued to enjoy the support of the majority of the working class. In the fifties, however, its rigid Right-wing policy in home as well as in foreign affairs caused a "crisis of confidence" in its ranks. As a result, Communist influence grew considerably up to 1956, when it was retarded

by the anti-communism which followed the counter-revolutionary sally in Hungary. But the "crisis of confidence" in the Social Democratic Party continued to deepen; it made itself felt in a drop in membership and especially in a decline in the prestige of the Social Democratic leaders. Whereas formerly they had no difficulty in putting their line across and preventing any opposition, especially from the Left, now a number of opposition trends have emerged in the party. But the diehard still control the party machine, and basically it is they who determine the policy of the government. The weakness of the Left can be traced to the lack of a common platform and clear-cut perspectives.

The growing contradictions among the Social Democrats make it particularly important to take a differentiated approach to the various trends. Processes have set in in Social Democracy which may well change its role — a fact which bears out the assessment contained in the 1960 Statement of the Communist and Workers' parties. It should be borne in mind, however, that the Social Democratic Party in Denmark is still the proponent of the policies of the monopolies and of NATO. But the possibilities for maneuvering by its leaders have narrowed considerably. This, too, is the result of world development and the changed balance of forces in the international arena.

The conditions for unity between Social Democratic and Communist workers are much better, largely due to the efforts made by the Communists to reduce tensions between workers adhering to different ideological trends. In a number of cases joint actions have been undertaken, including protests against some government measures.

Further development of this cooperation is of utmost importance for advancing the democratic struggle of the working class and the people. Although our relations with the leaders of the Social Democratic Party are not acrimonious and we take the opportunity this affords to put our viewpoint before them, we cannot expect to get very far except through militant working-class united action.

The Socialist People's Party and Its Role

Working-class and democratic unity suffered a set-back with the establishment in 1959 of what calls itself the Socialist People's Party. This Party was founded by a group of defectors from the Communist movement headed by Axel Larsen.

The officials of the SPP being mostly ex-Communists, are filled with hatred for the Party they deserted. The comparatively few

new members they have managed to recruit are mostly petty-bourgeois. Nevertheless the SPP has a considerable electoral following which includes many workers.

Objectively the SPP acts as a brake on the Left trend in the working class and among the people generally, preventing them from taking a more consistent stand. The capitalist propaganda media, with the object of counteracting Communist influence and activities, make a point of representing the SPP to be the only champion of Left positions on the Danish political scene. On their part, the SPP leaders do their utmost to discredit the socialist countries and, at crucial moments, are always the first to stab them in the back. On the home scene they oppose cooperation with the Communists, work to prevent the growth of mass movements, and seek to stifle democratic aspirations and reduce them to mere parliamentary jockeying.

The evolution of Larsen and his following to the Right has already become a millstone around the neck of the SPP. Speaking at its convention in the autumn of 1963 Larsen had to admit that "there was no unity in the party as regards its basic political line." The convention revealed the confusion of views and dissension in the party. Larsen's swing to the extreme Right clearly went against the grain. But although he had to revise the original draft of his policy statement, he and his following continue to hold the reins.

Larsen's present political role is a reminder to the world Communist movement of the danger inherent in revisionism.

The growing contradictions within the SPP, its ideological confusion and organizational weakness leave no doubt that, temporary success notwithstanding, it is but a transient phenomenon in Danish political life.

We draw a distinction between the anti-communist Larsen following and those vacillating people who have lined up with the SPP. We are for unity with the latter. Inasmuch as there are few SPP supporters in the enterprises, we are actually the leading force in the day-to-day struggles of the working class, whether this is recognized or not. In other words, our influence is in reality far greater than the electoral support we enjoy would indicate.

The Role of the Communist Party in the Present Situation

The situation in Denmark today is somewhat curious: although there is a definite leftward swing among the working class and other sections of the population, the govern-

ment headed by the Social Democrats is flouting democracy more and more in the interests of the Right.*

The explanation lies in the lack of working-class and democratic unity, and for this the SPP leaders are largely responsible.

The Communists urge working-class political unity in order to end the discrepancy between the growing weight of the working class in society as a whole and the policy of the government.

This sentiment finds a response among the Left Social Democrats and the SPP supporters. But to achieve decisive results, independent working-class action is essential. The same applies also to the other democratic forces, whose faith in their own strength will grow in the course of militant actions.

The ruling class is fully aware of this. Hence it is exerting every effort to split the working class, to make it passive, to undermine faith in its strength. The entire capitalist ideological indoctrination machine has been set in motion, for at the present stage the bourgeoisie uses this device rather than violence as a means of checking the democratic struggle of the working class. But the Communists are bending every effort to overcome these obstacles. Hence we reject the ridiculous accusation levelled at us by the Chinese leaders that we "are preventing the realization of the revolutionary demands of the masses."

The enemies of the working class are working unceasingly to persuade the people that they are powerless to change the existing state of affairs. When it comes to the great problems of the day, they claim that we are too small a country to play a role of any importance and that therefore we should do what our "great allies" tell us to do. For them resolute mass action is "lawlessness," something "undemocratic." For instance, the Danish dockers' refusal to unload South African ships was called an "undemocratic" act.

The Communists stress again and again that democracy implies independent activity on the part of the people, as the great bourgeois democrats said in their time.

The drive to isolate the Communists by means of discrimination, the conspiracy of silence about what they stand for, and the anti-communist propaganda are all part of

the offensive to prevent unity among the democratic forces of our country. It would be a delusion to assume, as the revisionists do, that we can counteract the anti-communist propaganda by "drawing room conversation." In all our activity we must be guided by the knowledge that the class and ideological struggle does not diminish as the democratic struggle grows. On the other hand, we must constantly be on guard against playing into the hands of the anti-communists, against everything that might prevent the Communists from playing the leading role in social progress in general. To renounce this task and to limit oneself only to deploring the infamy of anti-communism would be sterile dogmatism.

The anti-communists in our country aim at isolating us on national and democratic issues, depicting us as an "anti-national," "anti-democratic" force on the grounds of our attitude towards the socialist countries. This of course is a way of playing on nationalist prejudices.

The fact remains that the decisive external factors making for success in our struggle are the achievements of the socialist world, primarily the achievements of the Soviet Union — the first socialist country — and its decisive role in the struggle against the danger of war. The superiority of socialism is proved by the fact that it has given the working people rights which the apologists of capitalism claim to be impossible, and that its success has paved the way to the emergence of new paths to socialism. Just as it is natural for bourgeois propaganda to deny this, for us it is essential to open the people's eyes to these achievements. Socialist internationalism has always had a direct bearing on the growth of the Communist parties, on their immunity to the influence of bourgeois ideology in the capitalist countries, especially in the smaller capitalist countries. Therefore, the attitude of the Communist parties of these countries to the Soviet Union and socialism is their touchstone. Our experience has shown again and again that any attempt to "keep at a distance" from the socialist countries has as its reverse side conciliation with the capitalist system and ideology.

If solidarity with the socialist world were to be regarded as a "handicap," this could easily lead to taking a purely defensive stand. We, on the contrary, are determined to take the initiative. Our appeals to the fraternal parties in the socialist countries concerning guarantees of Denmark's neutrality in a Northern nuclear-free zone can be cited as an example. These appeals showed that our solidar-

*The trend is evident from such measures as the establishment of the Danish-West German military command, and the granting of military depots and naval bases on Danish territory to the West German armed forces. Indicative too are the steps taken towards bringing the country into the Common Market, and the increased taxation to finance military spending. Indirect taxes have risen steadily, especially as a result of the general turnover tax. A wage pause has been imposed on most categories of workers and rents have been raised.

ity with the parties of the socialist countries promotes the national interest and helped to dispel the "sinister" aura which our enemies have been trying to create around our relations with the socialist world. To stand demonstratively aloof from socialist progress in order to establish a "national alibi" can, in our opinion, have only the most damaging results.

Needless to say, international solidarity should be understood not mechanically, not as a matter of lauding everything in the socialist world simply because it is socialist, but as something stemming from the objective reality and its processes, as a matter of upholding the common viewpoints and ensuring the achievement of the common aims of the international Communist movement. This is something that cannot be ignored. We should also be able to see the root of the differences in conditions in the various countries, so as to perceive the specific features which must be taken into account in elaborating our own policy in the democratic struggle, and which lay their imprint on our road to socialism. For instance, we should distinguish between the conditions which in the Soviet Union led to a single-party system and the conditions in our country where we visualize the continued existence of several parties throughout the stage of democratic struggle and even during the building of socialism.

Specific problems arise, of course, whenever mistakes are made in building socialism, especially when these mistakes weaken the link between the basis and the superstructure, as was the case during the period of the personality cult, for instance. Mistakes are always difficult to rectify, especially at the point of their origin. But in our conditions emphasis should be placed on elucidation of the viability and stability of the socialist basis rather than on discussion of the errors made. In our political, ideological and organizational work we should dwell on the positive fact that the past mistakes are being corrected, and we must overcome the tendency to mull over these mistakes interminably, as our enemies would like us to do. In this respect all the Communist and Workers' parties are jointly responsible for the conduct of a fruitful international discussion on the basis of Marxism-Leninism; the fact that the Chinese leaders refuse to share this responsibility is perhaps the most harmful thing. The democratic nature of the Communist movement is underscored by its ability to conduct discussions — not debates which weaken unity or drag our thinking back, but exchanges which develop Marxist-Leninist thought.

Anti-communism cannot be defeated through ideological discussions alone; above all the parties must display greater initiative and political courage capable of promoting mass actions and movements.

What is also needed is constant concern for full ideological clarity on the part of the Party. Otherwise it cannot play a leading role in the democratic struggle.

Our Party has been attacked by both revisionists and dogmatists, and we have accepted their challenge. The Larsen revisionism mentioned above is still a problem that we have to contend with.

As for the dogmatic attacks made by the Chinese leaders, these have not found any appreciable response in our country. But we should be on guard against these irresponsible sallies engendering a feeling of disillusionment. Larsen, too, makes demagogic use of these sallies, claiming that he "was right" when he took a stand against the socialist countries and the Communist movement. This is yet another reason why we should resolutely counter all dogmatist distortions. Otherwise we will discredit our own policy and provide soil for doubt and confusion, and this would diminish our contribution to the democratic struggle. We hold that these are questions to which Marxist-Leninists cannot be indifferent.

At the time of the inner-party struggle against the revisionists we never allowed ourselves to be stampeded into taking a dogmatic position, and anyone who seeks the reasons for our temporary difficulties in sources of this kind will be disappointed. This does not mean that we do not encounter manifestations of Right or Left opportunism in our activities. We consider struggle against both deviations an indispensable component of our democratic policy.

We believe that the decisive thing is independent working-class and democratic mass activity. Our experience shows that democratic gains, won through the activity of the masses, can serve as the starting point for further progress. And, on the contrary, reforms in the shape of dispensations "from the top" can often be used to retard advance. This experience of ours may also be of international significance.

In a word, the changed international situation, the growing urge on the part of the people towards socialism, towards progress corresponding to the new possibilities of our time, the growing democratic spirit and the loathing of reaction and fascism, the growing superiority of socialism — all show that in

our country the possibilities for a peaceful transition to socialism are greater.

This outlook cannot in any way be equated with the call to passivity underlying the Social Democratic theory of peaceful evolution of capitalism into socialism. On the contrary, it implies setting the masses in motion in the

democratic struggle, for only thus can the way be paved to the peaceful transition to socialism.

Ib NOERLUND

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Communications and Comment

Reform Wrecked by Reaction

(Notes of an Indian Journalist)

FOR the second time now the Indian State of Kerala is in the center of attention of Indian and world public opinion.

In the 1957 general election the Communist Party emerged victorious in this State, secured a parliamentary majority, and for the first time a government led by the Communists was formed in the State. Although it existed for only 28 months, and had to function within the framework of a bourgeois constitution and without effective control over the organs of state power, the Communist-led government carried out democratic changes in the State which had far-reaching national impacts. The reactionaries organized a violent campaign against these democratic reforms.

The Agrarian Relations Bill drafted by the Communist government and which provided solution to one of the country's most burning problems encountered frantic opposition from the feudal gentry, the big landowners and other reactionaries. The Bill contained provisions for deep-going changes in the landownership of the state and greatly benefited the peasantry.

For example, it provided for: a ceiling on land holdings and for allocating the surplus land to the land-hungry peasants; substantial reduction in rent; prohibition of evictions; a low rate of compensation to landlords; democratically elected organs—Land Tribunals—to implement the reform and safeguard peasant interests.

These reforms signified war against hunger in the countryside by abolishing the backwardness and the rural unemployment, raising the technical level of farming and creating the basis for agricultural cooperatives.

Even though the Kerala Bill had the full approval of the Planning Commission of India, and even though the Communist government was simply carrying out the agrarian promises made by the National Congress before independence, the Congress leaders in Kerala openly aligned themselves with the big landowners. Despite the frantic opposition and the threats of direct action by the reactionaries, the Bill was finally passed in the Kerala Assembly in June 1959, i.e., nearly two years after it had been submitted.

