

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

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The U.S. Government and the Economic Cycle

—V. Perlo

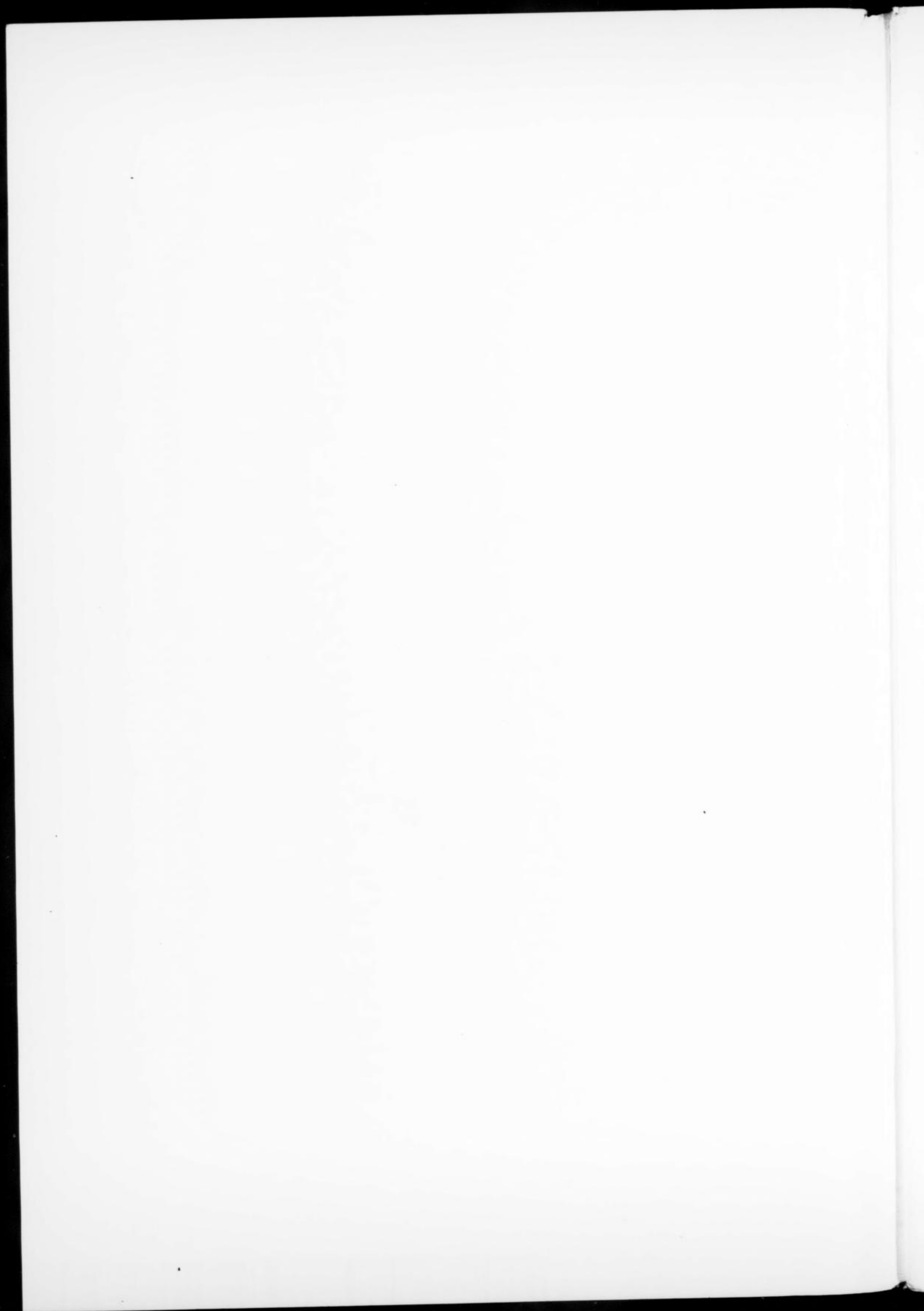
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—A. Norden

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WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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International significance of the defeat of the Japanese militarists

SANOMYN LUVSAN

IN MAY 1965 THE peace-loving peoples of the world celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the victory of the anti-fascist coalition, headed by the Soviet Union, in the just war against fascist Germany. Progressive mankind celebrated this momentous date as the triumph of the forces of socialism, democracy and peace over the forces of fascism, reaction and war.

The last war proved once again that the military campaigns of the imperialists against socialism inevitably end in their own debacle, that there is no force in the world that can halt the progress of human society.

After the defeat of Hitler Germany and its satellites in Europe the next urgent task facing the freedom-loving nations was to smash imperialist Japan, fascist Germany's ally in the Second World War.

Like fascist Germany, the Japanese imperialists sought world supremacy. As far back as the 'twenties the notorious Tanaka memorandum formulated far-reaching plans to seize northeastern China and Mongolia, to use them as bases for further operations against the rest of China, India and other countries of southeastern Asia and, once in possession of the resources of these countries, to start a war against the USSR.

Thus, in pursuance of their expansionist plans the Japanese militarists occupied, with

the connivance of the leading capitalist powers, the northeastern provinces of China bordering directly on Mongolia and the Far Eastern areas of the Soviet Union. While continuing their predatory war in China the Japanese imperialists began intensive preparations for war against the USSR and Mongolia. Fortifications were built on the borders of these countries and troops were drawn up. Military provocations became more and more frequent, culminating in the first major sortie by the Japanese on Soviet territory in the area of Lake Hassan. The interventionists were roundly defeated by the Red Army.

In face of the growing war danger the Soviet Union and Mongolia signed a protocol of mutual assistance. This was a timely measure. Border incidents continued and in 1939 the Japanese imperialists attacked Mongolia in the Halhin Gol area. True to its treaty obligations, the Soviet Union came to the aid of the Mongolian people. A crushing defeat was inflicted on the Japanese by the armed forces of the USSR and the Mongolian People's Republic.

During the Second World War the Japanese militarists continued their aggressive acts against the Soviet Union and Mongolia. Although Japan was involved in war in the Pacific and in China, it stepped up its preparations to attack the USSR and the MPR,

which were the main objectives in the plans of the Japanese military. Hence the million-strong Kwantung Army stationed in Manchuria, the chief striking force of the Japanese armed forces.

During the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people the Japanese militarists not only gave Hitler Germany every possible assistance but went ahead with their own plans to invade the Soviet Union from the East. Nothing came of these plans, however. And not because the Japanese government had any scruples about violating its pact of neutrality with the USSR. The fact is that while Japan was still waiting for a suitable moment to attack the USSR, Hitler Germany was defeated by the Red Army and Japan found itself, as a result, completely isolated.

After the surrender of Germany the Japanese imperialists sought to prolong the war hoping that this would give them a chance to exploit the differences in the anti-fascist coalition and reach an agreement with the United States and Great Britain at the expense of the Soviet Union, China and other countries.

The Japanese imperialists planned to use China, especially its northeastern provinces where the Kwantung army was stationed, in full battle order, and where a large military and economic base had been created, as the principal bridgehead for continuing the war.

The United States and Britain were still engaged in military operations in the Pacific. The Kuomintang government, for its part, was not planning to conduct major military operations against the Japanese troops in China, being concerned primarily with continuing the civil war in the country.

Thus the military and political situation in the Far East partially facilitated imperialist Japan's plan to prolong the war until it could secure a compromise agreement with the United States and Great Britain. Hence its rejection of the proclamation issued by the United States, Great Britain and China urging unconditional surrender.

Like the Hitler strategists the Japanese imperialists reckoned that the contradictions in the anti-fascist coalition would lead to its collapse and that this would be their chance to attack the Soviet Union. They therefore kept the Kwantung army ready to invade the Soviet Union and Mongolia, a step they were objectively encouraged to take by the tardiness and irresolution of the United States and Great Britain.

In these circumstances the timely entry of the Soviet Union in the war against Japan was of decisive significance in speeding the

liquidation of the last seat of war in the Far East. The outcome of the war against Japan depended on the defeat of its armies on the Asian continent.

At the Crimea conference of the three Allied Powers held in February 1945 an agreement was reached whereby the USSR undertook to enter the war against Japan after the defeat of fascist Germany. Chief among the conditions for such participation was recognition of the status quo of the Mongolian People's Republic. The United States and Great Britain, and also the Kuomintang government, were thus compelled, thanks to the stand taken by the Soviet Union, which has always consistently defended the interests of the MPR, to recognize the de facto independence of Mongolia.

On August 9, 1945 the Soviet Union in fulfilment of its obligations declared war on militarist Japan. The Soviet government's decision was received with deep satisfaction by the peoples of the whole world, including the Mongolian people whose government also declared war on Japan.

Thus, the hopes of the Japanese militarists that the anti-fascist coalition would fall apart were dashed to the ground. Like Hitler Germany they were regarded by the peace-loving peoples of the world as the prime instigator of the Second World War and the bitter enemy of humanity.

The Soviet army, supported by its air and naval forces in the Far East, launched an offensive along a 4,000-kilometre-long front. Striking crushing blows at the Kwantung Army, the Soviet troops liberated the northeastern provinces of China, Southern Sakhalin, the northern part of Korea and the Kuril Islands. The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Army, acting in close cooperation with the Soviet Army, pushed forward to the Laotung Peninsula, liberating a number of areas in Inner Mongolia.

Two weeks after operations had begun the Kwantung Army was smashed and laid down arms.

On September 2, 1945 imperialist Japan signed the act of unconditional surrender.

Thus the Soviet armed forces in the Far East inscribed a new page in the history of its victories, brought peoples long-awaited peace after the horrors of a war unparalleled in the history of mankind.

The facts irrefutably prove that the defeat of the Kwantung Army by the Soviet troops in cooperation with the Mongolian Army played an important role in the complete defeat of imperialist Japan. At a meeting of the Supreme Military Council of Japan on Aug-

ust 9, Prime Minister Suzuki stated: "The Soviet Union's entry into the war this morning places us in a hopeless situation and makes further continuation of the war impossible." Bourgeois politicians distort the real facts in an attempt to show that the Japanese military were defeated by the Americans. We do not intend to underestimate the contribution made by the British and American peoples in the defeat of the common foe. Thousands of Britishers and Americans gave their lives in the fighting in the Pacific and on the Asian continent. Our argument is with bourgeois propaganda and historiography which give a one-sided picture of the military operations on those fronts, underplay their significance and, in particular, the defeat of the Kwantung Army. The dropping of the atom bomb is given as the decisive factor in the defeat of Japan.

Today, twenty years after the atomic blasts in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Western press, and especially the American, try to justify the barbaric bombing of these two cities, which reduced them to rubble and mutilated nearly half a million of their inhabitants. People are still dying from the effects of radioactivity.

But there is incontestible evidence showing that the military situation at the time did not warrant the use of the bomb.

Japan's defeat was already predetermined by the entire course of the Second World War, and in the first place by the defeat of its main ally, fascist Germany. A Strategic Bombing Survey of the U.S. Air Force noted that Japan would have surrendered soon without the use of the atom bomb. A large group of scientists, headed by J. Frank, winner of the Nobel Prize, who had helped to make the bomb, after analyzing the situation at the fronts sent in a petition to the government urging it not to use the bomb. This gives the lie to the main demagogic argument of American propaganda that the bomb was dropped for "humane" (!) reasons, this being to hasten the end of the war and avoid further bloodshed.

It is now obvious that the real purpose was not so much military as political, that is, to bring pressure to bear on the Soviet Union's foreign policy in the postwar settlement of international issues. It was, in effect, the beginning of the policy of atomic blackmail, of the policy from "positions of strength" which U.S. ruling circles are still trying unsuccessfully to apply in respect to the USSR.

Their demonstration of "atomic strength" in Japan brought the U.S. policymakers nothing but loss of political prestige through-

out the world, and especially in the Asian continent.

Not so the victory of the Soviet armed forces over the Japanese invaders. This victory struck a mortal blow not only at the Japanese military but at the whole of international reaction. It made it possible for the democratic and revolutionary forces in the countries of Eastern and Southeast Asia to strengthen their positions as never before, created favorable conditions for the upsurge of the national-liberation movement of the peoples under the yoke of Japanese imperialism. It was a great military and political stimulus to the national-liberation struggle of the Chinese people.

When the Soviet and Mongolian troops began their operations against the Kwantung Army the People's Liberation Army of China went over to the offensive on all fronts, liberated a substantial part of the country's territory and helped to smash the Japanese war machine. This was one of the major factors which enabled the Chinese people to carry forward the revolutionary struggle with redoubled strength and to achieve the signal victory of 1949 which struck a shattering blow to imperialism's colonial system in Asia.

The liberation of North Korea from Japanese oppression by the Soviet armed forces with the active participation of the Korean guerrilla detachments, created favorable conditions for building a new life on the peninsula. In the northern part of the country far-reaching democratic reforms were introduced under the leadership of the Party of Labor, reforms which led to the proclamation of a people's democratic republic which is today successfully building socialism.

The USSR's entry into the war against Japan spurred the Vietnamese people in their last decisive battle against the occupation forces. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam was born, the first people's democratic state in Asia to be established on the last day of the war.

The emergence of the three new people's democracies in Asia — the Chinese People's Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam—is the most important outcome of the defeat of the Japanese imperialists who throttled the development of the revolutionary process and the national-liberation movement in Asia. The birth of these republics which took the socialist path of development has had a tremendous impact on the further course of the people's struggle against international imperialism and is hastening its inevitable doom.

The defeat of Japanese militarism in South-east Asia and the Pacific stimulated a powerful upsurge of the national-liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries in this region of the globe. The peoples rose up in struggle and drove out both the Japanese invaders and the colonialists who had enslaved their countries. New independent states made their appearance.

The Republic of Indonesia won its statehood in bitter battles with the Japanese occupation forces and a tenacious struggle against the Dutch colonialists.

A stubborn liberation struggle developed in Indo-China. Cravenly fleeing from the Japanese invaders the French imperialists tried to restore their rule after the defeat of Japan. However, the "dirty war" in Vietnam and the aggression in Laos ended ingloriously. The French colonialists were ejected from these countries and also from Cambodia. The Geneva Agreements of 1954 confirmed the international recognition of the independence of the countries of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. But this did not spell the end of the struggle. The American imperialists appeared on the scene. In violation of the Geneva Agreements they launched a neo-colonialist war against the freedom-loving peoples of these countries.

Other countries to win their independence as a result of the defeat of German fascism and particularly Japanese militarism, as a result of the upsurge of the national-liberation movement were Burma, Malaya and India.

The end of the war brought with it basic changes also in Japan itself. Favorable conditions were created for the country's democratic development. A new Constitution was adopted in 1946 which gave the people and parliament more democratic rights, and turned the absolute monarchy into a constitutional parliamentary monarchy. The land reform carried out during 1946-49 practically did away with the parasitic landed estates. The Communist Party which headed the struggle for the democratization of the country, was given legal status. All this led to a great upsurge of political activity among the masses.

All these positive changes in the socio-political life of the country have, however, been viewed with hostility by the U.S. imperialists and the Japanese monopolies supported by them.

Japan has been assigned the role of a striking force in the new aggressive NEATO bloc hastily being formed by the United States to fight the freedom-loving people of Asia. To this end it is giving every support to the reactionary elements in Japan, is whipping up revenge-seeking and militarist sentiments. The territory of Japan has been turned into a

U.S. military base. Recently under pressure from Washington a treaty "normalizing" relations between Japan and South Korea was signed in Tokyo. The ulterior motive is to bolster the reactionary Seoul regime and speed the formation of NEATO. The treaty involves Japan still more deeply in the State Department's reckless policy.

This policy is encountering the mounting resistance of the Japanese people themselves who are fighting for peace, democracy, better relations with neighboring countries, against allowing the American military to use the territory of Japan for their aggressive aims, against involving Japan in Washington's military gambles in the Far East and Southeast Asia, and against the revival of Japanese militarism.

* * *

Developments during and after the Second World War graphically showed that the socialist, people's democratic and national-liberation revolutions merged into one with the revolutionary process sapping the foundations of the world imperialist system.

The world socialist system came into being, which today includes fourteen countries of Europe, Asia and Latin America. The colonial system collapsed under the onslaught of the people of the colonial and dependent countries, thus corroborating the thesis that the national-liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries is part of the world revolutionary movement, and that its successes in the struggle against imperialism are part of the successes of the world socialist system which is a decisive factor today in the development of human society. These successes were made possible by the overwhelming victory of the Soviet Union in the war against the two main pretenders to world supremacy — Germany and Japan, and also by the outstanding achievements of the socialist countries in building the new life.

The defeat of the fascist aggressors spurred the unprecedented growth of the international Communist and Workers' movement in the capitalist countries. The Communist parties today represent a tremendous force in the struggle for social progress. There are Marxist-Leninist parties in nearly 90 countries, uniting close to 43 million members.

The peace movement which is fighting to save humanity from the danger of a nuclear holocaust is steadily gaining in strength. This reflects the growth of the political consciousness of the peoples of the world who have learned a bitter lesson from the two world wars, their determination to prevent the outbreak of a new war and to preserve world peace.

The question of war or peace is the crucial issue today. The interests of humanity dictate that it be solved in favor of peace. Unlike the situation before the Second World War when the forces of peace were not in a position to bar the road to imperialist aggression they now have all the prerequisites for doing so.

The decisive factors that can preclude war in our time are the existence of the world socialist system, the incontestable superiority in strength of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries over the potential aggressor, the emergence of a large group of neutral countries, the worldwide peace movement of millions.

Relying on these factors the socialist countries firmly pursue the Leninist foreign policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

Although there is every possibility of averting world war, the socialist countries at the same time warn against the least sign of complacency in the face of the military preparations of the imperialists. Only resolute actions by the peace forces, a high level of organization and continuous vigilance can bar the road to war. This is particularly important today when ultra-reactionary imperialist circles are trying to ignore certain lessons of history. Alarmed at the growing influence and prestige of the socialist countries and the successes of the national-liberation movement, and unable to resolve the internal contradictions of capitalism, they are more and more openly steering towards war as a last resort to save the capitalist system. The intensified aggressive actions of the U.S. imperialists in recent months clearly bear this out.

Blind to the lessons of the last war the American imperialists are doing everything possible to aggravate the situation in various regions of the globe, are persisting in their machinations against the socialist and young independent states, against the national-liberation movement.

Recent events show that by its aggressive actions in Southeast Asia the USA has created a serious threat to peace and security. Its armed intervention in South Vietnam and open aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam which are condemned by progressive forces all over the world are encountering the stiff resistance of the heroic Vietnamese people. The peoples of all the socialist countries are in full solidarity with the just struggle of the peoples of South Vietnam and denounce the aggressive actions of the U.S. imperialists against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The measures taken by the Soviet Union and the other socialist coun-

tries with the agreement of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to stop the U.S. aggression are meant not only to protect the sovereignty of the DRV, but also the security of all the socialist countries.

All possibility of a peaceful settlement in Vietnam is excluded as long as the United States continues hostilities in South Vietnam in defiance of the Geneva Agreements of 1954. It must withdraw its troops, army personnel and military equipment from the country and cease its barbarous raids on the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Now that the imperialists are intensifying their aggressive actions the unity of all peace forces is more than ever necessary. The internationalist unity of the socialist countries is basic to safeguarding the great gains of socialism, promoting world peace, accelerating the revolutionary process of the liberation struggle of the peoples, to cutting short the aggressive actions of the imperialists.

In the present situation coordinated action by all the fraternal parties is both possible and essential in the fight against the common foe — imperialism, for universal peace and peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, and in support of the national-liberation movements. Such collective action can be the objective basis for uniting the international Communist movement.

The Communique of the Consultative Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in March 1965 noted that it is more than ever necessary for Marxist-Leninist parties, all democratic and peace forces to unite their forces in the struggle against imperialist reaction, for national independence, peace and the security of peoples. "Cohesion of all the revolutionary forces of our time — the socialist community, the national-liberation movement and the international working class," the Communique notes, "is of crucial importance for the success of the fight against imperialism. This cohesion calls insistently for the strengthening of world Communist unity."

The Mongolian people and the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party fully subscribe to the historic documents of the Moscow Consultative Meeting.

The forces opposed to imperialism, war and militarism, and upholding peace, democracy, national independence, socialism and communism are now legion.

The lessons of the past war show that if the working class, if all democratic and peace forces will unite for joint action in good time they will be able to foil the aggressive plans of imperialism.

German imperialism prepares for war

ALBERT NORDEN

A RATHER symptomatic development took place in Bonn recently in the matter of the West German national anthem.

The anthem of the Kaiser's and Hitler's Reich with its notorious refrain, "Deutschland, Deutschland ueber alles," was so discredited as a symbol of pan-Germanism that Heuss, the first Federal German President, tried in 1949 to have it replaced with a new one. Eventually a compromise was reached on the third stanza with its general reference to "unity, justice and freedom." But as German imperialism regained strength after its defeat in the Second World War and West Germany came up as the second economically strongest imperialist power and built up its military machine, its territorial claims too were revived.

And so, twenty years after the war, the Federal German government announced the reinstatement of the first stanza of the national anthem of the Erhard-Hassel-Strauss state. "Such is the view of the Federal Republic, and this is a legitimate stand," Minister of the Interior Hoecherl told parliament.

WEST GERMAN EXPANSIONISM

This "legitimate stand" is of a highly explosive order. The first stanza supplies the geographical pattern for a program of expansion, it is the blueprint of naked revanche by which German imperialism has always been guided. How wide, as the Federal Republic sees it, should the dominion of the Germany

of monopolies extend? The anthem says: "Germany, Germany above all, above all in the world, from the Maas to the Memel, from the Etsch to the Belt. . . ."

The Maas, otherwise the Meuse, flows through France, Belgium and Holland. The Belt washes the northern shores of Denmark. The Etsch, or Adige, is in Alto-Adige in northern Italy, far from the frontiers of Bonn, and the distance from the Federal German frontier to the Memel (as the lower reaches of the Neman are called in German), on which the Soviet Lithuanian city of Klaipeda stands is more than 900 kilometres as the crow flies. Between Klaipeda and Bonn lie the socialist Polish Peoples' Republic and socialist German Democratic Republic. In a word, Federal Germany's expansionist program extends to territories exceeding its own several times.

This program is glorified each time the anthem is sung in West German schools, army barracks and officers' clubs, at official ceremonies, or when the flag bearing that old emblem of German rapacity—the eagle—is run to the masthead. It permeates state policy, corresponds to the official government program, and, if things depended only on the rulers of Federal Germany, it would not be only a matter of its glorification in song.

The prime aim of Bonn is abolition of the GDR. According to the DPA agency, Federal Chancellor Erhard told the Christian Democrat Bundestag group on January 26 that "it should not be forgotten that 17 million Germans are enslaved by the Communist state of

force and violence. . . . The Germans in the zone (the reference is to the GDR—A.N.) cannot wait twenty or thirty years for developments to bring about reunification. . . ." What this means was put in even plainer language by Rainer Barzel, Chairman of the Christian Democratic group in the Bundestag, when he outlined the party's foreign policy program at its last congress in March. "To serve freedom and Europe," he said, "we are against the status quo and are resolved to change it."

The Bonn government and all the parties in the Bundestag are calling for the restoration of the 1937 frontiers. According to *Die Welt* (September 26, 1964) Erhard told the press: "The Federal Government can take no other view: the frontiers of 1937 remain valid." And a few weeks later Vice-Chancellor Mende, addressing a revanchist "Silesia rally" in Hanover, confirmed this by saying: "The present situation cannot be called final. The Goerlitz Agreement* on the Oder-Neisse border is not legally binding on Germany or valid from the standpoint of international law."

The West German capitalist press reassures its readers that these outpourings are merely "Sunday speeches." Yet revanchism has struck root even in West German legislation, witness the official ruling stipulating that the draft criminal code should be regarded as enforceable not only in West Germany but also in the "Soviet occupation zone in Germany, the Soviet sector of Berlin and other parts of the German Reich within the frontiers of December 31, 1937."

But now the 1937 frontiers are no longer enough for the Bonn rulers, who have set their sights on a Greater Germany extending from the Meuse to the Neman. "Our territorial claims go far beyond the Oder-Neisse line," von Hassel, the Minister of Defense, said. "We want to regain the old German dominions. The world must not celebrate the year 2000 as the eighty-third anniversary of the October Revolution."

With a view to hastening the achievement of this end, Barzel, addressing the Christian Democrat congress, formulated one of the points of the ruling party's foreign policy program as follows: "We want jointly to influence the state of affairs in the Communist-dominated part of Europe." And further: "We cannot pretend that the fate of the peoples of Eastern and Central Europe does not concern us. . . . It is to be welcomed, then, that our Bundeswehr has in the meantime become one of the world's finest armies. . . ."

*The reference is to the frontier agreement concluded between Poland and the GDR in 1950.—Ed.

The Federal German government has thus proclaimed a political takeover in Eastern Europe and abolition of the territorial status quo to be its program. It is out to annul the results of the Second World War and to return to the frontiers of Hitler's Reich.

HITLER'S ACCOMPLICES

So far we have been speaking of rhetorical outbursts and written confessions. But what above all makes the situation dangerous is that the accomplices of Hitler and Himmler rule the roost in Bonn and are engaged in an unprecedented armament drive which they hope will enable them to realize their annexationist ambitions. The "Brown Book" put out by the National Front of Democratic Germany this summer, and available also in English and French, reveals shocking facts. Some 1,800 top Nazis guilty of heinous crimes against individuals and entire peoples now occupy important or even key posts in the West German state machine and economy instead of serving sentences. They include 21 Federal Ministers and Secretaries of State, 100 Bundeswehr generals and admirals, 828 top men in the Ministry of Justice, 245 leading officials in the Foreign Ministry and embassies and consulates abroad, and some 300 top and middle-rank officials of the police and the so-called Office for the Protection of the Constitution.*

President Luebke himself was once in charge of the Leau concentration camp, where he let thousands of foreign political prisoners herded into a munitions factory dug 400 metres underground die like flies. Minister Westrick, second to none in the Bonn set-up for influence, Erhard's mentor and virtually his deputy, seized aluminum and bauxite enterprises in Nazi-conquered Europe, played an important role in building up Goering's Luftwaffe, served as Hitler's war economy fuehrer, and countenanced such savage treatment of foreign slave labor at his many factories that the captive workers died of hunger or committed suicide by the hundreds. Another ministerial choice of Erhard (who himself, incidentally, lauded the Hitler regime in his speeches and writings) was a zealous Gestapo sleuth. We are referring to Ernst Lemmer, the Minister for Exile Affairs, whose job is to cultivate chauvinist sentiment among West Germans who trace their antecedents to Polish, Czechoslovak, Hungarian, Soviet and Yugoslav territories, and to groom them for the "return home." Secretary of State Vialon, in charge of so-called "aid to developing countries," in other words, the organizer of

*The political secret police.—Ed.

Federal German neo-colonialist manipulations who has already extended DM 120 million in aid to the puppet regime in Saigon—this same man looted the Soviet Baltic republics in Hitler's time and made a fortune for himself by seizing the personal property and even the gold teeth of hundreds of thousands of exterminated Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian and Byelorussian Jews. Such are many of West Germany's rulers.

THE ARMS BUILD-UP

These men have built an army, an air force and a navy by means of which they hope again, for the third time in this century, to issue a challenge to all humanity. The Bundeswehr, already the strongest NATO contingent in Europe, is expected to reach the half-million mark this year. When Hitler announced in the Reichstag on September 1, 1939, that the Second World War was on, he boasted of having spent DM 90,000 million on its preparation. The West German ruling class has officially admitted spending DM 150,000 million on armaments in the last ten years, or DM 60,000 million more than Hitler's figure. Moreover, emphasis has been laid on the latest in weaponry. The Bundeswehr now has units fully equipped and trained to use nuclear weapons. The land forces have 350-400 nuclear cannon of various calibres and nearly 100 missile-launching pads. The air force has, besides eight launching sites (the number is to be brought up to 16 within the next few months) and hundreds of Nike missiles, some 250 aircraft capable of carrying nuclear weapons. The navy has 40 such aircraft. In 1960-65 the Bundeswehr more than trebled its nuclear armory.

U.S. Secretary of Defense MacNamara, whose reliability as a witness can hardly be questioned, confirmed recently that the principal stockpiles of nuclear weapons of all types are located in West Germany. As a matter of fact, the Pentagon has stationed in the Federal Republic one-third of the U.S. nuclear potential.

With persistence and vigor worthy of a better cause, Bonn is pressing for the right to possess and use nuclear weapons. Since the MLF is not making headway, the West German imperialists, such as Foreign Minister Schroeder, for example, are openly threatening to make their own nuclear weapons unless they are given access to them in some other way. And the fact is that the production of plutonium, needed for nuclear warheads, is growing rapidly in the Federal Republic.

Indicative of Bonn's supremacist aspirations in relation to its own allies is the number of key posts in NATO occupied by Bundeswehr officers who held command posts in Hitler's army. Latterly British, French and Danish officers have been unceremoniously ousted to make room for them. Here are some of the Bundeswehr men in NATO top positions:

Major-General Ernst Ferber, Director of the Planning Staff at the NATO Standing Group in Washington;

Lieutenant-General Wolf von Baudissin, Deputy Chief of Staff, Planning, SHAPE;

Major-General Georg Gartmain, Deputy Chief of Staff, Air and Special Operations, SHAPE;

General von Kielmannsegg, Commander of NATO land forces in Central Europe;

Lieutenant-General Johannes Steinhoff, Chief of Staff and Deputy Commander of NATO air forces in Central Europe;

Rear-Admiral Gert Jeschonnek, Deputy Commander of Channel Command;

Lieutenant-General Kord von Hobe, Commander of the Jutland land combat group, Channel Command, and

Admiral of the Fleet Otto Kretschmer, Chief of the Naval Staff Channel Command.

The role of the West German generals and admirals in NATO is growing so fast that even Bonn's allies are evincing concern. This concern is all the more legitimate since the Bundeswehr High Command makes no secret of its aggressive intentions. As is known, the Bundeswehr is headed by Trettner, a war criminal who made the grade from captain to lieutenant-general in seven years under Hitler. The Bonn "generalissimo" served in the Nazi Condor Legion, without whose terror raids Franco could not have won his victory over the Spanish people, as a squadron commander in the air group which destroyed Guernica on April 26, 1937. Later during the Second World War, he ordered the massive bombing of Rotterdam in May 1940 when armistice talks were already under way with Holland. In September 1944 he master-minded the destruction of Florence and was in command of the so-called "punitive actions" against the civilian population of Tuscany. Now the entire Bundeswehr is being indoctrinated in the spirit of its supreme commander, a man who wanted to carry on the war even after Hitler's death. Its generals and colonels propound the idea of a "holy war against the East in the name of Western civilization." They name company stations after Polish regions on the other side of the Oder-Neisse line and after places in Czechoslovakia. Symbolic road signs

indicating the way to Stettin, Danzig, Breslau, Koenigsberg, and Eger, etc., are set up in garrison towns.

The Bundeswehr rank and file is literally swamped under a spate of revenge-seeking publications, speeches, lectures and ceremonial occasions. The generals keep up a shameless propaganda campaign alleging that the Western regions of Poland are in a state of decline and waiting for the Bundeswehr to "liberate" them. The soldiers are advised to study the "Historical Atlas of Eastern German Settlements" which traces in ecstatic terms the so-called "Eastern settlement policy," beginning with the forays of the mediaeval German Orders of knighthood and ending with the Nazi conquests. Parallel with this brainwashing, military and organizational preparations for future hostilities are being stepped up in conformity with the concepts of the so-called "forward strategy" and "undercover war."

"FORWARD STRATEGY" . . .

Under pressure from Bonn, the so-called "forward strategy" was declared, in a directive issued by the NATO Supreme Commander on September 1, 1963, the guiding strategic concept for the area under his command, and for two years now it has underlain operational planning in the European Command. The substance of the concept is planning, preparation and conduct of aggressive war with the earliest possible use of nuclear weapons. Moreover, the sights of the Bundeswehr command are set on surprise attack against the GDR and other socialist countries—sudden aggression in which Bonn hopes to involve its NATO allies. In order to create the most favorable conditions for this, NATO forces armed with nuclear weapons are being stationed in such close proximity to the frontiers of the GDR and Czechoslovakia that any military conflict might well spark off a general war. In keeping with this strategy more and more West German divisions are being stationed near the GDR border.

The dangers implicit in the continuing concentration of Bundeswehr units on the eastern borders of the FRG can be seen also from Defense Minister von Hassel's recent statement while addressing officers from the Command Academy in Hamburg that "the nuclear component plays a decisive role also and above all in the forward strategy." In other words, this strategy involves the use of nuclear weapons, moreover, "in an early phase," as Hassel said in the January 1965 issue of the U.S. journal *Foreign Affairs*. That West Germany's NATO allies would be drawn,

whether they wished it or not, into the conflict planned by the Bonn government was underscored by lieutenant-general Ulrich de Maiziere, commander of the West German land forces, when he defined the role of the Bundeswehr as that of "detonator for the big explosion" (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, October 25, 1964).

THE "UNDERCOVER WAR" TACTIC

The West German rulers allot high priority in their military policy to plans for "undercover war" against the GDR. These essentially call for provoking an outbreak of hostilities without declaring war, organizing military collisions on the frontier and at the same time resorting to gangster warfare by commando landings by air in the GDR. A secret Bundeswehr document defines the "undercover war" as a "crisis situation carried to a point where force of arms is used, a situation similar to civil war, with the attacking side not deploying any large formations but stopping just short of conventional warfare, employing the tactics of underground struggle and armed bands."

The West German government has already gone to considerable lengths in organizing this "undercover war" against the GDR. The preparations extend to the elaboration of command principles, war games at staff and group levels, selection of personnel, formation of special units and introduction of the types of armament best suited for the purpose.

In choosing personnel, the Bundeswehr concentrates on people whose property has been expropriated in the GDR, defectors from the latter, revenge-seekers from the former areas in the East or their descendants. In the choice of instructors and leaders of sabotage groups, preference is given former members of the SS Brandenburg Division and ex-officers of the Wehrmacht who were born in the former German regions in the East or on the territory of the GDR.

The candidates are not only guaranteed material privileges; they are also imbued—after the pattern of the SS and the Nazi paratroops—with the "elite spirit" and "a firm conviction of their superiority over other people." The prime emphasis is on political, psychological and subversive activity against the GDR. The cold war is being intensified to the extreme; and in itself it already contains elements of the "undercover war." This highlights the insidious, criminal nature of the form of warfare devised by the West German militarists in order imperceptibly to slip from peace to war, not to mention the fact that this contains the germ of nuclear war.

Referring to the initial period of "undercover war," the official Bundeswehr publication *Wehrausbildung in Wort und Bild* said in a special issue put out towards the end of last year: "The undercover war develops at first as an aggravated form of the cold war. Its preparation and beginning are part of the cold war, and only the extensive use of violence distinguishes the undercover war in its combat form from the cold war."

The Bonn government and the Bundeswehr general headquarters thus regard the "undercover war" as a system of military, political, psychological and subversive struggle. A study prepared by the top brass for the information of officers all the way down to company commander level, puts it thus: "Attack is prepared as imperceptibly as possible. The object of the attack is to shake the legal state authority and, if possible, to overthrow it. Undercover war may be waged as an independent form of struggle, or as a preliminary or corollary to open war between states." All this shows the importance attached by the West German militarists to the "undercover war" as a means of fomenting political disorder and engineering provocations.

In the specific conditions of Germany on whose territory the two world camps—imperialism and socialism—face each other, these machinations are fraught with dangerous consequences unless they are stopped in time, especially in view of the important role assigned to West Berlin—located 200 kilometres from the frontiers of the Federal Republic, deep inside the territory of the GDR and the socialist camp—as a NATO bridgehead and a center for stirring up trouble and organizing gambles endangering peace.

The Federal German government has already concocted a legal fiction designed to provide political justification for the projected military attack. We are referring to the so-called Hallstein doctrine, according to which the GDR is not a sovereign state, but a no-man's-land, a vacuum the West German army is entitled and destined to fill. To accept this doctrine and not to recognize the GDR is to play into the hands of the forces preparing a third world war.

SEEDBED OF WAR

The West German war preparations have progressed far at home as well. Drastic "emergency" laws scrapping every semblance of democracy in favor of military dictatorship were adopted this summer. These laws are designed to set the material, organizational and psychological stage for aggression.

Inasmuch as their purpose is total mobilization of the West German war machine and legalization of extreme measures to suppress anti-war sentiment, they are not only an internal matter for the Federal Republic but the concern of all Europe and the world.

These laws provide for:

- the establishment of a "civil defense corps," an auxiliary army of 200,000 men designed for use primarily against the population at home;

- gearing the entire economy to the arms build-up;

- providing every house with a bomb shelter and each child with a tag to be identified by in the event of death, and ensuring that every family stores up an emergency stock of food.

The people of West Germany are thus being systematically prepared for war.

There clearly are grounds for grave concern. One can only marvel that there still are people who deny that the West German state is a hotbed of tension.

The imperialist governments and press claim that the heightened tension in the center of Europe is due to the division of Germany. The argument is obvious nonsense. It is not the existence of two German states that breeds danger. In past centuries Germany was broken up into a multitude of states but this did not make them a source of any particular danger of war.