It was this revolutionary Agrarian Relations Act which was the chief cause of the reactionary putsch of June 12th, two days after the passage of the reforms in the State Legislature — the dismissal of the Communist-led government by the President of India and the dissolution of the democratically elected State Legislative Assembly.

After this the vested interests in Kerala put much pressure on the central government and on the President to invalidate the Agrarian Reform. The peasants, working class and all other progressive forces, on the other hand, insisted on the immediate enactment of this vital legislation.

The class struggle on this issue reached a high pitch of intensity. The countryside in Kerala reverberated with agitation of the peasants for Presidential assent to this legislation. A mass petition signed by over a million Kerala peasants was presented to the President.

Faced with massive peasant resistance, the ruling circles employed delaying tactics. The President returned the Act to the new Kerala Assembly (in July 1960) in which the Con-

gress and its allies had a majority, recommending certain vital changes in the original Act, changes designed to further the interests of the feudal elements, landlords and foreign plantation owners.

And when these changes were duly incorporated, the President gave his assent and the Act came into force only in February 1961.

But even with all the amendments, the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act was more progressive than those in the other states. For this reason the reactionaries resumed the offensive against it, this time using certain legal loopholes.

Last year the High Court of Kerala and the Supreme Court of India declared some of the provisions of the Agrarian Relations Act to be unconstitutional, and, on this basis, the Kerala government with the connivance of the Nehru government suspended the entire Kerala Agrarian Relations Act of 1961; this was an unprecedented violation of the Constitution. A reactionary Land Reforms Bill was submitted to the Assembly in terms which restored to the landlords and feudalists all their privileges and deprived the peasants of the benefits they had won in the many years of struggle. And whereas it took several years of agitation and struggles to get the progressive Act adopted, this reactionary Bill was rushed through within two months and passed on December 4 (with 59 members voting for it in a house of 127 in the Kerala Assembly).

Thus, December 4, 1963, became a black day not only for the peasants of Kerala State but also for all the progressive and democratic forces in India who are fighting for radical agrarian reforms and land to the tiller.

The new Act empowers landlords to raise rent up to twice the contract rent; it raises the compensation rate to 16 times the fair rent and puts greater hardships on tenants; the new Act gives the landlord the right to evict tenants on non-payment of arrears of two years rent; it denies some categories of tenants the right to purchase land; the new Act, apart from sabotaging the availability of surplus land for distribution, also exempts from the ceiling (the ceiling is now raised from 15 to 40 acres in some cases) land belonging to industrial and commercial enterprises, including 20,000 acres in Central Travancore held by capitalist farmers and bankers. Moreover, all the illegal land transfers among family members which were carried out by landlords to deceive the ceiling in recent years, are now legalized by the new legislation which extended the original deadline date of land transactions by six years.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India has described this legislation as follows:

"The new Kerala Land Reforms Bill is an utterly reactionary measure which seeks to deprive the peasants of Kerala of the very valuable rights won in decades of heroic struggle — security of tenure, reasonably fair rent and the right to purchase ownership of land. The net result of the Bill will be: to enable the landlords to effect large-scale eviction of tenants on various pretexts; to enable landlords to raise rent up to 100 per cent; to deprive homestead dwellers of the hutments in which they are living today; to make the provisions for fixing a land ceiling a mere farce."

Now with the passage of the new Kerala Land Reforms Bill there is practically no surplus land left for distribution among the landless and the whole country gets a more or less uniform agrarian system that in the main furthers the interests of capitalist farmers and rich peasants.

The recent Kerala experience shows that the bourgeoisie is reluctant to strike a decisive blow against feudal ownership of land. The bourgeoisie fears the revolutionary consequences of an encroachment on the "sacred" principles of the right to acquire and accumulate private property.

The organs of state power in India, the executive, the judiciary, the State government and the Central Government acted in unison and frustrated the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act, the most progressive land legislation in the whole of India.

This confirms the teachings of Marxism Leninism on the nature of the national bourgeoisie in the newly independent countries; it demonstrates that it will always try to carry out agrarian reforms mainly at the expense of the peasantry in order to strengthen its own economic and political positions and to please its allies, and at the same time to hinder the growth of the democratic movement.

One should not entertain any illusion that the bourgeoisie will remain neutral in the struggle for land between peasantry and landlords. Kerala experience has shown once again that the bourgeoisie in power will stop at nothing to defend vested interests at the expense of the peasants and landless laborers. Kerala once again proves the correctness of the Communist Party of India's summing up of the agrarian policy of the Indian bourgeoisie.

The CPI resolution on the agrarian question said:

"To sum up, the general aim and direction of Congress policy is to promote capitalist

relations in agriculture and to generate, foster and develop a class of substantial landholders, capitalist landlords and rich peasants—who with state aid and support will engage in modern capitalist farming . . . The Congress governments, while generally curbing feudal relations, have granted substantial concessions to feudal landlords, leaving in their possession enough land to enable them to resort to capitalist farming."

As a result of this half-way, halting agrarian policy, semi-feudal land relations are being gradually transformed into capitalist land relations. The consequence of the Congress Agrarian Reforms is that a small stratum of wealthy peasant farmers have derived most of the benefits of the rural reconstruction, while the conditions of the majority of peasants remain as bad as ever. Two main results of the bourgeois-orientated agrarian reforms in India, as shown by recent statistics, are:

1. *Glaring disparity in the distribution of agrarian wealth and concentration of land ownership.*

In the year 1953-54, the top one per cent of households owned 17 per cent of the land, the top five per cent, 41 per cent of the land, and the top 10 per cent, 58 per cent of the land. The respective percentages in 1959-60 were 16, 40 and 56. On the other hand, 40 per cent of agricultural families are landless laborers. Moreover, from 1954 to 1960 there was no perceptible change in the ownership pattern of land at all in India.

2. *Fluctuation of food production from year to year, despite huge state expenditure, 15,000 million Rupees up to 1962, in agriculture.*

Production of food grains remains about 80 million tons a year, while the population, rising rapidly, will reach the vicinity of 450 million in the current year. India relies on food imports from American imperialists, a state of affairs which does little honor to a country in which more than half the national income derives from agriculture.

Thus, the Kerala experience brings out the real nature of the agrarian policy of the Indian national bourgeoisie which contradicts the interests of the nation as a whole. The masses, however, will not accept their lot or relinquish their hard-won gains without a struggle.

Kerala is astir today. Events in this State are again the highlights of the Indian press.

A powerful movement against this massacre of reforms is growing in Kerala, supported by an all-India campaign. That the peasants are acting as a united force is noteworthy.

One of the obstacles in the way of peasant unity, as the political resolution of the 6th Congress of the CPI has pointed out, is the political division among the peasants who owe allegiance to different political parties. This obstacle is now being overcome in Kerala.

Other political parties and progressives in the State are joining hands with the Communists in combating the anti-peasant legislation. The Revolutionary Socialist Party, the Kerala branch of the Praja Socialist Party, the Kisan Labor Party headed by a Catholic priest who commands influence among Catholic peasants and several other mass organizations have declared their opposition to this reactionary legislation. The Congress Party in Kerala is sharply divided since the Congress government has betrayed the interests of the majority of the peasants. Several Congressmen, even some Congress Committees and Legislators, and newspapers which generally support the ruling party, have come out against the present Kerala government. *Deepika*, a Catholic daily, which was the spearhead of struggle against the Communist government and firm supporter of the Congress regime, recently wrote in an editorial:

"Having given birth to the Land Reform Bill, the Congress Ministry is breathing its last. The tenants and hutment dwellers in Travancore have said farewell to the Congress in their thousands. The time has come for large sections of democratic opinion in Kerala to wake up and see for themselves whither the present Congress Ministry is taking the State."

The Kerala Karsharka Samgham (Peasants' Organization) has drawn up a detailed program to combat the reactionary process. The Committee for Defense of the Kerala Agrarian Relations Act has grown into a broad front for joint action. This Committee is organizing several kinds of struggles, militant forms of agitation, hunger strikes and marches against this reactionary process and to revive the former Agrarian Relations Law. The democratic movement today is far more powerful in its struggle against the reactionary forces.

The 1965 elections due in Kerala State will be fought mainly on the issue of this agrarian legislation. If in the coming elections the present unity trend of the progressive forces against the ruling party is maintained, there can be no doubt that the Congress, which enjoys today only 35 per cent support of the electorate and which was responsible for the reactionary process in Kerala, will not be able to return to the government.

Kunhanandan NAIR

Burma Today

(From Our Correspondent's Notebook)

BURMA'S independence was the fruit of a long struggle waged by the freedom fighters in the country—workers, peasants, small bourgeoisie and professional people—united in a single national anti-imperialist front.

No sooner was political independence won, however, than this unity was broken. Differences on the way in which Burma should develop caused a split in the revolutionary movement. A bitter inter-party struggle ensued which culminated on March 2, 1962, in the advent to power of the Revolutionary Council headed by General Ne Win.

For a time the general trend was towards national unity with the participation of all the revolutionary forces. The political situation, however, is complex and in many respects contradictory, a state of affairs which is aggravated by the civil strife. Many of the political parties, including the Communist Party, are banned. It was against this background that the revolutionary government of Ne Win two years ago announced its intention to follow a new course with socialism as the ultimate objective.

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Big changes affecting all branches of the economy have taken place in these two years. In economic policy the revolutionary government's new course consists in expanding and consolidating the state sector as the base for an independent economy, gradually restricting and eliminating private enterprise. "The private sector," Ne Win declared, "is incompatible with our objectives, inasmuch as the principle of socialist economy is nationalization. We shall allow the existing industrial enterprises to function for the time being, but in the end they will be nationalized."

An important step towards curbing foreign monopoly capital in Burma was the nationalization of the Burma Oil Company—a mixed Anglo-Burmese concern. Although the bulk of the company's shares were nominally held by Burma, this key branch of industry was in fact dominated by British capital. Today the extraction and distribution of oil and oil products is wholly in state hands. True, this cost the Burmese government some 62.5 million kyats* in compensation to the British shareholders.

Your correspondent visited a nationalized oil

refinery in Siriam, a large modern enterprise employing about 2,000 workers. The entire engineering and technical personnel were Burmese. The output of the refinery has risen since nationalization. Total production of oil in Burma has risen by approximately 2,000 barrels a day since the Burma Oil Company passed into state hands. Work is under way at present to enlarge existing oil refineries and build new ones, and new oil-bearing lands are being prospected.

In February 1963 the 24 private banks whose profit rate ran to 40-45 per cent were nationalized. In 1962, 14 foreign banks with a total capital of 13.4 million kyats netted a profit of 5.8 million, or more than 40 per cent. The profits of 10 local banks with a total capital of 10.3 million kyats amounted to 4.3 million. This measure not only provided the state with the large sums needed to promote the national economy, but also enabled it to exert an active influence on economic life by financing the key branches.

Also slated for nationalization are the timber industry, the Burma Economic Development Corporation, the mixed Anglo-Burmese tin company and others. *All the leading industrial enterprises are now state-owned. No more privately-owned enterprises will be built, and foreign investment in the economy is for all practical purposes excluded.*

Revenue from the nationalized foreign and private banks, companies and corporations comprises one of the main income items in the budget for the 1963-64 fiscal year. Nearly half the expenditure is appropriated for economic development. Textile mills, a mineral fertilizer plant, a cement factory, a sugar refinery, a paper mill are among the new industrial enterprises projected.

According to official data, industrial production in the past 19 months rose by 890 million kyats, the rate of increase of state-owned enterprises being considerably higher than that in the private sector. For example, output of state enterprises (excluding rice polishing mills, saw mills and oil refineries) in 1962-63 was nearly 80 percent higher than in 1960-61, and in the private sector only 10 per cent. "Increase in rate of production in the state-owned enterprises is much greater than in the privately-owned enterprises," states the budget report of the Revolutionary Council. "This proves," it

*100 kyats = \$21.

goes on, "that the socialist system can be established only on the basis of state ownership."

The private sector, however, still accounts for a substantial share in the economy of Burma. In 1962-63 privately-owned enterprises produced goods to the value of almost 2,000 million kyats. This is several times more than the state sector. In its budget report the Revolutionary Council stressed the "possibility of participation of small private industry in preparation for the setting up of the socialist system." The owners of small enterprises, it was stated, "are urged not to be influenced by foreign capitalists and capitalist importers who are against the socialist system."

Important changes have also occurred in foreign and home trade. The state has taken over the entire rice trade (rice is Burma's basic crop, export of which accounts for 80 per cent of the foreign currency income). Export of timber, cotton, jute and some other items is also a state monopoly. The share of the state sector in imports is steadily increasing; it rose from a mere 27 per cent prior to March 1, 1962, to 65 per cent by January 1, 1963. In 1963-64 nearly all foreign trade will be nationalized. In home trade the share of the private sector has dropped in the past two years from 80 to 50 per cent.

The foreign monopolies and the big national bourgeoisie often resort to open and concealed sabotage of the revolutionary government's socio-economic measures. They artificially create difficulties by closing their enterprises, discharging workers and transferring their capital abroad, thereby causing a decline in employment, swelling the ranks of the unemployed and worsening the conditions of the working people.

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A prominent place in the government's economic plans is allotted to agriculture — the basic branch of the economy, accounting for two-thirds of the national income (over 5,000 million kyats) and employing more than 60 per cent of the labor force.

An agrarian reform launched in 1953 affected only one-fifth of the cultivated area, and in 1959 was abandoned altogether, leaving the villages, as before, in the control of the landowners, usurers and the big merchants.

The Revolutionary Council, a Ministry of Agriculture spokesman told your correspondent, is endeavoring to solve the agrarian problem along the following lines: land to the tiller, mechanized farming and cooperative farming on a mass scale. Two new laws

have been adopted—one safeguarding the rights of the peasants, and the other on land tenure, both of which have improved the conditions of the peasants in many respects and loosened the grip of the landowners and usurers. Under the first law, the landowners, usurers and merchants can no longer evict the peasant and impound his property in lieu of debts. The operation of this law has so far prevented 175,500 acres from passing into the hands of urban landowners. Under the second law land can be leased only from the state, and preference is given to landless and land-hungry peasants.

Burma has approximately 20 million acres of cultivated land, some 12 million of which are planted to rice. This is less than before the war, and steps are being taken to extend the cultivated area. More than 500,000 acres of new land have been brought under cultivation. The rice crop, while it has risen, is still short of the prewar level. The 1962-63 crop showed an increase of 1.2 million tons over the preceding year, and the 1963-64 crop is expected to exceed prewar and to amount to approximately 8.8 million tons (before the war Burma produced about 7.5 million tons).

Steps are being taken to grow more cotton, jute, rubber, teak, sugar and other items to lessen the country's dependence on rice. Roughly 2.5 times more long-fibre cotton is now produced than before the war. Rubber output has increased by approximately 50 per cent. Output of teak, a main item of export, has likewise increased and is expected to reach about 400,000 tons in 1963-64, nearly double the figure for last year.

Special attention is being paid to mechanizing agriculture. Burma has purchased 3,000 tractors from the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia and has set up 38 machine and tractor depots. According to Ministry of Agriculture estimates, some 20,000 tractors in all will be needed to mechanize the entire crop area, a process that is expected to take about ten years.

A rudimentary form of cooperative farming is widespread in Burma. With the help of the state, cooperative villages have been set up for landless peasants on land recently brought under cultivation. These villages are intended to serve as models of new forms of labor organization in the countryside, to show the peasants the advantages of tilling the soil collectively.

So far only six villages of this kind have been established. Your correspondent visited one of them. The Kin Dan Ji or "Big Forest" cooperative occupies some 3,000 acres, only

half of which, however, are cultivated owing to a shortage of labor. With the help of the state, 114 houses, a school, a medical station and a shop have been built. Three tractors, about 100 head of dairy cattle and various implements have been purchased on credit issued by the government. Each member of the cooperative received an allotment of 10 acres. One hundred acres are farmed collectively. The cooperative is run by an elected committee which handles all the business connected with growing, harvesting and selling the crops.

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The reforms carried out in Burma are spear-headed against imperialism and its allies within the country—feudalism and the big merchants and usurers who have amassed their wealth by collaborating with foreign monopolies. At the same time these reforms also contain a non-capitalist element inasmuch as they create the objective prerequisites for the subsequent advance towards socialism. The national-liberation revolution in Burma is developing not only in breadth (in the sense of drawing in new strata of the population) but also in depth, since problems of socio-economic regeneration are coming more and more to the fore.

The socio-economic measures are being carried out in conformity with the Policy Declaration known as "The Burmese Way to Socialism," the program document of the Revolutionary Council. The keynote of this declaration is that the capitalist way is not suited to Burma, and that the revolutionary democratic reorganization of society on socialist lines is essential.

The Declaration notes that the nation will not be able to rid itself of social evils until exploitation of man by man is abolished and a socialist economy established founded on justice. "The Revolutionary Council," says the Declaration, "is resolved to march unswervingly together with the people of the Union of Burma towards the goal of socialism," and in order to "carry out socialist plans, such vital branches of production as agriculture and industry, distribution, transport, communications, external trade, etc., will have to be nationalized. These should belong to the state, to cooperative societies or collective associations . . . State ownership is the basis of the socialist economy" which "is planned with the sole aim of giving maximum satisfaction to the material, spiritual and cultural needs of the whole nation."

The Revolutionary Council, the Declaration continues, will set up a political organization

based on the peasants and other working people who comprise the bulk of the population. The aims and tasks of this organization are defined in a "philosophical program" which, although somewhat inconsistent and lacking in ideological clarity, nevertheless develops some of the theoretical principles of the Declaration. The authors of the program note that "we do not regard our ideology as being complete and final"; the party, it goes on, will strive to remedy this shortcoming. The task is to build a "socialist society founded on justice — a rich and prosperous society in which there will be no exploitation or oppression of man by man, no drive for profit, no class antagonisms which threaten the welfare of the people, and in which physical well-being and spiritual happiness will be assured."

The "Philosophy" draws the conclusion that ". . . the history of people is not only a history of states, nations, wars and individuals, it is also a history of class struggle." The decisive force in building a socialist society is the working people: the peasant masses, industrial workers and the intelligentsia. "These are the people on whom we must rely, to these alone do we owe loyalty."

The program of the Revolutionary Council, and especially the "Philosophy," reflects in some measure the ideology of the progressive non-proletarian sections of Burmese society—a feature of the transitional stage through which Burma is now passing — and enjoys the support of the public, inasmuch as it expresses the desire of the majority of the nation to take the non-capitalist path.

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Class differentiation has been a slow process in Burma for a number of reasons, both historical and economic, but chiefly because of the comparative tardiness of capitalist development. Colonial rule, the domination of monopoly capital and the restricted home market retarded the growth of a national industrial bourgeoisie and fostered the rise of a compradore bourgeoisie whose wealth derived from commerce and usury.

The nascent working class played a prominent role during the liberation struggle. However, owing to its numerical weakness, inexperience, weak organization and lack of unity, the working class was unable to lead the national democratic revolution.

But does this mean that the conditions for non-capitalist development are not yet ripe in Burma?

A feature of the national-liberation revolutions in agrarian countries, where social conditions are highly specific, is that as often as

not the popular struggle against imperialism and feudalism is headed by representatives of the non-proletarian democratic sections of the population, including patriots in the armed forces. Experience has shown that these forces are capable of fighting not only for political independence but for far-reaching socio-economic reforms as well.

This has been made possible by the existence of the socialist world system which is exerting a growing influence on the processes now taking place in the world, including the broadening and deepening of national-liberation movements. "There can be no question," wrote Lenin, "but that the proletariat of the advanced countries can and should assist the backward toiling masses, and that the backward countries can emerge from their present stage when the victorious proletariat of the Soviet republics extends a helping hand to these masses and is in a position to render them support."

Marxists would like to see the sincere champions of national brands of socialism, who reject the capitalist way for their countries, taking two steps forward where they propose to take only one. The logic and the experience of the class struggle will sooner or later bring the true revolutionaries and democrats to scientific socialism. A big contributing factor is the struggle of the masses who learn by their own experience to appreciate the viability of the ideas of scientific socialism.

In conditions where the bulk of the population supports the progressive measures of the revolutionary government, the activities of the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL), whose core consists of Right Socialists, and the reactionary grouping of the former ruling Union Party, assume a particularly unsavoury aspect. Expressing the interests of the national bourgeoisie, the Rights are resisting the measures of the Revolutionary Council. They are demanding the restoration of so-called parliamentary democracy, which under the present conditions in Burma would mean a step back. The AFPFL and the Union Party were in power long enough to convince many people (including some leaders of the Revolutionary Council who also believed it possible to pass over to socialism by easy stages) that "parliamentary democracy" in Burma in reality served only the class aims of the national bourgeoisie and not the interest of the population as a whole.

The Revolutionary Council stands for "a form of democracy that will ensure socialist developments." Some initial steps towards drawing the working people into managing the

economy have already been made. Workers' councils have been established in many of the state-owned enterprises. Members of the workers' Council in a textile mill in Rangoon, interviewed by your correspondent, said that the Council, which is elected by the workers, participates in planning and organizing production, in raising labor productivity and in securing better conditions for the workers.

On the whole an objective appraisal of the measures undertaken in Burma shows a sincere desire on the part of the Revolutionary Council firmly to adhere to its chosen course.

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Burma is faced with many problems, both economic and political, but perhaps the most important and the most difficult is that of ending the civil strife, restoring internal peace and achieving national unity. Sixteen years of civil war have wrought havoc with the economy as is evidenced by the shrinkage of the crop area and the insufficient exploitation of mineral resources, not to speak of the fact that the country is deprived of much of the manpower badly needed for constructive labor. Moreover, the cost of maintaining the army is a heavy burden on the people. Expenditure on military purposes (including police) in the 1963-64 budget amounts to the huge sum of 667 million kyats.

The civil war is a god-send for the imperialists who, with the aid of feudal separatists hostile to the idea of the Burma Union as a single multi-national state, are trying to intervene in the internal affairs of the country. The lack of national unity plays into the hands of the imperialists and threatens Burma with the loss of national independence.

In an effort to find a solution, the Revolutionary Council in April 1963 proclaimed an amnesty for all political prisoners, and two months later announced its readiness to enter into negotiations with the representatives of any organization participating in the civil war, provided no stringent conditions were advanced and given a sincere desire to achieve a settlement of issues in the light of the realities of the situation.

From August to November 1963 the Revolutionary Council conducted peace talks with nearly all the underground armed organizations. The people pinned great hopes on these talks, regarding them as a tangible step towards ending the fratricidal war. Unfortunately, the talks did not yield the desired results.

However, the possibilities of achieving peace and establishing national unity are by no means exhausted. In these circumstances the

unity and fusion of the revolutionary and progressive forces is an urgent necessity.

The political parties which were associated with the revolutionary struggle could now in the present circumstances play a definite role in resolving the problems facing Burma today. Some parties are contributing in growing measure to Burma's progress, others, on the contrary, act as a brake on progress. The "Red Flag" party, for example, which for all practical purposes has degenerated into an organization of the Trotskyite-adventurist type, is hindering the democratic forces from building the new Burma.

The Communist Party, whose repeated offers of peace talks have been invariably rejected by the government, can now hope that its positive role in the struggle for national unity will be appreciated by some of the political forces, including the Revolutionary Council. Hence the union of the revolutionary forces now depends on the Communists to a greater extent than formerly. In the struggle to consolidate the unity of the revolutionary forces, the role of the United Workers' Party, too, is greater. It is difficult to say how the Burmese revolution will develop in the future. However, judging by the way things are shaping at the present time, the prospects for broadening and deepening the national-liberation

struggle are good. There are already definite signs that the various democratic forces are beginning to see eye to eye on many questions of home and foreign policy.

Burma pursues a policy of peace, peaceful coexistence and friendship with all nations. It is making a tangible contribution to resolving the urgent issues of our time — general and complete disarmament, the preservation and consolidation of the peace, and abolition of the colonial system. Burma is a signatory to the Moscow partial test-ban treaty. In home policy it has dealt a serious blow to the imperialist monopolies, the feudal survivals and the big national capitalists. The fight for economic independence is mounting, a serious attempt has been made to solve the national question on a democratic basis, with equal rights for all the peoples of the Union of Burma.

These and other steps could be a real basis for creating a national-democratic front uniting all the sound forces of the nation. Active participation of the working people in the united front and reliance on the masses would give added scope and impact to the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-capitalist struggle and speed the country on its way to national and social progress.

A. ISKENDEROV

Solidarity with the People of Panama

THE recent clashes between Panamanians and U.S. troops in Panama were not fortuitous. They reflected the crisis of the neo-colonialist policy of U.S. imperialism in Latin America. Bourgeois commentators in the United States have had to admit that "after all, the canal's whole history is a vivid example of colonialism."

The people of Panama have never reconciled themselves to the forcible retention of the Canal Zone by the U.S. imperialists. Nowadays the Zone is used as a vantage point against the national-liberation movement in Latin America. The Panamanians' demand for closing the U.S. military bases in their country and for revision of the unequal treaty is part of the struggle for genuine national independence on the Latin American continent.

The aggression against this small country exposes the hypocrisy of the U.S. neo-colonialists who pay lip-service to freedom and democracy but, at each turn of events, resort to violence over whole nations.

The colonialist policy of U.S. imperialism,

the policy of infringing the sovereignty of Latin American countries and humiliating their national dignity, lies at the heart of the events in Panama.

The actions of the U.S. military in Panama evoked indignation all over the world. Protest meetings held in many countries denounced the U.S. colonialists and urged satisfaction of the lawful rights of the people of Panama. The World Federation of Trade Unions with a membership of 120 million called for the condemnation of the actions of the U.S. militarists and for effective steps in defense of the national sovereignty of Panama. In its statement the International Association of Democratic Lawyers "urges respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Panama, for law and justice to be enjoyed by all states, both big and small . . ."