On the other hand, after its unification 95 years ago Germany embarked on a succession of colonial wars and, most appalling of all, 50 years ago and again 25 years ago it let loose world wars. The unity of the German state in itself is, then, no guarantee against war. The crux of the matter lies in the nature of that state. Peace in Europe today is in grave danger because the defeated German militarists and imperialists, together with their British and American backers, split Germany after the Second World War in order to revive militarism and imperialism in its Western part. It should not be forgotten that the men responsible for the Second World War, together with the U.S. imperialists now waging war in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, divided the country over a decade and a half ago precisely because they wanted to make West Germany a military base bristling with arms.

Today there are two German states: the Federal Republic, whose rulers would like to make the postwar period a prelude to another war, and the German Democratic Republic, which wants the postwar to be the beginning of lasting peace.

But not only is it a matter of the confron-

tation of two states; the frontier between imperialism and socialism cuts across Germany.

DANGER HANGING OVER EUROPE

Washington and Bonn may well seek to "escalate" the conflict from Southeast Asia to Europe. Clearly, there is a nuclear Bonn-Washington axis, the Pentagon and the Bundeswehr generals are working together, and the millions of West Germans are being subjected to psychological indoctrination—all of which carries with it the menace of a new world war.

But it may be asked, are not the schemes of the West German imperialists sheer madness? Unquestionably, but this is madness with a method, a method resorted to on three occasions in this century—in 1914, in 1939, and now. And each time German imperialism overrated its strength and underestimated the strength of the adversary. Suffice it to recall that only three months before the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union Foreign Minister Ribbentrop told Japan's Matsuoka: "War with Russia will end with the rout of the Russian army and the collapse of its state system."

We know that those who spread this illusion ended their days on the gallows. But their spirit is still alive. President Luebke, for instance, prophesied at one of the 3,000 revanchist rallies held in West Germany in the course of one day last June that in the event of West German invasion of the GDR, the aid the latter would receive from the USSR would hardly be a cause for serious concern. "The Soviet Union cannot risk war," he said, "for neither the Soviet system nor the Soviet government as such would survive such a catastrophe."

All this shows that the West German top crust clings tenaciously to its old criminal positions.

German imperialism was able to revive in the West because the Potsdam Agreement of 1945 was ignored in that part of the country, and because the imperialist occupying powers, in league with the German reactionaries, saw to it that no lessons were drawn there from the two world wars, and the causes of war were not removed. It first raised its head as a junior partner of the USA, but today it is increasingly playing an independent role, pursuing its own aggressive policy, and has become, as an accomplice of U.S. imperialism, the chief threat to European peace and tranquillity.

We do not suggest that there is an immediate danger of war in Central Europe, but the fact remains that the Bonn government

is pressing on with its war preparations, moreover, in an area where a single spark is enough to blow up Europe and the world like a powder keg. Whereas some ten years ago the West German trusts played a relatively small role in armament production and the government placed most of its arms orders in the USA and other NATO countries, now the leading monopolies are collecting a handsome rake-off on the thousands of millions of marks poured into the manufacture of the engines of war. The old arsenals of West German imperialism—the Krupp, Flick, I.G. Farben and other concerns whose interests determine Bonn policy—seek to aggravate the cold war since it spells lush profits for them. There are many reasons, then, for the jubilation of the German finance capitalists, their government, press, radio and television over the outrageous U.S. military intervention in Southeast Asia and Latin America.

First, this intervention accords with West German neo-colonialist foreign policy, which by its very nature is hostile to any liberation movement of oppressed peoples and backs those who wage colonial war. It is not fortuitous that of all the allies of the USA, the Federal Republic is making the biggest financial contribution to the aggression in South Vietnam.

Second, the Federal Republic unconditionally supports U.S. imperialism in its role as the world policeman because it wants to be assured of its assistance in carrying out the projected aggression in Europe. It is not by chance that the intensification of both the cold and the hot war by President Johnson and the Pentagon coincides with the aggravation of the situation in Central Europe as a result of Bonn's policy. As a matter of fact, the Johnson and Erhard governments are today the spearhead of world imperialism. Bonn sees in U.S. aggression an opportunity to pursue the same policy in Europe. "The balance of power must be changed," Foreign Minister Schroeder said on July 21.

But while the actions of the two most powerful imperialist states (West Germany is today economically stronger than any other capitalist country in Europe) have unquestionably increased the threat to peace, it should be noted that there is a substantial discrepancy between the economic power and the foreign political weight of the West German regime. If formerly the economic power of one or another capitalist state laid the groundwork for the success of its foreign policy, this is not the case with Federal Germany today.

Thanks to the existence of the GDR, to the strength of the socialist camp, to the existence

of newly-independent anti-imperialist states, and to the Communist and Workers' parties in the capitalist countries, Bonn has latterly suffered a series of setbacks in the sphere of foreign policy and is finding itself more and more isolated morally and politically on the international arena. There is growing friction with France, which West German imperialism regards as the hinterland for the military gambles it is planning. The breaking of diplomatic relations with Bonn by ten Arab countries last May is one of the most serious defeats West German imperialism has yet suffered. Its clumsy attempts to take a differentiated attitude towards the various socialist countries with a view to isolating the GDR is boomeranging against the Bonn regime itself. And, finally, the growing (though still far from adequate) resistance at home to the "emergency laws" by no means helps to strengthen Erhard's aggressive positions. Indeed, it is precisely the "emergency laws" which are showing the masses that the ruling classes are going over to fascist methods against their own people in order to carry on with their war preparations.

The GDR, where the imperialists have been removed from power and the workers and peasants stand at the helm of state, has proclaimed peaceful coexistence the basic principle of its foreign policy. For us peaceful coexistence is not a matter of passive tolerance of the imperialist preparation for war, but of promoting the popular struggle against these preparations. We seek to strip the veil of secrecy from these machinations in order to prevent war. Our policy is aimed at supporting the popular movement developing in West

Germany so as to compel its rulers to accept peaceful coexistence.

In this we stand together with the USSR. For one of the main lessons history has taught us is that friendship and firm alliance with the USSR are the most reliable source of strength for our foreign policy and the best guarantee of peace in Central Europe.

The rise of the German Democratic Republic was the most severe blow at German imperialism after the collapse of the Nazi Reich, and now the national and international policy of the GDR and its day-to-day progress are continuing to deal it one blow after another. The GDR sees its mission in preventing war from being unleashed from German soil. It has made concrete proposals aimed at curbing the militarists. It has advanced a program acceptable to all peace-loving Germans—a program advocating renunciation of nuclear armament by both German states, negotiations and agreement between their governments, recognition of the territorial status quo in Europe and the conclusion of the long overdue peace treaty with the two German states.

Whereas the Bonn regime, clamoring for revenge and preparing for war, personifies Germany's fatal past, the GDR with its official doctrine of peaceful reunion and general disarmament is the embodiment of its future.

The GDR will continue to work, in close cooperation with all the peace-loving forces in West Germany, Europe and the world, to prevent the German imperialists from laying waste to the earth for the third time, to compel them to retreat, so that the policy of peace might prevail in Europe.

Economic contacts between the socialist and capitalist countries of Europe

KARL-HEINZ DOMDEY

THE CHANGES IN the world balance in favor of peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism have aggravated contradictions between the ruling groups in the imperialist countries.

The consistent policy of peaceful coexistence pursued by the USSR and other socialist countries has given added impetus to this process. While many European capitalist governments are beginning to awaken to the need for cooperation with the socialist countries, the United States, West German and other extremists reject peaceful coexistence between the two world systems.

In its attitude towards Federal Germany and other capitalist states, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is guided by the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence. It holds, as the Party's Central Committee has pointed out, that socialist internationalism is largely measured by the "extent to which each party helps to strengthen the socialist world system by accelerating the development of the productive forces and raising the productivity of labor, and by promoting economic cooperation." At the same time, the Party's program stresses that the GDR also seeks to maintain normal relations with all capitalist countries on the basis of peaceful coexistence, equality, and mutual respect of sovereignty. It wishes to "promote trade between the socialist and capitalist countries provided the interests of socialist internationalism are

not violated and no concessions are made to ideological coexistence. Cooperation between the socialist and capitalist countries is also to be welcomed if the capitalist governments concerned respect the principles of equality, non-interference and peaceful coexistence and recognize the status quo and the present frontiers."

Bonn takes a stand diametrically opposed to this policy of peace and cooperation. It makes no secret of the fact that it is out to destroy the first German workers' and peasants' state; it seeks to drive a wedge between the USSR and the European People's Democracies by making a pretense of agreeing to certain forms of peaceful coexistence, and thereby to realize its revanchist claims on Poland, Czechoslovakia and the USSR.

The fact that no progress has been made in economic cooperation between the two German states is due solely to the policy of Bonn. As Walter Ulbricht pointed out at a meeting of our Central Committee, "a number of interesting talks have taken place between representatives of West German concerns and economic organizations in the GDR. Such big concerns as Brundig and Siemens have made offers of economic cooperation, including cooperation in the supply of major equipment. This shows that economic relations between the two German states could be extended." Yet the possibilities have not been realized because of Bonn's policy of

nuclear armament and political and economic war against the GDR.

The purpose of Bonn's new policy towards the East—a policy of setting up trade missions and establishing consular relations without recognition of the present frontiers—became particularly clear in the spring of this year when one of its authors, the Social Democratic Bundestag deputy W. Jaksch who is also chairman of the so-called Exiles' Union, submitted proposals for its second phase. The idea is to extend low-interest credits totalling some DM 50,000 million for financing projects in which Bonn would take part as a decoy designed to involve European People's Democracies in intrigues against the USSR and induce them to endorse discriminatory measures against the GDR. The West German revenge-seekers hope to be able in this way to weaken the unity of the socialist camp, to drive rifts in the Council for Mutual Economic Aid and the Warsaw Treaty, in order thereby to pave the way for the occupation of the GDR and the revision of frontiers.

These open and secret manipulations designed to prevent peaceful coexistence find full support in the U.S. ruling circles, which, in conformity with their latest expansionist theory of "escalation," are intensifying their struggle against the socialist camp by all means at their disposal: in Asia through direct intervention and in Europe by attempts at infiltration. A recent report submitted to the U.S. President by a special committee on trade with socialist countries recommends extending economic contacts with the European Peoples' Democracies with the political aim of undermining the unity of the socialist countries and restoring capitalism.

The firm stand of the USSR and other socialist countries is a reliable guarantee against the attempts of the ultras to undermine peace and peaceful coexistence in Europe and, consequently, in the whole world. The hopes pinned by the reactionaries on "evolutionary forces" in the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid and on discord between the Warsaw Treaty powers are patently doomed to disappointment.

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE IS BOTH NECESSARY AND POSSIBLE

The unity of the socialist countries is the best guarantee of success in the struggle for peaceful coexistence and to isolate the ultras. It makes for maximum cooperation between the socialist peoples and is a prerequisite for the full observance of the laws of develop-

ment of the productive forces which necessitate greater international specialization and cooperation in production. Unity enables each of the socialist countries to make rapid progress. This, however, is not an automatic process; it presupposes purposeful effort on the part of all to build up their productive forces and to give effect to specialization and cooperation both within national bounds and with one another.

Deepening and extending the international socialist division of labor is an earnest of the victory of socialism in its economic competition with capitalism.

Needless to say, this economic competition is dialectically linked with the development of economic relations between states with differing social systems. It calls for the utilization of the possibilities afforded by these relations for raising the productivity of labor, increasing output, expanding markets and increasing net income. The results of such intercourse, in turn, largely determine the further course of the economic competition.

Promotion of these contacts is both necessary and possible also because of:

the general laws of development of the productive forces, which, irrespective of the social system, govern the process of reproduction and which assert themselves—sooner or later, with greater or lesser force—as a tendency conforming to the nature of the production relations;

the existence of the socialist world system and the growing influence exerted by the socialist countries on world development.

The basic trends manifest themselves as natural, historically conditioned regularities as well as new economic and technological pressures requiring cooperation. The technological revolution and the attendant changes in the structure of production and circulation on both a national and international scale require a new division of labor, primarily in the dynamic branches. Moreover, with the emergence of newly independent states there is a growing need for closer intercourse with them in the sphere of division of labor as well. Here too the competition between the two systems accelerates the trend towards international cooperation, including cooperation between the world systems.

THE MAIN FACTORS MAKING FOR CLOSER ECONOMIC CONTACTS

In 1964-65 economic contacts between the socialist and capitalist countries in Europe improved despite the obstacles raised by the advocates of economic war against the so-

cialist countries. This was due to a number of economic reasons:

1. The policy of peaceful coexistence is increasingly influencing the political and economic situation in Europe, tending to promote economic competition and a division of labor between the two systems.

2. The socialist countries, as a result of the development of all the members of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid into industrial or industrial-agrarian countries, are paying increasing attention to international division of labor in industry, including division of labor between the world systems.

3. The efforts of the separate socialist states, aimed at directing the economy more rationally, have also increased the possibility of and need for developing ties between the two world systems.

4. With the division of labor within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid becoming increasingly efficient, additional opportunities for extending cooperation between the two world systems have been created.

5. With the growth of competition, the industrial capitalist countries, despite the fact that most of them are parties to the aggressive NATO bloc and prohibit trade in certain goods with socialist countries, are feeling a growing need to draw on all the opportunities afforded by division of labor between the two world markets to raise the productivity of labor.

6. The new distribution of markets as a result of economic integration in Western Europe prompts the weaker enterprises to look for new outlets in the socialist countries.

7. There is a growing realization in the capitalist countries that the impediments to peaceful coexistence raised by state-monopoly interests, far from yielding the desired results, can only harm their own economy. Sober conclusions drawn from this fact by one imperialist government will eventually compel others to reassess their policy.

It should be noted that some of the contacts established by Western countries with the socialist world system only seem to be prompted by genuine economic motives, while actually being designed to serve unsavory political ends. Considerations of economic advantage are thus interwoven with schemes aimed at undermining peaceful coexistence. The decisive factors always are the concrete content, the conditions, the tangible significance and the foreseeable consequences of the relations in question. Whatever the motives and ultimate aims of one or another set of capitalists and bourgeois politicians in

establishing economic contacts between the world systems, only those can hope to succeed who sincerely seek peaceful cooperation.

The technological revolution accentuates the already obvious need for a division of labor between the industrial countries of both systems. Far-reaching changes in production and trade structures make broader cooperation increasingly imperative. By creating a need for more capacious markets they tend to promote, under competitive pressures, economic intercourse between socialist and capitalist industrial countries. The greater the technological progress, the better the objective opportunities for specialization and cooperation. Indeed, it may already be said that the possibilities as regards rational international specialization and cooperation are to all intents and purposes boundless. Even with an overall division of labor within both systems developed to the maximum possible at any given moment, there are countless separate opportunities for specialization and coordination between the capitalist and socialist industrial countries.

ENTERPRISES AND ECONOMIC CONTACTS BETWEEN THE WORLD SYSTEMS

The socialist countries engage in cooperation between the systems for different reasons than do those of the industrial capitalist states. They regard it as a means to ensure peaceful coexistence and the triumph of socialism through economic competition for they seek to defeat capitalism economically and have no intention of trying to impose their domination over other countries.

The capitalist enterprises and states are, on the contrary, prompted by ulterior motives. They hope to influence the economy of their socialist trading partners and in this way to extend and consolidate their monopoly throughout the world, to intensify and extend the sphere of exploitation, to destroy present and future competitors, to strengthen their foothold in the developing countries, and to win the dominant position on the markets, with all the consequences attendant on such domination. In this way they hope to achieve political supremacy and economic domination on a world scale. But in spite of these contradictory aims rooted in the differences between the socio-economic systems, there are also some common motives for promoting economic contacts stemming from the specific requirements of production proper. These include:

1. The striving to ensure a supply of the means of production and other requirements

through cooperation between the two world systems, to increase the productivity of labor, win new markets and secure higher profits. The more effective the cooperation, i.e., the more rational the production structure and the less effort invested in low-return production at home, the greater the profit or income, which is a measure of the efficacy of the division of labor. The more cooperation stimulates labor productivity, the greater the returns. This in turn ensures a higher rate of accumulation and extended reproduction along the most up-to-date lines, in a word, more rapid economic growth.

2. The striving to enter new areas of production through cooperation and in this way participate in the creation of added values abroad.

3. The striving to realize the values produced annually and, consequently, also the surplus product, through cooperation between the world systems.

The surplus product increased or realized in this way is for the socialist economy by no means an end in itself, as profit is under capitalism. The important thing is that the returns of the national economy make for the maximum satisfaction of the requirements of all members of socialist society.

THE NEW QUALITY OF EUROPEAN ECONOMIC RELATIONS

The laws operating in the sphere of relations between the world systems reflect the growing impact of the socialist system on international relations. They are not yet socialist laws of development inasmuch as they stem from relationships between socialist and capitalist owners of the means of production. But the regularities typical of the international capitalist division of labor have already ceased to dominate in this sphere. At the same time the laws governing the international socialist division of labor have not yet gained dominance. The newly emerging relations between the two systems are basically founded on the principles of equality and mutual advantage, as well as respect for the interests of all countries. The extent to which this new content asserts itself depends, of course, on the concrete circumstances.

Clearly, the socialist countries can draw on these new regularities in developing their economy. At the same time it should be borne in mind that cooperation between the two systems and, consequently, the process of reproduction in the socialist countries, may be disrupted by the laws of capitalism which can lead, for instance, to the bankruptcy of capitalist trading partners, state

monopoly interference in relationships between the world systems, and so on.

Economic relations between the European industrial socialist and capitalist countries have clearly entered a new phase. On the whole, contacts are expanding and extending from the sphere of circulation to that of production, for once under way, cooperation tends to obey its own inner logic.

In the sphere of relationships between the world systems, too, the present stage of socialization of production demands at least a measure of coordination of production and the market as well as of future economic relations. Consequently, division of labor between the systems links not only the national markets through foreign trade but, to a certain extent and in a variety of ways, the national economies as well.

More and more countries are being brought within the orbit of this division of labor. A striving towards more active economic intercourse with the socialist countries is making itself felt in both the EEC and EFTA countries. In view of the growth of industrial equipment exports from the EEC countries, the French business world and government are particularly interested in concluding long-term credit agreements with the socialist countries. West German industrialists are sounding the ground primarily with a view to a measure of industrial cooperation with enterprises in the European socialist countries, although their motives are not always purely economic. A desire to promote similar cooperation is evident also in France and Belgium. In the case of Holland and Belgium the contacts mainly take the form of trade. Of the EFTA group, Britain and also Austria are displaying a greater interest in the division of labor between the two world systems. Britain has clearly taken the lead in this group as regards long-term credit agreements and cooperation in the sphere of industrial and agricultural production.

That we are entering a new phase is evident also from the trend towards agreements covering longer periods.

The most unstable but by no means the least important form of contact between the world systems is the anonymous market relationships, i.e., trade without direct contact between producers and consumers. More stable are the production relations of financially and juridically independent enterprises. These take the form, for instance, of licence arrangements and, exerting an influence on the production of the seller, lead to long-term agreements on exchange of goods as well as temporary trade arrangements. Mention should also be made of short-term limit-

ed specialization and coordination in the manufacture of certain goods. Finally, there is temporary cooperation in the form of specialized labor in joint undertakings in one of the countries party to the arrangement or in third countries.

A more intensive form is beginning to appear in the shape of production links and sales arrangements between enterprises connected with one another by financial or juridical ties.

POSSIBLE FORMS OF COOPERATION

Other forms of division of labor between the two world systems may also be envisaged. Some of them are already asserting themselves in the socialist countries, while others are now employed only in relations between capitalist partners. They include joint market studies, exchange of patents and licences, joint use of raw material sources, specialization on particular types of output, sale of the partner's output, agreements on mutual provision of service and maintenance facilities, joint research and sales organizations, and, under certain conditions, financial participation, for instance through patents.

This, however, raises the problem of the surplus product, which under capitalism is converted into surplus value appropriated by the capitalist class in the shape of profit and under socialism is directly or indirectly expended in the interests of all members of society. When the two systems are involved, the question is whether the transfer of the surplus product from one system to the other is justified or not, and if so, to what extent.

It is in the interests of the masses striving for socialism that production should increase steadily and proportionally — and cooperation between the world systems can help to ensure this — since the restrictions imposed by the monopolies on the development of the productive forces can only be detrimental to them. At the same time the working people naturally seek to prevent the surplus value from accruing only to the exploiters. Consequently, since the peoples stand to gain from the promotion of new areas of production while restricting exploitation to the greatest possible extent, it would be a mistake to oppose, in fighting capitalist plunder, either the development of these new areas or cooperation between the world systems.

Socialist changes can be achieved only through struggle to develop the productive forces and to win for the working people a growing share in the national income. Hence if the socialist countries were to obtain part

of the additional surplus product created in capitalist conditions, not only would the socialist world system be strengthened — which in itself would have favorable consequences for the working people in the capitalist countries — but the latter too would benefit directly (with regard to wages, social services and employment and educational opportunities), depending, of course, on the type of cooperation and the property relations at the capitalist enterprises involved in the partnership.

Needless to say, the scale of the cooperation and the volume of the profits transferred are vital considerations. Neither can hardly be visualized on a scale that would in any way approximate — even in isolated instances — to the proportions of the division of labor practised within the system.

FOR AN ALL-EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AGREEMENT

In order to benefit fully from the progress made in the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence in Europe and to ensure still greater advance, steps should also be taken to consolidate peaceful coexistence through agreements. In connection with the proposal made by the GDR government for a conference of all European countries to discuss continental security and cooperation, we feel that it would be timely to work for agreement on all-European economic cooperation on the basis of the Soviet proposals of 1955-56.

The fact that not only the working people but a substantial section of the bourgeoisie in Western Europe want closer economic relations between the two systems opens up broad opportunities for supplementing the political struggle for peaceful coexistence with economic struggle. The creation of a nuclear-free zone in the center of Europe, renunciation by Bonn of nuclear armaments and the policy of revenge, and peaceful settlement of all outstanding questions could create a favorable climate for closer economic collaboration between all the European countries.

Bi-lateral agreements paving the way to multi-lateral arrangements and also preliminary discussions and, possibly, negotiations concerning an agreement on cooperation could be directed at gradually implementing the following principles:

1. All inter-state relations should be based on respect for the sovereignty and equality of countries, self-determination and non-interference in internal affairs. Accordingly, an end should be put to discriminatory measures such as those called for by the Hallstein doc-

trine against countries seeking to normalize relations with the GDR.

2. Each country should enjoy the sovereign right to build up its independent national economy, maintain free, normal economic relations with all countries and take an equal part in all multi-lateral agreements and organizations. The GDR should, therefore, be given an opportunity to participate on an equal footing in cooperation within the framework of the United Nations.

3. In the interests of the economic progress of each country and to solve all-European problems, to support the developing countries and thereby promote the development of the world economy, all European countries, irrespective of social systems, should cooperate economically. Consequently, the Bonn government should cease its resistance to normal collaboration between the two German states.

4. Bi-lateral and multi-lateral agreements should be encouraged provided they are aimed at promoting the economy of the countries concerned on the basis of equality and mutual benefit and do not damage the interests of other countries.

5. Differences in social systems should in no way be made a justification for discriminatory measures such as are still being practised by the NATO powers with regard to the GDR.

6. European cooperation should be extended, to the extent the various countries desire, to the spheres of science, natural resources, agriculture, forestry, industry, trade, transport and tele-communications, banking and insurance.

7. The cooperation should be as close as the countries concerned desire.

8. The means released as a result of general and complete disarmament should be used for investment in the less developed areas, for instance, Southern Italy, as well as in the developing countries.

9. No agreements should impose limitations on cooperation with the developing countries or on international economic intercourse, within the framework of the United Nations, for instance.

The perspectives of peaceful coexistence in Europe will improve to the extent that such positive principles are recognized. On the other hand, successful advance towards disarmament and a collective security treaty would naturally pave the way to all-European economic cooperation regulated by agreement.

THE OBJECTIVE LIMITS OF ECONOMIC CONTACTS BETWEEN THE WORLD SYSTEMS

Despite the progress made in promoting economic contacts and the opportunities existing in this area, the division of labor between the two systems in Europe is still far from satisfactory as regards both extent and structure. Apart from the fact that contacts are restricted by refusal to accept peaceful coexistence, there are also limitations arising from differences in the national levels of development (discrepancies in productivity of labor and volume of production, not to mention such natural limiting factors as distances between countries. To this must be added the objective boundaries originating in the basic contradiction of capitalism and the main contradiction of our time — that between the two world systems.

The antagonistic contradiction between the productive forces and the capitalist relations of production gives rise to the contradictions, insoluble under capitalism, between national production and the national market and between capitalist production in general and the world capitalist market. It is also the reason for the contradiction between the international productive forces and the world market, between the working class of the whole world and international capital, which is expressed also in the contradiction between the two world systems.

In this sense the objective boundaries of the division of labor between the world systems are determined in the final analysis by the basic contradiction of capitalism, which is an obstacle to the full development of the productive forces on a world scale, to truly comprehensive and rational international division of labor, and to the rapid and steady growth of the world economy and its conduct in the interests of all humanity.

Cooperation between the world systems must necessarily stop short of the point where it might jeopardize the victory of socialism in the economic competition, the realization of the principles of peaceful coexistence, the advance of the newly-free countries or the struggle of the working people in the industrial capitalist countries. It cannot be carried to a point where the sovereignty of the socialist states and their freedom of action in one or another sphere are jeopardized; where production or its principal branches would be tied to capitalist partners for a prolonged period of time resulting in loss of independence. Nor should cooperation impinge adversely on areas of economy of decisive im-

portance from the standpoint of the security and viability of the socialist countries. Lastly, it cannot be allowed to lead to developments on the world capitalist market which would run counter to the principles of socialist foreign policy.

In defining the boundaries of cooperation it is necessary to be on guard against a static approach and to bear in mind that, as the productive forces develop, these boundaries will shift. Moreover, production relations may undergo changes in one or another capitalist country which would affect the division of labor between the two world systems. When the internal contradictions of capitalism first led to the emergence of the socialist world market, the capitalist world market, though it ceased to be all-embracing, nevertheless remained an integral entity. But today it is clearly losing its unified structure. Owing to the different paths of development taken by the newly-emerged national states, the capitalist world market today is marked by both pre-capitalist and capitalist property relations and even relations typical of the non-capitalist way. It comprises, besides capitalist national markets, also markets bearing the hallmark of non-capitalist development. Moreover, with the success of the struggle for structural reforms and a new democracy in Western Europe, the heterogeneity of its structure is bound to be accentuated further. The new feature of the capitalist world market is, then, that from the socio-economic standpoint it represents an amalgam of different types of national markets, and hence trade between the two world systems is a matter of cooperation not only between the two basic types but also between socialist markets and diverse intermediate stages of non-socialist markets. Consequently, we can already envision a future when far-reaching and durable mutual ties of cooperation in all or the principal areas of production will be established between independent enterprises in the socialist countries and in new democracies in Western Europe.

* * *

Let us review the basic features of the division of labor between countries with diametrically opposed social systems. They are:

1. Building economic contacts is an important component of the policy of peaceful co-existence and peaceful economic competition pursued by all the countries affiliated with the Council for Mutual Economic Aid. This

policy is based on the laws governing the development of the productive forces of socialism. Consequently, division of labor between the two world systems is one of the hallmarks of our time, the epoch of struggle between these systems and the transition from capitalism to socialism.

2. The nature of this division of labor is determined by the antagonistic contradiction of the world economy stemming from the contradiction between the social character of production and the private capitalist form of appropriation and also from the corollary, antagonistic contradictions of the capitalist world system. The antagonistic contradiction of the world economy derives also from the main contradiction between the two world systems.

3. Economic contacts between countries with opposite social systems develop in depth and breadth only as a result of the effort of the socialist countries and the progressive forces elsewhere for peaceful coexistence, and only in peaceful economic competition.

4. Division of labor between countries with differing social systems has a beneficial effect on the development of the productive forces and on the rate of growth of production in all countries. Combined with full use of technological achievements, it increases socialist accumulation, promotes the development of the socialist mode of production and the socialist world economy, thereby strengthening the positions of the socialist countries in the economic competition. But, needless to say, it does not resolve the basic contradiction of the capitalist mode of production and the capitalist world economy, although it accelerates socio-economic processes in the capitalist countries and ultimately leads to revolutionary change.

5. The opportunities for extending and deepening the division of labor between the world systems increase in proportion to the revolutionary processes leading to the regeneration of democracy in European capitalist countries and promoting national democracy in Asia, Africa and Latin America. But only socialist revolutions carried out by the respective peoples can create the prerequisites for removing the socially conditioned objective barriers restricting the division of labor between the world systems, and for building a world economy operating with maximum efficiency and ensuring all-round progress in the interests of all members of human society.

The scientific approach to political work

Some experiences of a regional organization of the CP of Czechoslovakia

J. KOZEL, J. KOVALCIKOVA

POLITICO-ECONOMIC FEATURES OF THE REGION AND THE PARTY'S TASKS

THE NORTH MORAVIAN REGION, with its big mineral deposits and highly developed, efficient industry, occupies an important place in the life of Czechoslovakia. Its occupational structure too is in many respects unique.

The region accounts for 85 per cent of the coal and pig iron, nearly 75 per cent of the steel and rolled metal, over 85 per cent of the coke and nearly 30 per cent of the motor trucks produced in the country. Other features are heavy investment spending and expansion of production capacity accompanied by growing output. In 1949-61 industrial output trebled.

However, high concentration of heavy-industry enterprises with emphasis on extensive rather than intensive conduct of the economy has also had a negative corollary in the disproportions which made themselves felt especially in 1961-62 and which retarded the growth of production. Manpower imbalances, insufficiency of transport, building materials and power and water supply, serious shortcomings in the public services and insufficient attention to living and working conditions generally (air pollution, for instance)—all this had an adverse effect on economic life.

With the rapid growth of the productive forces, far-reaching changes are taking place in the class and social structure of the region. The working class has grown considerably and its composition has changed with the inflow of workers to the newly-built enterprises from all parts of Czechoslovakia. This new labor force consists of people from different sections of

society, of different nationalities, with varying skill levels and different customs and ways of thinking. The constantly changing composition of the population makes for a high labor turnover at the enterprises.

Big changes have taken place also in the countryside. The cooperative farmers stand foursquare for socialism, but there still are many survivals of the period of small-scale production, in particular petty-bourgeois attitudes to life. Nor is this the case only in the countryside.

In villages in the vicinity of industrial centers where the bulk of the population consists of workers, political organization is at a rather high level. But the same cannot be said of the villages where the population is predominantly engaged in agriculture.

An important factor affecting the political cross-section of the region is the *big percentage of factory workers and miners*. The area's 335,000 industrial workers constitute a highly organized and politically conscious working class dedicated to the building of socialism. The Party's prestige among them is very high.

But for all that the workers are not a homogeneous body, falling as they do into groups at different levels of social consciousness, political knowledge and professional skill.

The most alert and best organized section, distinguished for its conscientious attitude towards labor and profound understanding of the needs of social development, consists of the socialist labor brigades sponsored by the trade unions. One-third of all the working people in the region go into this group.

It was the socialist labor brigades at the Klement Gottwald Iron and Steel Works at Vitkovice which initiated the movement for efficiency and quality of output that has spread to all parts of the country.

From the beginning it was clear that results of this movement would largely depend on the attitude of the technical personnel, for maximum quality could not be ensured without solving a multitude of technological, economic and organizational problems. Only by combining the workers' initiative with the knowledge of the technical intelligentsia could the success of the movement be guaranteed. At the same time, the participation of the latter heightened their activity not only in their particular sphere but in political and public life generally.

It was therefore to the technical intelligentsia that the Regional Committee of the Party turned first when we began to experiment with some new elements of planning and management at the metallurgical works.

It was discovered, however, that not everywhere had the Party organizations rid themselves of a sectarian attitude towards the technicians. They were not given sufficient political guidance and too little attention was paid to their ideological education. As a result we still find among specialists a conservative attitude toward progressive technical trends often espoused by the younger technicians, or else a predilection for fanciful schemes ignoring the actual conditions. On the whole, however, our technical intelligentsia is well equipped to effect the qualitative changes we want to see in our economy.

Our experience in Party work among the intellectuals highlights the need to differentiate between the various sections of the working people, to take into account their place in the social division of labor as well as the resultant differences in psychology, attitude to life, and experience. Differentiation in no way runs counter to the Party's aim to unite all sections of the working people; on the contrary, it helps to bring them all together on a common ground, to give proper direction to their joint, organized effort in all areas of public life.

Educating the youth is one of our most important political tasks. Young people who have grown up in the conditions of the new social system are now playing an increasingly influential part in all spheres of life.

Our attitude to young people was formulated thus: Get to know the youth, understand them, and conduct more serious work among them.

The youth eagerly responded, and this helped both the Communists and the working people generally to gain a deeper insight into the problems of the young people and to improve the methods used to prepare them to shoulder the responsibilities devolving on them in the building of the new society.

The need to improve political work among the population places big demands on the *primary Party organizations*, for it is these

that are in daily contact with the working people. And inasmuch as experience has shown that the effectiveness of the work done by the Party branches largely depends on the political level and initiative of their functionaries, particular attention had to be devoted to educational work among the latter.

The international and domestic political situation and the problems confronting the international Communist movement highlight the need to keep the membership informed on developments and to focus attention on *political education*. Fulfilment of the new economic and other tasks will depend on the ability of Party members to orientate independently, to display initiative in solving problems, and to implement the decisions of the Central Committee with due regard for the concrete conditions of each plant, town and region.

In view of this we have organized a system of permanent seminars, regional and local political schools, and evening schools and institutes of Marxism-Leninism, which have resulted in an improvement in training the functionaries of the local branches and ensuring their constant guidance.

The complexity of the socio-economic structure of the region and the magnitude of the tasks confronting the Party organizations prompted the Regional Committee to devote considerable attention to placing Party political work on a scientific footing.

HOW WE UNDERSTAND THE SCIENTIFIC APPROACH

The success of the latest measures endorsed by the Central Committee of the Party will depend on the individual effort of the people engaged in carrying them out. This greatly enhances the role the Communist Party is called upon to play as the prime motive force in society. Consequently, once the tasks were lined up, we focussed our attention on ensuring the maximum effectiveness of Party leadership.

Clearly, the correct solution of problems in any area of public life presupposes a scientific approach to reality and reliance on the collective experience and thinking of a large number of people. Above all it was necessary to rid ourselves of the notion, sincere perhaps but nevertheless naive, that the world around us will develop in conformity with our subjective ideas and wishes. We had to put an end to hasty decisions and learn to examine thoroughly all viewpoints and initiatives. Considered thought by no means implies hesitation and indecision; it permits a critical examination of results achieved and frank admission and rectification of mistakes. As a matter of fact, critical thinking is one of the cardinal factors of progress. Hence it is necessary to create a climate conducive to creative thought and the certainty that everything progressive will find realization in life.

A scientific approach to Party work should

help us make our contribution to developing some theoretical propositions as well. As it is, the Party has an organizational structure that fully enables it to outline tasks, influence the activities of the people generally, and to obtain the information necessary for all this. Besides, it has the assistance of research institutions and mass organizations to draw on. Latterly the conditions have greatly improved for a thorough examination of the various aspects of economic and public life.

The public control and statistical bodies, the banks, Party control bodies and other institutions gather and make available to the Party valuable factual data. Being adequately informed on the state of affairs, the economic and political scene, the activity, social attitudes and moods of the people, the Party has the wherewithal for exercising its leading role.

Nevertheless, the problem of putting Party work on a truly scientific basis remains a complicated one, requiring much attention.

It is from these premises that the Regional Committee proceeded to tackle the task. The purely empirical collection of facts is obviously insufficient to ensure correct decisions, nor is it enough for the Party and other bodies to limit themselves to resolutions on separate shortlived aspects of the situation.

At the same time the inadequacy of a one-sided approach to one or another issue from the economic, political or ideological angle alone has become apparent. It has become more necessary than ever before to go over to comprehensive solutions based on the consideration of all angles.

We should like to discuss the experience gained in organizing and conducting some research undertakings designed to bring Party work closer to day-to-day requirements.

It should be noted, however, that the examples we will cite here reflect only the initial stage of this work. In some cases we can draw some preliminary conclusions, in others the work has only begun.

One of the chief problems in our region is that of ending the fluctuation of labor power in both industry and agriculture.

STABILIZING OF THE LABOR FORCE IN THE MINES

This problem was put on the order of the day by economic circumstances, although its solution is not only of economic but also of major social significance. It is a far more complex question than would appear at first glance. For years both regional and central Party and governmental bodies worked on building up and stabilizing the labor force, and numerous decisions were taken on the remuneration of labor, housing construction, public catering, cultural services and social amenities in general, but no appreciable progress was made.

In 1945-63 coal output in the Ostrava-Karvinna basin increased threefold, from 8.6 million tons to 26.1 million. This naturally required

thousands of new workers. But although the annual recruitment rate is about 3,000 and every year some 8,000 miners and office workers renew their labor contracts, the absolute growth of the labor force at the mines remains negligible.

In view of this the Regional Committee endorsed a program of sociological research into the miners' living and working conditions in order thoroughly to assess the factors affecting the manpower balance.

The study was undertaken by a research institute in Ostrava with the participation of specialists working at the pits, doctors, teachers, etc. A dozen groups of specialists made a study of the conditions at the pits, living conditions, consumption and services, health, social, political, cultural and sporting activities, the part played by education in the life of the miners and their families, as well as family relationships.

As a point of departure the investigators took a number of scientific papers dealing with various aspects of the miners' conditions (researches on the movement of wages, the element of risk in mine work, occupational diseases, the effect of coal dust, etc., on the miners' health and productivity, and so on). Statistical data covering a prolonged period of time were drawn on.