The shooting in Panama angered the whole of Latin America. Latin Americans, said a leader of the Brazilian Peace Movement, are aware that unless this policy is ended for all time, tomorrow Panama may be followed by

any other country of the continent. The Communist Party of Chile issued a statement in which it called on the government to "adopt a dignified and consistent attitude of solidarity with the people of Panama."

The bloodshed was denounced by the General Confederation of Labor of Argentina, the Left Liberation Front in Uruguay, by the University Federation of Venezuela, the Progressive Youth Union of British Guiana and many other organizations in Latin American countries.

A vigorous protest was made by the working people of the Soviet Union, China, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Cuba and other socialist countries, who voiced fraternal solidarity with the people of Panama.

In our time the international solidarity of the working people has become a powerful factor capable of curbing the aggressor and upholding the rights of an embattled people.

The events in Panama reaffirmed the urgency of the suggestion made by N. S. Khrushchov on methods of resolving territorial disputes and border issues. Khrushchov's message said that "military bases on foreign territory, alienated from other states, should be

abolished." The message continued: "No one should be misled by the arguments that the territory on which these bases are built and on which foreign troops are stationed was leased under a treaty or agreement signed some time in the past. How these agreements were concluded is no secret to anyone: the stronger state imposed its will on the weaker. Countries which at one time were forced to lease territory for foreign bases are now finding it difficult to tolerate them on their land; they insist on abrogation of these treaties and on restoration of the territory, on dismantling of the bases and withdrawal of the foreign troops. These just demands should be met."

The Panama events are symptomatic; they are a sign of the deepening crisis of U.S. policy in regard to the Latin American countries. The time of undivided colonialist rule has gone. The peoples are rising ever more vigorously in the struggle against colonialism, no matter what the mask in which it appears. The events in Panama, a sign of the times, are proof of the resolve of the Panamanian people to put an end to the American *diktat* and to achieve genuine national independence.

Pedro FUENTES

The Social Sciences in the GDR

RECENT years have witnessed a considerable advance in Marxist-Leninist social science in the German Democratic Republic. An expression of this is the new Party program adopted by the Sixth Congress; the program provides the political, economic, and ideological substantiation of the full-scale building of socialism in the GDR.

Of decisive importance in stimulating the social sciences in our country were the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses of the CPSU and especially the new CPSU Program. The advancement of theory and the progress in building communism are proof that the CPSU is the recognized leading force of the world Communist movement. Not only has it made a decisive contribution to the elaboration of the strategy and tactics of the movement, to the solution of such basic issues as the question of the character of our time, the policy of peaceful coexistence, the relationship between the forces of peace and war in the world today and many others, but it has also charted the transition from socialism to communism. In this way, the Soviet Union is again paving the way for all nations to a higher social formation — communism.

The struggle waged by our Party against revisionism and dogmatism has played its role in development of social sciences in the GDR.

Revisionist views in political economy, philosophy, history, pedagogy, literature and aesthetics appeared in our country in 1956-57. Unfurling the banner of "ideological coexistence," enemies sought to undermine the Party ideologically and organizationally. They pooh-poohed the role of the masses in history, sought to undermine the system of democratic centralism and, thereby, also the workers' and peasants' power in the Republic. In a word, they entered the lists against the class character of Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

With the support of the majority of our social scientists, the Party launched a vigorous struggle against revisionism. It thwarted the designs of the imperialists and their ideologists, and in the process of doing so consolidated its ranks. Revisionist views were defeated in the course of a debate in which we were greatly helped by the thorough study of the decisions of the Twentieth and Twenty-Second Congresses of the CPSU and the Declaration and Statement of the Moscow meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties.

At the same time the realities of our life—our day-to-day struggle against West German imperialism and militarism, and our class struggle conducted in the conditions of open borders — called for a flexible policy, for struggle against dogmatic concepts.

Our struggle against dogmatism was waged along lines of elaborating the national question in Germany, of analyzing the lessons of history, the strategy and tactics of the struggle for socialism and, therefore, of the development of socialist national consciousness.

The basic problems of the strategy and tactics of the Party — for instance, the significance of the struggle for democracy, of a broad people's front, the attitude to Social Democracy — had been worked out in debates with dogmatist views and slogans already in the early 'thirties. Now this experience has been summarized in the "Fundamentals of the History of the German Working-Class Movement," a joint work edited by Walter Ulbricht. In this work our Party widely used Lenin's ideas concerning the two stages of the revolution during the transition to socialism.

Now, that we are engaged in the all-out building of socialism, we give priority to economic matters. As we said at our Sixth Congress: "We must make full use of the economic laws of socialism in order to base the GDR national economy on the highest level of science and technology and in this way ensure a steady rise of labor productivity."

Needed for this is a system of planning and management which will give full rein to initiative. The new economic system jointly worked out by Party leaders and experts and adopted by the Sixth Congress can be described as "the organic combination of scientific management and scientifically-sound centralized long-range state planning with extensive use of incentives in the shape of a balanced system of economic levers."*

The job is, on the basis of the headway made in recent years, to encourage the creative efforts of our experts. For example, our economists have worked out a method for measuring the quantity of labor expended in raising productivity. This method has evoked interest also in the other socialist countries. Success has been achieved in compiling inter-branch economic balances and in producing manuals for different branches of industry. Needed now are closer links between the work of the economists and the economic policy of the Party. Only in this way will it be possible ultimately to close the dogmatist gap between

the political economy of socialism (in the broadest sense of the term) and economic policy, a gap which in the recent past retarded both the advance of our economic science and of our economic upbuilding.

The new economic system poses many new problems for our economic researchers, for example, further study of the scientific basis of centralized state planning, of incentives, etc.

Much importance is attached to perfecting the system of compiling national-economic balances and working out the economic problems associated with the advance of science and technology. The tasks of economic research also include the further study of such subjects as the efficacy of socially-useful labor under socialism, the principles and methods of price formation in the national economy and the drawing up of a uniform system of accounting and statistics.

The steady advance of the socialist world system calls for closer cooperation and international division of labor between the member-countries, for studying the effectiveness of the law of planned proportionate development in the socialist world system, international co-ordination and other issues arising from the decisions jointly adopted by the first secretaries of the Communist and Workers' parties and heads of government of the member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid.

The condition for the success of economic science is strict coordination and centralized leadership of research; in the GDR this leadership is exercised by the Economic Research Council attached to the State Planning Commission.

Research should be closely linked with study of the motive forces of economic and social advance under socialism, the role of collectivist labor under socialism and the shaping of socialist relations between people. This poses the question of combined research by groups of sociologists working in various fields — economists, philosophers, university lecturers and others. In resolving this task we will have to overcome individualistic habits, fear of collective work, reluctance to fuse one's own knowledge with the collective — habits that are still current.

The Party took the initiative in working on the theory of socialist relations in society, moulding character under socialism and, in particular, in drawing up the principles of socialist ethics.

At its Fifth Congress in 1958 the Party formulated 10 principles of socialist ethics. However, these problems have acquired a greater

*"Directive on the New Economic System of Planning and Management," Berlin, 1963, p. 10.

significance in the all-out building of socialism. This explains why we included these principles in the new program.

The work of our philosophers in the sphere of socialist ethics while showing a definite advance also reveals certain shortcomings. In the first place we must root out the tendency to pose questions in an abstract, schematic way, to isolate them from the concrete problems of real life; we must get rid of the underestimation of theory, of the tendency to confine theoretical work to general political statements. Another task is more profound criticism of bourgeois ethical doctrines.

Moulding character and educating the socialist man confronts the sociologists with a wide range of new problems; one of these is to create a system of education that will combine professional training with productive labor, and ideological education with physical training. The all-out building of socialism necessitates a uniform system of education. This presupposes harmonizing the plans of the various educational establishments in our Republic with social requirements. "Perfecting the educational system," Walter Ulbricht said at the Sixth SUPG Congress, "demands from us a reappraisal of the content of the instruction in the general polytechnical secondary school. In so doing we should pay special attention to those branches of knowledge which provide the theoretical basis of the main avenues of scientific and technological advance."

Among the problems already studied with a direct bearing on education under socialism, we could list the following: initiative and innovation, collective labor under socialism, cultivating the socialist outlook among co-operative farmers, youth and other population groups.

The results of this research show, however, that so far little effort has been made to enlist in this work technicians, engineers, economists and collectives of working people. Another drawback was that not infrequently the data obtained were insufficiently generalized from the theoretical point of view and therefore had little practical effect.

Not long ago researchers were asked to study the rise in educational level and in professional skills, and the degree of initiative displayed by workers, technicians and engineers in a number of enterprises of the electro-engineering industry in Berlin. The research was conducted along the following lines:

—factors determining the growth of social labor;

—the demands made by modern techniques

and technology on the skills, ability and know-how of the workers in various trades;

—the forms and methods of planned management of socialist labor, the progress of innovation by workers and workers' participation in scientific and technological progress and in management;

—the role played by material and moral incentives in socialist labor, in improving skills and encouraging innovation.

This investigation is already under way. After the initial results have been studied, new groups of researchers will continue the work.

We are confident that sociological research into the concrete problems of building socialism will enliven spiritual endeavor and scientific discussion, and, by generalizing the vast factual material, will also prove beneficial for practical work. We have posed the question of laying the groundwork for experimentation in the social sciences, and also of the active participation of sociologists in working out solutions in the different spheres. As for such things as subjectivism in studying some processes, the tendency to overestimate certain research methods (for instance, public opinion polls), schematism and empiricism as well as the desire on the part of some researchers to confine things to arid debates on the history, essence and subject-matter of Marxist sociological research — these undoubtedly will be overcome in the course of work.

The Party, understandably, pays close attention to literature and the arts. In formulating the problems in these spheres it has put the emphasis on no coexistence between socialist and bourgeois ideologies, on the need for extensive development of a socialist national culture and, on the struggle against nihilistic tendencies in literature and the arts. As a result our writers and artists have been reinforced in their belief that just as our socialist Republic is the future of Germany so is socialist realism the future of literature in the whole of Germany.

As we have said, work is now under way on a history of the German working-class movement. This work, designed to deepen the national and class consciousness of the working people, will be supplemented by a volume on the national literature of Germany. The principal period covered will be mainly the period beginning with the rise of the working-class movement in Germany up to the present time. We have had a most useful discussion on the essence of the national literature. Thanks to the new status and new role of the working class in building socialism and in solving the national question, a new objective

criterion has been created for assessing the national culture. While working on the history of literature, our scholars make use of the theoretical heritage bequeathed to us by the classics and by outstanding Party leaders — Clara Zetkin, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring and others.

The advance of Marxist-Leninist social science in the Democratic Republic is accompanied by ceaseless polemics with the policy and ideology of West German imperialism. The ideological diversion carried out by the Bonn imperialists against the first worker-peasant state in German history and against the socialist camp as a whole calls for ideological work at the highest level. As an outpost in the struggle against West German imperialism, we are in duty bound to make our ideological work purposeful and effective.

The main avenues in this struggle are constant exposure of anti-communism and anti-national concepts of the Bonn ultras, their ideological attitude to European questions, their militarist, revanchist and neo-colonialist ideas, and also a struggle against falsifying history, against political clericalism, Right-wing Social Democratic ideology, and criticism of spiritual and cultural degradation typical of the Bonn Republic such as nihilism, decadence, misanthropy, etc.

The work carried out so far by our sociologists shows the need for a still more profound analysis of the main trends in imperialist ideology, especially the ideology of anti-communism in all its manifestations, and calls for a still more vigorous fight against them.

In recent years our sociologists have written many works, held many conferences (including international conferences), and have represented the GDR and Marxist-Leninist science at various international gatherings. Books published include the above-mentioned *History of the German Working-Class Movement*, a six-volume history of Germany, an introduction to Marxism-Leninism, *The Philosophical Aspect of Cybernetics* and *Marxism and Aesthetics*. Among the many international conferences held in the GDR we can mention the following: "Problems of Neo-Colonialism and the Policy of the Two Germanys in Regard to the National-Liberation Movement," "Combating Dogmatism in Social Science, Closer Links between Theory and Practice," "Medicine and

Philosophy," "The Progressive Philosophical Traditions in German Natural Science in the 19th and 20th Centuries." Furthermore, the Academy of Sciences held several conferences on cybernetics, especially its application in both natural and technological sciences and in the social sciences.

For the special branches of social science we have plans which provide for unified research. In the course of this work and thanks to the help of the Party, much ideological clarity has been achieved in the matter of what the public expects from the researchers in the natural and social sciences, and large numbers of young researchers have been trained.

Of no less importance in the educational life of the country is the large-scale circulation of the writings of Marxist-Leninist classics and of the works by outstanding leaders such as August Bebel, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring and others, and also works by the leading comrades in the fraternal parties: Khrushchov, Dimitrov, Kadar, Gheorghiu-Dej, Gottwald, Foster, Thorez and others.

Works by Marx and Engels have been printed in an edition of 7.5 million copies, Lenin's works in nearly six million. Circulation of the documents of the Moscow meetings of the Communist and Workers' parties exceeded 750,000 copies.

The progress made in the social sciences does not mean that we have no shortcomings. We know that, had there been no defects in planning and coordinating scientific work, much more could have been achieved. Overcoming dogmatist concepts is at times a slow process inasmuch as the link between our research institutes and the practice of building socialism is still weak and irregular. The scale and the depth of the scientific debates, which should be based on the results of the research, are still not what they ought to be.

The Party is aware of these and other shortcomings, and is working to eliminate them. Our sociologists, inspired by the idea of our socialist program, are doing everything to fulfil these tasks and to make their contribution to the development of Marxist-Leninist theory.

Johannes HOERNIG,
Alternate Member of the
Central Committee,
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Jamaica Since Independence

AMONG twelve former colonies to which British imperialism has been forced to concede political independence since the Second World War, only two are in the West Indies. These are the Islands of Jamaica and Trinidad, situated in the Caribbean, with Jamaica only seventy miles from Cuba.

Both islands have a long record of struggle for higher wages, land for the peasants, higher living standards and social conditions, and against increased taxes. The sharpest struggles were between the two world wars, and in this respect they differ from the British territories in Africa where the struggle became most acute after the Second World War.

In the immediate post-war situation there was a rising demand throughout the Caribbean for self-government and independence. This was expressed most strongly through the Caribbean Labor Congress (CLC), which had the support of political movements and well-known political and trade union leaders in the separate islands. However, it was already evident soon after the Second World War that the rising national bourgeoisie were moving into closer cooperation with both British and United States imperialism. The break-away of the British and American trade union leaders from the WFTU in 1949, and the formation of the ICFTU made a similar impact on the attitude of most Caribbean trade union leaders. Internal divisions within the CLC led to its dissolution in 1953.

The geographical position of the Caribbean islands makes it easier for United States imperialism to exercise a considerable measure of economic domination and political pressure. British overseas monopoly firms still maintain a strong position, but in the new expanding industries American monopoly firms have the dominant position.

Jamaica achieved its political independence in August 1962, after more than 300 years of British colonial rule. Faced with the rising tide of national liberation throughout all its colonies after the Second World War, the tactics of British imperialism differed in the Caribbean territories from those applied in Asia and Africa. In India it enforced partition (as it had earlier in Ireland in 1921), and in Nigeria it forced the creation of three separate regions; and only recently seven regions in Kenya.

In the Caribbean its tactic was to create a "Caribbean Federation," on the plea that the

separate islands were too small and not sufficiently viable to exist as independent states. The Caribbean Federation was actually created in 1958, though final confirmation of the constitution was fixed for May 1962.

Before the constitution was approved, the opposition to this step in Jamaica was so strong that the government, headed by Mr. Norman Manley, was obliged to conduct a referendum. This was held in September 1961. Only 60 per cent of the electors voted, and the majority who voted—53.8 per cent—rejected the Federation.

This put an end to the Caribbean Federation. It was a serious blow to the plans of the British government, which then had no alternative but to face the demand for Jamaican independence. This was conceded in August 1962 and afterwards achieved by Trinidad in September 1962.

Jamaica is now embarking on a new stage—new, that is, from the standpoint of its constitutional independence from any control or restriction by the British government. There is a striving also to achieve economic liberation from imperialism.

Political parties came into existence in Jamaica only in the past two decades. The first trade unions existed only a short time. The one with the longest record is the Bustamente Industrial Trade Union (BITU) formed in January 1939 by Alexander Bustamente, now Sir Alexander, and Premier of Jamaica. The BITU was the basis of the formation of the Jamaican Labor Party (also led by Bustamente) which in 1949 won the majority of seats in the government. In 1945 the People's National Party (PNP) was formed by Norman Manley (a cousin of Bustamente, and now Sir Norman) and defeated the Labor Party. Manley's Party continued in office for seven years.

In its early stages the People's National Party had Marxists in its ranks, but they were expelled in 1952. It is now a typical Social Democratic Party, professing the aim of "democratic socialism," and affiliated to the Socialist International. It lost its position to the Labor Party in the April 1962 elections, when the latter won 26 seats out of a total of 45 seats in the Assembly.

Manley and his Party supported the Caribbean Federation, whereas Sir Alexander Bustamente and the Jamaica Labor Party were opposed to it. After the defeat of the Caribbean Federation in the September 1961 referendum,

it was an almost foregone conclusion that Sir Norman Manley would lose his majority in the April 1962 elections. In this respect, Jamaica records a unique experience over the ex-British colonial territories, in that it changed its government on the eve of independence.

Jamaica's economy is extremely one-sided, depending mainly on agriculture, on which depends the livelihood of more than a million of the population. Most of the smallholders do not own the land they work on. They are tenants on lease. Of the 131,000 farms, one-third consist of less than an acre, and two-thirds consist of between one and five acres. There are 150,000 landless farm-workers. The best land is held by the big owners, who farm 500 acres and upwards.

Sugar has always been the main crop—13 per cent of the value of all production, but employing over 40 per cent of the labor force. There are 16 big sugar firms which own the plantations (which cover over 11 per cent of all arable land); the dominant position is held by the powerful British monopoly firms of Tate and Lyle Limited, Booker Brothers and McConnell and Company Limited.

Two-thirds of all sugar production—this was 440,000 tons in 1962—is produced on the plantations belonging to the foreign monopoly firms, and the rest is produced by 22,000 Jamaican sugar-cane growers. Mechanization on the plantations is rapidly reducing the labor force, which has declined by 20,000 in the past two decades.

Bananas are also an important product (in which the U.S. United Fruit Company has the largest stake). Other products include cocoa, coconuts and citrus fruits. Although Jamaica is mainly an agricultural country, no less than £17 million was spent on food imports during 1962—which accounts for more than the £12 million adverse trade balance of that year.

Production of bauxites has grown rapidly during the past decade. In 1961 it accounted for 11 per cent of the gross national product, and exports accounted for half of the £60 million worth of exports—having outstripped the value of sugar exports. Though mineral rights are vested in the government by law, the industry is controlled by foreign monopoly firms. Jamaica is the capitalist world's largest bauxite producer, and its estimated reserves are about 600 million tons. Total production in 1962 was 6,663,000 tons of the total world output of 29 million tons. In Jamaica itself only 25 per cent of bauxite production is processed into alumina. The other 75 per cent is processed in Canada and the USA, on the plea that electrical power in Jamaica is not suffi-

cient to cope with the total output. In 1960 the bauxite firms made huge profits (£27½ million), of which less than £4 million was paid in royalties and taxes.

Organized pressure by the trade unions in the past six years has raised the wages of bauxite workers from 1s.10d to 4s.6d an hour, i.e., to between £10 and £16 a week (four times the wage earned by sugar-plantation workers and double the wages of the sugar-factory workers). However, the bauxite workers number less than 5,000 out of a total labor force of 648,000, and constitute something like a "labor aristocracy." Production of manufactured goods now accounts for 13.5 per cent of the gross national product and nearly 12 per cent of the total labor force. Wages in manufacturing are much lower than in bauxite—an average of £6 a week.

Banking is still largely in the grip of foreign monopoly, mainly British and Canadian. Of the six commercial banks, three are Canadian, one is American, one British, and one jointly British-Canadian. These have a big influence on the pattern of foreign trade, the proportion of which with Britain is declining, but increasing with Canada and the United States. Only recently has there been formed a Bank of Jamaica, under government control.

Poverty and illiteracy are still widespread. Housing conditions are bad, and the old tin-shanties are only slowly disappearing. Health and other social services are on a low level. In recent years steps have been taken to improve this situation, but what has been done is only a fraction of what is needed to bring these services up to modern standards.

The trade-union movement is split four ways—the Bustamente Industrial Trade Union (BITU), the National Workers' Union (NWU), which is under the influence of the PNP, a splinter Trade Union Congress (TUC), and the Jamaica Federation of Trade Unions (JFTU), to which are affiliated the Sugar and Agricultural Workers' Union and the Factory and General Workers' Union.

With a labor force of 648,000 workers it is extremely doubtful whether more than 200,000 are organized in trade unions. In 1961 the BITU claimed more than 80,000 members. The National Workers' Union claimed nearly 105,000 members. The Trade Union Congress had an official membership of 10,310. The two unions associated with the JFTU claimed a total of 2,000 members in 1961.

The weak position of the trade unions is aggravated by intra-union rivalry within identical industries. In the sugar plantations all four trade union centers rival each other in

organizing the workers, three on the waterfront, three in printing and in local government, while the BITU has a monopoly of union organization in rural passenger transport and on the banana plantations.

Perhaps the biggest obstacle in the way of a strong trade union movement (and in the way of a progressive political movement) is the large-scale migration, mainly to Britain. During the period 1953-61 more than 200,000 Jamaicans emigrated to Britain. The figure was over 50,000 in 1961. Due to migration the total labor force declined from 711,000 in 1957 to 648,000 in 1960.

The present government under Sir Alexander Bustamente will take no effective steps against monopoly rule. Bustamente's policy is close cooperation with British and United States imperialism, and the utmost encouragement for foreign monopoly firms. In the midst of the independence celebrations in August 1962 he made a public offer of military bases in Jamaica to the United States.

Manley's People's National Party, however, expresses its belief in "democratic socialism." In its early days, the PNP did actually express socialist aims. But subsequently it discarded its socialist objectives. It retained the word "socialism," but in practice turned more and more towards cooperation with foreign monopoly capital, providing incentives for foreign investment in Jamaica, and opposing all effective measures to develop an independent national economy. In an interview with a Canadian Mission early in 1960 Manley explained that he did not regard nationalization as fundamental to socialism. The chief aim at present, according to him, was to bring in private capital, and this would not happen under nationalization.

Sharp struggles lie ahead in Jamaica. The progressive forces in the country work hard for the creation of a new Jamaica. The existence of a socialist Cuba close to its shores will encourage and inspire all those who desire to achieve this aim.

Idris COX

Franco's Colonial Policy

THE UPSURGE of the national-liberation movement in North Africa compelled the Franco government to recognize the independence of Morocco in April 1956, following a similar decision on the part of France. However, Franco refused to return to the Moroccans two strategic points on the Mediterranean, the towns of Ceuta and Melilla with a population of 80,000 each, the bulwarks of Spanish rule in Africa since time immemorial. Spain still retains its positions on the islands of Gomera and Chafarinas, off the Moroccan coast, and also the colonial possessions in West Africa (Infi, Rio de Oro and Saquia el Hamra) and in Guinea.

The partial withdrawal of troops from the former Spanish possessions in Morocco was trumpeted by Franco propaganda as the "voluntary and free decision of Spain," an "act of generosity and friendship towards Morocco" on the part of Spain which, it was said, "has never been colonialist" and, as the newspaper *ABC* hypocritically put it, "has never been at war with Morocco." To this demagoguery the Moroccan government replied with a statement which said: "The so-called withdrawal from Moroccan territory is a psychological maneuver designed to mislead foreign opinion . . . The Spanish troops based in the northern zone of Morocco have been sent to Ceuta and Melil-

la, which are Moroccan towns still under Spanish rule."

The overwhelming majority of Moroccans are determined to secure the reunification of all Moroccan territory. The clearest expression of this popular will was the resolution unanimously adopted by 4,000 delegates of the Congress of the Istiqlal Party in January 1962, which said that every effort should be exerted to reunite with Morocco the territories which belong to it—Ceuta, Melilla, Infi and Rio de Oro—and are still held by Spain. A similar demand was advanced earlier, in 1961, by the Communist Party in an open letter to King Hassan II. The Communist Party and the National Union of Popular Forces are working for the liberation of all Moroccan territories. The Party recently suggested that the question of the Spanish colonies in Africa should be taken up with the United Nations.

The Franco dictatorship seizes on every pretext to justify claims to African territory, invoking the "historical rights" of Spain and advancing absurd arguments about the "security of the Canary Islands." The real reasons, however, are of an economic order. The dictatorship boasts about the "economic advantages" which would accrue from exploitation of the Sahara by European countries and the United States of America. Franco's politicians

have spoken about the prospects which would be opened to Spanish capitalists by exploiting the Sahara resources jointly with France. In keeping with this policy, Spanish diplomats have been busy in Paris saying that the area of the Sahara still held by Spain is the ideal way for transporting iron ore, oil and other cargoes from Mauritania and the heartland of the Sahara.

There are, moreover, strategic reasons: for thanks to their geographical position, Ifni and Spanish Sahara together with the Canary Islands are of an obvious strategic value to the imperialists. These territories are a convenient base for forays in Africa and, if needed, Franco could place them at the disposal of the United States for its Euro-African plans which do not exclude "local wars" in Africa as part of the "new American strategy."