Besides the basic sociological aspects of the investigation, other approaches with a more remote bearing on the problem were employed. For example, a study was made of court cases, miners' complaints, divorce cases, the progress made by the miners' children in school, and the material requirements of a selected one hundred families.

Two thousand miners, half of them attending mining schools and courses, were polled.

Although the study is not yet complete and the findings are still to be discussed by the presidium of the Regional Committee, we are already in a position to introduce corrections in some erroneous views that still have currency.

The motives prompting a man to choose work in the mines are far more complex than was assumed. The factors hitherto considered decisive (relatively high wages and better housing conditions) appear to be only one facet of the multiform influence exerted on the miner by his environment both at work and out of working hours.

On the one hand, his choice is influenced by the organizational, economic and technological aspects of the production process (shift work, working hours, pensions, labor-saving equipment, industrial hygiene, etc.). It is quite clear that labor productivity does not grow in proportion to the increase in mechanization (for although 80 per cent of the coal is extracted by machine, 80 per cent of the workers are nevertheless engaged in manual labor). Moreover, unless there is comprehensive mechanization, besides the physical load the factor of nervous strain makes itself felt.

On the other hand, there are also factors of a social order: the relationships between people, the organization and composition of the more efficient teams, the methods of resolving conflicts, the attitude of executive personnel to their subordinates, skills and the connected question of promotion. These determine the attitude of a worker to his own work, to the enterprise and its management and to political activity and life in general in the region.

The final results of the study will no doubt help to ascertain the priorities in these problems and serve as the basis for making differentiated and effective corrections in present practices.

If we are able to define the effect of the various factors at each mine it will be possible to take steps to help the miners, and especially the newcomers, to adapt themselves better to their working conditions and thereby stabilize the labor force.

The experience of this study was used also in examining the basic factors affecting the reproduction of labor power in agriculture.

REPRODUCTION OF LABOR POWER IN AGRICULTURE

To tackle this problem it is first essential to study the factors influencing the growth and structure of the labor force in the agricultural cooperatives and state farms. For this purpose, in addition to statistical data and the findings of various researches, investigators draw on information obtained through discussions, conferences and interviews with individual workers, with activists in villages and small rural towns, with regional officials, experienced teachers at agricultural schools, etc.

In some cases the findings of such investigations are made use of on the spot without waiting until the entire material has been finally processed. For example, in the Prerov district a new approach was worked out to investment and housing construction in the countryside.

The Regional Committee also studied the social and cultural conditions of the village youth and adopted a number of decisions on the basis of which the youth and sports organizations and the regional farm board outlined the necessary measures to be taken. The final results will be discussed by the ideological commission of the Regional Committee.

The above investigation is far from complete and hence it is premature to speak of any conclusive results. We mention it merely to give an idea of the approach to such studies at the initial stage.

IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS

In seeking to obtain a deeper knowledge of the life of the region and to exert a stronger influence thereon, the Party does not limit itself to a study of economic relations alone. While we believe that production relations are

the determining factor, we do not apply this principle mechanically or separate it from the multitude of interdependent factors involved. The purpose of the various surveys and investigations is not merely to ascertain the economic needs of the region.

To determine the exact degree of ideological and political consciousness of people is by no means simple. Nor are the results of their labor the sole criterion in this respect. It is necessary also to consider the degree of political, social and cultural activity, people's attitude to political problems beyond the bounds of their job, their family, or their home, in other words, to ascertain to what extent they think in terms of society as a whole. And it is not enough merely to ascertain and total up all these elements, it is necessary also to reveal their essence and assess them from the standpoint of the dynamics of their evolution.

To investigate the extent to which the scientific world outlook has gained ground among the population we went by the rule of contraries and made a study of its direct opposite, namely, religion, which in our region still has a strong hold over the population.

In 1963 a sociological survey was conducted by the Institute of Philosophy of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences with the participation of activists from the regional and district Party organizations. Conducted by the sample method, the investigation covered half of the districts of North Moravia. Questionnaires, distributed to the population, were answered by 1,405 persons over 20 years of age. The purpose of the survey was to determine the degree of religiosity of the population, its scope and depth, roots and trends, the influence of upbringing, the effectiveness of political work and the political approach to the question of religion.

Various other objective data and the experience of atheist propagandists were used in processing the results of the poll.

What did this survey reveal?

In the first place, that religion in the region has notably lost ground, while the level of conscious atheism has risen.

A comparison of the results of the 1963 poll with data for 1946 (based on a survey on religion in the Czech regions, including ours, where religion is more widespread than in the others) showed that today 30 per cent of the population are non-religious, as compared with under 12 per cent 17 years ago. However, the fact that a large section of the population is still undecided about religion, and that a good part of this section belongs to the younger generation, i.e., those who have grown up under socialism, points to the inadequacy of ideological work and the strong influence of the environment. This is something that will have to be taken into account in the future.

The biggest percentage of atheists is to be found among intellectuals (51 per cent); next come office workers (40 per cent), and third, industrial workers (24 per cent).

But although the percentage of atheists among workers is far below average we do not find a correspondingly high percentage of religious workers (30 per cent). The percentage of people who have no definite attitude toward religion is rather high. The workers are the only group in which the percentage of indefinite views on religion (46 per cent) is higher than the average for society as a whole. This suggests that the rejection of religion by the working class is more of a spontaneous process than a matter of conscious atheism.

The highest percentage of atheists (41 per cent) is found among the most class-conscious section of the working class, i.e., members of the socialist labor brigades, although 16 per cent of these are avowedly religious and 43 per cent have no definite views on religion, which is again considerably higher than average. This shows that even among these categories of workers the materialist outlook cannot be taken for granted.

The specific structure of the working class in the Ostrava area has a bearing on the workers' outlook here. The rapid development of industry brought to Ostrava many temporary or permanent workers recruited from rural areas where religious influences are particularly strong. A large number of workers came here from Slovakia or from the rural "hinterland" of our own region. Since as a rule most workers continue to live in the same environment in which they grew up or go home at least once a week, their contact with their original environment remains unbroken. True, here too a gradual assimilation with the new environment takes place as the newcomers acquire the customs and mode of thinking typical of industrial workers, but this is a slow process.

The lowest number of atheists (7 per cent) and the largest proportion of believers (73 per cent) are to be found among the peasantry.

As might be expected, with the spread of education and enlightenment the number of atheists increases while that of believers declines. The lowest percentage of believers is found among people with a higher education (6 per cent). The percentage of the religious among those with a professional or secondary education (21 per cent) is also below the average.

Answers to the question as to what the attitude to religion should be, with freedom of religion guaranteed by the Constitution, produced the following picture:

	For Promoting Religion	For Combating Religion	No Opinion
	(in percentages)		
Atheists	0.0	49	51
Believers	67.0	1	32
Indifferent	8.0	8	64
Total polled	23	19	58

The survey also showed that an attitude of indifference to religion is rather widespread,

even among intellectuals. It is noteworthy that only 30 per cent of people with a higher education are convinced of the need for active scientific materialist propaganda to overcome belief in the supernatural; 65 per cent favor an indifferent attitude to religion (a higher percentage than on the average).

This points to the need for effective propaganda of the materialist outlook, especially among intellectuals, who exert an important influence on the atheistic education of the masses.

Another important conclusion to be drawn from the survey is that people who turn away from religion too often tend to adopt vulgar-materialistic views rather than to acquire a scientific outlook.

In the light of the findings, the presidium of the Regional Committee of the Party noted that besides religion, people's outlook is influenced by a number of negative factors manifested in the form of survivals of the past and in the anti-social behavior on the part of some citizens. Consequently, while it is important to overcome religious prejudices, this is only part of the much broader context of educational work.

To free people from the influence of religion is a long process, requiring systematic and persevering work which can yield results only if important social changes are accompanied by effective ideological education.

Much attention was devoted to the need for a practical code of values that would serve people as a guide in solving problems such as:

1. Moral and material factors affecting attitude to work;
2. The relation between the interests of the individual and the community in socialist society;
3. Moral and ethical problems of the modern family.

* * *

All these researches—into the creative activity of the technical intelligentsia, the living and working conditions of miners, the factors governing the reproduction of labor power in agriculture, the religiosity of the population—are long-range undertakings that cannot be completed in a single year.

For this reason a number of researches on partial and narrower problems (the life of young people in the new urban areas) as well as a preliminary study of some statistical and experimental data (e.g., on attendance at theaters, etc.) have been undertaken on the initiative of the Regional Committee with a view to obtaining a more profound socio-political insight into contemporary life, supporting useful initiatives and benefiting by valuable experience. All this serves to extend the influence of the Party in all spheres of life.

Social and economic experimentation has also proved valuable for deepening the scientific approach to political work. Most useful, for example, on both state and regional levels,

were the economic experiments conducted at a number of enterprises to test new elements of the system of planning and management.

SOME CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD IN PRACTICAL POLITICAL WORK

The examples cited above enable us to draw some preliminary conclusions concerning the application of scientific methods to practical Party work.

We prefer not to endorse any one method or system to the exclusion of others. On the contrary, we would like to emphasize that all methods are acceptable provided they afford us a deeper and more accurate knowledge of reality and can help to make our political work more effective in each concrete instance.

Take sociological surveys, for example. Unless these are properly handled, mistakes such as that made by the activists of the Klement Gottwald Nova Huta iron and steel works are liable to occur. They distributed so many questionnaires and conducted so many polls at the works that the Party members naturally began to ask what was wrong with the Party committee: was it so ignorant of the workers' views on current problems, they asked, that it had to find out through questionnaires?

We have no intention of minimizing the importance of sociological surveys. On the contrary, we regard them as a highly useful method of acquiring information. Properly oriented and founded on Marxist concepts, these surveys can provide a deeper insight into the various aspects of the processes examined and can serve as a basis for scientifically substantiated Party decisions.

Such sociological research helps to reduce that element of subjectivism in Party work which is the complete antipode of scientific guidance; it helps to combat positivism and the non-scientific practice of lumping together all kinds of disconnected information—a method that completely precludes scientific generalization.

Experience has shown that the best results are achieved when sociological surveys are conducted by teams of experts specializing in various fields of public life who are capable of making broad generalizations on the basis of the material studied. Besides experienced researchers and practical workers we included in these teams young researchers and teachers from higher schools who could at the same time use the findings for their theses for scientific degrees.

At the present time we are considering the advisability of including in these teams experienced and capable workers from the Regional Committee who could study themes bearing on Party work.

We are also contemplating conducting re-

search into Party life, and setting up a sector of sociology, Party policy and information.

* * *

But sociological research is not the only form of scientific study of reality, nor is it an end in itself. The findings of such research and other forms of study of the situation and the views and sentiments of the working people are not in themselves a guide to action. They are merely the stuff of which correct decisions are made. The findings of diverse researches and surveys are, then, only half the battle. These findings, theoretically generalized, should be discussed by the activists concerned, and a project drawn up of concrete long-term measures by which the corresponding bodies, including the Party bodies, could be guided, and only after this should they be examined and endorsed by the Regional Party Committee.

This method enables us to go on from the study of concrete phenomena to theoretical classification and generalization of findings, and, finally, to conclusions that will be valid over a prolonged period. All this will not only heighten the effectiveness of the Party's practical work but will enrich it theoretically as well.

The study of social processes and phenomena is not an end in itself for our Party, it is the means of ensuring the correct guidance of society. The Party is the inspirer and organizer of the masses, uniting and mustering their forces. Its task is to set the masses in motion, to probe to the essence of social phenomena; it must be able to generalize experience and provide the perspective and the long-range solutions of vital problems.

It was found that the best results are obtained when research is combined with intensive political activity by Party bodies, with the extension of political work among the masses, and real, not formal, unity of the Party and the people. It should be stressed that researches of the type discussed here should be a component of, but not a substitute for, Party work, for after all, not everything requires such exhaustive study. Moreover, the primary Party organizations which are unencumbered by formalism, have gained sufficient experience in the course of their day-to-day activities to be able to take independent decisions without having recourse to detailed studies. Politics, when all is said and done, is not only a science, it is also an art. Leading Party cadres should be able to sense correctly what forms and methods to use in the solution of one or another problem.

The Regional Committee is presently searching for methods of work that would take account of objective tendencies and requirements and direct the initiative of the Communists and working people generally toward creating the conditions that would give the green light to any progressive tendency. We aim to pass over from simple empiricism to a deeper appraisal of the various economic,

social and ideological processes, in order creatively to elaborate and implement the line of the Party.

We may say that the steps taken to apply the scientific method to Party leadership, to employ more consistently the method of analy-

sis and perspective founded on scientific data and the initiative of a broad range of workers, and to place political guidance of economic and social processes and the organizational work involved on a scientific footing are already beginning to bear fruit.

Some results of the new system of economic management in the GDR

LAST JUNE THE Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany invited delegations of Party and economic workers from other socialist countries to visit the German Democratic Republic to acquaint themselves with the initial experience gained in applying the new principles of economic management adopted in the GDR.

The delegations — from Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Korea, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia — included leading workers of Party and state bodies and central planning organizations, as well as economic executives and researchers.

For ten days they studied planning and management practices in industry, agriculture and construction, the results of the use of economic levers, and the structure of industrial amalgamations.

The representatives of the fraternal countries heard reports by G. Mittag, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, SUPG; A. Neumann, member of the Political Bureau and Chairman of the National Economic Council; K. Hager, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee; G. Grueneberg, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee; W. Jarowsky, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee; W. Junker, Minister of Construction, and H. Kaminski, Deputy Minister of Finance.

The delegates visited construction and agricultural exhibitions, industrial enterprises and an agricultural cooperative, and had talks with workers of industrial amalgamations.

In conclusion they met with W. Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Central Committee, SUPG, and Chairman of the State Council of the GDR.

The elaboration of the basic principles of the new system of economic planning and management in the GDR was completed in 1963, and since 1964 it has been applied in practice.

W. Ulbricht and other speakers stressed that the GDR is only at the beginning of the new road, that much remains to be done by the whole people before the aims are reached, that many problems still await solution. But the initial results of the new methods of economic management already show that the course charted is the correct one.

In his report A. Neumann said that already in 1964, the first year the basic principles of the new economic system were extensively applied in industry, the country made substantial economic headway.

The rate of industrial growth during the year was 6.7 per cent, i.e., higher than in 1963, mainly due to the 6.5 per cent increase of labor productivity. Industrial amalgamations and enterprises began to conduct their affairs more efficiently, to spend funds and materials more rationally and economically. As a result investments became less scattered and began to bring returns already in 1.3

years, and the profitability of the enterprises increased. Although not all these successes are due directly to the application of the new principles of economic planning and management, it is clear that the qualitative changes in the economy are stimulated by the new economic system.

G. Mittag showed in his report that the adoption of the new system was an objective necessity dictated by the needs of full-scale socialist construction. To attain a level of labor productivity higher than under capitalism technological progress must be accelerated, up-to-date machinery and technology introduced, and industry in general modernized on the basis of the achievements of the current scientific and technological revolution.

Awareness of these new features of the development of the productive forces prompted the quest for an adequate form of economic management.

The new system is based on the principle proclaimed in the SUPG program: "What is good for society should be good for the enterprise and for each worker."

The visitors were acquainted with the vast theoretical and organizational work done by the Party in elaborating the new system and preparing for its application in practice. The German Communists set out by studying the role of science in the development of the productive forces and in guiding the life of society, and promoting in every way the development of scientific research. As a result, important conclusions were drawn which determined the character of the new system of economic management. Speaking at the Ninth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, Ulbricht said: "Some comrades find it possible to rest content with the fact that the socialist production relations have triumphed, i.e., that the *relations of production now conform to the productive forces*. But, important as this achievement is, the problem should not be approached schematically. These comrades have overlooked the fact that *present-day socialist society needs a much higher level of development and faster growth of the productive forces than was thought necessary before*. This applies to the production relations as well. They should be developed in such a way as to *stimulate to the utmost the growth of the productive forces*. This conclusion led to the elaboration of the new system of economic planning and management in the GDR."

The entire system of human relations in the process of production, in the opinion of the German comrades, should stimulate the development of the productive forces to the utmost. What is in question is not only pro-

perty relations which, in the final analysis, determine the character of the production relations in all their manifestations, but also relations which emerge in connection with the distribution of the products of labor, with participation in industrial management and the solution of social problems with an essential bearing on the shaping of production relations. In this sense the changes in the system of economic planning and management in the GDR reflect the objective process of the development of the socialist relations of production in the conditions of a rapid growth of the productive forces.

The German comrades, stressing the political significance of the new economic system, emphasize that it is affecting more and more not only the economic but also the social life of the country. Scientific methods of economic management tolerate neither subjectivism nor voluntarism; objectively, they call for active participation of the workers in the management of the enterprise. Thus, the deepening of democracy in economic management is an essential corollary of the new system and an earnest of the successful realization of the technological revolution.

In his report G. Mittag dwelt at length on work with cadres. Implementation of the new principles of management presents new demands on leading cadres and sets new tasks for the Party bodies. Success of the new methods largely depends on the executives getting rid of the old style of work, eschewing arbitrary solutions of economic problems, and basing themselves on economic considerations. The greater economic independence of industrial amalgamations and enterprises immeasurably increase the responsibility of their managers and all workers for their functioning. This combination of independence and responsibility will stimulate initiative and make it possible to adopt important decisions. But it also demands of the executives profound economic and technical knowledge, daring, readiness to bear responsibility, sober calculation and discipline. Addressing the delegations, Ulbricht said that the Central Committee was advancing young executives to leading positions in the economy and replacing those who cannot keep up with the times.

All this enhances the role of the Party organizations in the enterprises. During a visit to the Farbenfabrik Chemical Works in Wolfen members of the delegations met with the secretary of the local Party committee who described the changes in the activities of the Party organization to them. Its efforts are aimed at awakening every worker to the need

to take an active part in running the enterprise, promoting democracy in production, and imbuing each worker with a sense of being a co-owner interested in the thriving of the works and responsible for its failures. With this aim in view production conferences are held regularly, and production committees consisting of representatives of the management, engineers, technicians and workers have been set up. Other ways of stimulating mass activity are being explored as well.

The German Communists attach great importance to fostering a socialist way of thinking so that the changes taking place in the development of the productive forces and production relations should be reflected in the ideological sphere. The new forms of mass organization and the higher requirements in educational and ideological work in the conditions of the new economic system make it imperative to put Party work on a scientific footing and to concentrate the efforts of the Party organizations on political, ideological and educational tasks. "We are against the Party apparatus undertaking tasks belonging to the state leadership," Mittag said in this connection.

Ulbricht stressed that the realization of the new system proceeds in struggle between the old and the new. The process is not a simple one, it involves the solution of complex tasks. Experience has already shown the need to introduce a number of adjustments in concrete forms of management.

During talks with representatives of the fraternal countries the German comrades stressed the need correctly to correlate planning and economic levers, specifically profits. Neumann said in his report: "Our basic premise is that the plan is, and will remain, the principal instrument of our economic policy . . . To give primacy to profit under the new economic system would be to ascribe a function to it which only the national economic plan as a whole can perform. Profit undoubtedly occupies a rightful place in the new system and plays an important role as a yardstick of the performance of enterprises and industrial amalgamations. But while we place due emphasis on this particular significance of profit, we must resolutely resist the temptation to regard it as the sole criterion. In principle, only the plan can embrace and regulate the totality of economic relations on a national scale." Experience has shown that overestimation of the role of profit can lead to negative results, in particular, disproportions in the output of some products, due to excessively high, or, on the contrary, low profitability.

The new system has presented serious demands on planning. In the GDR planning is no longer based on the level already achieved. It is becoming a matter of analytical research concerning not only the state planning bodies but also the industrial amalgamations and enterprises.

Details of the new system of planning were given to the fraternal guests by Neumann and by workers of the amalgamation of enterprises producing mining, hoisting and transporting equipment and the amalgamation of the lignite industry, which the delegations visited.

The compilation of the plan is accompanied by a profound study of the potentialities of the enterprise, its reserves for increasing production. The plan is based on the anticipated progress of science and technology, the achievements of which determine the character of production for the period in question. In this connection the German comrades attach much importance to research into the dynamics of demand, changes in requirements, etc. When the principal trends of development are determined, the application of economic levers, provided they are flexible and controlled by economic bodies, becomes the decisive means of attaining the aims set. An essential feature of the new principles of planning is the interest shown by the personnel of the enterprises in not minimal but optimal targets.

Stressing the role of planning does not mean underrating cost accounting, incentives and value categories—price, production cost, and profit. On the contrary, close attention is paid in the GDR to these important instruments of the socialist economy. Kaminski, speaking on the role of prices and finance, stressed that the utilization of economic levers presupposes above all radical improvement of the system of prices. Today wholesale prices in industry are being revised. In fixing the prices of goods, account is taken of the socially necessary expenses. A sliding price scale depending on quality is being introduced. The new prices should establish correct exchange proportions, facilitate the introduction of new technology and, to a certain degree, take account of the investments required in a given branch of production. But the reform has not yet been completed, and hence regulation of production by economic stimuli must still be perfected. Moreover, experience shows that although the introduction of a single system of prices corrects many shortcomings, it cannot meet all requirements as regards prices under the new economic system. Above all prices should play a bigger part than before in saving so-

cial labor. In this respect much significance is attached to the correct estimation of funds. Much has been done in the GDR to reassess the production funds in industry, and new depreciation rates have been fixed. The inclusion of deductions from these funds in the price will contribute to their more rational utilization and enhance the economic role of prices. Moreover, the German comrades maintain that prices should reflect not only the amount of social labor contained in a commodity but also its social use value, replaceability and the extent to which it meets the needs of the consumer. Both the amounts of labor needed for the production of goods and their consumer properties change with the advance of technology. Hence, Kaminski said, it is felt that prices should be flexibly geared to the changing conditions of production and consumption. This is a complex task, but its solution will make it possible to make better use of value categories as an instrument of planning and management of production.

Close attention was paid to problems of organization of production and the functioning of the industrial amalgamations — the basic independent organizations founded on the principles of cost accounting which manage the various branches of industry. The German comrades consider the amalgamations a form of industrial management well suited to the conditions of the GDR, and intend to continue improving their functioning and strengthening their economic independence. With the creation of the amalgamations and the transfer of all current work

involved in directing the branch into their hands, the functions of the ministries, the Council of National Economy and other central administrative bodies have changed substantially. They now concentrate on key problems pertaining to the development of the branch, prominent among which is scientific and technological advance.

The guests learned much of interest about other economic problems in the GDR—the policy of investments, utilization of the finance and credit system in the new conditions, specific features of conducting home and foreign trade, the new tasks of educating cadres in conformity with the demands of the new economic system, the development of science and the organization of research. The German comrades acquainted the delegates with the development of agriculture, the organization of cooperatives, the work of peasants' congresses which represent a democratic form of agricultural management.

The meeting in Berlin was extremely fruitful. It helped to give a better idea of the substance of problems, many of which confront the majority of the socialist countries. At the same time participants spoke about the difficulties encountered in perfecting planning and management of the socialist economy. However, the experience of the GDR and other socialist countries engaged in solving the problems of economic management and planning shows that these difficulties will be overcome, for progress in these spheres is an objective component of the advance of socialism.

W. ALTER

The U.S. government and the economic cycle

V. PERLO

STATE MONOPOLY CAPITALISM has grown immensely more complex and all-pervasive in economic life. The "self-reliant entrepreneur" no longer depends on his own "initiative" in crucial social relations internally or internationally. His system of exploitation increasingly conflicts with the technical and organizational structure of production. It is ever more strongly challenged by more progressive social forces. Countering these, he uses the state apparatus to reinforce and protect his profit-taking in a thousand ways.

Traditionally the most powerful and influential tycoons used the state to raise profits through armaments orders, subsidies, and support for foreign investments. The entire capitalist class used the state to hold down wages, manipulate price increases, and shift the tax burden to labor. These practices continue, more aggressively than ever.

But there is added a new set of functions, to stabilize the capitalist economy and stimulate its growth. These functions are on behalf of all the top monopoly groups, and the system itself. The leading magnates support them, and to some extent are willing to subordinate particular interests to them — although in practice little is done to impinge adversely on any major group. The new policy objectives are:

1. To minimize the business cycle, and if possible to eliminate totally its downward phase.

2. To increase the long-term rate of economic growth.

Attempts to moderate the business cycle have been important throughout the postwar period. But these efforts have reached a qualitatively higher level of intensity and pointedness in the past several years. The attempt to achieve a higher growth rate as a specific goal is quite new.

The change is illustrated by comparing key sections of the Economic Report of the President for 1957 and 1965. The earlier report defines government responsibilities as follows:

"First, Government must pursue policies that give positive encouragement to the spirit of enterprise. Second, Government must exercise a strict discipline over its expenditure. Finally, it must pursue policies that will help maintain high levels of production and employment. . . ."

"But Government cannot assume exclusive responsibility for the smooth functioning of our enterprise system, nor can it guarantee sustained economic growth. Even an attempt to do so would involve intervention on a scale incompatible with the fundamental character of our enterprise system, based on the belief that, when regulation is minimized, the energies and talents of the individual are more fully released. . . ."

The 1965 report says:

"In 1964, the United States passed a watershed in economic policy. . . . A new era for economic policy is at hand. A wide consensus of responsible opinion now recognizes that Federal fiscal policy must be geared to keep the economy moving ahead. . . . No law of

nature compels a free market economy to suffer from recessions or periodic inflations. As the postwar experience of Western Europe and Japan already indicates, future progress need not be interrupted even though its pace may vary from year to year."

Clearly, this later statement directly contradicts the earlier one. The means of striving to achieve the ends of the new policy are the Keynesian fiscal and monetary measures, with emphasis on the former, as explained in the 1965 report:

"The instruments of fiscal policy—purchases of goods and services, transfer payments, subsidies, grants-in-aid, and taxes—are the Government's most powerful tools for expanding or restraining overall demand. . . . The basic task of Federal fiscal policy is to help provide a total market demand for goods and services that neither exceeds nor falls short of the economy's productive capacity at full employment. Maintaining this continuous balance . . . normally involves two basic requirements. First, since total productive capacity grows steadily over time, total demand must grow. Second, since fluctuations in private demand occur independently of Federal policy, these fluctuations must be offset in order to avoid dips or surges that could touch off recession or inflation."

The report adds that since 1960 a third, catch-up requirement was added:

"Thus, in the last four years the main challenge to U.S. policy has been to stimulate a massive growth in total demand, sufficient not merely to *keep up* but to *catch up* with the growth of productive capacity. During the past four years, fiscal policy has been dominated by this purpose."

Government practice has changed in conformity with the changed policy. Formerly monetary policy was the leading instrument. The Government limited the supply of credit in boom periods, to avert the danger of a financial crisis, and increased the supply in periods of recession. Fiscal policy was used sparingly, mainly by increasing military orders in time of recession, and holding down government spending in boom time. Now the Government attempts to keep credit "easy" even at high boom levels, and strives to give continuous budgetary stimulus especially when signs of a coming downturn appear, in order to forestall it.

EMERGENCE OF THE NEW POLICY

This change did not take place because of the shift from a Republican to a Democratic Administration, although that accelerated the change, since the Democrats have always

been closer to the pro-Keynesian groups of capitalists. But the decisive thing was the changed attitude of most of the main capitalist groups connected with both parties. Formerly only a minority advocated aggressive, continuous government intervention for the stated purposes. Now the decisive power centers do. This change in attitude was in response to powerful pressures fundamental to the history of these eight years.

The first impetus was the intensified economic and scientific competition with the USSR. American capitalists began to worry about it as early as 1955. But it took the first Sputnik, launched in the autumn of 1957, to shock the entire bourgeoisie, and spur major groups into action. The Rockefeller Brothers, with the help of some other leading oligarchs, issued their policy report urging a marked increase in government intervention to raise the economic growth rate to five per cent. But this was still rejected by the majority of top capitalists. The view continued to predominate that the growth rate was determined by "natural causes" and could not be tampered with successfully, nor was there need to do so.

The incoming Kennedy Administration assumed power in an atmosphere of economic defeat and imminent major losses for U.S. imperialism in the world arena. It responded with segments of the Rockefeller program, particularly a radical increase in the military budget, amounting to 30 per cent in three years. This accompanied multiplied intervention in Vietnam and more brazen interference in many other countries' affairs. The Kennedy Administration also continued the Eisenhower program of cutting taxes on the capitalists, but along the Rockefeller-recommended lines of specifically gearing the cuts to stimulate investment.

The 1961 recession ended soon, but the ensuing recovery ground to a halt by the second half of 1962. New pressures converged on U.S. imperialism. Rival imperialist powers, partly by use of far-reaching measures of state economic intervention, achieved fast economic growth. West Germany, Japan, France, and Italy were winning market positions from the U.S. Political currents against U.S. imperialism in the developing countries were swelling. Domestically the Negro people's liberation struggle reached massive, nationwide proportions. U.S. imperialism sought to contain it with trivial concessions, not essentially changing the super-exploitation of Negro Labor. For that purpose it required a higher percentage of total employment, so that more marginal jobs could go to Negroes.

Kennedy proposed in 1962 a government

goal of achieving a long-term growth rate of 4-4½ per cent, and a policy of intervening more rapidly when recessions began. However, his program was not well developed, and had inadequate support in Congress and among the main capitalists. The National Association of Manufacturers still adhered to a balanced budget, reduction of federal spending, and "a minimum of interference with private economic activity and expansion." The big Wall Street banks tended to go along with this.

But very shortly the Caribbean crisis brought about a significant change in the approach of America's ruling circles. The heroism of Cuba, the firm stand of the Soviet Union, which forced U.S. imperialism to call off its imminent invasion of Cuba, brought realization to the United States that a thermonuclear war would bring intolerable devastation to this country and its population, nor would it spare the capitalists and their property.

While intensifying aggressions against weak countries, the U.S. imperialists began to realize the need to reduce the danger of a third world war. This led to the partial nuclear test ban treaty and the levelling off of military spending in mid-1963. With a military showdown less desirable, economic competition with the USSR became much more important to the American capitalists, especially since Soviet production already stood at 65 per cent of the U.S. level.

The assassination of Kennedy, and the accession of Johnson, more completely trusted as "their man" by Wall Street, accelerated full emergence of the new economic policy. During 1964 such conservative voices as the bulletin of the First National City Bank and the Morgan Guaranty Trust Co., and the Bank of New York chairman, came out for aggressive federal fiscal policies to encourage economic growth and counter cyclical tendencies.

A major expression of the new policy was the 14,000 million tax cut of 1964-65. Originally proposed by Kennedy, this made slow progress during 1963, but was passed easily under Johnson. During the same years, Congress passed measures providing for an increase of half that amount in public sector spending, while new tax cuts were proposed by Johnson in 1965.

CLASS CONTENT OF THE NEW POLICY

The general goals of faster economic growth and ending depressions are neutral. Like good weather, everybody is for them. The significant questions concern how the

government will strive to achieve these ends, in whose benefit and at whose cost.

The capitalists wish to spur growth in ways that raise the rate of exploitation of labor and the accumulation of capital, especially abroad. They want lower taxes on themselves, and increased spending for armaments and for business subsidies, with only a minimum of outlays valuable to the masses. The workers wish to spur growth in ways that increase their welfare most, which reduce their exploitation and suffering from unemployment, discrimination and poverty. They want the tax burden shifted off their shoulders to the billionaires. They want higher federal spending only for welfare purposes and the public sector — such as health, education, and social security.

In practice the new economic policy is wholly dominated by finance capital, restrained somewhat by the potential of labor. The aims have become more far-reaching, but the class essence is like that of Hoover's "trickle down" policy — giveaways to big capital, from which benefits are claimed to filter down to the workers. *Fortune* graphically describes how the modern executive committee of the ruling class carries out this new policy:

"For while government is moving into an active role in the nation's economic affairs, it is moving with the advice and consent of business. Literally hundreds of corporate executives are on the President's famous telephone list, and find their counsel sought and considered on high economic matters; scores have ready access to the White House to argue their cases on matters of policy that might affect them . . . Johnson has preached and practised the gospel that the U.S. rides on its economy, and the economy rides on the state of American business . . . all over town the speech writers declaim fervently and almost gratefully on the creative power of the American business system."

Johnson, says *Fortune*, has constructed his economic management team like a corporation executive staff, and with corresponding personnel. Defense Secretary McNamara of Ford, Commerce Secretary Connor of Merck (and the Morgan group), Treasury Secretary Fowler, the Wall Street lawyer, are cited as examples. Particular praise is showered on Under Secretary of State Thomas Mann, the Texan who organized Johnson's Latin American policy in the tradition of the land grabbers and cattle rustlers. Mann "has won the complete respect of such international businessmen as David Rockefeller and J. Peter Grace for his intelligent and realistic hand-

ling of the Alliance for Progress. Fowler's appointment is described as most significant for growth policy: "He is a 'businessman's Keynesian,' accepting as necessary and desirable the need for government to stimulate the economy toward full employment of all its resources, but holding with a ferocious tenacity to the faith that growth will be successful only as it removes the burdens from business and allows the private sector to fill an ever larger role in shaping the nation's, and the world's economic development."

The pro-capitalist content of Government economic policies is evident in the resolution of all major issues:

1. Revenue Policies

Government spending to stimulate the economy can be financed by various combinations of borrowing and taxation. Borrowing is most advantageous for the financiers. Their savings, piled up in the banks, get an interest return at the ultimate expense of the mass of taxpayers. Also, the more the Federal Government borrows, the more interest rates are pushed up all along the line. So the interest income of the rich increases more rapidly than the country's debts. Between 1954 and 1964, the federal debt increased 14 per cent, but federal interest payments increased 68 per cent, while interest income in the entire economy increased 147 per cent to \$36,000 million, thereby exceeding by a wide margin the total of all social insurance and similar benefit payments.

The new policy will tend to accelerate the growth of the interest tribute. The former policy called for budget deficits only during recessions, to be counterbalanced by surpluses in prosperity periods, with very little long-term growth in the Federal debt. The present policy envisages substantial deficits most of the time, with no offsetting surpluses, and a virtually continuous growth in the Federal debt.

Taxes collected from the wealthy and their corporations are being reduced radically relative to profits, while the tax burden on workers increases. Although the 1964 Federal individual tax reduction applied at all income levels, the widest cuts, relatively as well as absolutely, were at the top. With the parallel corporation tax cut, wealthy stockholders obtained a double benefit. Meanwhile, the very low personal exemptions were not reduced. Thus, as prices and money incomes rise in the creeping inflationary process characteristic of postwar America, the effective rate of taxes on workers increases. Johnson's proposed excise tax cuts will benefit labor somewhat, although the powerful auto monopolies and others directly affected may be

able to retain most of the gain for themselves. Whatever is passed on to consumers will be overbalanced by the big increase in social security tax payroll deductions scheduled for the start of 1966.

Throughout the past decades, state and local taxes on workers have increased faster than federal taxes. The state and municipal governments moved rapidly to fill the "vacuum" left by the 1964 federal reduction. A fresh wave of payroll, sales, and dwelling taxes already has more than wiped out the 1964 tax-cut savings for most workers.

2. Tax Cuts Versus Spending

According to Keynesian theorists, a dollar of tax reduction and a dollar of increased government spending provide an equal economic stimulus. But in terms of social conflict, there is a big difference. Capitalists prefer tax cuts, because most of the funds remain in their pockets, and because they view more public sector spending as a concession to labor which may strengthen workers' bargaining power, and in some cases a potential competitor with their monopoly position (e.g., public housing).

Labor unions and Left Keynesians like Galbraith prefer more public sector and welfare spending, on the grounds that these improve living conditions and have a social value as well as arithmetically increasing the value of goods produced.

Throughout the postwar years the tax cut method has been favored, except for military spending, reflecting the preponderant political position of capital, and the special weakness of American labor resulting from the servility of its top leadership. Johnson continues to give priority to tax cuts, and takes a typical big business attitude towards government "economy." Still, the public sector is increasing somewhat, practically because the bourgeoisie needs more educational facilities to train workers in the epoch of the scientific-technical revolution, politically because welfare palliatives are desired to quench the Negro people's struggle and to avert mass actions in the depressed areas.

Johnson's fiscal 1966 budget calls for a \$6,000 million rise in federal civilian spending, the largest on record for a single year. While half of this consists of higher social insurance payments to be balanced by higher taxes, there are also increases in federal aid to education and health facilities. But labor and Left Keynesian spokesmen correctly denounced Johnson's budget provisions as trivial in relation to the scale of urgent needs, and his own grandiose "Great Society" promises.

Actually, much of Johnson's spending pro-

posals are merely automatic extensions of programs approved under Kennedy. Commenting on the difference in approach between the two presidents, *New York Times* financial correspondent M. J. Rossant writes:

"Mr. Johnson views tax reductions, rather than spending or a combination of the two, as the best way to grow . . . The President's marked preference for tax reduction is influenced by both economic and political considerations . . . He has widespread support for tax reductions. The business community, which has always frowned on increased spending, is positively ecstatic about lower taxes."

3. *The "Full Employment" Deception*

Because unemployment has been a persistently severe problem for American labor, the slogan of full employment has top priority among its long-term objectives. It was fitting, then, that President Roosevelt in his 1944 "Economic Bill of Rights" placed first the right of every person able and willing to work to a job at decent wages. Wholly ignored by his successors, that pledge was revived by Johnson in 1964, but only as election demagoguery.

The bourgeois economists have supplied their employers with a slick formula whereby a certain level of unemployment is defined as most desirable. This level has gradually increased, along with the level of actual unemployment, since the end of World War II. Now the advertising specialists have added the trick of calling the desired level of unemployment "full employment."