Most densely populated among the Spanish possessions in Africa is so-called Spanish Guinea, where the liberation movement has made progress of late. Continental Guinea, or Rio Muni, was transferred to Spain by Portugal in 1777 together with the islands of Fernando Po, Annobon, Corisco and Elobey. Its area, including the islands (the largest of which, Fernando Po, is 2,000 sq. km.), is approximately 28,000 sq km. The population consists of Bantu Negroes (about 200,000) and two or three thousand Europeans and mulattoes. The population of Fernando Po is 80,000, of whom 7,000 are Europeans. The principal assets of the territory are valuable varieties of timber—mahogany, ebony, etc. Coffee, cocoa, coconuts, rubber, tobacco, sugar-cane and olive-palm are also grown. Spanish and foreign companies own large wood-working factories, whose shareholders include men like Luis Carrero Blanco, Under-Secretary of the Presidency, and Diaz de Villegas, Director for the African Provinces and Territories. The racial discrimination here is notorious. For any kind of work Negroes receive less than the whites, and any protest on their part is always crushed by force. The growing dissatisfaction of the population has found expression in the formation of a movement known as the Popular Idea of Equatorial Guinea which insists that the Spanish administration be abolished.

With a view to arresting the advance of the liberation movement in Ifni, Spanish Sahara, Fernando Po and Rio Muni, these territories were visited in 1962 by top-ranking Franco bureaucrats (including the Minister of War and the Under-Secretary of the Presidency), who, in the words of the government press, promised reforms and "support of the evolution of the native population."

In this connection it should be said that last September the Franco government decided to grant administrative autonomy to "the African provinces of Fernando Po and Rio Muni." On November 28 the Cortes approved a law granting autonomy to Spanish Guinea. The law provides for the territory to be ruled by a General Assembly and a government board responsible to the latter. A general commissioner appointed by Spain will command the armed forces and be responsible for law and order. This commissioner will, in fact, rule the territory, for he can veto any decision of the Assembly and the government board alike.

The referendum held in Spanish Guinea on December 15 resulted in 62.4 per cent of the participants voting in favor of autonomy. Speaking of the results of the referendum, one of the leaders of the national-liberation movement said that Guineans regard autonomy "only as a brief transitory stage on the road to genuine and immediate independence." *ABC*, the Franco mouthpiece, commenting on this, noted that the Guineans "consider autonomy to be only one of the stages in the process of attaining independence — a stage which the population wants to pass through as early as possible."

As mentioned, autonomy does not mean granting real freedom to Spanish Guinea. The political and economic domination of the Franco government will be maintained, for which purpose use will be made of the local "élite" which has a stake in the colonial regime. Franco's real designs were eloquently revealed in the "paternal" words of the Governor-General of these territories in connection with granting "autonomy": "Spain," he said, "like a mother, will always help you to become one fine day a free people."

No less eloquent are the deeds of the Franco government which, seeking to check the growth of the national-liberation movement, has decided to send to the territory more troops, warships, an airforce wing and Civil Guard units.

Latest developments indicate the desire of the Franco dictatorship to subordinate its colonialist policy in Africa to that of French imperialism. Even at the beginning of 1963 Franco firmly adhered to the "classical colonialism," joining hands with the Portuguese colonialists whose operations in Angola were supported and eulogized by the Franco press, while it scornfully dismissed neo-colonialist policy as "utopian." However, after the proclamation of Algeria's independence, Franco was compelled to follow the example of France which had changed its tactics in regard to Morocco. During the Franco-Salazar meeting

in Merida, the Spanish dictator told his Portuguese colleague about the need to adapt their African policies, at least formally, to the "European" and "North American" pattern.

The French and Moroccan press reported that, in order to build a "new system of relations" between Spain and Morocco, Franco in the course of a talk with Hassan II in Madrid on July 6, 1963, expressed a desire to settle the problem of Ifni and the islands of Gomera and Chafarinas, leaving the door open for negotiations on Rio de Oro, in exchange for Morocco's consent to maintain the status quo in Ceuta and Melilla. In the final analysis, commented the Moroccan *Al-Moukafih*, both the Franco dictatorship and the de Gaulle government want to "convert their neo-colonialist possessions into neo-colonialist type protectorates."

These designs are an encroachment on the national sovereignty of Morocco, and as such are opposed by the people, who will thwart them, given the support of the progressive forces of France and Spain. While the Franco government demagogically boasts through its Minister of Information that it "is not guided by colonialist motives", the garrisons in Ceuta, Melilla and Rio de Oro are being reinforced, and this, as *Al-Moukafih* correctly observed on August 28, 1963, shows that "Spanish colonialism . . . is set in motion by the repressive and aggressive mechanism which of necessity must be destroyed."

Spanish patriots should be vigilant in regard to the situation in the possessions in Africa. Spanish workers, leaders of the political parties, intellectuals and even a considerable part of the bourgeoisie have always been against gambles and war in Morocco. Ever since its foundation in 1920 the Communist Party of Spain has championed the right of the Moroccan people to be the masters of their destiny. In a statement issued in June

1956 the Party, hailing the independence of Morocco, said: "The national interests of Spain require that these agreements be fulfilled without reservations and all existing military problems solved on the basis of recognizing the right of the Moroccan people to the complete reunification of their territory." The attitude of the Communist Party of Spain, which coincided with that of the Moroccan Communist Party and the other democratic and patriotic forces of Morocco, was defined in the joint statement of the two parties issued in March 1958, which spoke of the need to "recognize the lawful rights of Morocco in regard to Ifni, Sahara, Rio de Oro, Ceuta, Melilla, etc," and advanced "the demand for the withdrawal of all Spanish troops from Moroccan territory."

The recent turn in the relations between Morocco and Spain, especially in the light of the armed aggression of Morocco against revolutionary Algeria, shows that Hassan II, in an attempt to obtain Franco's support for his aggressive policy is ready to renounce even the lawful territorial claims to Spain in Africa. In this situation the democratic forces of Spain should closely follow the developments in Morocco and the maneuvers of the Franco policy camouflaged by the mask of neo-colonialism.

The Communist Party is the only organized political force in Spain which has expressed in unmistakable terms its attitude to the Moroccan problem. It favors understanding between the democratic forces of Spain, so as to find a solution to this problem by joint efforts. Simultaneously the Party, bearing in mind the experience of the recent past, particularly the turn in the policy of the Moroccan monarchy, maintains that the solution of this problem is bound up with political changes of a democratic order both in Spain and in Morocco.

Juan LEREZ

Collapse of the Old World

(Letter from Dahomey)

DAHOMEY, a small country in West Africa, became independent on August 1, 1960. Its pro-imperialist government headed by President Hubert Maga threw open the doors of Dahomey to monopoly capital which soon had the entire economy of the country in its grip.

Imperialist domination had a disastrous effect on the economy. In 1961 Dahomey's foreign trade deficit amounted to nearly 6,000

million African francs. Nothing was done to alleviate the plight of the people, and race discrimination in labor and wages continued. Although the principle of equal pay for equal work had been legalized, it was constantly violated. European salesgirls in the Monoprix department store, for example, received 35,000-40,000 African francs, their African counterparts 12,000.

A bureaucratic government machine was set

up out of all proportion to the means of a poor country like Dahomey. Its upkeep is a heavy burden on the shoulders of the people.

Independence brought the people little in the way of political benefits. From the very outset President Maga pursued a policy of crushing the opposition, curtailing democracy and establishing a dictatorial regime. In 1961 he arrested Justin Ahomadegbe, leader of the opposition Democratic Union, on a trumped-up charge of "conspiracy."

Thereafter, membership in the ruling Party of Unity became compulsory, the entire population being forced to pay membership dues. This party claimed to represent the interests of the nation, but in reality the absence of democracy and the police regime deprived the working people of any voice. Repressions reached a new peak after the overthrow of the Youlou dictatorship in neighboring Congo (Brazzaville). Fearing the same fate, the Dahomey authorities proceeded to arrest progressives in Cotonou and Porto-Novo. At the same time an offensive was launched against the rights of the people. Wages of office workers were slashed 10 per cent, various bonuses and grants to civil servants were abolished and a wage freeze instituted in the private sector.

These measures were bitterly resented by the people who objected to living on the verge of starvation while Ministers and other government officials were squandering state funds and living in luxury. Voicing the popular sentiment, the General Union of Dahomey workers addressed a letter to the National Assembly demanding that the wage cuts be restored, the payment of advances, grants and bonuses resumed and wages in the private sector increased.

On October 25, 1963, the day the President returned from a visit to Israel, South Korea and Taiwan, the people held a protest demonstration. They marched through the streets carrying banners and posters calling for the resignation of the government and of Maga personally and demanding wage increases. Troops surrounded the airfield and opened fire on the marchers. In an attempt to intimidate the people and force them to retreat, the authorities carried out wholesale arrests.

Theophile Paoletti, General Secretary of the General Workers' Union, was subjected to police interrogation for more than four days. Warrants were issued for the arrest of Bodea Thomas and Dossou Yovo Dominique, leaders of the Shop Workers' Union, on a charge of inciting workers to strike, of organizing factory workers and unemployed and of calling on the people to hold a protest demonstration.

The patriots replied to the repressions by calling on the workers to march in a peaceful demonstration and demanding the resignation of the Maga government. Demonstrations continued for four days. Throughout this time the people protected state property and private and public offices. This time President Maga and his government were forced to resign.

A revolutionary committee which included trade unionists, representatives of the unemployed and the women was set up. On October 27 the Committee met with officers of the armed forces and, after negotiations, requested the national army to take over the power in order to ensure the safety of the demonstrators and prevent bloodshed. This is how the reactionary neo-colonialist government was deposed by the people.

The incidents in Dahomey as well as in the Congo (Brazzaville) show how great are the changes in the political life of the countries of the Africa-Malagasy Union. Outwardly the events in Dahomey differ but little from what happened in Togo, Senegal, Chad and the Ivory Coast, in a word, from the usual coups d'état in which the top-ranking army officers play the main role.

But appearances are deceptive. What makes the Dahomey events especially significant is that the Maga government was swept away by the mass action of the working people organized in trade unions. This blasts the myth about the inertia of the African masses. It shows that trade unions uniting workers exploited by foreign monopolies stand guard over the workers' interests, that they are working for complete independence, democracy and social progress.

Maurice TOBOVIL

Unity -- the Earnest of Victory

(Letter from Nigeria)

NIGERIA became an independent state in 1960 after a long struggle. In 1944 all the forces fighting against the foreign rule rallied under a single banner, the banner of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC), headed by Dr. Azikiwe, now President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. This organization, which subsequently came to be known as the National Council of Nigeria, grew into a mass party.

In 1951, under the Constitution which gave Nigerians limited self-government, general elections were held. The colonialists, fearing that the elections might give the NCNC the majority in all the provinces and thus jeopardize their interests, took urgent steps with the help of their accomplices in the country to restrict the activities of the party to the Eastern province.

Some influential West Nigerian tribal chiefs representing the big bourgeoisie raised a large sum of money and secretly formed a political party known as the Action Group. On the eve of the elections this party, with the blessing of its imperialist patrons, came into the open. By backstage manipulations, demagogic promises of a "prosperous life" and in some instances by downright bribery, the Action Group became for a time the dominant political force in the Western province. In the Northern province, which in area and population comprises approximately half of Nigeria, the feudals and tribal chiefs held sway through a political organization calling itself the Northern People's Congress.

Having encountered a series of setbacks including electoral defeat, the NCNC began to decline. Wealthy people dominated its councils, while the radicals found themselves edged out. Many had no option but to leave the party. Some members were bribed into staying, being offered high party and political appointments.

Prior to its degeneration, this party had been the hope of the socialists in Nigeria. Progressives took pride in belonging to it. But later, when it drifted away from its original course, new ways were found of spreading socialist ideas. One of these was the Nigerian Youth Congress which denounced government policy at public meetings, in the press and over the radio. Then came the Nigerian People's Party which, after reorganization, became known as the Socialist Workers' and

Farmers' Party, with a program of consistent struggle for genuine political and economic independence, and for a state of national democracy.

The struggle for genuine independence has now entered a new stage. The principal objectives today are economic independence, democracy, abolition of the feudal social structure, and establishment of a state of national democracy.

This struggle, while spearheaded primarily against imperialism, is part and parcel of the struggle for socialism. Only by reconstructing the economy on a planned socialist basis can underdeveloped countries such as ours put an end once and for all to imperialist domination, to neo-colonialism.

The struggle for democracy is aimed against the alliance of the imperialists, the feudals and the compradores who are out to destroy the Constitution. It is possible even within the framework of the bourgeois society to achieve an independent legal system, abolish privileged castes, win electoral rights for all citizens, ensure democratic administrative bodies and grant self-determination to the national minorities.

Nigeria has numerous youth, women's, students' and other democratic organizations, such as the Youth Congress and the Union of Journalists. A big role is played by the Industrial and Commercial Association which vigorously opposes the foreign monopolies and stands for economic independence.

Another influential organization is the Peace Council which unites men and women of the most diverse political views.

Lack of unity among the different trade union centers has been an impediment to the working-class struggle. Now, however, despite the machinations of the imperialist forces in the Western province and their agents in the labor movement, the trade union centers have found a common language and today form a single trade union front, namely, the Joint Action Committee.

This committee directs the struggle of the workers for higher wages, better conditions and trade union rights. The struggle has the full support of the Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party. Efforts are now being directed toward combining the economic struggle of the working class with effective political actions.

The progressive forces are beginning to realize the vital need for a united national-democratic front of struggle against imperialism, for full independence, to abolish feudalism and the compradore bourgeoisie, root out corruption, win democratic rights, and lay the groundwork for accelerating the country's progress through democratic planning.

Although there still are people who would like to prevent the formation of a united national-democratic front, times are not propitious for this. The opponents of the front will be isolated and the country will be able to forge ahead along the road of democracy and social progress.

P. A. Curtis JOSEPH

Fruitful Contacts

THE Executive Council of the European Community of Writers held its ninth session last December in the Hotel Plaza in Rome. A highlight of the session was a letter from a Spanish writer, on behalf of the writers of his country. The author of the letter, unable to attend the meeting in person, having been denied a passport for travel to Rome, submitted his contribution in writing.

"Our participation in the European Writers' Association," he wrote, "has a definite significance. We cannot allow anyone to forget that the enemy never considers himself vanquished, that, unfortunately, he is quick to take advantage of the slightest weakness to make himself felt, whether amid the poverty of the Iberian peninsula or the opulence of Dallas. For us intellectuals and for the people generally that enemy has many names: war, hatred, nazism, fascism. To fight it . . . means to fight for survival."

What prompted this pertinent reminder? Why were these problems discussed at the session of the Executive Council of the European Community of Writers in Rome?

The Community is a comparatively new organization. Formed only a few years ago, it unites writers from all over Europe, "from the Urals to the Atlantic," as Angioletti, founder and first president of the Association put it. Its members, who represent a variety of views, are united by the desire to safeguard peace and peaceful coexistence among nations, and to uphold genuine cultural values.

In August 1963 about a hundred Western writers belonging to the Community met in Leningrad together with intellectuals from the socialist countries of Europe to discuss one of the vital problems of contemporary literature, namely, the contemporary novel. The Leningrad meeting, which was widely commented on in the press both in Europe and elsewhere, was the scene of a lively debate, the confrontation of two concepts. But however sharp the differences, no one questioned the value of the dialogue and the need to continue it.

The Leningrad meeting was a landmark in the life of the Community. It helped to clarify its political platform which is cooperation between writers of different viewpoints, intellectuals who are wholly opposed to fascism in any shape or form and who see in the wild anti-communism the fascism of today.

The success of the Leningrad meeting won the Community many more friends. But at the same time, it aroused the hostility of those who are opposed to any dialogue between intellectuals. These enemies of peaceful coexistence hastily mustered their forces and exactly one month after the Leningrad session the remnant of the fascist-minded writers of Europe, men like Vintila Horia and the wartime collaborator Gabriel Marcel, met in Rome to exchange handclasps with transatlantic anti-communists, racists and hate-mongers.

The gathering was addressed by the American writer Dos Passos who in recent years has made a specialty of whipping up anti-communist hysteria. According to Dos Passos, the writer's task today is to intensify the European reaction to the "Communist challenge," to combat communism with the weapon of ideas. He reproached some politicians in the United States for having abandoned this struggle too soon on the mistaken assumption that communism could be combated only by economic and material means.

The Rome journal *Fortuna*, commenting on the meeting, left no doubt as to its prime objective.

"The European Community of Writers," says the journal, "runs the risk of being used as publicity for the Soviet intellectuals and their friends in the capitalist countries. It is enough to read the magazine *Europa Letteraria* (published in Italy by Giancarlo Vigorelli—Ed.) to see that it accords a place of honor to Marxists, both Russian and Italian . . . This 'literary' Europe is too obviously tinged with red. Its 'neutrality' is a convenient disguise for the desire to render a service to the Marxists. "It was to put an end to any such ambiguity and to rally men of letters to the defense of

Western values, which cannot be confused with the political considerations of a regime whose object it is to undermine the very existence of the West, that one year ago a cultural organization was established whose basic feature is rejection of any ideological compromise whatsoever. We have in mind the 'Rome Meetings of intellectuals' . . . the tone of these meetings was set by the U.S. delegation. This occurred not only because of the presence of Dos Passos, but also because the American delegation was the most qualified expression of an *ideological and cultural trend of immense importance in the United States today, namely, the Republican 'Right', whose leader is Senator Goldwater, the probable opponent of the Kennedy line in the forthcoming election.*"

The *Fortuna* clearly let the cat out of the bag, although there is a certain logic in the fact that the men who believe that hate is the best investment should endeavor to prevent a dialogue between intellectuals of Europe.

It is a matter of regret, however, that the President of the International Pen Club should have added his voice to those who are opposed to any interchange of opinions among European intellectuals. The Pen Club (which, incidentally has some admirable traditions) is now headed by Van Vriesland. In a letter addressed to Ungaretti, President of the Community, Van Vriesland violently objected to the condemnation of anti-communism in the documents issued by the Community. The passion with which Van Vriesland defended his right to be an anti-communist leads to the conclusion that he had forgotten about the Pen Club having branches in a number of socialist countries and that writers belonging to these branches are hardly likely to share his views on this question.

Van Vriesland's letter was discussed at the Executive Council Session which after a three-day debate approved a declaration reaffirming

the anti-fascist stand of the European Community of Writers and its refusal to have any dealings with the anti-Communists. The Council once again confirmed that the Community is open to writers of different ideologies, and approved the position taken on this question by its President Giuseppe Ungaretti and its General Secretary Giancarlo Vigorelli.

Carrying out its declaration on the fundamental principles of the Community, the Council adopted two important documents — a resolution of protest against the arrest and torture of the Portuguese intellectuals Urbano Tavaras Rodrigues, Miguel Torga, Alvaro Ferreira, Alexandre Cabral, Fonseca e Costa, Manuel de Oliveira, Vasco Granja, addressed to the government of Portugal, to UNESCO, and the United Nations,* and a resolution of protest against the suppression of Catalan culture by the Franco government.

The Council recorded full solidarity with the Spanish writers who are the victims of censorship and political reprisals. Detailed information on the situation in Spain received by the Council of the Community gives the lie to the demagogic statements by the Spanish government to the effect that a process of "liberalization" is taking place in Spain.

Spanish writers conveyed their gratitude to the Council for the solidarity expressed by their European colleagues.

The significance of the Ninth Session of the Executive Council of the European Community of Writers which clarified the political position of that organization is unquestionable. It marked the end of the initial formative stage of its existence, and confirmed that its activities are closely bound up with the vital issues of our time.

G. BREITBURD, A. SURKOV

*Since the above was written, the press reports that under the pressure of public opinion, the writers Alberto Ferreira, Urbano Tavaras Rodrigues and the film director Manuel de Oliveira have been released.

Against the Persecution of the Democrats

WHERE LAWLESSNESS REIGNS

(*Letter from Reunion*)

THE DE GAULLE government never misses the opportunity to declare, especially in the United Nations, that it no longer has any colonies, that it has completed "decolonialization." However, the nature of the repressions which it carries out in its so-called "overseas departments" disproves this. Take our island, for example, which the French colonialists use as a "proving ground" for their repressive measures.

In 1947 Réunion was formally declared an "overseas department" of France and its inhabitants were given the same rights as French citizens. But this "departmentalization," extolled by the French ruling circles, did not do away with the colonial regime in the country.

This regime has in effect imposed a monoculture economy on the island (sugar cane). Sugar, rum, spirits and other products derived from sugar cane, make up 85 per cent of the island's exports. Réunion has been experiencing a serious economic crisis in recent years due to the fact that the de Gaulle government, careful of the interests of the sugar-beet growers in the metropolis, has cut back its overseas purchases. The small sugar-cane grower has been hard hit as a result, and agricultural laborers and refinery workers have been deprived of a means of livelihood. The crisis has affected the standard of living of other strata—small shopkeepers and artisans.

Réunion is not taking this passively. The sugar-cane growers are putting up a stubborn fight; dockers and agricultural laborers have won a number of strikes and have held meetings and demonstrations.

In an attempt to prevent the struggle from spreading, the colonialists are resorting to repressions. Elementary rights are trampled underfoot. Trade union rights have been virtually abolished; union officials are victimized and persecuted. Under a decree of October 15, 1960, the prefect can expel any civil servant from the country who engages in trade union or like activities. In 1961, for example, several trade union officials and party leaders were deported to France under this decree. The civil servant is virtually gagged.

A decision of the prefect of February 6, 1962, has banned meetings and demonstrations. When sugar-cane workers demonstrated in St. Louis

against exploitation by the sugar monopolies, they were fired upon. One man was killed and several wounded. Many workers, among them juveniles, were beaten up and arrested.

During election campaigns voters are intimidated and manhandled. Many voters are not registered in the electoral lists, and even when they are, they are not issued the necessary ballot papers; meetings of the Opposition are attacked by armed hoodlums. And when these methods fail to yield the desired results the French administration simply falsifies the election returns. In effect, universal suffrage exists only on paper.

Those who protest against these methods are persecuted. During the "elections" in the spring of 1963, the numbers of arrested reached a fantastic figure which, according to the Committee to Combat Repressions, which unites all democratic organizations, would be the equivalent, in proportion to population, of 6,500 sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment and more than 15,000 put on trial in France. Anybody in opposition is persecuted. This is what happened to one of the candidates to the National Assembly—a non-Communist. He was arrested and held in prison for six months, although there was no case against him.

The working people are hounded by the thugs in the service of the colonialists. When thugs attacked a Communist Party meeting in Saint Marie, charges were brought against the people who in self-defense fought back.

The colonialists are concentrating their blows on the Communist Party which leads the struggle of the people. Party members are arrested and imprisoned. For its bold exposure of the arbitrary rule of the colonial authorities the Party's newspaper *Temoignage* was confiscated 17 times in the past few years alone and prosecuted 14 times. On one occasion it was confiscated simply because it reprinted material from *l'Humanité*. On July 5, 1963, Paul Vergès, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, was sentenced to three months' imprisonment as the manager of the paper for publishing an article denouncing the repressions against Algerians in Paris in 1961.

In February 1963 the authorities tried to prevent Paul Vergès, then in Paris, from returning to Réunion to oppose the candidature of ex-

Prime Minister Debré. Compelled to retreat in the face of protests in Réunion and in France, the colonialists retaliated by taking legal action against the paper and against its manager on the grounds of "encroaching on the integrity of national territory."

The Communist Party is fighting for the right of the island's inhabitants to run their country. Officially Réunion is a department. Any attempt to abolish the status of "overseas department," that is, to get rid of the colonial yoke, is described as "encroachment on the integrity of national territory," and the penalty for this "crime" is 10 years' imprisonment and a fine of 7,000 francs. It is on this charge that Paul Vergès will be tried by the state-security tribunal. In short, the inhabitants of Réunion are denied the right even to raise the question of changing their present status, let alone demand autonomy.

This charge made by the authorities is in violation of Article 72 of the Constitution which states that a "territorial unit" has the right to change its status if it so chooses. It was on the basis of this self-same Article 72 that the President of Algeria insisted that the republic was entitled to self-determination, to decide whether it would remain as a part of France or choose to be independent.

The peoples of other "overseas departments" (Réunion, Martinique, Guadeloupe and Guiana) are also entitled to decide, on the basis of this Article, the form of government best suited to their interests. When the authorities violate their own laws and stage trials such as the one against Paul Vergès, it is obvious that they are out to suppress not only the Communist Party which is fighting for the national independence of the country, but all the democratic forces in Réunion who are demanding reforms and an end to the present state of affairs.

The colonial authorities aim at crushing also the Communists and anti-colonial forces in Martinique, Guadeloupe and Guiana who are battling for independence. The democratic forces must unite to smash the conspiracy against democracy. The fact that the colonialists are intensifying their repressions shows that the struggle in Réunion, Martinique, Guadeloupe and Guiana is gaining momentum.

No repressions, no threats can reverse the course of history. The example of the neighboring islands in the Caribbean and in the Indian Ocean which have won independence is bound to be followed by Réunion, Martinique, Guadeloupe and Guiana.

G.L.

DEFYING FASCIST TERROR

BECAUSE of the Salazar dictatorship the Portuguese Communist Party is compelled to work in extremely difficult and dangerous conditions. The Party is fighting for a democratic system of government, for socialism and against the fascist dictatorship which at home dooms large numbers of people to poverty, and abroad, in the colonies, is taking ruthless reprisals against the national-liberation.

The dictatorship, becoming increasingly more isolated, is experiencing the gravest crisis in its history. Hence its attempts to intimidate the people by wholesale arrests, military tribunals and torture. The country has been turned into a vast concentration camp. The police register all "suspects," and the "suspects" are many. All means of transportation and communication lines are controlled by the police. There are check-points on the approaches to towns and villages. Raids and searches are commonplace. These measures are directed chiefly against the Communist Party, which is in the forefront of the struggle against the Salazar tyranny.