For several years this has been applied to the official figure of four per cent unemployment. This official figure makes no allowance for many millions who can get only part-time or occasional work, and millions more who are improperly omitted from the count of the labor force. Economist Leon Keyserling, former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, claims that instead of the official figure of 5.2 per cent, actual unemployment in 1964 averaged 8.3 per cent, or 6.3 million workers. The whole picture is still worse. An official figure of 4 per cent unemployed means a real burden of unemployment of the order of 10 per cent, and unemployment among Negroes and the youth of 20-30 per cent.

At that, unemployment as officially counted has not fallen as low as 4 per cent for a whole year since 1953, nor even for a single month (seasonally adjusted) since 1957. The Kennedy Administration, in 1962, set the goal of getting down to 4 per cent unemployment by 1963. It failed. The Johnson Administration, despite the President's extrava-

gant general promises, sets the target date back to 1970, which is equivalent to forgetting about it. Without publicly admitting it in so many words, the Administration economists have made clear their expectation of a higher rate of unemployment in 1966 than in 1964.

According to the Economic Report of the President, U.S. industry prefers to operate at about 92 per cent of capacity, which corresponds to 4 per cent official unemployment, and to the highest rate of profit. With fuller use of capacity, and a correspondingly higher employment percentage, workers are able to bargain for more substantial wage increases, and to resist increases in the intensity of labor. The 4 per cent official unemployment goal is designed to maintain a many-million labor reserve to improve the bargaining advantage of employers over workers. Arguments over whether "full employment" should be defined as 4 per cent, 5 per cent, or 3 per cent amount in effect to different judgments as to which level will provide the maximum profits without excessive political risk.

For many years conservatives have striven to limit government action against unemployment to the training of some unemployed workers. The liberals have argued for priority to the direct provision of jobs. The Johnson Administration has completely satisfied the conservatives in this respect. It has included very little in the way of public sector jobs, and no measures to force more employment of labor in private industry. But it is devoting considerable funds to establish youth training camps and to support a primitive type of vocational education for unemployed workers in distressed areas.

Besides serving as a grab-bag for politicians and bureaucrats, this is little more than a palliative for a small fraction of the unemployed. The levels of training supplied are normally provided by employers when there is a real need for labor. There are no bottlenecks of special skills holding down total employment. At most the government programs will lead to some long-run redistribution of jobs among individual workers, not to an increase in their total number.

Raymond J. Saulnier, conservative spokesman and one-time Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under Eisenhower, said: "Our approach to the residual unemployment problem should be through selective programs of job training, job counseling, and placement. I congratulate the Council of Economic Advisers for the support it gives nowadays to the structuralist approach to the elimination of residual unemployment."

4. Wages and Hours

Not satisfied with the bargaining advantage resulting from substantial unemployment, the employers use the power of the Government to restrain wages and increase the rate of surplus value. Like its European counterparts, the U.S. Government has adopted limits for wage advances, and intervenes in major collective bargaining situations to try to prevent workers from getting more. The U.S. "guidepost," adopted in 1962, is as follows:

"The general guide for wages is that the percentage increase in total employee compensation per man-hour be equal to the national trend rate of increase in output per man-hour."

This formula is rigged against labor in various ways. Output per man-hour is calculated on the entire private economy. The man-hours include those of the parasitic employees in the corporate superstructure, in advertising and in finance; research workers, workers in private educational institutions, and service workers. The numbers in these groups have been growing, while the numbers engaged in production in industry, construction, and agriculture, have been declining. The productivity of this key sector has been increasing more rapidly than shown by the composite figure,* and these are the workers most involved in wage bargaining.

Millions of workers who are unorganized or poorly organized cannot win wage increases, while the stronger workers can rarely win more than the "guidepost" increases owing to government pressure. Hence the average position of labor as a whole deteriorates. "Total employee compensation" in the formula includes so-called fringe benefits — pension schemes, supplementary unemployment insurance, health systems, etc. Recent employer concessions have been concentrated on these fringes. But very little of these benefits accrue to the workers here and now. Most of them are funds established for future distribution, but currently remaining under the control of trustee banks and insurance companies. Ultimately these fringes are worth less to the workers and cost the employers less than allowed for in the guidepost calculations. Finally, as the government and employers now try to apply it, the formula includes no extra allowance for cost of living increases.

Currently, the guidepost allows for a 3.2 per cent per year increase, including fringes.

*This is largely arbitrary, in any case, because of the lack of objective basis for measuring the "productivity" of advertising employees, research workers, etc.

Since the official cost of living index goes up about one and a half per cent per year, if half of the allowed gain goes into fringes, there is no increase at all for real money wages. Nor does the living cost index take account of the increase in taxes paid by workers.

The success of the guidepost policy for the employers is shown by the decline between 1960 and 1964 of 4.1 per cent in real compensation per unit of output in the private economy, according to the official method of calculation which, as indicated, understates the effect. Combined with the tax concessions to corporations, this resulted in a 44 per cent rise in corporate profits, while the physical volume of private production increased only 18 per cent. The Government is using the guidepost system against the steel workers (in 1964) in what may prove a successful attempt to prevent the workers from improving conditions or preventing mass layoffs when the expected early decline in steel production takes place.

A wage policy designed to improve the balance in the economy by increasing and stabilizing consumer demand would emphasize the increase in substandard wages. Tens of millions of workers receive wages too low to support families above the poverty level. Yet the Administration resists the labor demand for a raise in the poverty-level minimum wage — which in any event applies to less than half of all wage and salary workers.

As usual with wage control policies, there is also a prices "guidepost" which generally exercises only marginal restraint on the monopolies.

Marx showed that the length of the workweek is a crucial factor in determining the rate of surplus value, that is, the degree of exploitation of labor by the capitalists. During recent decades, the American bourgeoisie, alone among the major countries, has prevented any decline in the standard workweek, and even succeeded in increasing the average workweek through more use of overtime.

The demand for a shorter workweek has been adopted officially by the labor movement, and now appears more in collective bargaining, although no major struggles for it have taken place except in some strong but small craft unions. The shorter workweek would be one of the most effective measures for reducing unemployment in the United States. But, despite their pretended interest in accomplishing such a reduction, successive Washington administrations strongly resist any move for legislation providing a shorter workweek. Johnson limited himself to a token

proposed concession, an extra penalty for more than eight hours of weekly overtime.

The class essence of Administration policy is nowhere more evident than in its handling of the civil rights issue. As leading bourgeois politicians and economists have pointed out, raising Negroes to the economic status of whites would be an exceptionally effective means of boosting the nation's internal mar-

kets, and hence stimulating economic growth. Johnson uses his most fervent rhetoric in promising equality. But economic equality would end a major source of superprofits for the capitalist class. Consequently, the Administration has done next to nothing to enforce the equal job opportunities section of the Civil Rights Act, or to protect the Negro people against police and terrorist violence in their struggles for equality.

THE NATIONAL-LIBERATION MOVEMENT TODAY

The agrarian question in the developing countries of Asia

The settlement of the agrarian question which directly affects the interests of the vast majority of the population, is highly important for the newly-independent countries.

The peasantry is the chief ally of the working class and the largest mass base for a united general democratic front. The road ultimately chosen by the peoples of these countries will largely depend on whom the peasants will follow.

The following article, prepared by a group of staff members of the Institute of Asian Peoples under the USSR Academy of Sciences is submitted as a contribution to the exchange of views on this problem.

ALL POLITICAL forces except those of feudal reaction are agreed that the newly-free countries must eliminate the old, semi-feudal agrarian system if they are to make progress. The point at issue is by what means and along which lines should the system be reorganized.

Economic requirements and the impact of peasant struggles compel the national bourgeoisie, which has come to power in many of these countries (in some cases in alliance with other classes), to concern itself with the agrarian question, that is, to take measures

to abolish pre-capitalist relations in agriculture. *The substance of the agrarian policy of bourgeois and landowner governments is gradually to transform the semi-feudal landowners and the rich peasants into rural capitalists with the vast majority of the peasants becoming proletarianized. Despite local economic and socio-political distinctions, the agrarian reforms are mainly aimed at turning the old semi-feudal agrarian system into a bourgeois system.*

The strength and scope of the peasant movement determine the degree to which feudal landownership is restricted as well as the pace of agrarian reforms. In India, the enactment and enforcement of legislation abolishing the privileged, or "statutory," landed estates of the zamindari type dragged on until 1952 or 1953. When it became evident that the peasant movement had been growing despite the policy of ruthless suppression, the Communists and other Left forces won their first major electoral victory (1952), the laws began to be enforced and by the end of 1956 and the beginning of 1957 the zamindari system had been practically abolished.

The reforms do not completely eliminate feudal landownership but merely restrict it, which is only typical of the agrarian policy of the national bourgeoisie in the developing countries. The forms of feudal landownership vary locally. The extent of agrarian reform depends in the last analysis on the balance of class forces in the particular country. Restrictions, as a rule, take the form of abolishing certain legal categories of land holdings or of setting limits to private property in land. All land in excess of the prescribed limit is subject to confiscation and turned over to landless and land-hungry peasants for a nominal sum, and in some cases gratuitously.

Agrarian laws specify the maximum size of land allotments that may be owned by one person or family. This maximum considerably exceeds the size of the average peasant holding in those countries, and implies the preservation of small and medium landed estates.

The area left to the landed proprietor is usually several times, and occasionally a great many times, the size of the average peasant holding. Besides, the landowners can on some pretext or other retain possession of their land—no less than 20 to 30 per cent of it in most countries—and of the bulk of the farm machinery and implements. The landowners continue to be a considerable exploiting force in the countryside. True, they now represent not only pre-capitalist, but also, and increasingly, capitalist forms of farming.

It must be stressed, however, that in some countries the land area alienated from the feudal and semi-feudal landowners is sizeable, and occasionally exceeds 50 per cent. In India, for example, these landowners have lost their title to 88 per cent of the land in the zamindari areas.

Land tenure reforms tend to weaken the

landowners' position and to strengthen the legal status of the tenants, by forbidding the landowners to lease land on a share-cropping basis and impose feudal duties and levies on the peasants. This is evident, among others, from the "Land Lease Regulations in Burma" (1946 and 1948), the provisions of the "Fundamental Agrarian Law" (1960) concerning the need to do away with shackling lease relations and other forms of pre-capitalist exploitation of the peasants in Indonesia, the laws banning share-cropping and the consequent levies in Iran, the abolition of the peasant's personal dependence on the landowner in Ceylon, etc. Although some legal provisions remain a dead letter, they help, nevertheless, to reduce semi-feudal exploitation.

Thus, the agrarian evolution along bourgeois-landlord lines in the developing countries is above all marked by the weakening of the economic and political positions of the feudal landowners.

The agrarian reforms do not as a rule fully meet the demand for "the land to those who till it" and hence do not satisfy the peasants. Even granting that the relevant laws are fully enforced, only some of the tenant farmers will get land. However, the fact that agrarian reforms have extended peasant landownership should not be underestimated. It is true that when the reforms were carried out the land was not always physically redistributed among the tenants entitled to own allotments. But everywhere property rights were redistributed between the two classes—the feudal landowners and the peasants—in favor of the latter.

As a result of the reforms, the area of peasant holdings has undoubtedly increased, and the economic position and, above all, the legal status of the peasants, have improved. This is another feature of the agrarian evolution along bourgeois-landlord lines in the developing countries.

In a number of cases a physical redistribution of the land did take place. But sometimes it was in favor of the landowners and not the peasants. In those cases where land cultivated by capitalist methods was alienated, or when new lands were settled, the peasants benefited through certain increases in their holdings. Conversely, when the landowners drove the tenants off the land, as was frequently the case in India, Pakistan, Turkey, Ceylon and some other countries, this amounted to physical redistribution of the land in favor of the landowners, who adopted capitalist forms of exploitation. As a result of these contradictory developments, land tenure by the peasants taken as a whole has remained unchanged in some countries, increased somewhat in others, and diminished in still others.

Before the reforms, the small tenants and small proprietors constituted two of the most numerous groups in the countryside. As a result of the reforms the bulk of the tenants have become small holders.

In assessing the reforms, it is important to

consider the terms on which peasants receive land. Under the agrarian reform laws the peasants in nearly all cases are obliged to pay the landowner compensation for the alienated land. The state collects the money from the peasants and turns it over to the landowner. In other words, the state acts as a go-between. Very rarely—as in Burma and in most Indian states—does it cover the cost of the partial liquidation of the landed estates. In these cases “compensation” for the redistributed land is paid out of the budget, which means financing the reform at the expense of the taxpayers, primarily the working class and the urban petty bourgeoisie.

In the process of implementing the reforms the state acquires new sources of revenue. Very often it becomes a big landowner collecting rent and using it to press forward the development of bourgeois relations while limiting the incomes of the feudal class. The redistribution of the agricultural surplus product in favor of the bourgeoisie takes place also through non-equivalent exchange, through a discrepancy in prices for farm produce and manufactured goods.

A third feature of the agrarian evolution along bourgeois-landowner lines is the somewhat modified role of compensation payments for confiscated land. The compensation paid by the peasant goes not only to the feudal landowner, but also to the national bourgeoisie, including the landowners who are becoming capitalists.

In a number of countries there are legal provisions for using compensation payments to finance the capitalist development of the country. In Indonesia, the landowner gets 90 per cent of the compensation in bonds which are paid off in industrial plant over a twelve-year period. In Burma (till 1962) and Iran the landowners were enabled to receive compensation in state enterprise shares. On the other hand, in India and some other countries, the landowners freely used the compensation they got to switch to farming on capitalist lines. In the Philippines, 60 per cent of the compensation total may be used by the landowner for the purchase of state-owned virgin lands, provided he engages in capitalist farming on them.

The above peculiarities of compensation payments affect the content of peasant struggles. The peasants, who are opposed to paying compensation and want the land free, fight against both the feudal landowners and the national bourgeoisie.

The agrarian reforms are supplemented with state-capitalist measures in agriculture. The state uses them as an important means of hastening the development of agricultural capitalism. Unlike the situation in industry, state capitalism in agriculture has not led to the establishment of a state sector (state farms) of any importance, even though the economic, social and cultural development of the countryside normally represents an important budget expenditure.

First for their share in state investment in agriculture are measures for the development of virgin and disused lands, irrigation and reclamation. The utilization of new lands, road building and increased motor transport, and the first steps to bring electricity into the countryside are all designed to create a sort of infra-structure in agricultural production.

The state controls changes in agriculture through organizations entrusted, among other things, with raising the social and cultural standards of the countryside. Judging by what these organizations have been doing in some countries, particularly in India and Pakistan, state-capitalist measures have not improved the standard of living of the rural population, contrary to high-sounding statements. They have merely helped to enrich the more well-to-do, strengthened the capitalist sector, and intensified property and class differentiation.

The state controls agriculture also through credit, marketing and consumers' cooperatives set up with government financial and organizational help. The development of these cooperatives is aimed at forcing out commercial capital of the old type and usurer capital. The greatest progress in this respect has been made in Burma, as well as in Turkey, where the development of the cooperative network goes hand in hand with the vigorous penetration of national bank capital. In these countries, the usurers have lost many of their positions in the sphere of circulation.

However, commercial and usurer capital is still firmly entrenched in most countries. In India, “organized” credit (cooperatives, state loans, banks) accounts for no more than 20 per cent of the agricultural debt, while the credit cooperatives involve about 35 per cent of the rural population.

With feudal elements weakened, elimination of the lower forms of capital (commercial and usurer) is becoming an increasingly important aspect of the program for the complete abolition of feudal survivals. This is because in most countries exploitation by commercial and usurer capital is the main channel through which money “drains” from the countryside, complicating the accumulation of productive capital without which there can be no progress in agriculture.

The adoption of state-capitalist measures and the development of agricultural cooperatives confront the peasant movement with new problems. For those groups of peasants to whom the reforms have granted the right to their land and, in general, for all small peasant proprietors, it is particularly important to secure better farming conditions: cheap credit, the sale of produce at a profit, the supply of fertilizers, graded seed and improved implements, and the organization of water supply.

* * *

The socio-political character of the landowner class is changing. More and more landowners are switching to capitalist farming. The tenant exploited under the feudal system

is being replaced by the wage worker—the farm-hand employed on a permanent basis, but more often the day-laborer or seasonal-worker. Landowner farming of a type transitional to capitalism and based on the exploitation of sharecroppers who have practically been deprived of all means and implements of production and contract their labor in advance is gaining ground. The “rent” paid by these sharecroppers usually ranges between 70 and 80 per cent of the crop yield (their share of the yield is merely a form of wages). This system is widely used by the landowners and rich peasants in India, Indonesia, the Philippines and other countries of South and South-east Asia, and in the Middle East—Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan.

Agricultural capitalism is growing both in breadth—by bringing more and more labor under its control—and in depth—by reorganizing the technical base of farming. Characteristically, the upper stratum of the rural bourgeoisie, coming from landowners and rich peasants, combines capitalist and semi-feudal methods of exploitation. Hence the still common practice of leasing land.

The increasingly strong position of the rich peasants—a class in the making—is a salient feature of the socio-political changes in the countryside. When part of the landed estates was alienated in favor of the peasants, the upper, more privileged group of “efficient” tenants benefited most. For a long time even before the reform, the peasantry was becoming differentiated in terms of property and social status. The top stratum of the village commune gradually concentrated in its hands a substantial portion of the land and other means and implements of production, becoming tenant-middlemen. As a rule, it is this section of the tenant farmers that becomes the main employer of wage labor as agricultural capitalism develops. In India, it is primarily the well-to-do peasants who have been entitled to own land, and who are becoming the social mainstay of the ruling party.

In a number of countries, agrarian legislation envisages the establishment on the alienated lands of “efficient farms” designed to become a new social prop of the ruling circles. In Iran the well-to-do peasant is allowed to acquire an allotment double the size of the maximum established for the given village. The poor peasants have gained little from the reform. As for the agricultural workers, their position has hardly improved. In those countries where a sizeable part of the landed estates has been alienated, it is not the landowner but the rich peasant who is gradually becoming the chief rural exploiter.

Another aspect of the matter is that in many countries, particularly India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Malaya and South Korea the small and medium landowners economically differ little from the rich peasants. The distinctions are quantitative rather than qualitative. Both categories use wage labor, lease part of their land to share-

croppers, engage in trade and usury, participate in capitalist agricultural cooperatives, and so on. The various state-capitalist measures in the countryside, particularly the growth of the cooperative network, hasten the formation of a single stratum of small and medium capitalists. But this is not a smooth process. Wherever the landowners act as the chief agents of big commercial and usurer capital, the antagonisms between them and the rich peasants are particularly bitter. *But there is no doubt that the antagonisms between the rich peasants and the landowners who have become bourgeois diminish, while those between the rich peasants and the rest of the peasants grow.*

The formation of the class of agricultural workers has been going on more rapidly in post-reform years. Both the absolute and relative number of this class has been growing, although it is very difficult to ascertain this even roughly, for statistics usually include in this category only the landless workers, discounting a large group made up of small and minute “farms” regularly selling their labor. According to the latest sample survey, 40 per cent of India’s rural population are employed as full- or part-time wage workers in agriculture and handicrafts. Two-thirds of them, or about 30 per cent of the total agricultural labor force, are employed most of the time as agricultural workers.

Labor supply considerably exceeds demand. This is because agricultural capitalism develops at a time of tremendous concealed rural overpopulation expressed in the steady impoverishment of the poorest peasants and due to colonial exploitation over a long period, combined with the predominance of semi-feudal forms of farming. The agricultural proletariat which is coming into being represents a reserve labor army. Every year the continued ruin and proletarianization of the peasants forces large numbers of them out of agriculture. Unable to find work in the countryside, they migrate to the towns and swell the ranks of the unemployed and the town poor. In many countries full or concealed unemployment involves millions of people.

The solution of the extremely acute problem of employment in agriculture hinges, in the last analysis, on the pace of change of the economic structure inherited from the colonialists. This is why agricultural proletarians and semi-proletarians have a direct stake in sweeping away all the hurdles to economic change set up by foreign monopolies and reactionaries at home.

New developments in the farm economy have altered the social structure of the rural population. The federal landowners have lost ground while the rich peasants have gained in strength. The trend toward closer links between the rich peasants and the small and medium landowners is becoming more marked as they gradually merge into a single rural

bourgeoisie. The mass of the peasants are becoming proletarianized.

* * *

In these changed conditions, the principal strategic slogan of the peasant movement—the complete abolition of feudal survivals and the settlement of the land question in favor of the peasants—calls for new tactical solutions, as the Communist and Workers' parties of the developing countries of Asia stress in their documents. The question is of changes in the position of the rich peasants, who have become visibly stronger in India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Indonesia, Thailand and some other countries, and constitute the main group of rural exploiters. *Since the rural exploiters—the landowners and rich farmers—retain a substantial proportion of the land and other means of production, the landless and land-hungry peasants continue their fight for land, for the completion of anti-feudal reforms.*

There is no ignoring the fact that increasing pauperization and proletarianization, accompanied by the weakening of the feudal landowner class and the strengthening of the rich peasants, aggravates the internal antagonisms of the peasantry and makes it difficult to maintain a united front on the fundamental issues of the peasant struggle for land, more favorable terms of lease and hire, against usurer exploitation.

In estimating the alignment of class forces in the post-reform countryside, it must be remembered that the agrarian policy of the national bourgeoisie is aimed at developing capitalism, not only of the landowner, but also of the rich-farmer type. In Burma, up till 1962, the emphasis was apparently on the development of that type of farming. At the present stage the contradictions rooted in feudal relationships that have yet to be completely eliminated, tie up with the growing contradictions of capitalist development. The function of commercial usurer capital in agriculture is changing.

The independent, parasitic role of commercial and usurer capital with regard to productive capital in agriculture persists in large measure. At the same time industrial capital exerts increasing control over the sphere of circulation. This comes about in various ways. To begin with, commercial and usurer capital in agriculture often plays the role of an agent of big industrial capital, which functions outside the agricultural sphere. Secondly, trade and credit operations in the countryside are concentrated more and more in the hands of

the rural bourgeoisie, as well as in government and cooperative credit institutions. Thirdly, commercial and usurer capital coalesces with various types of agricultural co-operatives.

Thus the peasant struggle against financial exploitation is becoming more and more a struggle against bourgeois elements, including the urban commercial and industrial big bourgeoisie. The present stage, therefore, calls for a new approach to the problem of a united peasant front. In solving this problem, it is important in each particular case to analyze the position of the rich farmer. The fight against imperialism, for economic independence, for more equitable prices, cheap credit, lower taxes, and so on, is the objective basis for a united peasant front. This goes also for those countries where the rich peasants have withdrawn, or are withdrawing, from the fight for land and for the settlement of the class antagonisms in agriculture in favor of the peasants.

In these circumstances, the problem of political organization of the rural proletarians and semi-proletarians, the main force of the peasant movement, is highly important. Proper appraisal of the realignment of class forces in the countryside is essential if the alliance of the workers and peasants—the backbone of a united national democratic front—is to materialize.

It must be borne in mind that there is a wide range of forms and methods of struggle determined by the alignment of the class and political forces and the level of social and political development of the country concerned. Only a discriminate approach to each particular country can give proper insight into the agrarian question and make it possible to evolve the strategy and tactics to be used by the working class and other democratic forces in settling the question in the interests of the working people, with a view to steering the nation towards non-capitalist and eventually socialist development.

The working class, the peasants and other democratic forces of the developing countries of Asia want a radical settlement of the agrarian question. Although the demands advanced by the peasant movement are not socialist in character, they cannot be put through unless the countries concerned take the non-capitalist road. The completion of anti-feudal reforms in any country developing along non-capitalist lines is the prelude to the socialist reorganization of the countryside.

Towards a national democratic front in Iran

A. ARDEKANI

THE QUESTION OF establishing a united anti-imperialist front in Iran arose particularly sharply after the defeat of the revolutionary forces in 1953. This is not to say that the People's Party of Iran (Tudeh) did not give thought to this extremely important matter before 1953. And it still believes—all the more so today—that the establishment of a broad national anti-imperialist front is of paramount importance for the future of the national-democratic revolution in our country.

Our ultimate goal is, of course, the building of a socialist society, but at the present stage we consider, on the basis of a sober analysis of the economic and social development of Iranian society and the alignment of class forces, our immediate aim to be an anti-imperialist, national-democratic revolution. This poses the question of the motive forces of the revolution, of a united front of all Left and patriotic forces. Although the proletariat of Iran does not constitute the bulk of the population, it has rich traditions in the national-liberation movement, being the most revolutionary and consistent class. While relying on the working class in alliance with the peasantry, we cannot ignore in the conditions of Iran the role played by the small and middle classes, the intellectuals, civil servants and the national bourgeoisie. All these strata are, figuratively speaking, a "great elemental force." They make up, for example, the bulk of the various patriotic organizations and parties in the country, including those of the national bourgeoisie. Our Party, therefore, basing itself on past experience, attaches tremendous importance to work among the national and patriotic forces of the urban petty bourgeoisie, and among the middle strata of society generally, particularly considering that their interests coincide with those of the proletariat on many issues such

as, for instance, the struggle against feudalism and imperialism and for political and economic independence and the sovereignty of the country, the struggle against the despotism of the Shah, and for democracy, freedom and peace.

We also pay great attention to work among the intellectuals, and especially among the students, for while they play an important role in the developed capitalist countries, they represent an even bigger political factor in the underdeveloped countries.

Finally the Party, again proceeding from its instructive experience, gives due consideration to national and religious traditions which are a material force in Iran, it takes into account in all its activity the national features of the country.

In its policies the Party orients itself essentially on the historical experience of the national-liberation movement on the national and international plane, on its own and the collective experience of the world Communist movement, and specifically on the experience of the Communist International and the conclusions of its Seventh Congress.

After the fall of the despotic regime at the end of 1941 the country's patriotic forces united on repeated occasions in the struggle against domestic and foreign reaction. In 1943-44, for example, when the reactionary forces in the country and the imperialists tried to set up a dictatorship headed by the pro-British Tabaibai or to rely on the economic pressure brought to bear by the U.S. adviser Milspoh who brought Iran to the verge of economic collapse, the patriotic forces, and first of all the members of the Tudeh Party, took a common stand against these puppets of the reactionaries and foiled the plans of the imperialists. The reactionaries were opposed not only in

open actions by the most diverse sections of the population but also in Parliament.

Although the working people, the forces of the national bourgeoisie and numerous other patriotic groups acted simultaneously against the local reactionaries and the imperialists, they were not united organizationally. The Party already then called for the establishment of a single bloc of all these forces but the organizations of the national bourgeoisie ignored this call. It was only in 1946 that a united national front was eventually formed on our initiative (so far the only instance of official cooperation with us), which included the Tudeh Party, the party of the national bourgeoisie "Iran" and later the Azerbaijan Democratic Party, the Democratic Party of Kurdistan, the nationalist party "Djanganl," and others. Prior to that (1943-46) the "Freedom Front" was established, also on our initiative, uniting the editors of the country's democratic press. The United Front's slogans were: fight against domestic reaction and for democratic liberties for the people.

We consider that the repeated joint actions by the patriotic forces in those years *amounted in effect to united front actions*, even though they were not of a lasting and consistent character, and lacked political and organizational form. These shortcomings notwithstanding, the Party pursued a policy of rapprochement also with the patriotic representatives of different groups of the national bourgeoisie with a view to eventually establishing a broad national front.

Here it should be noted that a serious omission in the Party's activity at the time was its failure scientifically to substantiate the need for such a front, and to carry on the necessary propaganda.

Not all of us in that period correctly understood the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern calling for a resolute struggle against the threat of fascism, the war danger, colonial oppression and in defense of the vital interests of the masses.

The significance of the United Front policy proclaimed by the Comintern as the only effective way of mobilizing the masses on the basis of general democratic and not immediate socialist objectives, was unfortunately not fully perceived by many Communists, Iranian Communists included.

Today, when looking back, and every Marxist-Leninist party should do so, we must acknowledge that many vital conclusions of the Seventh Congress (the struggle for partial demands, the possibility of using the institutions of bourgeois democracy in the fight for socialism, the fight for peace as an important part of the fight for socialism, the struggle for a socialist revolution through the struggle for democracy, etc.) were not given proper consideration by the parties and applied by them in their practical activity in conformity with the conditions in their respective countries.

The personality cult hampered to some ex-

tent the carrying out of these tasks. However, the Communists in their day-to-day activity gained in experience, strengthened their ranks and gradually overcame the difficulties and shortcomings. In this connection it is in place to note that Lenin, although never afraid to disclose and analyze the shortcomings and mistakes of the Party, did not approach the history of the Bolshevik Party as a history of mistakes, setting us an example to do the same.

After the Second World War erroneous, sectarian notions prevailed in the Party regarding the consolidation of all Left and patriotic forces. It was these mistakes by the Party, coupled with the narrow-mindedness of the national bourgeoisie which stubbornly refused to wage a joint struggle with us against the forces of reaction, that were primarily responsible for the split of the national patriotic forces and the subsequent defeat of the democratic movement in 1953.

At its Fourth Enlarged Plenary meeting in 1957 the Central Committee censured the erroneous, sectarian attitude of the leadership and noted in its resolution that "the Party's incorrect policy towards the national bourgeoisie and the Mossadegh government had its source in the leftist and sectarian views that were current for a long time." It stressed that the leadership of the Party "in effect saw no difference between the compradore and national bourgeoisie." Defining its principled attitude to the united front, the meeting stated that "the Party's cardinal duty in the anti-colonial struggle of the Iranian people is to take all measures to lay the foundations for a united front of the anti-imperialist forces." The resolution stressed that the working class, in alliance with the peasantry, constitutes the foundation of this anti-imperialist front and that the Party must unite in it "all the other anti-colonial forces, i.e., the petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia and the national bourgeoisie." Guided by these decisions the Party repeatedly urged the political organizations of the different national forces to form a united front. The leaders of the national bourgeoisie, however, stubbornly refused to accept this proposal.

Experience shows that the economically and politically weak national bourgeoisie which still has its roots in feudalism fears the masses more than it does the foreign imperialists. This is due mainly to the anti-communism, narrow-mindedness, nationalism and conservatism of the national bourgeoisie, the prejudices and, to a certain extent, the earlier mistakes and sectarianism of the Party. Indicative of the national bourgeoisie's attitude is the fact that when it was in power in the early fifties it preferred to wage a struggle of sorts against the military headed by the Shah, rather than arm the people in their fight against the forces of reaction.

Traditionally, the Iranian bourgeoisie has always relied on one imperialist power in its fight against another imperialist power. Thus,

between the two world wars it played on the contradictions between the German and British imperialists in its attempts to free itself from British rule. Since the end of the Second World War it has switched to the U.S. imperialists who are now depicted as the "friends of Iran." Even after the U.S. imperialists had engineered the overthrow of the national bourgeois government headed by Mossadegh, it was British imperialism that the latter denounced at his trial and not the main instigator of the counter-revolutionary coup. Even more. Some representatives of the national bourgeoisie still think that the Shah must be overthrown and power seized in the country with the help of the United States. It is therefore not surprising that these same representatives are being made partners in the mixed firms set up by the American and other imperialists. This example is indicative of the vacillation of the bourgeoisie. It also illustrates the danger and pernicious influence of neo-colonialism which is adapting itself to the new conditions and demagogically acting as the "friend" of the national-liberation movement.

It is true that certain recent political actions by some of the leaders of the national bourgeoisie indicate that new processes are under way in its midst. These leaders are now speaking out more emphatically against U.S. and British imperialism than before. Younger representatives are even advocating socialism, peace and peaceful coexistence, banning nuclear tests, and disarmament. In the summer of 1964 *Iran Azad*, organ of the European organizations of the National Front, actually called for the armed overthrow of the existing regime. The Confederation of Iranian Students in Britain passed a resolution (1964) denouncing the reactionary and anti-democratic regime of the Shah and demanded the immediate withdrawal of Iran from CENTO and legality for the trade unions. In the resolutions of the Third and Fourth congresses of the Society of Iranian Socialists in Europe we read that they align themselves with Marxism-Leninism, favor socialist changes in Iran, and that they accuse the Social Democratic parties in the developed capitalist countries of having "lost their revolutionary and socialist character."

It must be noted, however, that some National Front leaders are still fettered by their old notions and views, and that the new leftward trend is not as yet finding expression in concrete measures such as establishing contact or entering into a dialogue with us. A series of articles has recently appeared in the press of the national bourgeoisie directed against our Party and the socialist countries. Our Party has always favored friendly constructive discussion of problems with the leaders and organizations of the national bourgeoisie. In 1963 the European organization of the National Front published a pamphlet (the reports and resolutions of its Second Congress) which clearly showed that some of the leaders of the national bourgeoisie are strongly influenced by

the theoretical postulates of the U.S. economist W. Rostow, which they maintain can be applied in Iranian conditions. They propound the theory about the so-called elite of "Left anti-communism" or the "Left non-Communists," according to which mass actions and the overthrow of the Shah's despotic regime might lead to a "political vacuum" which must be filled. The United States therefore has no choice but to establish and maintain contact with the Left opposition elements of the national bourgeoisie.

This sort of reasoning might be expected of a bourgeois economist like Rostow, but if the Iranian patriots in the National Front should accept it, it will only strengthen the position of imperialism. Rostow tries to supplant the Marxist thesis about the historical necessity of one socio-economic formation replacing another and asserts that in a society which has reached a certain "period of maturity" an "industrial society" arises whose structure and development do not depend on the character of social relations and forms of property. Since, in the opinion of the theoreticians of the National Front, there is no industrial proletariat in the country there is therefore no basis for the existence of a party of the working class. The young patriots in the organizations of the national bourgeoisie should give thought to who is the real enemy of our nation, of freedom and democracy. Iranian reaction, supported by international imperialism, will never surrender its positions voluntarily. The National Front organizations and parties, no matter how strong they are, will never be able to overpower the enemy by themselves. Although the Tudeh Party, as the theoretically grounded and revolutionary party of Iran enjoying the support of the masses, is much stronger than the different groups of the national bourgeoisie, still it realizes that it will not be able to defeat reaction with its own forces alone. We are guided in our activity by national interests and not by considerations of prestige. Any person, any serious-thinking party or group that has the interests of the people at heart should discard their prejudices and make every effort to overcome the difficulties and pave the way to the establishment of a united front of all national forces.

The facts show that the national bourgeoisie has never had a base for establishing a mass party or organization, although it exerted a certain influence in the country, particularly on the urban sections of the petty bourgeoisie, the merchants, shopkeepers, office workers and certain sections of the intelligentsia. It never enjoyed any appreciable influence among the peasantry, let alone the working class. But whenever there was a united front of the proletariat, urban and rural petty bourgeoisie and other patriotic forces, the leaders of the national bourgeoisie were quick to cash in on it and to use the mass movement in their own class interests and even to head it at some stages.

During the Second World War the national bourgeoisie did not fight against imperialism; on the contrary it openly sympathized with German fascism. In the immediate postwar years when the national-liberation movement was on the upsurge and the Tudeh Party began to play a more active role, some representatives and organizations of the national bourgeoisie recognized the working class as the leading force in the movement and sought to establish contact with it. Later, under economic pressure and with the backing of U.S. and British imperialists, the national bourgeoisie united its forces and in 1949 established a National Front. Skilfully playing on the contradictions between the imperialist powers, its leaders, headed by Mossadegh, formed a government which voiced the patriotic sentiments of the people. The national bourgeoisie also won some popularity during the people's movement for nationalization of the country's oil resources. It sometimes enjoyed the support of the unorganized masses. But Mossadegh was compelled to resign as a result of pressure brought to bear by the Shah and by domestic and international reaction. The protest movement that swept the country in July 1952, in which all sections of the population took part, including the national bourgeoisie, although it was not adequately supported organizationally "from above," ended in victory for the masses, and Mossadegh returned to power for a short while.

Despite the vacillation of the national bourgeoisie both in the past and now, we believe that it is feasible and necessary to form a bloc and to cooperate with its different organizations. The experience of the struggle shows that it is the working class in alliance with the peasantry, that must be the leading force in the national-liberation movement. This does not at all mean that the Party considers that it has the monopoly of the movement. It favors an alliance with all the patriotic forces of the country, regarding such an alliance not as a tactical maneuver, but as an essential measure both in the first phase of the Iranian revolution and its subsequent development, including the building of socialism.

The objective conditions exist for the establishment of a broad united front of the masses to fight for progressive national development. The economic hardships of the masses, the absence of elementary rights and liberties, the domination of foreign imperialists—all these factors are impelling Iranian patriots to take joint action against the regime and the U.S. and British imperialists. The consolidation of the socialist world system, the liberation struggle of the colonial peoples and the vigorous actions by the working class in the developed capitalist countries were bound to favorably influence the alignment of political forces in Iran. The progressive measures taken by the governments in the neighboring countries, and particularly in some of the Arab countries, are prompting patriotic circles in Iran to take

concrete steps towards orienting their country along the path of national independence and progress.

The traditions of unity and joint actions have deep roots among the people. This was particularly evident during the revolutionary upsurge in the early fifties and in the mass actions of 1963. Because of these traditions the reactionaries were compelled to retreat and to allow the national bourgeoisie's political organization, the National Front, to carry on its activities legally, if only for a short while. During that period the many meetings held by the Front were attended not only by its supporters but by large numbers of working-class representatives and members of the Tudeh Party. These meetings, which bore a militant anti-imperialist and anti-government character, represented in effect a *united front* of the people, much to the chagrin of their organizers.