A meeting of the Party's Central Committee last August, in addition to outlining the next

tasks of the struggle, stressed the need to take the greatest possible precautions to safeguard the Party against arrests and decimation of its ranks. Despite the reprisals, the C.C. resolution reads, the Party, as hitherto, is in the van of the working class and the people generally; the leadership are at their posts in the country; the underground leading body guides the current work; the Party's publications appear regularly and are widely circulated; the Party conducts agitation and propaganda everywhere; it functions all over the country—both in the industrial and rural areas; it maintains close contact with the working people, and helps in organizing demonstrations, strikes, and movements for the people's demands.

"Only a strong and well-organized Party, deeply rooted among the working class and the people, with experience of underground work, with staunch and true functionaries, could work with such success in conditions of ruthless fascist reprisals," says the resolution of the meeting.

Noting the success registered by the Party in warding off police attacks, the Central Com-

mittee simultaneously pointed to drawbacks in the work which endanger both the Party as a whole and its individual members. It was pointed out that instances of carelessness, of insufficient caution had enabled Salazar's police to deliver some heavy blows at the Party. Since 1957 about a hundred of the functionaries had fallen into police hands. And while it is true that many were able to escape from prison, these blows were a heavy loss to the Party.

Last year the enemy was able on three occasions to raid underground centers, arrest 19 functionaries, among them Blanqui Teixeira, member of the Central Committee. A number of Party branches and underground publications were discovered and large numbers of members arrested.

The resolution emphasized that uninterrupted and successful underground work is possible given a combination of correct protective measures and firm discipline.

Underground functionaries above all are obliged strictly to observe all the rules of the underground in guiding the Party activities. Mistakes in this respect are liable to take a heavy toll of cadres.

Discipline, the resolution reads, is particularly important in underground work which does not tolerate adventurism and improvisation; on the contrary, it requires constant and firm discipline. All underground members should master this discipline and overcome the tendency to underestimate the secret police, to work in an aimless way or in haste. At the bedrock of the struggle for discipline and security is awareness of the leading role of the Party in the liberation struggle of the people and in the democratic revolution, understanding of the real strength of the enemy confronting us. Discipline comes by way of example, and the example should come from top levels to bottom.

The resolution recalls that the secret police try to smuggle provocateurs into the Party, instructing them to "render services" to the Party with a view to infiltrating its leading bodies.

The Central Committee issued instructions to the Party organizations, insisting on decentralization wherever necessary, on distinguishing between legal and illegal activity and on better selection of functionaries. Particular caution should be displayed in regard to those who can be recommended for work in the Party committees which should be composed not of just any "people of good will" but of members whose life and activity are well known to the comrades. "In difficult conditions of the fascist dictatorship," the resolution declares, "the Party has been able to train cadres boundlessly devoted to the cause of the working class and

the people, genuine heroes, and of this it is proud. Still, we should not ignore the grave mistakes and blunders committed in the matter of admitting new members and in selecting and promoting people." One can assess the merits of a functionary only by verifying how he fulfils the tasks entrusted to him, knowing well his moral outlook, his work, his personal conduct and his readiness to withstand difficulties and endure the sacrifices entailed by the struggle.

"The Party and the working class should be imbued with hatred for traitors," says the resolution.

The task is to turn the Party into an impregnable fortress. And the support accorded the Party by the working class and the people generally with whom it is in close contact shows that this can be done. "This support," the resolution points out, "is felt in the daily defense of the Party by the people. The people warn our underground functionaries about imminent danger. In many instances they helped to liberate our comrades at the time of arrest or during escape from prison. The people trust our Party. And the Party in protecting itself should have more confidence in the people, whose aid in defending the Party should be encouraged, organized and extended."

The Central Committee concludes its appeal to the members with the following words:

"We Communists are not afraid of the difficulties. Heading the struggle of the people, taking upon ourselves privations and risking our lives in the conditions of the underground, resisting the police, the judges and the jailers, we honorably fulfil our duty. No torture by the secret police can extract "confessions" from a Communist who is true to his Party . . . The Party is proud of the courage and devotion displayed by its members . . . The history of the Party knows many examples when Communists gave their lives and sacrificed everything for the cause of democracy and socialism. Enduring torture which often ended in the loss of their lives, spending the greater part of their lives in prison, accomplishing daring escapes, standing firm before the enemies and with unshakable faith in our noble cause, thousands of Portuguese Communists—men and women, young and old—have kept unsullied the banner of the Party and enjoy the esteem and respect of the Party and the people. Glory to the heroes! Glory to our Party which has educated and tempered them!

"The Party will surmount the difficulties and will take the people to victory in the fight for democracy and socialism."

Liborio VASQUEZ

FREE CARLOS ALVARADO JEREZ!

AT the end of last year the police of Colonel Peralta Asurdia arrested Carlos Alvarado Jerez, an outstanding Guatemalan revolutionary. The government hastily brought Alvarado Jerez before a military tribunal to indict him under the military laws operating in the country.

Staging framed trials, the reactionaries often resort to the device of attributing to patriots criminal offences they have never committed. They could not, however, do this with Carlos Alvarado Jerez, for he is too well known among the people. Instead, they have charged him with illegally entering the country and with "subversive activities."

The very charges are indicative of the reactionary nature of the Asurdia regime which violates the rights of the Guatemalans to live freely in their own country. But even this regime is powerless to prevent patriots from living and working in Guatemala, from fighting against the reactionary dictatorship.

Carlos Alvarado Jerez is one of the founders of the Communist Party of Guatemala and a leader of the peace movement. Under the Arbenz democratic government he held the post of director of the National Broadcasting Sta-

tion "La Voz de Guatemala." While in exile he continued to maintain close contact with his people.

His arrest is a blow to the democratic and patriotic forces in the country. But we are confident that a wide solidarity campaign both at home and abroad will wrest him from the hands of the reactionaries.

The power of solidarity is borne out by the recent release of Bernardo Alvarado Monzon, General Secretary of the Party of Labor, Armando Castillo, one of the leaders of the Autonomous Trade Union Federation, and Lionel Roldan, student leader. Under the pressure of a powerful protest movement the government was unable to keep these comrades behind bars. They were released and deported to Nicaragua.

Protest telegrams should be addressed to Colonel Asurdia, deputations should visit Guatemalan embassies and consulates abroad, voicing the demand to respect individual freedom and release Carlos Alvarado Jerez and all the other political prisoners. Public pressure will be of inestimable help to Guatemalan patriots.

C. TZUL

THE TERROR IN IRAQ CONTINUES

THE Baathist rule in Iraq fell on November 18, 1963. The new government formed after the coup disbanded the "national guard" whose members murdered patriots wholesale. Rashid Muslih, Governor-General and Minister of the Interior, in an interview with the Bagdad *Al-Gomhouria* on December 18, said as follows: "The national guard committed crimes worse than those of the Mongols in the middle ages... How could we keep silent when this small group touched with hysteria subjected citizens to torture to obtain confessions... What ethics and what religion can justify insult, rape and dishonour?"

From statements of this kind one could presume that the new rulers were anxious to return to "normalcy" and to "establish justice," a theme on which they constantly harp.

However, instead of releasing the tens of thousands who fell victim to the Baathist regime and who are still held in prisons, the new authorities are adding to the numbers of innocent people in prison. Only two days before the Minister of the Interior expressed his horror of the Baath atrocities, a military tribunal passed prison sentences ranging from five to

30 months on 28 women teachers charged with "communism," i.e., the very charge used by the Baath to justify their crimes. Three days later another 14 persons were condemned to five years' hard labor on the same charge. Thirty more were given prison sentences.

The most savage action by far of the new regime was the execution, on December 24, of the Basra port workers—Karim Hussein and Abdullah Rashid, both active trade unionists. Under the Kassem regime these men were sentenced to death, but so great was the pressure that the death sentence was commuted to seven years' imprisonment. When the Baath came to power they reimposed the death sentence. And now the Aref government has killed those whom the Baathists simply had no time to exterminate.

Now as before the Communists are the victims. For the "crime" of being Communists many of them in January received sentences ranging from three to 10 years.

These actions, and the continuation of the dirty war against the Kurdish people, hardly call for comment. Clearly the new rulers, like

their ill-starred predecessors, have learned nothing from their policy of anti-communism.

The people, despite the continuing terror, are insisting on the release of the patriots, on an

investigation of the crimes committed by the Baath leaders and on punishment for the culprits.

Ali MOHAMED

BLOODSHED IN DAKAR

ON December 1, 1963, which was election day in Senegal, the authorities took brutal reprisals against demonstrators in Dakar, Rufisque, Thies, Tivavouane, St. Louis and Matam. According to official figures, the bloodshed took a toll of 10 killed and 60 wounded in Dakar. The actual number of victims, however, is greatly in excess of the official figures. A bulletin issued by the African Independence Party (Senegal) reported that in Dakar alone over 100 had been killed, 200 wounded and over 500 arrested.

The authorities resorted to reprisals long before the elections with a view to intimidating the population. The brutality can be gauged from the fact that prisoners are brought to trial on the verge of death after torture by the police. On October 4, over 50,000 people attended the funeral of Sorre Diouf who died during "interrogation" by the police; the latter, it should be said, still take their cue from French executioners like Castorel and Galmel.

The press and radio, which are in the service of the ruling party, extol the election victory of Senghor and his clique. True, the ruling party succeeded in getting an absolute majority. But although the President was re-elected and the ruling party occupied all the seats in the National Assembly, the election results by no means signify a strengthening of the positions of the reactionary Senghor clique.

The election campaign enabled the opposition parties to acquaint the people with the

program of the National Democratic Front. The progressives used the campaign to expose the reactionary policy of the regime, to conduct large-scale explanatory work among the population, and to rally the people for the struggle for democracy and progress.

The very fact that a peaceful demonstration calling for Senghor's resignation was fired upon refutes the government claim that there is no opposition to the policy of the authorities. It is indicative that in some areas the Senghor party obtained very poor results, despite the lawlessness and the electoral swindle. In St. Louis, for example, about half of the electors stayed away from the polling booths. In Ziguinchor the ruling party polled only 6,474 votes out of the total of 11,489, with 3,372 votes going to the opposition. In Thies Senghor's party registered 3,362 votes, the opposition 2,364.

"The wholesale arrests of patriots and the killing of people whose memory we cherish," says the communique issued by the Central Committee of the African Independence Party after the elections, "are clear proof of the weakness of the Senghor regime." The Bloody Sunday—December 1, 1963—is another milestone in the people's struggle for democracy and independence, against the neo-colonialists and their agents. The African Independence Party will carry on the fight, will build and extend the National Democratic Front which is open to anyone willing to fight for the interests of his country and his people.

Sheikh A. AMIDOU

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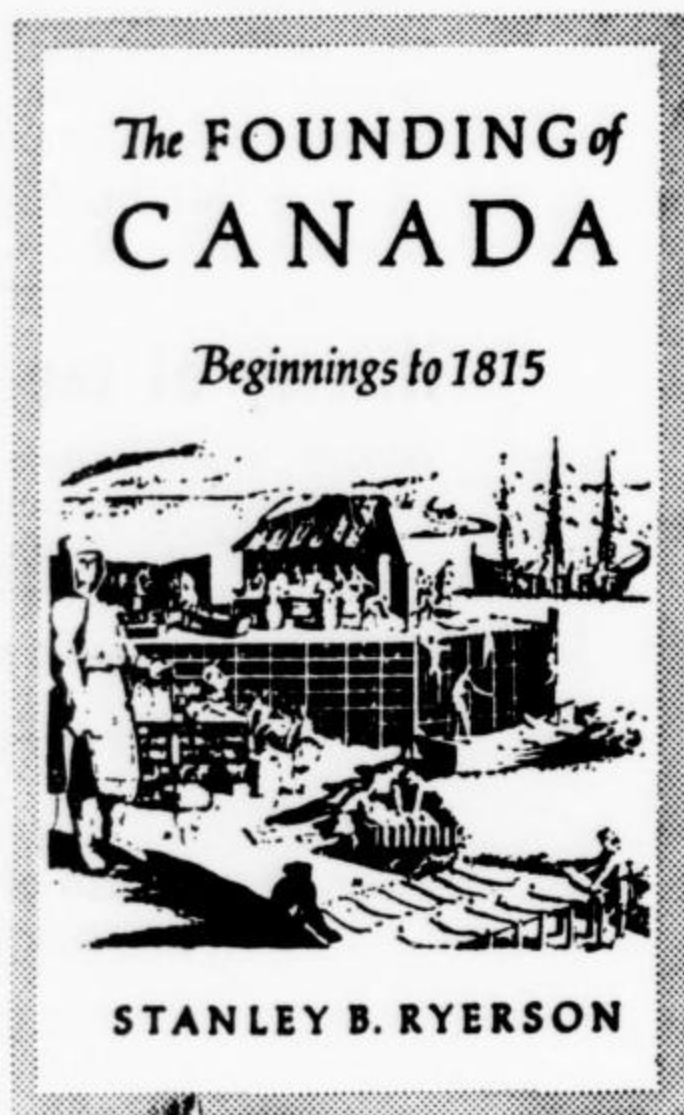
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