During the past four years the people, undaunted by persecution and terror, have intensified their struggle against the reactionary regime and foreign capitalist domination. These four years have seen strikes by teachers, postal and telegraph workers, taxi drivers (December 1964) and fishermen (January 1965); big student demonstrations in Teheran, Tabriz, and Shiraz, and the demonstration of 3,000 unemployed in the port of Shahpur; strikes in Isfahan, Zandjan, Meshed and other towns. There were the big demonstrations of June 1963, drowned in blood by the reactionaries. Despite the shooting down of demonstrators, despite the executions and tortures, hundreds of thousands of workers, peasants, handicraftsmen, office employees, intellectuals, representatives of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the clergy, took part in this struggle, not to mention the most diverse political groups—from Marxist to representatives of the national bourgeoisie.

Beginning with 1965 many progressive religious leaders have joined the struggle of the Iranian people against the government. This is a new development in the public life of the country. When Parliament promulgated a law granting extra-territorial rights to American advisers, several religious leaders took a more emphatic stand on this issue than did the leaders of the National Front. Some prelates have publicly declared that their quarrel is not with the Shah's reforms but with his regime which is betraying the national interests of the country. They have urged the patriotic forces to forget about their ideological differences and to unite in a common front to wage an effective struggle to liberate the peoples from the yoke of British and American imperialism.

The prelate Shariatmadari (here it should be noted that the clergy in Iran mostly represent the interests of the petty and middle bourgeoisie) declared: "Progressive religious leaders are opponents not of agrarian reform but of violence and evil, arbitrary rule and

despotism." Another prelate Khomeini stressed: "We want the whole world to know that we are suffering because of the United States. All classes of society should bury their party differences and together fight for the sacred goal—independence."

At present the National Front actually has no legal organizations in the country. Some of its leaders have been thrown into prison and the representatives of the Right have simply withdrawn from all activity. Because of the anti-democratic character of the regime which virtually borders on a military dictatorship, many Iranian patriots have been compelled to emigrate to Europe or the United States.

When speaking of the prerequisites for the establishment of a united front, it should be stressed that this question has provoked an accelerated process of differentiation among the national bourgeoisie both within the country and abroad. Many patriotic organizations in Europe, which has become an important center of political life for Iranian patriots, have split into different groups representing different trends ranging from anti-communist, liberal and nationalist to Socialist and even Marxist. They all publish their own papers and journals. However, whenever it is a question of fighting the despotic regime of the Shah, nearly all the different political organizations in the West take a common stand. During the Shah's visits to capitalist countries in recent years the students publicly denounced the regime, held big anti-government demonstrations (there are at present up to 30,000 students studying abroad; their biggest organization is the Union of Iranian Students). The political organizations of the national bourgeoisie include the National Front in Europe, the Society of Iranian Socialists, the Society of Pan-Iranians, and the National Socialists. At its congress in September 1964 the National Front in Europe removed the anti-communist leadership and elected a new one which advocated a united front with other patriotic organizations. A certain evolution is taking place also in the attitude of the Socialists. At its Sixth Congress, held at the end of 1963, the Society of Iranian Socialists discussed the question of a united front, and its organ, *Socialism*, wrote in its May 1964 issue that a special seminar had been held to discuss the matter in greater detail.

Recently a new wave of repressions has been unleashed against the members of the Tudeh party and against other patriotic forces and organizations. It is further proof of the reactionary nature of the Shah's regime and the mass movement against it is merging into the stream of the anti-dictatorial and anti-imperialist struggle. A large number of members and supporters of the People's Party and also progressive religious leaders have been arrested in Teheran, Tabriz, Isfahan, Meshed. In the summer of 1964 the Central Committee of the Party wrote in an open letter to all Iranian pa-

triot: "The aspirations of the Iranian people are gradually meeting with response and understanding in the various progressive parties and organizations, and are finding more and more supporters. Evidence of this is the fact that at all meetings, conferences and congresses of national organizations held recently in Iran and abroad the question of uniting all forces in a single front has become the central question."

In order to build a broad united front of all patriotic forces, including the Tudeh Party, mutual concessions will evidently have to be made, and first of all the old prejudices will have to be discarded and certain lessons drawn from past mistakes. We do not share the view of those who consider that all that is needed to establish a united front is to reach agreement with the leaders of the national bourgeoisie. Our experience shows that an effective united front can emerge only from a broad mass movement. The Party has repeatedly stated that ideological differences will not prevent the country's patriots finding a common language in working out national solutions, acceptable to the people. The Central Committee meeting in January 1965 stressed that "ideological and political differences on certain issues, particularly if they do not hamper the anti-imperialist and anti-dictatorial struggle, should not be an obstacle to establishing a united front, and hence to cooperation and unity of the different forces and organizations." At the same time it pointed out that "our Party will not compromise on basic ideological issues." The meeting resolved that the Party take the initiative in drafting a united front program to be submitted for discussion with other national organizations. The Party has repeatedly noted in various documents that the working class, the peasantry, handicraftsmen, intelligentsia, the urban petty bourgeoisie and also the national bourgeoisie can be the social base of this front.

The leaders of the national bourgeoisie, however, continue to oppose cooperation with the Party or advance unacceptable conditions for entering into a dialogue with us. They allege that the People's Party is not a national organization, that it acts on orders from abroad. The facts prove the contrary, they show that through all the years of struggle it has upheld the interests of the nation, that it has been the bitter opponent of fascism and international imperialism.

Some of the national bourgeoisie attack the Tudeh Party for advocating closer relations with the Soviet Union, alleging that this helps to strengthen the Shah's regime. We, however, maintain that friendship with the USSR serves the interests of the nation. The Shah's recent visit to the Soviet Union proves this. Thus, according to Prime Minister Hoveida, the USSR has offered to build an iron and steel complex for Iran on very advantageous terms. Apart from strengthening the national economy it will weaken the influence of the imperialists.

We firmly believe in the principle of peaceful coexistence which means competition between the two world systems in conditions of a lasting peace. If trade and cultural ties are possible between the United States, Britain, France and the USSR, and between China, France and Pakistan, why then is it not possible between Iran and the USSR? For years relations between Iran and the Soviet Union were strained, but this did not lead to revolution. The Party resolutely opposes the "export of revolution," for we Marxist-Leninists are confident that the masses will themselves, without outside interference, overthrow the Shah's regime. We are patriots of our country, but we are also internationalists. The one does not rule out the other. The Iranian Marxists are internationalists, for they uphold the cause of all oppressed classes and all oppressed peoples, and regard the revolutionary working-class and democratic movements in the developed capitalist countries, and the national-liberation movement as their reliable allies. We openly declare that we are the friends of the socialist countries and in the first place of the USSR, the first socialist state in the world. It could not be otherwise for our people know of the aid it has rendered our country since the Great October Revolution. We, members of the Tudeh Party, patriots of our country, see the positive role played by the socialist camp in the fight against imperialism and colonialism.

Some groups of the national bourgeoisie propose the slogan: "For collaboration with the members of the Tudeh Party but not with its Central Committee," that is, they advance the obsolete idea of "divide and rule." By insisting that "all other organizations should join the National Front" they are thereby opposing the Party's slogan calling for a united front of Left organizations with a slogan which in effect, seeks to abolish all other progressive associations and groups. By advancing such a slogan the political parties and organizations of the national bourgeoisie are not only contradicting themselves but are upholding those very principles of the political organization of society which at one time they objected to most in the policy of the Communists and which were used by the propagandists of anti-communism. The attitude of many parties to the question of a united front of the country's Left and patriotic forces, and the big advances in the socialist countries prove the case for the multi-party system which is practised in different countries, in different ways, depending on their specific conditions. To insist, in the specific conditions of Iran, on merging all the parties into one is such an utterly erroneous and harmful concept that even some of the more far sighted leaders of the national bourgeoisie oppose it, for this would in effect hamper the unity of the national forces. During 1963-65 Dr. Mossadegh, the leader of the national bourgeoisie, who can hardly be accused of being in sympathy with the Com-

munists and socialism, wrote on repeated occasions that any idea of abolishing the other parties should be abandoned. "The National Front," he stressed, "should be the center of many parties, should fight for freedom and independence . . . and not dispute the platforms of other parties. On the contrary, if any party is persecuted or smashed this united national center must come out in its defense." Some of the nationalists who propose unification forget, or ignore, the services rendered by the Tudeh Party, the party of the working class which has a much richer history than any of the groups or parties of the national bourgeoisie. The first Iranian Social Democratic groups were formed as far back as 1906 and played an important role in the first Iranian revolution of 1907-11. After the Iranian Communist Party was formed in June 1920 (in 1941 it was renamed the Tudeh Party) the Communists continued to fight for the people's interests. The Party mobilized the working people to defend the independence and sovereignty of Iran, it united them in the struggle against fascism and imperialism. It is a party which has made countless sacrifices in the struggle. Little wonder the people call it "the party of victims" ("Shahidan"). Despite the many years of terror and persecution the Party is still the most organized, the most revolutionary and most popular in the country.

In advancing as the most urgent task of the day the establishment of a united front, the Party is guided not only by the revolutionary traditions of the masses and the historical experience of Iran, but also by the objective and subjective factors in the national and international arena. The Tudeh Party does not monopolize the right and the initiative to solve this pressing problem. On the contrary, it is prepared to discuss any proposal that furthers the interests of the masses, Iran's national and democratic development. We believe that the most important thing at the present stage is that all patriotic forces should adopt a program of national action as the basis for a united front. This, we feel, would have a tremendous mobilizing effect on all Iranian patriots.

As noted in the documents of the 1965 January Central Committee meeting, the People's Party of Iran proposes drafting a united front program that will meet the interests of the country. In this connection we would like to stress that the slogans advanced by the Party in the past to rally all patriotic forces have not lost their significance. These slogans call for the overthrow of the anti-democratic government; political freedom for the various parties and democratic and patriotic organizations; freedom of speech, press and demonstrations; withdrawal of Iran from CENTO and a neutral foreign policy; re-nationalization of the oil industry and liquidation of the oil monopolies; expulsion of military and other U.S. advisers from the country; protection of

the national economy against foreign monopoly capital, development of the economy and in the first place of a heavy industry.

The Party believes that these slogans can unite the broadest sections of the country's patriotic forces, although new slogans corresponding to the present day conditions and to the demands of the masses can be elaborated in the process of establishing unity.

The alliance of workers, peasants, handicraftsmen, intellectuals, urban petty bour-

geoisie and other patriotic groups must not be something transient. This alliance must be fortified in the fight for a national and democratic state.

We are confident that the consolidation of the masses, the establishment of a strong, militant united front of all patriotic forces will ensure the victory of the people over domestic reaction and foreign imperialism, and will bring Iran real national independence, democracy and progress.

WORKING PEOPLE UNITE THEIR RANKS

Prospects of overcoming the split in the trade unions of Finland

LARS JUNTILA

THE DEVELOPMENT of the trade union movement in Finland differs in some respects from that of other countries, and especially the Scandinavian countries. Although the trade unions have always been closely linked with the working class movement, this bond has never been as strong in Finland as in the other Scandinavian countries where the trade unions are collectively affiliated to the Social Democratic parties, rendering regular financial assistance to these parties and their press.

Another factor that has laid its imprint on the Finnish trade union movement is that the split in the political working-class movement that occurred after the civil war of 1918 led to a struggle between the two trends for influence in the trade union movement. The result was that the subsequent periods of upsurge and decline in the political working class movement were also reflected in the trade unions.

The peace treaty between Finland and the

Soviet Union after the Second World War was instrumental in restoring the democratic rights provided for by the Constitution to citizens formerly denied them; this brought about a revival in the working-class movement. The Communist Party of Finland began to function legally. A period of rapid and unprecedented upsurge set in for the trade union movement. Agreement was reached between Communists and Social Democrats on the need to promote democracy in the trade unions, to expand their international activity, and on other current trade union problems.

Unfortunately, this favorable situation did not last very long. Contradictions sharpened not only between Communists and Social Democrats but also in the Social Democratic movement itself. Besides this, several other negative features emerged—the right of the rank and file membership to have a decisive vote was restricted, undemocratic methods and

political discrimination began to be practised, the policy pursued in collective bargaining ran counter to the rights and aspirations of the workers and the local trade unions. Under these circumstances the growth of the trade unions slowed down and the militancy of the working class declined.

In this period the Communist Party intensified the struggle for united working-class action, and gradually a change for the better took place. The artificial wall erected by the opponents of united action to divide the workers on political grounds collapsed and new prospects opened to the working class. The 18-day general strike in 1956 was an important landmark in the development of united working-class action. On the other hand, one of the consequences of the strike was the split in the Social Democratic Party which also led to the division of the trade unions into three groups.

At the present time the trade union movement in Finland stands on the threshold of a new stage in the struggle for united action. The patient and persevering efforts in this sphere have alerted the working masses and the local trade union bodies to the urgent need for the organizational unity of the trade union movement, especially with the collective contracts for 1966 about to be renewed.

In this article we should like to examine in greater detail the situation in the trade union movement and the perspectives of organizational unity.

SITUATION IN THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The workers in Finland are less organized than in most other West European, and especially the Scandinavian, countries. Only 50 per cent of our industrial, building, transport, etc., workers belong to trade unions. In other branches the degree of organization varies: in the metalworking industry it is about 45 per cent, in the paper industry—90 per cent, in various branches of the light industry—30-35 per cent, in the building industry—75 per cent.

About 200,000 or 60 per cent of officials and office workers are organized in the various trade unions. The biggest of these is the Central Federation of officials' and clerical workers' unions, which has about 150,000 members. Like several other unions belonging to this group, it is led and influenced by highly-paid officials of Right-wing views.

The workers proper are organized in the three following unions:

The Central Federation of Finnish Trade Unions which has 24 affiliates with a total membership at the end of 1964 of 235,000.

The Organization of Trade Unions, founded in 1960, uniting 17 unions with a total membership of 97,000 (according to data of the leadership).

Ten so-called "independent" (i.e., not affiliated to either of the above federations) trade unions with about 80,000 members.

All three groups include a small number of officials and office workers.

In the political working-class movement there are two parties approximately equal in size and influence—the Communist Party and Social Democratic Party, to which should be added the Social Democratic Union of Workers and Small Farmers, a splinter group which broke away from the Social Democratic Party and whose size and influence have latterly diminished. The above political division is particularly manifest in the leading trade union bodies. At the enterprises and in the local trade union organizations, however, it is less marked. The local unions are divided not along party lines but according to the particular T.U. center they belong to (the Central Federation or the Organization). Of late leading trade union functionaries who formerly supported the Alliance have been going over to the Social Democratic Party.

Thanks to the policy of united action, the former "cold war" between Communists and Social Democrats has gradually been relaxed and relations have improved. The workers have learned by experience that only by united actions can they fight successfully for their common interests. The majority of the trade union membership is politically unorganized. The older trade unionists, as well as workers who assume that the key position their trade occupies in the national economy will enable them to win wage demands independently, continue to cling to the belief that the trade union movement should confine itself to economic demands. But the rapid technological progress and the advent of automation, as well as the centralized and coordinated actions of the employers, are gradually dispelling these illusions and opening the eyes of the workers to the need for joint action by the entire working class.

The split in the labor movement does not stem from the differences in the views of the Communists and Social Democrats; it is the result of differences within the Social Democratic movement. Prior to the split, the policy of the Federation was, in effect, dictated by the leadership of the Social Democratic Party which was firmly entrenched in the leading bodies of the Federation and in many unions as well. This situation was maintained by methods that were far from democratic. The Social Democratic Party pressured the Federation and its affiliates to endorse the so-called economic stabilization policy which, among other things, provided for wage restraints even during boom periods and the exclusion from collective bargaining contracts of cost-of-living clauses. It also implied political discrimination, restriction of the rights of rank and file members to have a say in deciding labor problems, and the employment of undemocratic methods in the work of the trade unions. Contrary to the will of the workers, the Federation used its strength and influence not to fight for the

workers' demands but to support the policy of the Social Democratic leadership.

Clearly such a policy could not but aggravate the contradictions between the leadership of the trade unions and the Social Democratic Party, on the one hand, and the rank and file trade union membership and the working masses generally, on the other.

The persistent and energetic explanatory work and the workers' own experience won more and more support for the idea of united action among workers of different political views. This led to the general strike of 1956 which was held against the will of the Social Democratic Party leadership. The contradiction between the policy of the Social Democratic leaders and the demands of the rank and file union membership became so obvious that even the Social Democrats in the leading bodies of the Federation could no longer support its policy and the Federation finally decided to lead the strike.

This subsequently caused the split in the Social Democratic Party which, in turn, had repercussions in the labor movement, since some of the unions led by the Social Democrats withdrew from the Federation. After a number of organization measures, the leadership of the Social Democratic Party at the end of 1960 set up a new central federation known as the Trade Union Organization of Finland. The purpose was to undermine the influence of the Social Democratic opposition inside the labor movement and thus weaken the entire opposition, check the spread of Communist influence in the trade unions and at the enterprises and restore the positions of the Social Democratic Party in the trade unions. This meant dividing the workers' forces at the very moment when united action might have won them a substantial improvement in working conditions and wages.

However, the rank and file trade union members still regard the preservation of unity as the primary task. That explains why the local organizations of all three trade union groups mentioned above include both Communists and Social Democrats. In only a few cases were parallel unions formed after the withdrawal of some unions from the Federation, and even in these cases efforts were made to keep the local union intact regardless of what federation it finally joined. Some of the break-away unions and those led by Social Democrats have not yet joined the Organization despite the constant pressure exerted by the Social Democratic Party. They consider it more important to preserve the unity of their own union and hence prefer to remain "independent." Among these are the union of municipal workers and officials (38,000 members), the distributive workers' union (28,000 members) and some small unions of officials and office workers.

URGENT NEED FOR UNITY

The organizational split in the trade union movement prejudiced the chances of the work-

ers winning their demands by joint actions. The result was that notwithstanding the favorable economic situation that has prevailed in our country in recent years and the steady growth of industrial production from year to year (7 per cent in 1964), increases in real wages have been negligible. An examination of the trend over a longer period reveals the following picture: gross industrial output in 1955-64 rose by approximately 66 per cent; per worker—by 42 per cent; nominal wages increased by 85 per cent, the cost of living index went up 70 per cent and real wages by 9 per cent. The national product for the same period increased by 42 per cent. The population growth amounted to 8 per cent and the per capita increase in the national product was approximately 31 per cent.

This trend continued up to last year. Collective contracts concluded for 1964-65 did not provide for wage increases to meet the higher cost of living. The increased earnings in this period are accounted for by other factors—intensification of labor with the spread of piece work, more overtime, changes in skills and, in some cases, direct wage increases won as a result of local labor disputes.

If we compare the increase per capita in the national product and the growth of labor productivity per worker with the increase in real wages, we find that the latter falls considerably short of the former. Nevertheless the employers assert that higher wages are to blame for the constant rise in prices in recent years and the lowering of the competitive capacity of our goods on the world market. In reality, however, the negligible increase in real wages is one of the reasons for the difficulty in selling our manufactures produced for the home market, and for the unemployment in the corresponding branches. Another reason is the cancelling of the agreement with the European Free Trade Association on reduced tariffs and regulation of imports. All these factors have alerted the workers to the need for united action.

But there are other factors besides. The domestic and economic policy pursued by the bourgeois government and the bourgeois majority in parliament in the interests of the big capitalists is causing alarm and dissatisfaction among the workers. This policy is responsible for the unemployment in some branches of industry that are working for the home market and in construction, despite the continued boom. As many as 60,000 people, some of them with a higher education, unable to make a living in Finland, have emigrated to Sweden in recent years in search of work. Employers are complaining of a shortage of capital, yet capital is being exported abroad, despite the fact that it is badly needed at home for housing construction, new industrial enterprises, for increasing social welfare funds and other needs. Our foreign trade balance remains unfavorable chiefly because imports, especially from West Germany and Sweden, are considerably in excess of exports. Inflation continues. In some

respects this situation is advantageous for the big companies—in the matter of taxes, for example. The system of taxation permits them to set high rates of depreciation and to assess their assets below their actual value. This of course reduces state revenue from taxation.

These are the reasons behind the growing demand at the enterprises and in the trade unions for joint action on the part of all the trade unions in the renewal of collective contracts for 1966. It is in this connection that the proposal to *establish the organizational unity of the trade union movement* has been advanced. The workers feel that the time has come to rally all the forces of the working class to fight the employers, to compel the government to change its domestic and economic policy so that the people and not the monopolies might reap the benefits.

TRADE UNIONS AND THE WORKING CLASS PARTIES

The workers are demanding that the working-class parties get together to discuss ways of stimulating the activity of the trade unions. This gives a special impetus to the efforts for united action. Although the trade union rank and file belonging to different parties constitute the minority in the trade union movement they nevertheless are the motive force of the unions. By themselves, however, they will not unite to tackle the bigger issues. Before this can be done mutual understanding on a party level must be achieved. If, for example, the leadership of the parties concerned were to instruct their members to organize a conference of representatives of all the trade unions to agree on a joint program of demands to the employers and ways and means of ensuring the satisfaction of these demands, this would be a big step toward united action. It would also be a good beginning for establishing the organizational unity of the trade union movement on a democratic basis.

Although no definite moves have been made in this direction, the Communist Party and both Social Democratic parties are favorably inclined toward these proposals. For example, the resolution adopted by the Council of the Social Democratic Party on May 19, 1965 states:

"... The Council of the Party hopes that the trade unions as militant economic organizations with a share in determining the policy on the labor market will be able to increase their influence by strengthening their organization and uniting their ranks. Guided by democratic principles, conscious of their tasks and independent of political parties, the trade union movement is a useful and effective force which can promote the development of our society in the interests of all its members."

A resolution adopted by the Political Bureau of the C.C. of the Finnish Communist Party on May 21, 1965 stresses the need to unite the forces of the workers to end the split which is jeopardizing the interests of the entire work-

ing class. Our Party considers that the renewal of the collective bargaining agreements should be carried out by the combined efforts of all the workers and trade unions. This would pave the way to the trade union unity the workers are striving for. The resolution ends with these words:

"Now is the time for representatives of the working-class parties to get together around one table and discuss how to support the campaign for the renewal of labor agreements and promote the unity of the trade union movement."

The Social Democratic Alliance also came out in favor of convening a conference at party level.

A month later the leaders of 18 Social Democrat-led trade unions belonging to various trade union groups issued a statement giving their views on this question and voicing the hope that by autumn it would be possible to begin talks on ways and means of achieving unity in the trade union movement.

"... Members of the different trade unions and federations must meet and explore avenues leading to unity. Such a conference would help to unite our forces so that in negotiating the collective agreements this autumn we should be able, on the basis of jointly elaborated demands and without rivalry, to defend the legitimate rights of the workers in the rapidly advancing national economy."

The following day the leaders of seven Communist-led trade unions hailed this statement, noting that it would have received broader support if all the unions in favor of united action had had the opportunity to endorse it. They emphasized that the settlement of such questions as higher wages, a 40-hour week and better working conditions could best be achieved by working jointly with the rank and file membership of the unions. Their statement ended with these words:

"... Thanks to the will and energy of rank and file trade unionists the prospects of united action and organized unity on a democratic basis are now better than they were a few years ago. Let us go further along this path."

The above-mentioned 25 trade unions account for 90 per cent of all organized workers.

Both statements touched off a lively discussion at the enterprises and in the press.

CONDITIONS FOR UNITY MORE FAVORABLE

Although the proposals for united action and cooperation between the trade unions emanated from the local unions where the need for it is more keenly felt, they also reflect the changes in the international situation generally and the impact of these changes. The growth of the forces of socialism, the development of the Communist movement and the influence of these factors on the Social Democratic parties cannot be overlooked. These changes are above all manifested in the improvement of relations

between Social Democrats and Communists at the enterprises. Both Communists and Social Democrats take an unprejudiced attitude to united action not only on questions affecting collective bargaining but also on internal trade union questions, and on such general political issues as that of strengthening the peace movement, extending cooperation with trade unions in the Socialist countries, etc. It should be noted that in elections to leading trade union the practice of nominating candidates and electing them unanimously on their merits and not on a party basis is becoming more and more widespread. This shows that the workers are anxious to overcome party barriers for the sake of achieving mutual understanding. As before, Communists are frequently elected to leading posts at enterprises and in local trade union organizations. In the vanguard of the struggle for the common interests of all workers, the Communists are winning increasing support.

But certain signs of a positive attitude to the Communists are also to be observed in the Social Democratic movement. There is no doubt that the overcoming of prejudices on both sides promises a further improvement in relations. This is especially noticeable among the younger Social Democrats and radically-minded intellectuals. There are certain indications of a tendency among the Social Democrats to discard the traditional anti-Communist attitudes and to cooperate with the Communists. This tendency finds support in the trade union movement particularly among those Social Democratic functionaries who, working in trade unions under Communist leadership, have personally experienced the comradely attitude and confidence displayed towards them by the Communists.

Of course all these are merely the first shoots of what, given favorable circumstances, may yet yield a rich harvest. True, there is so far nothing in the internal or foreign policy of the Social Democratic Party to suggest that any decisive changes have taken place.

All these circumstances have a definite bearing on the future perspective of our country. One can already say that the development of industrialization, mechanization and automation will continue to introduce a great many changes directly affecting the working people. The trend of this development is perhaps most strikingly illustrated by what is happening, and what will happen in the near future, in the timber industry, for example. It is possible that before long in Finland, as in other northern countries, timber workers will be regarded as technicians, operators of modern timber-cutting machinery. The constant movement of the population from the rural localities to the towns, and the rapid change in the structure of the population and professions give rise to a host of new problems that must be solved in the interests of the workers, viz.: guaranteed employment, professional training, wages and cost of living, working hours and leisure, education, etc. The trade

unions as mass organizations protecting the class interests of the workers must take all these factors into account.

WHO IS HAMPERING UNITY?

The question of the organizational unity of the trade union movement aroused universal interest from the very outset. Immediately after the 1956 split, the Social Democratic trade union and party leadership both in Finland and in the Scandinavian countries, and especially Sweden, tried to effect a reconciliation in the Social Democratic and trade union movements in our country. But at the same time material and moral support was rendered by the same source to trade unions that had broken away from the Central Federation and joined the Organization set up by the Social Democratic leadership. Material support for the Organization does not come only from the Scandinavian countries. For several years now it has been receiving material assistance from some other Western countries as well.

However, the Organization has not justified the hopes placed in it. Its widely advertised claims to "democracy" and to be "independent" of any political party cuts little ice among the workers. An organization which frankly declares itself anti-Communist, which wages a struggle against "world communism," and whose actions are hostile to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries does not fit into their conception of democracy and political independence. The Organization's attitude to united working-class action is evident among other things from the statements of its leaders who have declared that they would rather cooperate with capitalists than with Communists. Thus, the attempt to win the support of the industrial workers by artificially creating trade unions has failed.

Many unions led by Social Democrats disregarded the Party leadership's advice to join the Organization and have preferred to remain outside of any federation. Of late the foreign trade unions which support the Organization have also begun to lose interest in it. The statements of the leaders of the Social Democratic Party of Finland likewise indicate that they do not consider the Organization capable of uniting the trade union movement in the country. Official decisions of the party Council no longer speak of the need to support the Organization, although this is implicit in the decisions of the Party Congress. This sentiment is spreading among the trade unionists, with the exception of the bulk of the leadership of the Organization itself, which persists in its opposition to united action.

ESSENTIAL PREREQUISITES

In assessing the possibilities of organizational unity in the trade union movement in our country the principal factor to be taken into account is the existence, besides the Social

Democratic Alliance, of two large working class parties whose political influence, judging by the results of parliamentary and municipal elections, is approximately equal. The same may be said with regard to their influence among the workers, with this difference, that the Social Democratic Party enjoys more support among the officials and office employees than among the workers proper, who tend more toward the Communist Party. A similar "alignment of forces" may be observed in the trade unions as well. Consequently, before a solid and organizationally united trade union movement can be built up, the working class parties must agree on the principles on which it should be founded. The striving for unity which is gaining ground at the enterprises and in the local trade union organizations also points the way along which the workers of our country can advance to socialism.

The common organization of working people should not be used to oppose the policy of one working-class party to that of the other. If this were allowed to happen the trade union movement would not be independent and its organizational unity would be in jeopardy. It is imperative:

1) that the policy of the trade union movement should accord with the interests and aspirations of the entire working class;

2) that its leadership should rely in their activity on the organization and the strength of the entire working class;

3) that equal status be guaranteed every member by the statutes and democratic methods strictly observed.

Organizational unity presupposes building the entire trade union movement on democratic principles. No genuine unity can be achieved merely by replacing one set of leaders by another, or by affiliating the trade union organizations to some central federation, whatever it would be called. Being the biggest organization uniting workers employed in industry, construction and transport, the Central Federation has every opportunity to unite other unions. But unless the Statutes of the Federation and the unions affiliated with it are changed to suit the rank and file membership it will hardly be possible to establish lasting unity, either within the framework of the Federation, or in any other form.

The workers quite correctly maintain that unity must be effected *on the basis of democratic reform*. This means that if a democratic, integral, united and militant trade union movement enjoying the support of all the workers is to be formed in our country, whether under the auspices of the Central Federation or some new federation, the Statutes of the Central Federation and its affiliates will have to be made more democratic. It is necessary to fight for statutes that would ensure the equality of all members, observation of democratic methods, and guarantees of the rights of the minority. And what is most important—an end must be put to undemocratic methods. For example,

the workers are perfectly justified in demanding that the practice of such important issues as working hours or collective agreements being decided by the leading bodies of certain unions or by the Central Federation without consulting the opinion of the rank and file should cease. The same applies to the political discrimination that is flourishing in the leading bodies both of the Central Federation and the different unions. The rank and file members must have the right to nominate and elect delegates to the congress of the Central Federation, for there can be no talk of democracy when the leading bodies appoint delegates to the Congress without putting their candidacy to the vote (the only exception is in the Communist-led trade unions).

It is necessary to put an end to undemocratic methods which continue to undermine the confidence of the rank and file trade union members in the leading bodies, thereby limiting the possibility of effectively utilizing the organized force of the workers to defend their common interests against the encroachment of the employers. The rank and file members, irrespective of their party allegiances, are sick and tired of undemocratic methods which infringe their rights, hence the mounting desire among them to do away with such methods.

It is generally recognized that a change in this respect would substantially raise the degree of organization of the workers in our country in a very short time. In proposing talks at party level the rank and file trade unionists hope that the working class parties will support their struggle for democratization of the Finnish trade union movement.

MARCH FORWARD TO UNITY

Of course, organizational measures and a change in statutes alone are not enough to make the trade union movement the kind of organization the workers want. Hence attention should be focussed on the tasks of the trade unions. It is necessary to draw up a program of immediate economic and socio-political objectives, providing for stricter observance of the labor code and for more democracy in labor relations. We believe that the trade union movement should include in its program support for the policy of peaceful coexistence and activity on behalf of peace. While upholding the right of the trade unions to decide questions themselves and to be independent of political parties, we nevertheless believe that the trade unions should cooperate on the basis of equality with the working-class parties on all issues affecting the trade union movement. We believe that it is now more important than ever before to strengthen the ties of friendship and cooperation with the trade unions in all countries, and especially the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. The trade unions should have the right to cooperate with the unions in any country their members wish to contact.

These and many other questions are presently

being discussed at the enterprises and in the unions. The working class needs organizational unity in order to be in a better position than hitherto to fight for their interests and rights. This does not mean that the trade union movement has adopted a "new line," it means working consistently to advance united working-

class action in our country to a higher level, the level of organizational unity in the changing social conditions. The purposeful and energetic work of the Communist Party and all those who support joint efforts toward extending united action has laid the foundation for continuing to move forward along this road.

Unity of action in the cooperative movement

(Experience of the Finnish Communists)

ANTTI JANTTI

FINLAND IS ONE OF the few countries where the cooperative movement is divided into a bourgeois and a progressive movement. A notable feature of the progressive cooperative movement is that the Social Democratic Party and the People's Democratic Union, to which the Communist Party is affiliated, are about equally represented in it. Hence the relations between the Social Democrats and the People's Democrats and their cooperation in this movement is of particular interest.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Although the cooperative movement in Finland dates very far back, it was only in 1900 that the first consumers' cooperative society was formed. Cooperation developed parallel

with the working-class movement from which it drew its strength.

The initial aim of cooperation was to defend the interests of the working people against the arbitrary rule of the capitalists. More concretely speaking, it fought against unemployment, against robbing the consumer, for better quality goods and better working and living conditions for people.

Although the cooperative movement included a number of liberal-minded representatives of the bourgeoisie in the early period, it adopted a clear-cut and definite class stand from the very outset. Thus, at its congress in 1911 the Finnish Union of Cooperative Societies (SOK) adopted a declaration which said in part: "The cooperative movement is a means and not an end in itself. It is designed to protect us against

capitalist oppression, to support the poor in their struggle for their rights."

However, the collaboration between the working people and the bourgeoisie did not last long. In 1916 the progressive forces broke away from the bourgeoisie and that same year 89 cooperative organizations formed the progressive Central Union of Cooperative Societies (KK). A year later, these cooperatives created their own wholesale association (OTK).

There remained in the old cooperative movement the societies engaged principally in the processing and marketing of farm produce which were controlled by the rural bourgeoisie. They now have a ramified network of enterprises which market their products in the towns and countryside.

The progressive cooperative societies continued to represent the ideas originally advanced by the Rochdale* weavers. Emerging from the united cooperative movement, they concentrated their activity chiefly in the industrial areas and became a movement of the workers, controlled by the workers. The progressive cooperatives engage mainly in retail trade, but they also have their own enterprises.

Directed essentially against the monopolies, their aims coincide with those of the working-class and other organizations which are fighting to restrict the power of big capital.

An important factor in the development of cooperation was the fact that the working-class movement, under whose influence it was, was united up to 1918. After the civil war of 1918 which ended in defeat for the working class, the progressive cooperative movement experienced a critical period lasting about 20 years. Its leaders were killed in the civil war or during the White terror. Many of the rural cooperative societies came under the control of the bourgeoisie, and the cooperative movement as a whole under the control of the Right-wing leaders of the Social Democratic Party, formed in 1918, to whose political interests this movement was subordinated. Internal disunity caused by political differences hampered its development, and it began to lose its significance as a social movement upholding the interests of the working people. Its activity became intertwined with that of the capitalist enterprises to such an extent that cooperatives even took part in war production during the war years.

After the Second World War new perspectives opened for the cooperative movement. The Left forces of the working class won the right to carry on legal activity and entered the political arena as a popular democratic movement which became as influential as the Social Democratic Party.

In these circumstances it became clear that progress of the cooperative movement could not be secured by the unilateral leadership of one or another section of the working class.

*The English town where the first workers' consumer societies were formed in the 'forties of the last century.—Ed.

THE ROLE OF COOPERATIVE SOCIETIES IN THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC LIFE

With the intensification of capitalist competition and the concentration of production, the small shopkeepers have in effect lost their independence. Formerly, the private sector was supplied by numerous smaller wholesalers and several big wholesale firms. This is not the case today. Besides the two aforementioned cooperative societies engaged in wholesale trade there are now only two private firms—KESKO and TUKO. The small shopkeepers are connected with either one of these firms and are economically dependent on them.

The following tables will give the reader an idea of the scale of the cooperative societies' activities and their role in the economic life of the country:

WHOLESALE TRADE TURNOVER IN 1964

	Thousands of Marks	Per Cent Changes Compared with Previous Year
OTK	775,806	— 4.0
SOK	960,465	— 0.2
KESKO	1,227,186	+ 1.6
TUKO (from I.I. to 31.XI)	2,320,686	— 0.7

RETAIL TRADE TURNOVER IN 1964

	Millions of Marks	Per Cent Changes Compared with Previous Year	Share in Total
Cooperative Societies of KK	1,292.9	+ 7.9	17%
Cooperative Societies of SOK	1,767.0	+ 7.0	23.4%
Others	4,528.3	+ 5.6	59.6%
	7,588.2	+ 6.8	100%

The cooperative movement plays a big role in the economic life of Finland. In 1960 there were, according to statistics, 4,106 different kinds of trading and producer societies uniting 1,600,000 members, that is 37.2 per cent of the population. Twenty-five per cent of the population are members of consumer societies. World statistics place Finland first among the capitalist countries for cooperative membership. Cooperation is most widespread in trade, processing of farm produce and the sphere of credit.

The cooperatives account for some 40 per cent of all retail trade. The share of the consumer societies in retail trade is 39 per cent and in wholesale trade, 36 per cent. Cooperative-owned factories produce approximately 15 per cent of the country's industrial output; in the food industry the figure is 60 per cent. Eighty-one per cent of the milk, 60 per cent of the meat and 65 per cent of the eggs, bread and wool sold in the country is processed and retailed by cooperatives. They also play a big role in small-scale production and in livestock raising.

Although the bourgeois cooperative societies

have a bigger turnover and more enterprises than the progressive societies, they have a smaller membership. As of December 31, 1964, SOK had 522,453 members, and KK—548,610. Not counting trade in farm produce and agricultural implements, it can be said that these two centers are more or less equal rivals in retail trade. Moreover, the progressive cooperative movement is the biggest mass organization in the country. Of its more than half million members 56 per cent are workers and 19 per cent peasants.

CORRELATION OF POLITICAL FORCES IN THE PROGRESSIVE COOPERATIVE SOCIETIES

Elections to the higher bodies of the cooperative societies affiliated with the KK take place every three years when half of their composition is renewed. The higher bodies in their turn elect councils which appoint the board members.

There are some 3,000 members in the higher bodies. The seats are distributed among political organizations as follows:

Social-Democratic Party	1,610
People's Democratic Union	1,244
Social Democratic Workers' and Small Farmers' Union	90
Bourgeois Parties	60

This distribution of seats does not, however, give a true picture of the support enjoyed by the said parties, since under the present electoral system a candidate of the People's Democratic Union has to poll at least 155 votes in order to get elected, whereas a candidate of the Social Democratic Party needs only 127 votes. A more exact idea may be gathered from the number of votes polled by the respective parties.

At the 1962 elections the votes were distributed as follows:

Social Democratic Party	110,696 votes or 47.3%
People's Democrats	98,913 " or 42.2%
Bourgeois parties	16,803 " or 7.2%
Social Democratic Union	7,146 " or 3.1%

It should be noted that the votes were cast for election blocs. The actual number of votes won by the SDP is therefore less since the Social Democratic bloc included many members of the Social Democratic Union and representatives of the bourgeoisie. In other words, if the Social Democratic Union and the bourgeois parties had nominated their own candidates, the SDP would most probably have received no more than the People's Democratic Union, or perhaps less. The People's Democratic Union has strengthened its positions in recent years. In 1959, for instance, it received 68 seats more than at the previous elections, and in 1962—48 more seats. The next elections are scheduled for November this year.

The KK has 101 societies of which three are

cooperative-run dining halls and 98 ordinary consumer cooperatives. In 25 of these the People's Democratic Union has the majority of seats, in four the correlation of forces is equal and in 29 the Union is in the minority. The Social Democrats, however, hold most of the positions in the central bodies. They have the majority on all the boards. Most of the leading functionaries are members of the Social Democratic Party. For many years People's Democrats were discriminated against in appointments to leading posts. Seeing that there were no prospects of promotion, the youth who supported the Left forces preferred not to work in the cooperative societies. As a result, now when the situation has changed for the better, there is a dearth of people who could qualify for these posts.

UNITY OF ACTION IN THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

It goes without saying that no single working-class party can expect to control the entire progressive cooperative movement and subordinate it only to its interests and aims. The political situation in the Finnish working-class movement today and the steadily expanding economic and organizational scope of the cooperative movement clearly show that cooperation, which is at the same time a progressive social movement, can successfully advance and effectively serve the interests of the consumer only if it is led by all the workers' parties and progressive forces in the country.

Constructive collaboration calls for mutual trust. This can be achieved only if the cooperative movement treats the various ideological trends in the working-class movement alike and its economic and ideological activity is approved and supported by these trends. The more extensive its internal democracy will be the stronger it will grow. In this way alone can a firm foundation be laid for joint actions.

In general the objective conditions making for united action between the People's Democrats and the Social Democrats have greatly improved. Certain international factors and particularly the changes in the Social Democratic movement have favorably affected developments in our country. Anti-communism, which was always one of the main obstacles to united action and which is contrary to the official policy of peaceful coexistence, is losing ground.

Since 1962 the bourgeoisie have been in the majority in the Diet. The Social Democrats who from 1948 onwards had invariably been in the government either independently or in coalition with the Agrarian Union, are now, like the People's Democrats, in the opposition. Struggle against the economic and general home policy which the bourgeois government and parliamentary majority are pursuing in the interests of big capital has brought the forces representing working-class interests closer together.

The need for united action is being widely discussed in the working-class movement. This discussion has already led to big changes and has greatly helped to overcome the prejudices of the two parties regarding joint actions. Some practical steps have already been taken in this direction. For one thing, the parliamentary groups representing the working people have taken a common stand on many issues of vital importance to the people. At the municipal elections in October 1964 the People's Democratic Union entered into an election bloc with the Social Democratic Party in seven communes and with the Social Democratic Union in 50. At the municipal council meetings held last January to elect sub-committees the different workers' groups collaborated with each other in 200 communes. Bourgeois representation was, as a result, considerably reduced in the municipal sub-committees.

The more favorable climate for united action has made itself felt in the cooperative movement as well. It is true, of course, that the Social Democrats and Communists worked together in the cooperative movement even when their relations in the political sphere were somewhat strained. This collaboration helped to some extent to improve these relations.

It was easier to achieve unity of action in an economic movement fighting monopoly pressures than in political organizations or in central or municipal government bodies. Furthermore, growing competition with the private sector, the intensified process of concentration in trade, and the competitive struggle for buyers were an added impetus to joint action. The leaders of the cooperative movement realized that if it was to hold its own, the cooperative societies would have to present a solid front and that this could be achieved only through united action by the various political trends.

The success of the People's Democrats in the cooperative societies greatly enhanced our prestige in these organizations and won us still wider support, as evidenced by the results of the elections to the leading cooperative bodies mentioned earlier.

Although the prospects for united action are most encouraging, at any rate as far as the cooperatives are concerned, a number of difficulties still have to be overcome before mutual trust and constructive joint action become the rule everywhere.

WAYS OF PROMOTING JOINT ACTION

For years the Social Democratic Party has taken it for granted that leadership of the cooperative movement is its prerogative, that the cooperative societies do not necessarily have to represent all sections of the working-class movement and that the working class can be united only under the leadership of the SDP. The SDP leaders are prepared to work together with the Communists only when it suits their interests. However negative this attitude might

be it nevertheless reflects a certain departure from anti-Communism which rejects the very idea of united action with the Communists.

Practice has shown that narrow party interests cannot serve as a starting point for joint action. The starting point should be the fight to improve the economic conditions of the workers and small farmers, to broaden the democratic rights of the people, restrict the power of monopoly and to promote the policy of peaceful coexistence.

Mutual prejudices still hamper constructive collaboration. Many Social Democrats still think that the People's Democratic Union wants to dominate the cooperative and other movements and that the People's Democrats should, therefore, be kept at arm's length.

It is also true that some People's Democrats seem to think that whenever Social Democrats show a readiness to collaborate they are doing so for purely ulterior motives. However, even though there are some grounds for taking this view, both sides are gradually beginning to shelve their prejudices, thus paving the way to joint action.

Another stumbling block is the attitude to compromises. Very many lump together principles and means. Whenever it becomes essential to enter into a compromise, those who do so are accused of betraying their principles. Yet in a movement like the cooperative movement which represents different political trends, we Communists are judged not only by our principles but also by the results of our practical activity.

It is very easy, of course, to insist at a board meeting where we happen to be in the minority, that our disagreement be recorded in the minutes and then to proclaim afterwards that we have again stood by our principles. What do the cooperative members gain by this "principled stand," especially considering that very often the minority has no choice but to abide by the decisions dictated by the majority? The minority used to pursue this policy also at congresses of the Central Union of Cooperative Societies and also in the municipal councils although talks between the two sides would have yielded more fruitful results.

However, in this respect too there have been changes for the better. Thus, the various groups now discuss certain issues in advance and although they do not always reach agreement a compromise decision often yields better results than one put to the vote. It is interesting to note in this connection that for some time now congresses of the Central Union have followed the same procedure, that is, have dispensed with taking a vote on decisions with the result that these now reflect the interests of the cooperative members better than was the case in the past.

Still another obstacle in the way to united action is the lack of personal contacts between the functionaries of the different political trends. This is not given due consideration.

But the fact remains that basic to cooperation between the various organizations, between the People's Democrats and Social Democrats, is cooperation between their individual members.

A very important factor in personal contacts is the ability to foresee how people will react to one or another set of circumstances encountered in joint undertakings. The leadership of the cooperative movement includes prominent political figures, MP's, mayors and members of local authorities who while sharing our views in the cooperative movement might bitterly oppose us, in the municipal councils for instance. When this happens some people tend to jump to the conclusion that we can have nothing in common with them in the cooperative movement. We also often fail to see that if a person did not share our views ten years ago it does not necessarily mean that he is not to be trusted today.

We have spoken at length about the difficulties hampering united action in the cooperative movement. But it does not follow from this that the obstacles are insurmountable. The rich experience we have gained in the struggle for united action has already enabled us to effect big changes in this direction.

We have succeeded on the basis of mutual trust in resolving many economic issues in the interests of the cooperative members. The activity of the monopoly enterprises engaged in the processing and marketing of agricultural products is compelling the progressive cooperative movement to combine efforts to pro-

cure these products directly from the farmer and to process and sell them as cheaply as possible to the consumer.

Unity of action is not confined to the cooperative movement. Closer contacts are being established in political, trade union and other working-class organizations. These contacts are adding to the mass character of the cooperative movement and are helping to step up educational work in it.

It is gratifying to note that the progressive cooperative movement is taking a common stand together with working-class political organizations and trade unions against the bourgeois government's economic policy which is at variance with the interests of the people; it is actively opposing the rise in prices and taxes, and demanding that the government speed up housing construction and increase the incomes of the lower-paid categories.

It goes without saying that on the international plane the cooperative movement can also be an important factor in the fight for peace and progress. The cooperative societies in Finland will be able to make a worthy contribution to this end once the People's Democrats and the Social Democrats decide to work together. Some positive results have already been achieved in this direction.

Although we are working for unity of action in the cooperative movement to promote its specific aims, it is clear that friendly and constructive cooperation in this area between the two leading political forces would benefit the entire working-class movement.

The class allies of the proletariat

G. OEHMAN, A. LEVKOVSKY

THREE MAIN CLASS FORCES

THE WORKING CLASS cannot win by its own forces alone either in any one country or on a world scale. Class struggle in the modern world, needless to say, is basically a struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie, but since there is no such thing as "pure" capitalism, the class structure of society presents a more complex picture. "We know of only three classes in capitalist and semi-capitalist society: the bourgeoisie, the petty-bourgeoisie (represented mainly by the peasantry) and the proletariat," Lenin said.

The theory of scientific socialism has convincingly demonstrated the need for durable alliances between the working class and other sections of the working people in their common struggle against the moribund capitalist system based on exploitation. The substance of the scientific strategy and tactics of the socialist revolution consists, among other things, in finding, in each given country and at each concrete period, the best ways of building such alliances on the basis of joint struggle to accomplish common tasks, a struggle which will ultimately lead to the triumph of socialism.

In Marxist literature the class elements between the bourgeoisie and the working class are usually placed in the category of the petty bourgeoisie. It should be remembered, however, that the economic basis, status and ideology of these intermediate groups are also subject to change.

In the last century the founders of Marxism advanced the view that for the proletarian revolution to triumph it must be supplemented with a *second edition of the peasant war*. Is this true also of the present-day capitalist world? Do the conditions prevailing in the state monopoly dominated West not call for a "supplement" of a different kind? The right answers

to these questions are of vital importance for the advance of the revolutionary movement.

THE EXPLOITED CLASS

The petty-bourgeois owns property, including the means of production, but he also works himself. *He is both property-owner and worker, proprietor and employee.* This is the root cause of the duality which marks every aspect of the social being of this class. Under capitalism it is always oppressed and exploited by big capital. But owing to its specific status (and the nature of its property) the content, forms and methods of the exploitation of the small commodity producers essentially differ from the content, forms and methods of the exploitation of the workers.

Objectively, both the working class and the petty bourgeoisie wage a struggle against capitalist exploitation, but often in different ways. There are, however, factors which tend to bring the two principal laboring classes closer together and to dispel the utopian illusions of the petty bourgeoisie. Consequently, whereas formerly its anti-capitalist actions were mainly associated with defense of obsolescent forms of social production, today its position is radically changing.

The petty bourgeoisie is not only a historical category. As history marches on it undergoes internal change and a regrouping of components. *It cannot be the same at all times and in all countries; hence the need for a thorough examination of its composition, its policy, its organizations and its ideology in the changing conditions.* As distinct from the two other classes, it is subjected to fragmentation and diffusion as capitalism develops. *It is in a constant process of decay and disintegration.* First there is the economic debilitation of the "primordial" sections: the artisans and the peasants. Not always are they directly squeezed out;

mostly it is a matter of a decline in their economic role, deterioration of their conditions, greater insecurity, etc. This is a protracted process interspersed with periods of relative stabilization and even reversals of the trend. But such is the overall tendency. For instance, in 1820 three-quarters of the labor force in the United States was engaged in agriculture, in 1880 half, and in 1949 only one-eighth. The number of farmers declined both relatively and absolutely. In subsequent years the process continued, the number of farms dropping between 1945 and 1960 by nearly one-quarter, or by 1.5 million. Data for Scandinavia reveal the same tendency: in Norway the agricultural population declined between 1930 and 1960 from 838,000 to 547,000, from 29.8 to 15.2 per cent of the total. In Sweden the agricultural labor force in the beginning of 1965 was 800,000 less than in 1945, amounting to 275,000, or 8 per cent of the population. An analogous situation exists in other developed capitalist countries. More, the tendency shows every sign of continuing. According to official forecasts, the number of people engaged in agriculture in the USA is expected to go down to 3.9 million (4.5 percent of the total labor force) by 1975, and in Sweden to 165,000 (less than 5 per cent) by 1982.

As for the urban petty bourgeoisie, what is happening to it is in some respects similar to what happened to other sections of this class earlier. Its growth has been halted by finance capital, and it is compelled to give up position after position in the sphere of production. In an effort to survive it is adapting itself to the conditions of factory production and spilling over into the sphere of repair and maintenance or sale of manufactures. But the monopolies are gradually invading these areas as well, squeezing out the small businessman and worsening his conditions of life. This process of disintegration produces a wide range of social groups in transition from the petty bourgeoisie to the bourgeoisie proper or to the proletariat.

The data on the decline in the proportion of the farm population in the USA, while affording a general idea of the shrinkage of one of the basic components of the petty bourgeoisie, do not reflect its internal disintegration—the fact that the remaining farmers are being dispossessed. As far back as 1890 half of all farms were mortgaged and in 1930, three-quarters. In 1945 farm operators accounted for only 6 per cent of the total labor force, and a substantial number of them were capitalist entrepreneurs. Similar processes are to be observed among the handicraftsmen. In Norway, for instance, their number increased in 1920-60 from 93,300 to 124,300 (or from 8.8 to 10 per cent of the gainfully employed population), but at the same time the number of wage workers among them increased even more—from 55,600 to 106,600. Consequently, what we are witnessing is the progressive disappearance of the petty bourgeoisie. "But the Marxists are mistaken," say our bourgeois opponents, "in

real life things are more complicated than that." True enough, the picture is more complicated than would appear from the diminution of *some* sections of the petty-bourgeoisie. As if answering critics of this kind, Lenin, after examining the ruination of the old petty bourgeoisie, said: "And, while the petty bourgeoisie is being 'thrust to the wall' in the sphere of agriculture and industry, a 'new middle social estate' . . . is emerging and developing, a new stratum of the petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, who are also finding life in capitalist society harder and harder and for the most part regard this society from the viewpoint of the small producer."

What is this new stratum and what is its status? Lenin answers: "In all spheres of people's labor, capitalism increases the number of *office and professional workers* with particular rapidity and makes a growing demand for intellectuals. The latter occupy a special position among the other classes, attaching themselves partly to the bourgeoisie by their connections, their outlooks, etc., and partly to the wage workers as capitalism increasingly deprives the intellectual of his independent position, converts him into a hired worker and threatens to lower his living standard."

Each stage in the development of the capitalist mode of production is accompanied by changes in the position of the petty bourgeoisie, changes in its composition and structure, and what is particularly important, a continued loss of relative economic independence and the rapid growth of exploitation by big capital. With the advent of the epoch of monopoly capital the petty bourgeoisie tends increasingly towards anti-monopoly positions.*

THE MIDDLE STRATA AND THEIR CLASS AFFILIATION

It is not fortuitous that the growth of the role played by the intelligentsia in the West in the period of the general crisis of capitalism has coincided with the scientific and technological revolution. The typical intellectual of the 19th century—the lawyer, the doctor, the journalist and the artist—is being increasingly relegated to the background by the engineer, the technician, the manager and the civil servant. The problem emerged of the so-called *new middle strata*.

This problem was brought into the limelight by C. Wright Mills' *White Collar. The American Middle Classes*, published in 1951, and the term "white-collar worker" came to designate the new middle strata. "The white-collar people slipped quietly into modern society," reads the opening passage of the book. "Whatever history they have had is a history without events; whatever common interests they have do not lead to unity; whatever future they have will

*In this article we do not propose to examine the position of the petty bourgeoisie in the countries of the "third world" (Latin America, Asia and Africa).

not be of their own making. If they aspire at all it is to a middle course, at a time when no middle course is available, and hence to an illusory course in an imaginary society. Internally, they are split, fragmented; externally, they are dependent on larger forces." A scathing definition, revealing the duality of their essence and position, yet not entirely correct.

Substantial changes have taken place in the development of the new middle strata as compared with the turn of the century. Take the quantitative aspect. Between 1870 and 1940 the share of the old middle strata (mostly the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie) in the U.S. labor force declined from 33 per cent to 20 per cent, and by 1954 to 11.9 per cent. At the same time the share of the new middle strata (mostly office and professional workers) increased from 6 per cent to 25 per cent in 1940 and to 32.2 per cent in 1954. Their overall proportion hardly changed, amounting to approximately one-half. The new strata likewise underwent internal changes. The percentage of managers among the middle strata generally went up between 1870 and 1940 from 2 to 6, of salaried professionals from 4 to 14, of commercial workers from 7 to 14, and of office workers from 2 to 22 per cent. The growth in the numbers of office workers is particularly

striking, their proportion among the new strata increasing to 40 per cent. In Sweden the number of office workers in 1950-60 jumped from 843,000 to 1,134,000 or by 34.5 per cent. For Norway the corresponding figures for 1900-60 are 92,000 and 350,000 (10.5 and 24.9 per cent respectively of the total labor force).

These changes can be directly traced to the development of social production, of the social division of labor and its altered character. For example, in 1953, 33,300,000 people were engaged in industry proper in the USA, but by 1965 the number had dropped to 31,400,000, or to 45 per cent of the total employed labor force. On the other hand, the number employed in the service sphere (including finances and government services) increased between 1929 and the beginning of 1965 from 18,600,000 to nearly 38 million. Needless to say, these changes are partly due to the parasitism of over-ripe monopoly capitalism and processes under way in the superstructure of state-monopoly society, primarily the swelling of the state machinery and the expansion of its functions.

The indications are that the absolute and relative growth in the numbers of white collar people will continue. In the USA, for instance, official estimates predict the following pattern of change:

Major occupation group	Actual 1960		Projected 1975		Percentage change
	In millions	%	In millions	%	
Total	66.7	100.0	87.6	100.0	31
White-collar groups:					
a) Professional, technical and kindred workers	7.5	11.2	12.4	14.2	65
b) Managers, officials and proprietors, except farm	7.1	10.6	9.4	10.7	32
c) Clerical and kindred workers	9.8	14.7	14.2	16.2	45
d) Sales workers	4.4	6.6	5.9	6.7	34

Does the growth of the new middle strata signify a corresponding increase in the new sections of the petty bourgeoisie? The answer is *no*. The emergence of new middle strata is an indication of changes in *all three* basic classes of capitalist society, and, above all, of an increase in the number of wage and salary earners. The *intermediate social segments* of contemporary capitalist society *can no longer be fully categorically included in the petty bourgeoisie*. Wright Mills aptly likened the white-collar group to a pyramid. And, indeed, at its apex is a new element of the bourgeoisie, the big bourgeoisie included, the middle "layer" belongs to the petty bourgeoisie, and the biggest section at the base consists of wage earners. This pyramid is, of course, purely figurative since it is not homogeneous but made up of different classes.

For the petty bourgeoisie proper the rapid rise of the new middle strata has a dual and highly contradictory significance, not because only a part of these strata belong to the petty bourgeoisie, but because their growth, while

being a form of the conservation and sometimes even numerical increase of an important section of it, is also a form of its internal disintegration.

Part of the petty bourgeoisie is indeed being "dematerialized," i.e., is ceasing to be a proprietor. We refer to the "free" professions: the doctor, who is compelled to join the staff of a clinic he does not own, the lawyer, who goes to work in someone else's office, and so on. The private practice of the individual professional with his own equipment is replaced by the modern clinic, office, or photo studio, i.e., the private property of others in antipodal relation to the professional working for a salary and producing profit for an individual or collective capitalist. The growth of capitalist organization of research and of the number of people engaged in it is particularly rapid. As for researchers and engineers engaged directly in production, they have long become part of the aggregate production worker.

There are also *contrary trends*. On the one hand, the changes capitalist development in-

duces in the structure of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie cause segments of the "withering" portions of these classes to break away and enter the petty bourgeoisie. On the other hand, the new sections of both classes tend, in the course of a transitional period of shorter or longer duration, to be "infected" by the outlook of the petty bourgeois. This was the case with the labor aristocracy, and later with a substantial part of the middle strata. Consequently, the possibility of the conservation or resurgence of petty-bourgeois influences in the working class *due to changes in the structure of the latter* derives not only from those sections of the proletariat which are on the way out but also from those which are newly crystallizing (both in material production and outside of it).

The new middle strata are not one class, but segments of several classes. However, owing to their place in production and society, they often share (psychologically and politically) the in-between (and largely illusory) outlook typical of the petty bourgeoisie. No wonder, then, that the mentality of the latter, with new shades and features added of course, is so tenacious or so readily embraced by them.

The result is a paradoxical situation: economically the labor aristocracy and some sections of the middle strata are part of the proletariat while ideologically (and also politically) often constituting an influential group of the petty bourgeoisie. This is one reason why the struggle for the purity of the proletarian outlook must go on incessantly, inasmuch as struggle to combat petty-bourgeois mentality is a prime condition for building and preserving the unity of the working class as well as achieving a durable alliance between the working class and the intermediate class forces. At present these two aspects are so closely intertwined in some countries (above all in Western Europe) that *in a sense the way to working-class unity may be said to lie through alliance with the petty bourgeoisie and the middle strata.*

Consequently, the growth of the "new middle class" is not only, and often not so much, a matter of the evolution of the petty bourgeoisie under modern capitalism as of the emergence of new strata in the bourgeoisie and the working class. Such far-reaching changes in the structure of the basic classes of capitalist society *tend to alter the forms and methods of class struggle and to extend it to new areas.* In the new situation the *conditions and forms of building a class alliance* of the working people also need to be concretized.

THE DIFFICULTY OF COMBATING PETTY-BOURGEOIS MENTALITY

The intermediate position of the petty bourgeoisie between the antagonistic classes of capitalist society has a direct effect on its outlook. "The petty bourgeoisie," Lenin said, "is two-faced by its very nature, and while it gra-

vitates, on the one hand, toward the proletariat and democracy, on the other, it gravitates toward the reactionary classes . . . is capable of concluding an alliance with the ruling classes against the proletariat *for the sake of* strengthening its own *small proprietor* position." The petty bourgeois is always the object of class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The circumstances and forms of this struggle vary according to time and country, but his intrinsic duality and the contradictions between the other two classes which tend to pull him in opposite directions invariably cause the petty bourgeois *to vacillate; his past draws him to the bourgeoisie, his future impels him towards the proletariat.* Only as a result of long and costly experience does he learn to make the correct choice. Marx pointed out that members of the petty bourgeoisie often seek not to abolish, but to gloss over class antagonisms, to "harmonize" them. But, he cautioned, "one must not form the narrow-minded notion that the petty bourgeoisie, on principle, wishes to enforce an egoistic class interest. Rather, it believes that the *special* conditions of its emancipation are the *general* conditions within the frame of which alone modern society can be saved and the class struggle avoided.

The narrow *individualism* of the petty bourgeois was engendered by the very conditions of his life. Economic fragmentation in the long run gave rise to a multitude of conflicting views, trends and organizations. Thus we see *different* impulses and sentiments, often hostile to one another, manifesting themselves in this class with an impact varying according to the period and the country. These intrinsic contradictory qualities of the petty bourgeoisie, temporarily concentrated in its separate sections, are counterposed to one another "extrinsically," so to say, evoking conflict and dissension which confuses the thinking (especially political) of the class as a whole. This *fragmentation* explains why the extreme poles of this class often find themselves on opposite sides of the barricades, and why the proletariat finds it extremely difficult to win over the whole of the petty bourgeoisie at once, why it has to be approached action by action.

The economic conditions of the petty bourgeois are marked by instability and insecurity, the reasons for which he does not readily grasp, not to speak of his inability to change anything independently. Hence also the political instability of the petty bourgeois, who finds it extremely difficult to wage systematic, determined, consistent and united mass struggle.

History has produced countless combinations of the three main class forces. The numerous forms of these combinations and alliances have changed so much from period to period and from country to country that there often seems to be no similarity to preceding essentially analogous alignments. The relationships between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, on the one hand, and the petty bourgeoisie, on the

other, fall into three categories: cooperation, neutralization and struggle.

The conditions and forms of the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat to win over the petty bourgeoisie should be examined in the context of the given period and the given country. This struggle embraces all spheres—economic, political, ideological and cultural. The decisive factor, in the final analysis, is governmental power. Winning over the petty bourgeoisie and the middle strata requires long and persevering effort to broaden their outlook and to help reason triumph over prejudice.

The world outlook of the intermediate sections evolves as society develops and structural changes take place in their own midst. More, the *decisive thing* is *what class coalition* the petty bourgeoisie and kindred social sections are a party to, since this determines which of their attributes predominate at the given stage and how they will evolve in the future.

With the disintegration of the petty bourgeoisie diverse transitional strata appear which often become the advocates of *separate* aspects of petty-bourgeois mentality, including the arch-revolutionary and counter-revolutionary extremes.

When we speak of the petty-bourgeois mentality we have in mind that element in the outlook of the petty bourgeoisie which stems from its position as petty proprietor and to some extent exploiter and which is particularly pronounced when it is allied with the bourgeoisie. At the same time, however, this element is interwoven with those elements of the ideology of the worker which are engendered by its participation in the labor process and the fact that it is exploited by the bourgeoisie. These two aspects cannot be wholly disentangled even in the course of long years of political struggle. But as time goes on the petty bourgeois comes more and more under the sobering influence of the proletarian outlook, which tends gradually to give predominance to the "labor element" in his thinking. But so long as the petty bourgeoisie exists (and long after) the petty-bourgeois mentality will not completely disappear, and the "labor element" does not gain ascendancy easily. More, there can be reversions to type, sometimes with far-reaching implications.

Only through close, principled contact between the working class and the various sections of the petty bourgeoisie on vital issues of common interest can the alliance of the two classes be achieved. But although their outlooks are bound to affect each other, it should be noted that petty-bourgeois influence has not been equally strong at all times, among all sections of the working class or in all countries. To take cognizance of this is highly important for the practical activities of working-class organizations.

FOR A BROAD ANTI-MONOPOLY FRONT

A united front of the working class and the

petty bourgeoisie, all the middle strata, presupposes joint struggle against the pro-monopoly economic policy of the state. But it is not enough to concentrate only on negative demands (protests against high taxes, etc.), for the intermediate strata are already putting forward positive demands to which they attach vital importance. For one thing, they want a measure of *state intervention* in economic activity. Since demands of this kind can be realized mainly through joint class struggle waged by the working class and the mass of the petty bourgeoisie, the objective basis for durable united action by all sections of the working people has greatly expanded.

Economic issues and organizations are playing an increasing role in the tense struggle waged by both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat to win the support of the intermediate strata. The bourgeoisie, and especially its monopoly top-crust, seeks in every way to use the ramified system of state-monopoly economic institutions to tie the petty bourgeoisie and the middle strata generally to their own chariot. But the contrary interests of these social groups prompt them to take a different attitude not only towards the functions but also the very *structure* of the state and other economic bodies. They strive to safeguard their own interests through the very same institutions which the monopolies use to exploit and expropriate the intermediate sections. Here too we are witnessing something new: the new middle strata do not simply seek to *preserve* obsolescent forms of production but *look forward to change and seek to promote the most modern forms*. This affords the proletariat added opportunity to work together with the petty bourgeoisie, with all the middle strata, for far-reaching economic and other reforms while capitalist society still exists. This is not reformism, nor a matter of meeting pressing needs of the moment; it is struggle to change the balance of class forces so as to pave the way to socialist changes in the future. Hence the importance of finding the correct approach to diverse economic organizations (primarily co-operatives of various kinds), the lower state institutions (local authorities, etc.) and diverse public, cultural, sports and other associations.

The Italian Communist Party, for instance, directly links far-reaching changes in the structure of state-monopoly capitalism as well as in the objectives and forms of class struggle with the search for new ways of transition to socialist society: "In these conditions it is of utmost importance for the working class to extend its system of alliances and to renew its methods of struggle. It becomes both necessary and possible for it to forge ahead toward socialism along lines based on alliance not only with the agricultural proletariat and the poor peasants but also with the mass of peasant smallholders, the broad middle strata in town and countryside, and the intelligentsia. With the creation of such an alliance the struggle for immediate, temporary aims of an economic and

political order acquires decisive significance from the standpoint of isolating big capital and breaking up the bourgeois bloc, of winning vantage ground in the struggle against the monopoly groups, of achieving the democratic reconstruction of the state and effecting economic and social reforms capable of opening for the working class new ways to power."

The Communist parties, fully aware that alliances can be built only by mutual effort, are doing everything in their power to facilitate this process. Speaking at the Seventh Congress of the French Communist Party, Waldeck Rochet said: "Our Communist Party has drawn up concrete proposals which could serve as the basis for discussions with other democratic parties and groups and at the same time as a platform for a concrete alliance between the working class, the working peasants, the intellectuals and other urban middle sections."

"It is imperative for the working-class movement," C. Hermansson, now Chairman of the Communist Party of Sweden, said at the Twentieth Congress of his Party, "to win supporters and allies among other classes besides the wage workers—among professionals, peasants and small proprietors in the various branches of the economy, among all those who want a policy of radical reforms and broader democracy."

Examining the question of alliance with the middle strata, Gaston Moulin, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Belgium, writes: "What is in question is to deprive the reactionaries of the mobile reserve they draw on to carry out their policy and to turn these 'enemies' into friends."

"By winning a substantial part of the urban and rural middle classes away from the influence of the reactionaries, of the Social Christian and Freedom and Progress parties, the working-class movement will be able to limit the opportunities these reactionary forces enjoy to retard the formation of the anti-monopoly front and, consequently the advance towards socialism. An alliance between the working class and the middle classes will accelerate this process. The fact is that the demands of the middle classes discontented with the existing state of affairs are, generally speaking, close to the demands of the working class."

"The reactionaries are well aware of the danger this holds for them. They feel that a large part of the middle classes is slipping away from under their influence. It is precisely because of this that they are exerting so much effort to retard the leftward swing in the working-class movement, on the one hand, and to retain the middle classes under their influence, on the other."

In West Germany too opportunities are emerging for promoting the joint struggle of the working class and other sections of the working people. According to M. Reimann, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Germany, this is evident "among a consider-

able section of the peasants and handicraftsmen, who so far have cast their votes for the Christian Democrats. The urban middle strata, in turn, are protesting against the growing concentration and against the Bonn government's tax, economic and finance policy which works against the interests of the middle estate.'

The petty bourgeoisie and the middle strata generally are, as a rule, represented in a great variety of organizations and parties. They also have their own organizations. Some of these especially professional unions, display a high degree of militancy. But there are also a great many organizations of an exclusive character, although in these too sentiment is mounting against hide-bound, anti-democratic and anti-labor prejudices. The problem of broad and durable alliance between the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie and other middle strata is also one of the attitude to be taken to the public institutions of the latter. But it is by no means limited to this.

Anti-monopoly and democratic alliances spring up in the course of the day-to-day class struggle waged by the working people for both immediate and more far-reaching (and hence more remote) needs. At present such alliances in the developed capitalist countries are aimed at restricting and abolishing the economic and political omnipotence of the finance oligarchy, at preserving and regenerating democracy and stimulating progressive trends of development. In France the present stage in the anti-monopoly movement is one of struggle for far-reaching democratic change, in Italy the watchword is structural reforms, and so on. How vitally important it is to consolidate all the progressive forces in the fight to uphold democracy and to safeguard the future of the nation is underscored by the recent events in Greece.

The shaping of a solid alliance is accelerated by the urgent need to prevent a new world war. Indeed, it is not fortuitous that considerable sections of the middle strata in the USA active in the civil rights movement are beginning to protest also against U.S. intervention in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, a fact highlighted by the actions undertaken by students and teaching staffs of American colleges.

NEW FEATURES

As the proletarian outlook penetrates into the petty-bourgeois environment—which, as has been pointed out above, is also going through an evolutionary process—noteworthy changes can be discerned in the views current in it. There is a growing gravitation towards the scientific proletarian outlook and at the same time a striving to adapt it to the class interests of the petty bourgeoisie.

Under the impact of the vast changes in the world since the onset of the general crisis of capitalism, of the changes within the inter-

mediate sections, the greater complexity of their own position and, above all, the achievements registered by the working class, these sections are becoming increasingly receptive to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. This is a new development stemming from the *broadening of the social base for the spread of scientific socialism beyond the bounds of the working class*. It represents a vast gain for world socialism, although it should be borne in mind that petty-bourgeois ideology can never be completely and finally overcome in a petty-bourgeois environment. The petty bourgeois mentality is always there, threatening to make inroads in, or even to overpower, proletarian ideology.

Such, then, are some of the features of petty-bourgeois mentality examined on a generalized and hence unavoidably somewhat abstract plane. They all exist in real life, though to recognize them in a changing situation is not always easy. "It is a truth long known to every Marxist," Lenin said, "that in every capitalist society the only *decisive* forces are the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, while all social elements occupying a position midway between these classes and coming within the economic category of the petty-bourgeoisie *inevitably* vacillate between these decisive forces. But there is an enormous gulf between an academic recognition of this truth and the ability to draw the conclusions that follow from it in the complex conditions of practical reality."

Hence the importance of concrete analysis of every situation, for only in this way can we obtain a more concrete and profound understanding of the position of the intermediate class forces and the evolution of petty-bourgeois mentality in the struggle of the three classes.

It would appear—and this too is a subject for discussion and examination—that different variants of a new type of class combination are emerging, distinct from those in which the petty-bourgeoisie follows the lead of either the bourgeoisie or the proletariat—a type of relationship in which the *leading* role in a number of countries (and now especially in the "third" world) is played at certain stages by the petty bourgeoisie or middle sections kindred to it. Formerly such combinations of class forces were rare; now they have become possible due to the new situation that has developed with the rise and spread of the socialist world system and the changes that have taken place in

the capitalist camp itself. It is particularly timely now to examine the concrete conditions in which the petty bourgeoisie or other middle sections come to play the leading role, above all politically, in the life of one or another country. The problem is all the more important since it is directly connected with the increasing diversity of ways of transition to building socialism.

The progressive, and even revolutionary, role of the petty-bourgeoisie, of all the middle strata, has greatly grown in the present-day world. But in a number of countries in both the West and the East considerable sections of these strata still take their cue from the reactionary classes. Suffice it to mention Goldwaterism in the USA or the Baathist Right in Iraq. It should not be forgotten that, given the conditions, the seeds of fascism and neo-fascism cultivated by the monopolies find fertile soil precisely in the petty-bourgeois medium.

Needless to say, differences in the structure of the intermediate strata and the dissimilarity of their objective social environment make for a variety of manifestations of their political duality both in the West and in the developing countries.

In the building of socialism too the problem of the petty bourgeoisie and the middle strata generally asserts itself, though on a qualitatively different plane, as a cardinal problem in all spheres—economic, political and cultural alike. It is perhaps here that one of the basic reasons should be sought for the essential differences and specific features to be observed in the development of socialism in different countries.

To return to the "second edition of the peasant war" mentioned above, there is no one universal answer to the question. In the highly developed capitalist countries of the West alliance between the proletariat and intermediate class forces is *no longer a question of alliance primarily with the peasantry*. Here it is a matter above all of alliance with the urban petty bourgeoisie, with all the middle strata. It is the actions of these forces that must now supplement the struggle of the proletariat in order to ensure successful progress toward socialism. Elsewhere in the capitalist world the proposition continues to hold good, though with certain modifications, nor has it lost validity as regards the worldwide victory of the socialist revolution.

The Portuguese Communist Party and the national-democratic revolution

THE PORTUGUESE Communist Party has stated on more than one occasion that Salazar's fascist government is a government of the monopolies linked with foreign imperialism and of the latifundists.

The Portuguese and foreign capitalists jointly exploit the national wealth, amassing enormous profits. British, West German, American, French, Belgian and other interests have penetrated into the main industries, communications and transport, as well as the big banks with which they are closely associated. Foreign capitalists monopolize or control the shipbuilding, iron and steel and rubber industries, the production and export of cork, the chemical, electrical engineering, ceramics, paper and other industries.

In the Portuguese colonies the situation is even worse. To keep them under monopoly rule, Salazar is waging a criminal war, which weighs heavily on the people and the economy of the country.

Monopoly domination is growing year by year, and so is the power of the big landlords and foreign imperialists. The consequences of the fascist policy lay the heaviest burden on the working class, which suffers from poverty and chronic unemployment.

The policy of Portuguese fascism injures the interests not only of the industrial and agricultural workers but also those of the peasants, small urban bourgeoisie, intellectuals and broad sections of the middle bourgeoisie. Consequently, all these strata are vitally interested in overthrowing the fascist dictatorship, abolishing the power of the monopolies and latifundists and freeing Portugal from imperialist domination.

THE PRESENT STAGE OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND THE PARTY'S PROGRAM

The class nature of fascism and the consequences of its policy determine in many respects the positions of the various classes, consequently, the basic aims of the anti-fascist movement.

The nationwide struggle against the fascist dictatorship is an anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist struggle. The revolution we are working for is a national-democratic revolution.

To overthrow the dictatorship and to pave the way to democratic development, it is imperative to abolish the social base of the dictatorship, the power of the monopolies and big landlords, and to free Portugal from the domination of foreign imperialism.

Taking into account the conditions of the present stage of the struggle and the interests and aspirations of the Portuguese people, the Communist Party maintains that the political aims of the democratic revolution should be the following: (1) the fascist state should be destroyed and replaced by a democratic regime; (2) the power of the monopolies should be abolished to ensure the general economic advance of the country; (3) an agrarian reform should be implemented to transfer the land to the tillers; (4) the standard of living of the workers and the people as a whole should be raised; (5) education and culture generally should be placed on a democratic footing; (6) our country should be freed from imperialist domination; (7) recognition of the right of the people of the Portuguese colonies to immediate independence; (8) a policy of peace and friendship with all peoples.

These eight points constitute the basic content of the program of the Communist Party at the present stage of the revolution. Setting forth the principal demands of the people which can be met after the overthrow of fascism, this program offers a basis for immediate actions against Salazar.

We realize that the Communist program as a whole may not be accepted by other opposition elements. Class contradictions, differences in political views, vacillation and differences between the levels of political maturity of the social sections taking part in the nationwide movement against fascism impede the elaboration of common political aims of the democratic revolution, in which all of them have a stake.

For this reason the Communist Party has always stressed that no political differences concerning the future of democratic Portugal can justify lack of unity among the opposition forces in the struggle to overthrow the fascist dictatorship and to establish democratic freedoms. The Party is, therefore, exerting every effort to unite the sections of society opposed to Salazar and the political groups representing them, and to lead them in the fight for the principal aims of the democratic revolution.

By democratic freedoms we understand freedom for all parties, freedom of assembly, press and demonstrations, free elections to a Constituent Assembly enabling the people to choose the form of government they want and to elect their representatives.

These joint demands, advanced by all anti-fascist groups and trends, can be satisfied only if the overthrow of the fascist government is followed by the destruction of the entire fascist state machine and by the building of a democratic state.

These immediate demands were set forth in January 1964 at the Second Conference of the Patriotic Front of National Liberation—an organization uniting the most militant opposition trends: Communists, Socialists, Liberals, Republicans, Catholics and Liberal Monarchists. Participants in the Conference reaffirmed the determination of the forces they represent jointly to fight for the overthrow of fascism and for democracy.

The Third Conference of the Front again confirmed these aims and stressed that the Patriotic Front is an alliance of parties, political groups and militant democrats generally for the liberation of Portugal, against poverty, obscurantism and police terror. It likewise voiced the resolve of the Front to seek cooperation, in the most diverse forms, with anti-fascist forces and democrats not affiliated with it.

THE SYSTEM OF ALLIANCES OF THE PROLETARIAT AT THE PRESENT STAGE OF THE STRUGGLE

At present the proletariat has as its allies the peasants, the small urban bourgeoisie and some sections of the middle bourgeoisie. Poli-

tically, this system of alliances is expressed in the unity of democratic and patriotic forces, in the alliance of the Communist Party with Socialist, Republican, Liberal and progressive Catholic groups and trends with which it forms the Patriotic Front.

The peoples of the Portuguese colonies are also allies of the proletariat and the people of Portugal, for their struggle is directed against the common enemy—the fascist government of Salazar.

The Portuguese people and the peoples of the colonies render each other mutual assistance, in the form of mass desertions from the army, refusal of troops to embark for the colonies, the mutiny of paratroopers in Angola, the strikes and mass demonstrations in Lisbon, Oporto, Setubel, Almada, Alpiarca and other towns against the war in Angola and "Portuguese" Guinea, the refusal of students' associations to support the colonial war, boycotts of pro-war shows, and other protest actions.

Mass actions and the political activity of the democratic forces in support of self-determination for the colonial peoples, also weaken the fascist military machine.

The successful revolutionary struggle waged by the peoples of Angola, "Portuguese" Guinea and Mozambique for their freedom and independence also constitutes concrete support for the struggle of the people of Portugal.

Of all the classes participating in the national-democratic movement, the working class alone is capable of fighting consistently and to the end for the basic aims of the democratic revolution. Hence the special role devolving on the proletariat and the Communist Party in the nationwide struggle against the dictatorship, for only they can secure the anti-monopoly unity of the different classes and sections of society and infuse them with a revolutionary spirit capable of releasing the revolutionary energy of the entire people.

The proletariat plays the main part in the organization, growth and consolidation of the political forces opposed to Salazar. It is on the basis of growing struggle of the working class and all other sections of the working people led by the Communist Party that broad movements of democratic unity and anti-fascist organizations have emerged. Thanks to the activity of the Party the anti-fascist parties, groups and individuals have been brought closer together and unity of action has been achieved among them.

It is not the view of the Communist Party that to fulfil its functions as the vanguard force it must constantly underscore its leading role. The main thing is that the Party should have a strong enough organization, enjoy prestige, and pursue a political and tactical line which would ensure it this leading position.

Even the Salazar regime has to admit that the Communist Party is the only nationwide democratic party firmly entrenched among the working people in town and countryside, among the youth, intellectuals and in the armed forces,

and with close ties with the masses generally.

The Communist Party maintains contact with all opposition groups at home and abroad—both those belonging to the Patriotic Front of National Liberation and those not affiliated with it.

The Party's activities aimed at building unity have on many occasions helped to overcome contradictions and to bring other democratic forces closer together.

At the same time it must be stressed that the building of a broad front embracing the proletariat, the peasantry, the small urban bourgeoisie and some sections of the middle bourgeoisie does not remove the contradictions between different sections of society, especially the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The proletariat, while fighting the fascist dictatorship together with other sections, does not lose sight of its own class interests but carries on the struggle against capitalist exploitation, for higher wages and better conditions.

The unity of the democratic and patriotic forces in Portugal should be founded on the unity of the working class and its alliance with the peasantry. Inasmuch as there are no other working-class parties in Portugal apart from the Communist Party, and since the existing trade unions are of a fascist type similar to those set up by Mussolini, working-class unity is realized not through cooperation of different parties but in the day-to-day struggle against the fascist policy and for basic democratic freedoms under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The worker-peasant alliance is realized through the organization and extension of the economic and political struggles of the working class and the peasantry in defense of their interests, against the fascist dictatorship. In pursuing its policy of alliance with the peasantry, the working class proceeds from the fact that not all peasants take an identical stand. The attitude of the poor peasants approximates to that of the agricultural laborers, while the middle peasants take a different position. Farmworkers comprise about two-thirds of the labor force employed in agriculture, and in some areas their share reaches 70-80 and as much as 98 per cent. Many of them are politically quite advanced, and this considerably strengthens the positions of the working class in the countryside.

The increasingly close alliance of the proletariat with other classes and sections of the population opposed to fascism has made it possible to intensify the mass struggle for democracy, social progress and peace and to avoid a number of tactical mistakes stemming from old political concepts adhered to by the anti-fascist forces allied with the Communists, mistakes that might have damaged the movement as a whole.

WHY DO WE ADVOCATE THE NON-PEACEFUL ROAD?

At present all opposition groups believe that the fascist government still possesses an apparatus of repression strong enough to rule out the possibility of its being forced to relinquish power by peaceful means. For years the Portuguese democrats and patriots generally exerted every effort to solve the political problems of their country in a peaceful way. But Salazar, relying on his well-organized, strong and militarized repressive machine, replied with wholesale arrests and armed force to even the most moderate demands of the people.

The Salazar government, supported by the monopolies, foreign imperialism and the most reactionary circles of the Western powers, maintains a centralized repressive system headed by PIDE, the political police with Gestapo-trained personnel. The practically forty years' experience in suppressing mass movements in Portugal and waging armed struggle against the national-liberation movement of the colonial peoples has enabled the Salazar regime to extend technical assistance to the police of other reactionary states.

PIDE has thousands of informers and spies assigned to city blocks, enterprises, educational establishments, etc., and a ramified network of spotters in ministries and other state institutions, in local administrations, in villages, even the most remote hamlets, and especially in the army, navy and other armed forces.

Through the Public Security Council and other channels PIDE directs the activity of the Security Police and its special squads numbering 15,000 agents, the National Republican Guard with more than 12,000 agents entrusted with surveillance and repressions in the countryside, and the highway police whose job it is to collect road tolls and taxes on means of transport. The latter, with its wide network of agents has recently taken an active part in operations conducted on a national scale to check up on road traffic with a view to preventing underground anti-fascist activity. In addition, PIDE supervises the special police of the Finance Ministry, the so-called judicial police, the coastguard, military police, etc. All these branches have at their disposal the latest means of transport and communications and are equipped with modern weapons. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the police services in Portugal are now stronger than the army proper.

The iron heel of Portuguese fascism is manifest primarily in anti-democratic measures; in the methods used in carrying out repressions against the popular and democratic movement; refusal to hold free elections and the suppression of political parties and independent trade unions; censorship covering all forms of public expression; limitation of free economic development by means of a corporative set-up protecting the interests of the monopolies; imposition of fascist forms of organization on

the youth, workers, manufacturers and land-owners; the ban on strikes and severe punishment of strikers (participation in a strike may bring a life sentence); control of associations with the government reserving for itself the right either to approve or dissolve their leading bodies; investing the secret police with supreme power in the state; torture and life imprisonment (at times contrary to court rulings) of those who help the anti-fascist forces in one way or another; political murders; dismissals of workers and sanctions against students and professors who hold democratic views.

Repressions have been stepped up on an unprecedented scale with the aggravation of the crisis of the Salazar regime beginning with 1958 and, especially, since 1961 as a result of the successes scored by the popular movement and the independence struggle of the colonial peoples, which has deepened the antagonism between the people generally and the Salazar supporters.

Suffice it to say that since 1961 over 10,000 patriots have been thrown behind bars. Never before has the police apparatus been so strong, and never were violence and terror practiced on such a scale.

These facts confirm the Communist view that the Salazar government is determined not to step down and that it has closed all avenues to the peaceful solution of Portugal's political problems, i.e., to the restoration of democracy as desired by the overwhelming majority of the people. The government is determined to resort to the most brutal violence in order to cling to power, to use armed force and terror to drown the national-democratic movement in blood as soon as it endangers the existence of the fascist dictatorship.

In view of the nature and aims of the fascist regime, to assume that a non-violent solution is possible or that Salazar can best be overthrown by peaceful means would mean deceiving ourselves and the people of Portugal.

In the conditions of the fascist dictatorship the political line of the Communist Party is oriented on an insurrection of the whole people.

INSURRECTION OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE

What do we mean by insurrection of the whole people and how will it take place? What forms of the struggle will bring it about?

The day-to-day struggle of the working class and other sections of the population in defense of their interests and for the fundamental freedoms on the basis of the unity, mobilization and organization of the working class and its allies, on the basis of intensified and expanded economic and political struggle against the dictatorship under the slogan of unity of the patriotic and democratic forces, should grow over into a struggle on a higher plane leading to the violent overthrow of the fascist regime and the establishment of democracy.

Not abstract schemes but the real facts of political life dictate the course of the long and difficult struggle against the Salazar regime. And these facts of life make it plain that the fascist machine cannot be vanquished without sharp class conflicts, without the participation of the masses both in the daily struggles and in the decisive battles against monopoly rule.

The struggle of the masses accelerates the revolutionary process and strengthens the unity and militancy of the working class, the peasantry, the small urban bourgeoisie and some sections of the middle bourgeoisie. It constitutes the basis for building the unity of the democratic forces and ensuring the success of organizational and other practical activity.

The economic struggle for immediate demands is that school through which the working class and other sections of the working people must pass in order to attain a level of political consciousness that would elevate their actions to a new and higher plane.

Mass struggles paving the way to an insurrection of the whole people, to armed action, may assume different forms depending on the political consciousness of the sections of the working class and the people generally involved in them. The fight can be waged in individual enterprises or in industrial areas, or it can extend to whole branches of industry. The slogans and forms may be determined at numerous meetings of working people or in the course of strikes developing into sharp clashes with the police or into street demonstrations.

Just as tributaries flow into the main stream, so new militant forces join the overall struggle. Dull periods notwithstanding, this struggle is becoming increasingly organized, growing in scope, undermining the fascist apparatus more and more, sowing panic among the fascists, and enhancing the militancy, organization and political consciousness of the masses.

The Communist Party holds that in preparing for an insurrection of the whole people and in the course of the class struggle of the proletariat the openings for legal activity should not be underestimated despite all the barriers erected by the Salazar government.

While stepping up clandestine activity by building a broad network of organizations capable of waging the struggle in underground conditions, as well as by vigorous work in the educational, publishing and propaganda sphere to mobilize the masses for political struggle, the Party at the same time pays due attention to legal activities which can help to bring mass pressure to bear on fascism and force it to make concessions.

With the underground organization — built and steered in the rigorous conditions of fascist persecution — as their mainstay, the Communist Party and other democratic forces are skillfully utilizing legal and semi-legal opportunities and have already achieved notable success.

Working in the fascist trade unions, we have guided the economic and political struggle of

the working people and gained important positions in these unions. This year mass actions within the framework of these unions have gained momentum as the working people are pressing for the satisfaction of their urgent demands.

During the rigged elections staged by Salazar we used the opportunities they afforded for legal action, striking telling blows at the dictatorship and rallying broad sections of the people to the struggle for democracy. By organized action we compelled the dictatorship to reconcile itself to the existence of democratic and progressive youth organizations openly opposed to the regime and its claim to a monopoly in the matter of youth organization. **Today there are representative legal and united organizations of students with nothing in common with the regime.** The experience we have gained in this sphere is extremely valuable for a country ruled by fascism.

Thanks to our struggle for the extension and utilization of the legal possibilities offered by election campaigns, the fascists no longer can monopolize the political scene but have to reckon with the existence of the democratic forces. This struggle has shown the vitality of the democratic movement and the support it enjoys among the broad masses.

Contrary to the advice of some hide-bound sectarians, the working people in town and countryside continue to use the official fascist organizations — trade unions, community centers, fishermen's halls, factory organizations and federations — in the interests of their struggle against fascism. The scope of the struggle and the unity of the forces engaged in it far transcend the limits of these official organizations and the fascist legislation.

Since 1961 the popular struggle against the Salazar regime has been on the upswing. It is waged, despite the repressions, in the towns and villages, in the enterprises, barracks, schools and colleges by thousands of people—workers, students, peasants, intellectuals, small and medium employers, women and soldiers—who demand peace in Angola and "Portuguese" Guinea, democracy, amnesty and freedom.

The first big protest actions of the working class and the entire people against the colonial war took place in 1961 when the fascists declared June 10 a day of national solidarity with the war in Angola and tried to make the workers donate their day's wages and the owners of entertainment halls their intake to help pay for it. The workers in the main industrial areas replied by refusing to go to work, and the box-office returns fell to next to nothing.

In the seaports and railway stations, at barracks gates, in the streets and squares of towns thousands of demonstrators protested against the colonial war and the despatch of soldiers. In a number of towns the troops mutinied against being used as cannonfodder.

The legal activity conducted by democrats to expose the fascist policy in all its aspects en-

tered the struggle for free elections and democracy on the order of the day.

Demonstrations of students and workers took place in the streets in Lisbon. Dispersed by the police, the demonstrators reassembled in other parts of the city.

On January 1, 1962, a group of patriots attacked the barracks in Beja. On January 31, the anniversary of the 1891 revolutionary uprising against the monarchy, big demonstrations took place in Oporto. On March 8 Oporto women demonstrated against the colonial war, for democracy and the release of political prisoners. On March 16 the students of Oporto University marched in protest against the fascist repressions and for the release of their comrades.

The biggest May Day demonstrations since the establishment of the dictatorship took place in 1962 in Lisbon, Oporto and other towns.

These demonstrations marked the beginning of the stubborn mass struggle of agricultural laborers for an 8-hour day. Hundreds of thousands of people took part in meetings and strikes in areas where large estates predominate.

The biggest student struggles against the fascist policy in the sphere of education were fought in the universities of Lisbon, Coimbra and Oporto. As a result of the ban imposed by the Minister of Education on the observance of the Students' Day and wholesale arrests in the universities, the student movement reached its highest pitch since the advent of fascist rule. For three months the students were on strike.

In 1963 the popular actions for immediate demands continued. Workers of the ceramics industry, of the British-owned telephone company in Lisbon, employees of the Oporto municipality, agricultural workers in a number of regions of Alentejo and Ribatejo, and the textile workers of Covilhã held meetings and demonstrations in the enterprises, outside trade union premises, community centers and the offices of the fascist authorities. On May 1 mass demonstrations again took place in the streets of Lisbon. Despite the fact that the city was swarming with police, 30,000 marchers reached the center where they were met with police clubs and gunfire. In Restaurades Square one demonstrator was killed and many others wounded.

In 1964 the struggle of the workers, peasants and other sections of the population developed into new protest movements against the fascist policy. The printers of Lisbon went on strike, as did the cork workers in Alentejo, construction workers at the Faro airport, and the working people of Algarve, where the fishermen paralyzed the ports of Portimao, Lagos, Albufeira and Vila Real de Santo Antonio and interrupted fishing operations for 15 days. Workers of the chemical, iron and steel, textile and other industries also fought for their demands. The struggle against the dictatorship flared up

again in the universities, primarily in Lisbon University where the protest movement assumed very sharp forms.

At present the objective conditions undoubtedly favor the development of the mass struggle in Portugal. The ruling classes are confronted with extremely serious problems: the economic situation is deteriorating, poverty is growing and the exploitation of the working class intensifying as is foreign monopoly penetration; the cost of living is rising, the economy is being increasingly affected by the war in Angola, "Portuguese" Guinea and Mozambique, and the interests of small and medium manufacturers, shopkeepers and farmers are sacrificed to the policy of capitalist concentration which spells ruin for them. The acute crisis gripping fascism and the difficulties confronting the dictatorship are increasingly undermining its rule, sowing doubt among its supporters and isolating it more and more from the main currents of the country's life.

But the revolutionary crisis has not yet reached the point where the issue of insurrection can be placed on the agenda. The mass struggle is still too sporadic; contrary to what some coffee-house strategists claim, it has not yet reached the dimensions and level necessary for the situation to be ripe for insurrection, or on the threshold for insurrection.

Some people argue that the mass demonstrations in Lisbon and Oporto in 1962 and other mass actions show that the people are prepared for insurrection and that not to have begun the armed struggle two years ago and to delay now is criminal treachery.

There have always been those who like to fish in muddy waters. Today too, in extremely difficult conditions fraught with grave consequences, people carried away by petty-bourgeois impatience are trying to play a decisive role in the democratic struggle without taking into account either the enemy's strength or the level of organization, experience, preparedness and striking potential of the revolutionary forces.

Because of the difficulties involved in organizing and conducting the mass struggle, these people hold that by attacking the police and arming combat groups the conditions could be created for armed struggle.

Petty-bourgeois Leftist elements maintain that the conditions for armed revolutionary struggle in Portugal have existed for the past 20 years. Therefore, they say, the question of prerequisites should not even be discussed. These conditions, we are told, have long been in existence.

All sorts of other fantastic plans have been advanced, such as the hair-brained scheme to make use of the 3,000 Portuguese soldiers taken prisoner by the Indian troops during the liberation of Goa, the idea being to ask the Indian government for a ship to land these troops in Portugal.

Various petty-bourgeois revolutionary groups

are hatching terrorist plans. They believe it is time to start throwing bombs and committing other terrorist acts, for example, to kill one policeman a day. Ludicrous though it is, the idea is nevertheless zealously advocated by our Leftists, although so far they have refrained from carrying it into effect.

Some democratic circles are pinning their hopes on military coups and conspiracies without the participation of the people in either the coup or the state leadership after the change of government.

The preparations for a coup d'état in which some opposition elements are engaged have created a situation of procrastination and passivity among certain democratic circles, which naturally hampers the achievement of unity, impedes the organization and mobilization of the masses and tends to make the solution of Portugal's political problems dependent on a small group of conspirators subject to the most unexpected vacillations and easily dealt with by the police.

Both the supporters of immediate armed struggle and the advocates of a military coup attach no importance whatsoever to mass actions, to the mobilization and organization of the working class and the people generally, to systematic work aimed at extending and intensifying the struggle of the workers, peasants, intellectuals and students and paving the way to a nationwide insurrection of the whole people.

Armed struggle cannot be started by order. Revolutionary adventures ignoring the objective and subjective conditions in which the struggle against the deadly enemy must be waged will cost too heavy a price to risk; the struggle must be waged by real and not imaginary forces, bearing in mind that weakness, poor organization and lack of preparation will lead to inevitable defeat. Lenin's injunctions concerning insurrection have not lost their value, and in its work to lead the working class and the people generally to victory over the dictatorship, the Portuguese Communist Party bases its strategy and tactics on these injunctions.

If the vanguard alone were to go into action against the experienced and well-armed enemy, the working class and all other sections of the working people would stand the risk of being disarmed for a long time to come, the Party, whose strength derives from the masses with which it is closely connected, would lose its leading role, and final victory over fascism and the forces of capitalism it serves would be delayed.

Insurrections begin when the objective and subjective conditions are ripe and not when revolutionaries who lack experience or who suffer from infantilism think they already exist. For mistakes of this kind the working class and the people would have to pay with their blood.

"To be successful," wrote Lenin, "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 a *revolutionary upsurge of the people*. That is the second point. Insurrection must rely upon such a *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 enemy and *in the ranks of the weak, halfhearted and irresolute friends of the revolution* are strongest. That is the third point." (Marxism and Insurrection.)

In Portugal the conditions for insurrection are not yet ripe. Nor is there a revolutionary situation, a situation when the ruling classes cannot live in the old way as a result of the bankruptcy of their policy, their differences and searches for new solutions necessitated by the instability of the government and divisions within it, and when the oppressed classes can no longer tolerate the old order and are prepared to join the final battle, to wage a resolute struggle to win power through revolutionary action at a level of political consciousness and organization adequate to ensure success.

The maturing of such a situation is accelerated by the deepening crisis of the fascist regime, the struggle of the popular masses and the liberation movement of the colonial peoples, and the growing unity and militancy of the democratic forces.

A victorious uprising is unthinkable unless the fascist military machine is weakened and undermined by the democratic forces, unless organizational and educational work is carried on to win over a part of the army to the side of the people and to neutralize a good part of those soldiers and officers who hesitate to join the insurgents.

Such a situation cannot arise as a result of spontaneous development or simple appeals, however fervent. It can only be achieved through persistent work in the armed forces to expose the fascist policies, to popularize the aims of the democratic forces and the popular masses, and to explain the character of the struggle waged against the capitalist monopolies and their henchmen in which the armed forces are called upon to take an active part.

It is not enough to pose the question of armed uprising. What is needed is ability to organize it and ensure its victory. It is necessary to know how and when to start the insurrection.

The aim of the armed insurrection is the destruction of the military and police machine of fascism and the abolition of the state apparatus and power of the monopolies. This historical task can be fulfilled only if the working class and all other sections of the working people play the decisive part in the struggle, if at the moment when the crisis of fascism comes to a head the masses are fully prepared and organized for the decisive fight.

The system of alliances proposed by the Communist Party has a bearing not only on the elaboration of a political platform. It is an instrument of struggle against the fascist dictatorship, for carrying out the national-democratic revolution.

By carrying out the national-democratic revolution, the working class and all other working people of town and countryside can accelerate the march of history and ensure the achievement of their supreme goal — the victory of socialism and communism.

Vasco MOURA

Immediate goal of the Brazilian Communist Party: abolition of the dictatorship

THE IMMEDIATE AIM of the Brazilian Communist Party and all the forces fighting for national independence and democracy is the abolition of the military dictatorship and the formation of a government representative of the forces fighting against the regime of national betrayal, a government which would guarantee freedom for the people and resume the democratic process cut short with the overthrow of President Goulart.

This aim was set by a meeting of the Party's Central Committee held in May, which adopted a political resolution charting a line of action against the dictatorship.

The Communists actively opposed the dictatorship from the outset. They established contacts with other parties, political trends and individuals, concentrating on the organization of the masses, and worked tirelessly to rally all the forces protesting against the existing state of affairs. The Central Committee assessed this line of activity as correct.

Orientating its tactical line on the overthrow of the dictatorship and the creation of a national-democratic government capable of implementing structural reforms and thereby hastening the attainment of the aims of the Brazilian revolution, the Party pointed out that while the Communists want this government to be as progressive as possible, they realize that its composition is bound to reflect the level of the mass movement and the balance of forces at the time this government is formed. The outcome, therefore, will depend on the unity of action of all the forces opposed to the dictatorship.

A broad opposition front against the dictatorship can be built only in the struggle for democratic freedoms, national sovereignty, the basic rights and interests of the working people and the people generally, for the economic development and overall progress of the country. The political resolution of the Central Committee underscores the defense of democratic

freedoms as the principal task. The demand for democratic freedoms, without which none of the other demands can be won, has the broadest appeal and is hence able to channel all actions to the mainstream of a broad anti-dictatorship front.

The Central Committee pointed to the significance of the struggle for free elections and the active participation of Communists in all election campaigns, in which they should work, on the basis of concrete issues, to bring the opposition forces together on a common platform and to nominate candidates enjoying the trust of the people. But if it is impossible to impart to an election campaign a mass character, the Communists should cast blank ballots in protest against an electoral farce designed to camouflage the dictatorial government behind a smokescreen of legality.

Diverse forms of the struggle should be used. Communists should develop mass initiatives and employ methods of struggle capable of reviving the democratic process. All legal opportunities should be used, and not only the "legality" permitted by the dictatorship. It is essential to urge the masses not to accept any limitation of the right of assembly or the right to strike, to engage in public activities, conduct propaganda, etc. An upsurge of the mass movement may lead to serious clashes with the reactionaries and even to armed conflicts. The Central Committee maintains that the Party should prepare the masses for this eventuality. Regardless of what form the struggle against the dictatorship assumes, mass actions remain the decisive factor.

Outlining concrete tactical measures, the Central Committee pointed out that in order to set the masses in motion it is necessary to advance demands with a bearing on the most vital interests of all sections of the population. The struggle should be stepped up for the repeal of the so-called "institutional act" imposed by the dictatorship, for democratic freedoms,

against the financial and economic policies of the government, against the rising cost of living and inflation, for an agrarian reform, for enforcement of the agricultural labor statute and for the pressing demands of the peasants, in defense of government employees and the middle classes against concessions to the U.S. monopolies and against Brazil's subordination to Washington.

The Central Committee also discussed problems of inner-Party life and the situation in the international Communist movement. In a resolution on the work of the Party leadership and other issues of inner-Party life, as well as in the political resolution, it underscores the importance of the spirit of criticism and self-criticism that has made itself felt in the Party in connection with the events of April 1964 and welcomes this as proof of the vitality of the Party and the fidelity of its members to the cause of national liberation and democracy, and to the Communist movement.

The criticism emanating from Party organization at all levels was duly analyzed and drawn on in elaborating the conclusions set forth in the political resolution. Hence the profundity of the theoretical substantiation of the Party's political orientation and its correlation with the line of the Fifth Congress which set the task of building a broad national-

democratic front of mass struggle. The growing struggle against the dictatorship has confirmed the soundness and effectiveness of this line.

In other resolutions the Central Committee endorsed the proceedings of the Consultative Meeting of representatives of 19 Communist and Workers' parties, and declared in favor of ceasing open polemics of an abusive nature between fraternal parties, and for the convocation of a new international meeting of the parties in due time.

The Central Committee stressed the need steadily to strengthen solidarity with the people of Cuba, to fight for the re-establishment of relations with the Cuban government, for holding a Latin American congress of solidarity with Cuba and for the right to the self-determination of peoples. It protested against the intervention and banditry of U.S. imperialism in South Vietnam, against its monstrous aggression in the Dominican Republic, and against the participation of Brazilian troops in the military occupation of a fraternal country.

The Central Committee elected an Executive Commission, returning most of the old members for another term. Comrade Luiz Carlos Prestes was re-elected General Secretary.

J. B. TAVARES DE SA

Amnesty law — a gain for the people of Jordan

RECENTLY THE JORDANIAN Parliament passed a general amnesty act under which over 1,200 political prisoners and exiles have been released and reinstated in civil rights. The measure, which meets the demands of the broad masses, is a result of the political changes that have taken place in the liberation movement of the Arab peoples, and of social progress. It reflects the existing balance of the class forces not only in Jordan but also in the Arab East as a whole.

Commenting on similar measures taken in the United Arab Republic in 1964, the Central Committee of the Jordanian Communist Party stressed some time ago that "release of poli-

tical prisoners and democrats is a positive development compared with the political situation that existed before." The Central Committee noted that "the progressive changes now taking place in some Arab countries represent an example of the deep influence exerted by the socialist world system, its ideas and attitudes as well as the aid rendered by the USSR and other socialist countries on the economic and social processes in the newly-independent countries and on the character and trend of their development."

Broad sections of the public, the anti-imperialist and democratic forces and, above all, the Communists of Jordan have fought

persistently for the release of political prisoners. The struggle assumed various forms, from petitions and telegrams of protest to actions by individuals and representative delegations.

Already in February *Al Muqawama al Sha-Biya*,* the organ of the Communist Party, wrote: "National interests call for ceasing the persecution of patriots and democrats, for pardoning all those imprisoned since 1957 for political reasons, releasing all political prisoners without exception, and granting the right to return home to all Jordanians who at one time or another were banished from the country."

The attitude of the Communist Party is fully in keeping with the aspirations of the broad masses of the people. This is confirmed by the enthusiasm with which Jordanians meet the released prisoners. "This positive step," wrote *Al Jihad*, the official newspaper, "can only be approved, for it will enable former prisoners to become full-fledged members of the united Jordanian family, and do whatever they can for the advance and well-being of their homeland."

However, it should be borne in mind that the government circles have not yet renounced discrimination against the Communists — the most consistent and determined fighters for the national interests.

In this respect the statement of Wasfi Tal, the new Prime Minister of Jordan, is indicative. Commenting on the amnesty law, he said

*By a decision of the Central Committee the paper has been renamed *Al-Taquadum*.

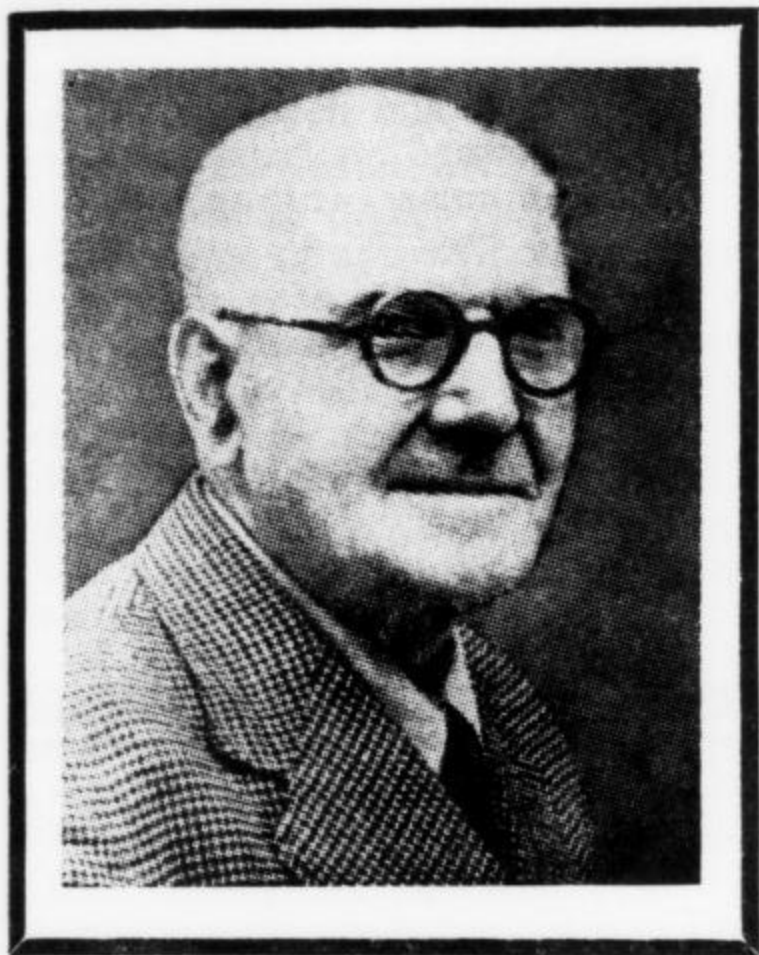
in May 1965: "... We should not forget that in our country there are a number of laws designed to suppress communism, prohibiting party activity, etc." Statements of this kind have been backed by practical steps on the part of the government. For instance, the numerous anti-democratic laws existing in Jordan have been augmented by a law denying former political prisoners the right freely to choose their place of residence.

The people of Jordan are determined to fight against imperialism and reaction. "Despite the long years spent in jail," said Faik Uarada, a former political prisoner, "we know that a long struggle is still ahead. We are fighting against imperialism and Zionism because imperialism is the enemy of the peoples which exploits them and expropriates their wealth, and Zionism is an agent of imperialism."*

Noting the positive significance of the amnesty, the people of Jordan demand that it be followed by other steps which would enable the democrats of Jordan to fight for the genuine independence of their country and for its progressive development. Expressing the views of broad sections of the public, the Communist Party demands the repeal of the reactionary law on the place of residence for former political prisoners and all other laws restricting the right to political organization and freedom of speech and of the press.

RAMZI

**Falastin*, April 7, 1965.



William Gallacher

NOT ONLY THE BRITISH working class and Communist Party, but the entire international Communist and working class movement has suffered a heavy loss in the death of William Gallacher, for many years President of the Communist Party of Great Britain, on August 12, 1965.

Born of working class parents in Paisley, Scotland, on December 25, 1881, Gallacher was compelled to start part-time work at the age of ten. He was later apprenticed as an engineer, in which trade he developed rapidly as an organizer and leader of the working class. He soon became a socialist, and by the time of the First World War he was one of the leaders of the militant workers who opposed the war and welcomed the 1917 Revolution.

He was one of the founders of the Clyde Shop Stewards movement, which played an active part in defending the conditions of both the industrial workers and their families. He took an active part in all the mass movements of those days—rent strikes, munitions strikes, strikes for the 40-hour week and later, the great unemployed demonstrations.

He wrote a detailed account of the continuous working class struggles in Scotland during the 1914-1918 war (in the course of which he was twice imprisoned, for one year and for three months) in *Revolt on the Clyde*, a most valuable contribution to working class history.

In 1920, as a delegate from the Shop Steward's Movement, Gallacher went to the Second Congress of the Communist International, where he had long discussions with Lenin on the situation in Britain and the proposed formation of the Communist Party of Great Britain. Lenin won his support for the formation of the Party in Britain, which took place in August 1920. In 1921 Gallacher was elected to the Central Committee of the CPGB, of which he was chairman from 1943 until his retirement in 1963.

He played an active and leading part in all the great struggles in Britain of the years between the wars: the campaign of support for the 1917 revolution and against the British intervention; the strike struggles of the workers (he was imprisoned for a year before the General Strike of 1926, along with other members of the C.C. of the CPGB); the continuous struggles of the unemployed; the movements supporting the national liberation struggles of India, China, and against imperialism all over the world; the anti-fascist movement and the struggle in Spain. He served for many years on the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

In 1935 he was elected as Communist Member of Parliament for West Fife, Scotland; from then until 1950, when he lost the seat at the height of the cold war, he was a model of revolutionary parliamentarism, always in touch with the working-class movement outside parliament, and constantly exposing the traditions of betrayal or passivity. At the time of Chamberlain's visit to Munich, Gallacher put the Communist standpoint: "No one desires peace more than I and my Party, but peace based on freedom and democracy and not on the dismemberment and destruction of a small State. I object to the sacrifice of Czechoslovakia."

His speeches in Parliament and his questioning of every case of inhumanity and injustice won him a constantly widening circle of supporters, who recognized in him a fearless fighter for the people.

In the years since 1950 until his final illness, Gallacher continued his tireless political activity outside parliament, speaking in halls and at factory gates, taking part in the Aldermaston March against nuclear war, bitterly opposing the cold war and the armaments drive with its increasing pressure on the working class, and supporting every national liberation movement against imperialism.

In the words of John Gollan at the last Congress of the CPGB in 1963: "William Gallacher has epitomized all that is best in our Communist movement. A noble hatred of capitalism, a monumental irreverence for its institutions, class consciousness, devotion to principle,

courage beyond compare and utter honesty and integrity."

William Gallacher's life and devotion will inspire us all to carry forward his great work for the victory of Communism throughout the world.

READERS' QUESTIONS ANSWERED

The fight against apartheid

A. LERUMO

A prominent South African replies to questions asked by readers in the USSR, Hungary, Luxembourg, Uruguay and in other countries about the social and political nature of apartheid, the system practiced by the Verwoerd regime in South Africa.

APARTHEID IS THE ONLY Afrikaans (South African Dutch) word whose significance is understood all over the world. It describes a system, virtually unequalled in the modern world, of ruthless and blatant national oppression and race discrimination, and of intense exploitation of forced labor in the framework of a modern industrial economy. This system is codified in a thousand laws and decrees enacted by a parliament, provincial and local governing bodies all of which are composed of and elected exclusively by those members of the population who call themselves "White"—about three million out of seventeen million. Basing themselves on the claim that they are of "pure European descent," this minority not only monopolizes the franchise and all

other citizenship rights, but also the entire great wealth of this land.

Literally, apartheid means "separateness," and the South African authorities and their supporters are currently spending fabulous sums of money trying to persuade the world that it involves some sort of partition of the country into "national homes" for the various population groups, in which each will enjoy self-government. This fraud will not stand up to a moment's serious consideration.

TO MAINTAIN WHITE SUPREMACY

Eighty-seven per cent of the land of South Africa is owned by "Whites" and the remaining thirteen per cent left for the indigenous African majority (11 million) consists of barren "re-

serves" scattered in various parts of the country. These "Bantu homelands," as the government euphemistically calls them, or "bantustans" as they have been called by the newspapers, are nothing but overcrowded rural slums, totally unable to support their present populations of approximately three million, still less the remaining eight million Africans who live and work, as they have always done, all over South Africa. They are the "reserves" established by the infamous Land Act of 1913, which, indeed, was the culmination of nearly 300 years of landgrabbing and aggressive warfare ever since Dutch settlers first landed at the Cape of Good Hope.

Even within these "reserves" — which, of course contain none of the gold or diamond mines, industries, power resources, factories and cities created by the sweat and skill of the African and other working people — "self-government" is a fraud and a farce. The much-publicized "parliament" of the Transkei — the largest and most-advertised of these areas — has a majority of chiefs appointed and paid by the all-white government; and its powers are restricted to trivialities.

In exchange for this grotesque travesty of "self-government," the eight million Africans living in the rest of South Africa are officially declared to be "foreigners" and "temporary residents" in the places where they live and work, and where they and their ancestors were born. No African may be found anywhere without his "pass" or "reference book" certifying the payment of taxes and the place of work. About a thousand Africans are arrested *every day* for some contravention of the pass-laws.

Africans are even denied the right to family life. On the gold fields, the largest single employer, nearly half a million African migrant laborers are housed in compounds—vast bachelor barracks—on contracts averaging two years. Thousands of other African workers in urban factories and offices are separated from their wives, who have to get permission from a state official to visit their husbands even for a few days.

African workers have no rights to strike or to form trade unions. They are forbidden to enter skilled trades or professions, or to do any but the most arduous, dangerous and ill-paid work. In the past, overcoming all the fearsome handicaps existing even under the pre-Nationalist governments, such as that of Smuts before 1948, a handful of talented Africans managed to emerge as lawyers, writers, artists and composers, and even as university professors. Today, nearly all of these are either in prison for political "offences" or living in exile; the doors to possible successors are locked and double bolted. Most African children are denied any education at all. The state spends about 130 Rand (1 Rand=ten shillings sterling) on education each "White" child at school; 13 Rand on each African pupil.

Public libraries, art galleries, concert halls, theatres, cinemas, sports fields, swimming

pools, hotels, restaurants, civic halls, many churches are reserved exclusively for "Whites." Separate (and always grossly inferior) public transport, entrances and counters at post offices and a hundred other examples of this lunatic obsession with skin-color, hit one in the eye wherever one turns. A host of laws and regulations exist to see that Whites and non-Whites do not commit the "crimes" of marrying, making love, or mingling socially with one another, and an army of official snoopers is employed to see that none break these laws without punishment.

Beneath coarse insults is the even cruder reality—the crushing poverty and ferocious exploitation of the majority of the people in one of the richest countries in the world.

The "Whites"—less than a fifth of the population—receive 67 per cent of the national income. Africans—about 70 per cent of the population—receive 26.5 per cent of the national income, and Colored and Asian people (about 12 per cent of the population) 6.5 per cent, according to the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. In secondary industry earnings of "Whites" average five times those of Africans, and in mining the ratio is fifteen to one. The per capita income of "Whites" is more than ten times that of Africans.

Thus in this land of fabled wealth, where living standards of "Whites" rank among the highest in the capitalist world, the African majority leads a life of crushing poverty, hardship, and avoidable disease. Kwashiorkor and other diseases of "malnutrition" are rife, especially among children. The matter was even raised in the all-"White" parliament, when a woman member (Mrs. Suzman) pointed out:

The general infant mortality rates (babies dying before they reach one year of age) of African children are simply appalling, varying from over 200 per thousand in the cities to 300 to 400 in some of the rural areas. The corresponding figure for White children is 27 . . . one of the lowest in the world.

All this blatant discrimination is justified by the ruling minority on the grounds that it is necessary in order to maintain "White domination." The Prime Minister Dr. Verwoerd expressed this concept with characteristic crudity and unambiguity when he told the parliament:

We aim to keep South Africa White. Keeping it White can only mean one thing, namely, White domination. Not "leadership," not "guidance," but "control," "supremacy."

To maintain such a system of oppression against the will of and interests of the great majority of the people requires a formidable machinery of force and suppression. Verwoerd and his lieutenants are former and unrepentant admirers of Hitler Germany; they have made full use of Nazi precedents and techniques in enforcing their hated policies.

One of the first major anti-democratic measures imposed by the neo-Nazi Nationalist Party was the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950. This law declared the Communist Party

to be an illegal organization; it laid down heavy penalties for advocating or defending "communism" (which was so defined as to include a number of democratic principles not exclusive to Marxists) and provided for the compilation of a "list" of Communists who could be, and have been, subjected to a wide variety of penalties without charge or trial by the arbitrary decision of the Minister of Justice. Hundreds of people on this list have been debarred from attending gatherings, from being members of trade unions and other mass organizations, expelled from parliament and other bodies to which they were elected by the public, compelled to leave their employment as journalists, lawyers or teachers at schools and universities. Many have been banished to remote places, or confined to specific areas or to house-arrest.

It was not by chance that the Communist Party and its members became the first victims of the Nationalist Party. Ever since its founding in 1921, the Communist Party has fought militantly and courageously in the front ranks for the rights of the masses of exploited workers and peasants of South Africa, against all color bars and racial discrimination, for the unity of all oppressed and exploited people in the struggle for a free and democratic South Africa.

COLONIALISM OF A NEW TYPE

In its program, *The Road to South African Freedom*, adopted in 1962, the South African Communist Party advanced a penetrating Marxist-Leninist analysis of the underlying realities of the economic, social and political structure of the country:

South Africa is not a colony but an independent state. Yet the masses of our people enjoy neither independence nor freedom. The ceding of independence by Britain in 1910 was not a victory over the forces of colonialism and imperialism . . . Power was not transferred into the hands of the masses of people of South Africa but into the hands of the White minority alone. The evils of colonialism, insofar as the non-White majority was concerned, were perpetuated and reinforced. A new type of colonialism was developed in which the oppressing white nation occupied the same territory as the oppressed people themselves and lived side by side with them.

Today, on the level of "White South Africa" we find all the features of an advanced capitalist state in its final stage of imperialism. Seven vast mining-financial corporations, closely linked with British and United States interests, own the gold and diamond mines, controlling capital investment of R500 million and dominating large sections of the manufacturing industry. They are linked with the two big banks (both British-controlled) which control assets of over R2,000 million, and own vast tracts of arable land and mineral rights in every part of the country. These seven corporations amass profits exceeding R200 million a year.

In agriculture too, monopolies predominate; with a few huge farms (only four per cent of the total number of farms) making up four-tenths of the total White-owned farmland. In recent years an increasing role in the economy has been played by big state monopoly capitalist ventures, such as ISCOR (iron and steel), ESCOM (electricity) and SASOL (coal and petrochemicals).

Also characteristic of imperialism is the aggressive, expansionist drive of the rulers of the South African state, which has illegally incorporated Southwest Africa and is striving to extend economic and ultimately political domination elsewhere in Africa. Powerful financial and mining monopolies based in Johannesburg, such as Oppenheimer's Anglo-American Corporation, have extended their tentacles far afield in Africa, dominating substantial areas of the economy in Rhodesia and Zambia, and extending into the Congo and elsewhere in the north.

But on the level of non-"White" South Africa we find all the worst characteristics of colonialism: the complete absence of political and citizen rights, mass poverty, illiteracy and disease, fierce national oppression and humiliation—and above all the systematic institution of forced labor which is the foundation of the vast profits of the local monopolies and their overseas backers. The same forced labor is the source for financing the powerful state machine, the swollen bureaucracy, the militarized police and the expensively equipped armed forces, designed to maintain colonial slavery in the South and—if possible—to extend it elsewhere in our continent.

Against this "colonialism of a special type," *The Road to South African Freedom* calls for strengthening of the united front of national liberation comprising the African National Congress, the premier national organization of the African people, allied with the Colored and Indian Congresses, the progressive trade union movement, and democratic elements among the Whites, in order to bring about a national democratic revolution whose aim will be the national liberation of the African people.

The broad program of this democratic alliance was laid down ten years ago, on June 26, 1955, when beneath the sten guns and batons of the police the countrywide assembly of delegates to the historic Congress of the People adopted South Africa's *Freedom Charter*. This historic document proclaims the right of all to vote for and participate in government, of equality of national and language rights. It calls for nationalization of the mines, banks and monopoly industry. "The Land Shall be Shared Among Those Who Work It!" and detailed demands are advanced to abolish discrimination and injustice in the fields of law, civil rights, employment, education and social security. The document concludes by pledging a free South Africa to complete independence, to a policy of unity for Africa and world peace.

This statement of democratic demands and

aspirations is fully in accordance with the United Nations Charter and with the outlook of the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the world. But the white supremacists regarded it as high treason. At the end of 1955 one hundred and fifty-six leaders of the Congress alliance, headed by men like Chief Lutuli, Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu were arrested. This was the beginning of the famous Treason Trial, which dragged on for over four years until, defended by Bram Fischer and other outstanding lawyers, all were acquitted.

The Verwoerd government did not accept this defeat in the Courts. Instead it launched an all-out drive to change the laws, and to transform South Africa into a full-fledged Nazi-type police state. Following the 1960 massacres at Sharpeville and Langa, when hundreds of Africans were shot while peacefully demonstrating against the pass laws, the notorious Nazi sympathizer, Balthazar Vorster, who had been interned during the Second World War for his pro-Hitler activities, was appointed Minister of Justice. The crime of "sabotage" was created (its definition includes "any illegal act" committed for political purposes, so that it could cover slogan-painting or trespassing on private property, an illegal strike, or a demonstration) punishable by a minimum of five years in jail or a maximum, a death sentence. The Minister can impose any restriction he sees fit on individuals by his order alone—for example, unlimited house-arrest—and there is no appeal to any court against his decision. Any police officer can detain anyone he suspects of a political offense, without charge or trial, for successive periods of ninety days during which prisoners cannot be visited by friends, lawyers or relations.

Prisoners are held for long months in solitary confinement. Hundreds of authenticated reports have come from detainees savagely assaulted by special-branch policemen. They are trussed up, wrists and ankles tied, while a stick is thrust below the knees, then electric shocks are administered, the victim's head enclosed in a bag to strangle him. They are kept standing within a chalked square for days and nights, while being questioned by relays of policemen. Many have been maimed for life by beatings in detention; many have died.

Today, practically all those acquitted in the Treason Trial are in jail, under house-arrest, or in exile. The thousands of political prisoners include Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and many other senior leaders of patriotic organizations. On the dreaded Robben Island and in other jails and concentration camps political prisoners are subjected to inhuman treatment and conditions. With the African National Congress and other democratic movements declared illegal, with the Congress of Trade Unions and even such organizations as the Liberal Party, though formally "legal," actually outlawed, radical opposition to the regime is virtually confined to underground movements such as the ANC, the Communist Party and the fighting

organization *Umkonto We Sizwe* (The Spear of the Nation) which carries on planned sabotage of the present regime.

WITH THE SUPPORT OF WORLD IMPERIALISM

The blatant racialism of apartheid and the brutal means used to maintain it have aroused universal protests and disgust. It has featured prominently on the agenda of the General Assembly of the United Nations since its foundation. At first the representatives of the United States, Britain and other imperialist countries tried to defend the unashamed defiance of the Charter by the government of South Africa, claiming it was a "domestic concern." But with the growing weight of the African and Asian states, they have changed their tactics. Nowadays they join in verbal condemnations of apartheid, while opposing or obstructing every proposal for international actions of solidarity with South Africa's oppressed majority.

The independent African states have decided on a policy of diplomatic, commercial and other forms of boycott and isolation of the racist Pretoria regime. In 1963, by a large majority, they carried a resolution in the U.N. General Assembly calling on all socialist countries to follow suit. This decision has been respected by the socialist countries and by most Asian countries. But the imperialist countries have openly defied this decision, vying with one another to extend their trade and other relations with the Verwoerd regime.

They even disregard the solemn Security Council resolution demanding that all countries cease the sale of arms to South Africa. Prior to the 1964 general election, the British Labor Party leader Harold Wilson solemnly pledged that a Labor government would end the arms traffic with Verwoerd; and the Labor government has indeed undertaken that it will not enter into new arms contracts. But it continues the sale of military aircraft, in the use of which it is currently training South African pilots and maintenance men, and it continues to service and supply space parts for the very substantial quantities of British armaments already in the hands of the S.A. army, air force and navy.

The French government has publicly announced that it proposes to continue defying the Security Council resolution. British, French, Belgian, West German firms are building, or helping South African subsidiaries to build, weapons factories in South Africa on a scale sufficient to defeat the objects of a future arms embargo.

West Germany is a particular offender. As revealed in a memorandum published by the GDR Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, it has entered into a secret, long-term plan for the joint creation of a German-South African armaments industry in South Africa, whose purposes include the manufacture of long-range missiles, poison gases and nuclear weapons.

The reason for the imperialists' partiality

to the white supremacists is obvious. Apartheid and its accompanying forced labor system ensures big profits to foreign investors as well as to local capitalists. With strikes banned, trade unions ruthlessly persecuted, and the growing hunger in the villages constantly replenishing the labor market, South Africa is a paradise for businessmen. All the main capitalist countries have very heavy investments in South Africa. Britain, with over £1,000 million worth of capital returning very substantial dividends from gold mines and various other enterprises in the Republic, as well as in South-west Africa, leads the field. But the United States is not far behind, and has currently a bigger dollar investment in South Africa than in the rest of Africa combined. There is a substantial and growing participation by French, West German, Italian, Japanese and other foreign capitalists in the share of super-profits derived from the super-exploitation of cheap African labor.

It is because of the support and protection they receive from their foreign imperialist backers that the white colonialists of South Africa have been able to carry on for so long against the militant resistance of the people of the country and their millions of well-wishers in Africa and all over the world. For this reason alone the struggle against apartheid, though its brunt has been and always will be borne by the patriotic and democratic forces in South Africa itself, cannot be regarded as a purely internal question. The whole world should act to wipe out this disgrace to mankind.

With its highly-developed and increasingly militarized industrial base, with a white population of three million being indoctrinated and organized for war with almost hysterical fervor, the aggressive regime in South Africa has become what Hitler Germany was to Europe in the thirties: a constant and intolerable threat to the independence, peace and security of every African state.

It has illegally annexed a League of Nations Mandate, South West Africa, and applied its policies of white domination and apartheid there. African countries have protested against this brazen act of lawlessness. At current proceedings at the International Court of Justice at the Hague, Ethiopia and Liberia are challenging this flagrant illegality; but, even if the verdict goes against Verwoerd, one cannot imagine that he will relinquish his ill-gotten loot so long as he continues to enjoy the patronage of Britain and the United States, both of which countries have heavy investments in the mineral and other wealth of South West Africa. The South African regime is also stepping up the penetration of the three neighboring British protectorates: Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland.

The Pretoria regime affords powerful backing to the white minority dictatorship in Rhodesia, to the Portuguese fascist colonialists in Mozambique and Angola, and to every reactionary and neo-colonialist intrigue throughout

the continent. The murdering, looting scum of mercenaries upon whom Tshombe relies in the Congo, consists very largely of white South Africans.

WE SHALL OVERCOME

The struggle against apartheid is, therefore, essential for the cause of African freedom and world peace. This struggle will gain fresh impetus if the vigorous and growing anti-apartheid movements which have developed in recent years in many countries—Britain, Scandinavia, France and more recently in the United States are examples—are able to exert decisive influence on the governments of these countries and bring them into line with world opinion. There can be no doubt that, deprived of the powerful economic and military support of its imperialist backers abroad, the apartheid regime would not be able to survive a fresh wave of militant resistance from the workers, peasants and all democrats in South Africa.

And a fresh wave of revolt is already in the making. The very conditions in the country, with the ruling circles heaping ever more ruthless and intolerable measures on the masses, are continuously stoking the fires of resentment and national upsurge. Leaders are coming forward from the ranks of the workers, peasants and the revolutionary youth to take the places of the thousands in jail, and to avenge the glorious martyrs of our people like Vuyisile Mini, executed by the Verwoerd-Vorster neo-Nazi regime.

Our people have neither been defeated nor crushed. The notorious "Rivonia" trial, followed by a series of trials of members of the African National Congress *Umkonto We Sizwe*, the Communist Party and other patriotic organizations has, it is true, led to the temporary loss of brilliant and courageous leaders, but their noble bearing before the courts and their searing indictments of their judges have inspired the masses to even greater love for them and confidence in their cause.

The people's organizations are rallying their forces and learning the bitter lessons of the past. They are preparing with greater vigilance and determination for the next phase of the struggle, in the understanding that the former policy of "non-violence" as an invariable principle of struggle has served its day. Against this evil fascist regime which has closed every door to peaceful and legal struggle, and which only maintains itself in power by never-ending violence and terror against the people, it has become necessary to meet force with force, and to speak to the enemy who refuses to listen to words in the only language he can understand, that of weapons.

Side by side with this preparation in the decisive battleground, South Africa itself, democratic and freedom-loving people of all countries are called upon to raise to new and effective levels a united campaign of solidarity, a world crusade against apartheid, the enemy of man.

Uphold the cause of peace!

(Notes on the Helsinki Congress)

THE WORLD CONGRESS for Peace, National Independence and General Disarmament, held in Helsinki from July 10-15, opened with an announcement by the Prime Minister of Finland of a decision to erect a monument in Helsinki symbolizing the basic idea contained in the name of the Congress.

It was an impressive gathering that met in the Finnish capital. Men and women from different countries, white and black, old and young, speaking different languages and adhering to different political and social views came to Helsinki moved by a common desire to uphold world peace, defend national independence and bar the road to militarism. They represented a force which even the ruling circles of the capitalist countries can no longer afford to ignore.

"YOU ARE NOT ALONE, VIETNAM!"

These words were inscribed on one of the banners carried by the crowd at a huge open-air meeting held on the opening day of the Congress which was proclaimed "Vietnam Day." And this slogan sounded again and again during the session of the world forum.

"The Vietnamese people are fighting for peace for all the peoples in the world and for human justice," declared the Indian delegate. He said that in his country volunteers were signing up, ready at the first call for help from the Vietnamese people to go to Vietnam to join them in their struggle. Delegates from Chile, the Soviet Union, Italy and dozens of other countries took the floor one after another to voice the wrath and indignation of peoples on all continents at the imperialist aggression.

"We must wage a struggle on two fronts," said Isabelle Blume, the well-known Belgian public leader who had recently returned from Vietnam. She told the Congress of the firm resolve of its people to fight until victory is achieved. The Vietnamese, she said, are fighting on the battlefield, we must carry on the fight in the field of politics.

How is this struggle to be fought today? How to unite the democratic forces for the defense of peace? These are the questions on

which the attention of the Congress was mainly focussed.

A lively debate arose over the practical possibilities for bringing the war in Vietnam to a speedy end. In the course of the discussion President Johnson's proposal for unconditional negotiations was cited, but the delegates exposed the double game the White House is playing. Let the U.S. government withdraw its troops from Vietnam, they said, and then the negotiations can begin. This point was stressed by Professor John Bernal and by many other delegates.

The Congress sought to get to the root of the matter, to pillory and condemn those responsible for wars. There was no doubt in the minds of the vast majority of the delegates that imperialism is the source of wars, and that the main responsibility for the aggravation of the international situation in our time lies with United States imperialism.

"It has been said in the past that all parties to the cold war are to blame for the arms race and for the threat of nuclear war. It can no longer be said with any justification. Events of recent years and the present policies of the United States make clear beyond any doubt that the threat to world peace is American imperialism. Any honest observer of the world scene, conversant with the facts, must come to that conclusion."

The above is an excerpt from the message to the Congress sent by Bertrand Russell, who only recently declared that imperialism and Communism are equally to blame for violating the peace.

For a long time the reactionaries hoped by diverse maneuvers to split the peace movement. Imperialist politicians sought to infect the movement with the poison of anti-communism, to make it an instrument of the cold war. But the Helsinki Congress showed that this policy is meeting with failure. The American intervention in Vietnam, and the policy of the Johnson Administration are opening people's eyes to the truth.

PEACE AND FREEDOM FOR THE PEOPLES

Nearly half of the delegates attending the Congress represented the newly emerging

states and the countries still fighting for their freedom. This is a sign of the times. It shows how closely the movement for peace is bound up with the movement for national liberation.

It was in the commission where problems of the struggle for national independence were debated that the most fervent speeches and the most passionate debates could be heard.

As regards the connection between the fight for peace and the struggle for national independence, some of the delegates posed the question thus: can peace be sacrificed for the sake of national liberation or should the tasks of national liberation be abandoned, if only for a time, for the sake of peace?

Most of the delegates, however, were of the opinion that the liberation of the oppressed nations strengthens the cause of peace and this in turn creates favorable conditions for national liberation and social progress. "National independence is *valueless* unless there is peace," was how the question was put in a message of greeting from Bechuanaland. "For us the problems of peace and national independence are as closely linked as the tree and its bark. True peace must be based on the dignity and splendor of each nation," said the delegate from Haiti.

The movement for national liberation and the movement for peace are related, above all, because they face a common enemy—imperialism. They are natural allies and can win the battle if they act together. The national-liberation movement needs peace, for so long as there is peace the imperialists will not be able to bring the chief instrument of their domination—armed force—into play. And, conversely, no true peace is possible without the victory of the national-liberation movement, for there can be no peaceful coexistence between oppressor and oppressed.

"We value peace, but we value freedom still more!" some of the delegates exclaimed. Yes, peace cannot be bought at the price of freedom, for in that case there would be neither peace nor freedom. But it should not be thought that the tree of freedom can bloom admit the flames of a devastating nuclear explosion.

One cannot stake hopes on liberation after a nuclear attack. The insidious schemes of the aggressors must be combated, their plans to unleash a war that would wipe out all freedom must be frustrated. That is what the active peace fighters are calling for today. The combined strength of all nations, of all democratic forces in the world can force the imperialist aggressors to back up. Suffice it to point to the example of the Suez, Algeria and Cuba.

THE VITAL NECESSITY OF DISARMAMENT

The discussions at the Congress once again confirmed the importance of peaceful coexistence which creates the most favorable socio-historical conditions for the liberation of the

oppressed peoples, for the development of the world revolutionary process. The committee on disarmament, which included some prominent experts in this field, went on record that militarism, the arms race are not only a colossal waste of money, but a poison that is corroding the minds of people, corrupting the youth, leaving hundreds of millions of people undernourished and illiterate. Militarism lays a particularly heavy burden on the working people.

It was noted that even the rich capitalist states turn out to be poor when it comes to housing construction, expanding health services and education, and satisfying other needs. Militarization is retarding the progress of science and culture. Half of all scientists in the United States are working on military projects. Nearly 90 per cent of all appropriations for science are spent on research for military purposes. Militarization is accompanied in some countries by the suppression of all opposition and by the growing influence of the police and the military in political life. It was the war psychosis that spawned Goldwaterism, that abominable symbiosis of militarism and racism, and is the source of the reactionary policy now being pursued by President Johnson.

The Congress devoted a great deal of attention to the proposals to set up atom-free zones in different parts of the world. The proposal made by President Kekkonen of Finland to turn the whole of Northern Europe into an atom-free zone, was highly commended. Tribute was also paid to the policy of neutrality adhered to by some capitalist countries and to the contribution of the non-aligned countries to the preservation of world peace.

Finland itself afforded the delegates a concrete example of how a country's peace policy can help to promote the workers' struggle for their interests. Finland's policy of neutrality plays an important part in creating a favorable climate for the working-class movement in that country. At the municipal elections last October the working-class parties polled 50 per cent of the votes. The Social Democrats, who have latterly begun to take a more definite stand in favor of a policy of peace and friendship with the Soviet Union, increased the number of their supporters. In neutral Sweden the working-class party polled 53 per cent of the votes at the parliamentary elections September last year. This is more than in any other capitalist country. These facts are highly indicative, as are the difficulties experienced of late by the ruling Social Democratic parties of the two other Scandinavian countries — Denmark and Norway — who are firmly committed to NATO policy.

On the question of the abolition of nuclear weapons no exceptions or reservations that might afford any loophole for their proliferation can be allowed. The delegates resolutely condemned the plans of the American imperialists and the West German revanchists for a "multilateral nuclear force" in Europe which

would be an instrument for unleashing a world nuclear holocaust.

The Congress blasted the "theory" that promotion of the military branches of the economy is essential for maintaining a high level of business activity and employment in the capitalist countries, that war production is an integral part of their national economy. It was conclusively demonstrated that reconversion of the war industry would only revitalize the economy of these countries. Utilization of the vast opportunities for expanding economic and trade ties, on the basis of equality, with the developing countries could further this process. Moreover, switching war industry to production for peaceful purposes, it was pointed out, would cost society much less than the continued stock-piling of weapons.

The discussion of various aspects of the disarmament problem showed how much this question interests the broadest sections of society. "The arms race is profitable only to the big monopolies as a sure market for their production, presenting a possibility of sales without fear of competition," states the report of the disarmament committee. Disarmament would not only remove the danger of war but would create favorable conditions for social progress. The broad program of the struggle for disarmament is bringing more and more people into the peace movement. It is here that the diverse and sometimes very concrete interests of the different groups of society meet. The watchword of the struggle for disarmament is a powerful stimulus to the working people to fight for their social interests, it is directly linked with the demands for higher wages, more and better housing, and to expand the field of scientific research. Many of the delegates pointed out that the funds released by cutting arms expenditures could be used to raise the living standards of the population.

In this connection it was stressed that the democratic forces should advance a constructive program of national economic development and not confine themselves to the rejection of militarism. The need to fight for social reforms as an alternative to a society that breeds wars was stressed.

A jarring note was struck at a meeting of one of the committees by the statement that so long as imperialism exists there is no use fighting for disarmament. But it is precisely because the imperialists are brandishing their weapons and using them that the peoples are more and more insistently calling for disarmament! This is the slogan that can unite different democratic forces in the world today in the fight against imperialist aggression and reaction.

IN UNITY LIES STRENGTH

The Congress in Helsinki was attended this year by delegates from many peace organizations which had hitherto not maintained con-

nections with the World Peace Council. More religious organizations, for example, were represented than at previous congresses.

"It has been the most widely representative Congress for peace that has ever been held by our movement or by any movement," Professor Bernal noted in his concluding address. "The Congress is also the first one which attempts to represent the real balance of humanity over the globe, and has given the first opportunity for delegates from so many parts to meet and talk."

That the base of the peace movement—social, geographical and ideological—should steadily broaden is only natural. It is evidence of the advance of society, a sign that the struggle for progress is constantly being joined by new nations and new sections of society. They all have a stake in peace, for peace is an indispensable condition for the development, as quickly and painlessly as possible, of the objective social processes.

The scope of the peace movement in one or another country depends on the degree of political consciousness of the masses, of their participation in the process of progressive reform. In the United States, for example, this movement is relatively weak because, as the American delegate K. Goodlett stressed, the trade unions have not been drawn into it.

Of course the broadening of the movement brings with it a diversity of political ideas, which makes the elaboration of its strategy more difficult, as the experience of the Congress confirmed.

"The discussions in the Commissions were certainly keen and full of controversy," Professor Bernal admitted. But, he added, "that is to be expected in a world in which the interaction of different factors affecting peace in different countries is becoming so close that none can any longer remain isolated."

But differences of opinion are no obstacle to the movement. The idea of unity, as well as the other ideas advanced by the previous peace congress held in Moscow in 1962, were developed further at the Helsinki Congress.

The objective conditions for expanding the peace struggle are improving and are bound to continue to improve with the consolidation of the socialist countries, the development of the national-liberation movement and the upsurge of the workers' struggle in the developed capitalist countries. The imperialist "war party" is setting itself more and more in opposition to society as a whole, and the support which the imperialist circles still receive from the strata that are bound to them economically and politically is steadily dwindling.

The subjective factors influencing the development of the peace movement, however, have not yet ripened to the same extent. It is now clear to everyone that the forces of peace are superior to the forces of war. But if war is to be ruled out altogether, all peace-loving peoples, all the forces standing for social progress must take action together. As N. Wal-

beck, the Ghana delegate, put it: "The masses of the world hold within their grasp the power to end injustice and crimes against humanity. It is only the organized use of this power which is lacking."

The combined efforts of all democratic movements, all organizations standing for peace

will not only help to avert war, but will serve to advance society along the road to progress. For the fight for peace is the most universal form of solidarity of the working-class, national-liberation and other progressive movements of our time.

G. PIREGOV

The Greek people defend their democratic freedoms

GREECE IS IN the throes of a serious political crisis which has affected all the social forces in the country. The responsibility for this critical situation rests entirely with the Greek reactionaries and the foreign imperialists.

The plutocratic oligarchy, the palace clique and the pro-fascist elements in the National Radical Union (ERE), aided and abetted by U.S. imperialism and aggressive NATO circles, are bent on intensifying the exploitation of the masses, depriving them of their constitutional rights and drawing the country into the "dirty war" in Vietnam.

These reactionary designs have aroused the opposition of virtually the whole Greek people. The majority of the Center Union Party, the EDA, the trade unions, the democratic youth organizations and the progressive intelligentsia, not to speak of the Communist Party, which has consistently upheld democratic freedoms, are demanding the restoration of constitutional order and democracy.

What are the specific features of the present crisis? What precipitated it?

Two years ago the Greek people removed the pro-fascist ERE party from power and opened the way to normal democratic development in Greece.

The implications of this victory were clear. The popular masses condemned the fascist-type policy pursued by the ERE government, a policy of exploitation, betrayal of the national interests and worsening of relations with the socialist and newly-independent states, whose sympathies were always on the side of the Greek people.

It was obvious from the outset that the

foreign and domestic reactionaries would not reconcile themselves to their defeat, that they would do everything in their power to flout the people's will and to restore the Rightist parties to power. The Communist Party of Greece and the entire Left movement repeatedly warned the people of this danger.

The reactionaries laid their plans carefully. To begin with, they insisted, with the backing of NATO and the U.S. imperialists, that the former state apparatus, the armed forces, the police and gendarmerie be preserved intact. It was with this end in view that the Rights and the Court demanded that the key portfolios (defense, foreign affairs, and public safety) be given to men like Garoufalias, Kostopoulos and Toumbas who are closely linked with the reaction. Unfortunately, the then Prime Minister Papandreou acceded to this demand at the time, and it was this concession that sowed the seeds of the crisis which came to a head recently. At the same time the Rights did everything possible to sabotage every step taken by the Center Left Government toward democratizing the political life of Greece and restoring constitutional legality. Through their men in the civil service, the army and the police, they leaked state secrets to the reactionary press, organized diverse provocations and sought to keep the people in a perpetual state of tension by harping on the "Communist danger" and the "threat from the North."

The U.S. imperialists exerted every effort to turn developments in Greece to their own advantage. This is borne out by the facts. On August 5, 1965, the Greek newspaper *Ethnos* published a letter from Colonel Marshall, U.S.

military attache in Athens, addressed to the CIA in Washington, showing that the crime at the Gorgopotamos Bridge which resulted in the death of 13 Greek citizens had been engineered by the CIA. This crime pursued far-reaching objectives—it was designed to lay the blame on the Left and its organizations, to compromise the Papandreou government in order to bring about its downfall and replacement by a government obedient to the will of the imperialists, a government which, as Ilias Iliou, leader of the EDA group in parliament, pointed out recently, would enable them to impose their policy on Greece, find a "NATO solution" for the Cyprus question and secure the dispatch of Greek troops to Vietnam.

According to the Greek press, Papandreou's opposition to the dispatch of armed forces to Vietnam was one of the reasons for his removal. It has come to light that at the recent session of the NATO Council, Garoufalias, the former Minister of Defense, mouthpiece of the Court, NATO and the U.S. imperialists, gave an undertaking to send troops to Vietnam. He is also reported to have agreed to the stationing of NATO military units near the northern frontiers of Greece.

Papandreou had rejected these demands, hence the determination of the American imperialists and the Greek reactionaries to oust him.

The Greek people urged the Center Right Government to take resolute steps to purge the state apparatus, the army, police and gendarmerie of fascist and other reactionary elements, to repeal the emergency laws, restore a democratic regime, and to improve the conditions of the working masses.

The Communist Party and the EDA Party supported every government measure that benefited the people and steered the country toward democracy. These parties constantly warned the government of the danger of a Right and imperialist plot.

In its statement of June 17, 1965, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece emphasized that "If the government wants to, it can by relying on the inexhaustible forces of the people, crush the conspiracy of the servile and reactionary Rights."

Unfortunately, the Papandreou government did not heed these warnings. It preferred to pursue a policy of compromise with the reaction and the foreign imperialists, a policy of "struggle on two fronts," i.e., against the Rights and against the alleged "Communist danger." All this set the stage for a successful palace coup. One can but hope that the lesson will not be lost on the democratic leaders.

The inspirers and organizers of the coup hoped that with the Papandreou government out of the way they would be able to split the government party and form a government supported by the renegade deputies of the Center Union and the Right parties. But they miscalculated. The anti-constitutional coup aroused a storm of popular indignation. The people, determined to fight for the restoration of constitutional order and democracy, poured out onto the streets of Athens. They were met by the police who fired into the crowd, killing the student Sotirios Petroulas.

The General Confederation of Labor called a national 24-hour political strike in which more than 200,000 factory and office workers participated in Athens, Piraeus and Salonica alone. This was followed by strikes of other sections of the population—lawyers, doctors and artists. Shopkeepers put up their shutters, artisans closed their workshops.

The nationwide political strike, the first of its kind since the war, was a major event in the political life of Greece. As Kolliannis, the First Secretary of the C.C. of the Greek Communist Party, stated on July 29, "the national strike in the leading industrial centers and districts of our country is a landmark in the working class and popular movement and underscores the vanguard role of the working class in the struggle for democracy, peace and social progress."

The big protest demonstrations that swept the country were not confined to the big cities. Rallies and protest meetings took place in the small provincial towns and in the countryside as well. This was a victory for united action. The "communist peril" and "popular front" bogeys used by domestic and foreign reaction to scare some conservative-minded people proved ineffective.

How events will develop and what the outcome of the present crisis will be will depend in large measure on the strength of the democratic front, on the participation of the masses in active political struggle, on the vigilance of the people and the constant exposure of the intrigues of the reactionaries who are speculating on anti-communism and taking advantage of the indecision and vacillation of certain elements in the Center Union Party. The reaction is capable of resorting to the most extreme measures; they may even try and set up a military dictatorship. Only the unity of the Greek people can foil these schemes and ensure a policy of peace, democracy and progress for Greece. Progressive opinion the world over is with them in their struggle.

PERIKLIS KARAS

U.S. imperialists bogged down in the "dirty war"

THE SCALE OF AMERICA'S war in Vietnam is steadily growing. It now looks as if there will be partial mobilization in the United States without the formal declaration of war by Congress required by the Constitution. President Johnson has announced that the United States Government will send another 50,000 officers and men to South Vietnam (in addition to the 75,000 already there), and even more, if necessary. To begin with, he asked Congress for additional appropriations of first 700 million dollars and, later, another 1,700 million to "increase our military strength in Vietnam."

But these are only the initial steps in the "escalation" policy in South Vietnam. Judging by a statement made by John Stennis, Chairman of the Senate Sub-Committee on military preparedness, the U.S. army's road in South Vietnam will be a long and difficult one.

American military commentators have estimated that to wage a "successful" war against the South Vietnamese patriots, the United States should have a *ten-to-one* numerical advantage over the guerrillas. This means sending at least one *million* American servicemen to Indochina.

Sentiment against the war in Vietnam is spreading in the United States. Hundreds of people are signing petitions demanding the impeachment of the Administration for treason and violation of the Constitution.

The world situation depends in large measure on the struggle that is at present gaining momentum inside the United States. Facts have appeared indicating that this struggle is acquiring new features. In California a troop train carrying recruits for the war in Vietnam was stopped when more than 300 pickets, according to a *New York Herald Tribune* dispatch (August 9), lay down on the track near Emeryville station. A sheriff's posse of 30 moved ahead of the train to clear the track of demonstrators. The incident was repeated at the railway station in Berkeley. Thousands are joining the protest movement, but to compel the White House to heed the voice of the people, hundreds of thousands, millions must take action. The more the people of the United

States become aware that a substantial part of the country's armed forces is engaged in Vietnam, the heavier the burden that this sanguinary and lawless action lays upon their shoulders will become and the better able they will be to reappraise the policy of the ruling and imperialist circles. This process has already begun.

As for the Saigon puppet regime and its armed forces (of whom there are over 500,000), they are more of a hindrance than a help to the United States. Corruption in the government and the state apparatus and demoralization in the army are typical features of the internal situation in the areas of South Vietnam which the Saigon regime still controls with the aid of American bayonets. No wonder Art Buchwald in his column in the *New York Herald Tribune* says that the South Vietnamese army "may soon switch roles and become advisers to the American troops."

"The United States is now fighting a land war in Asia," the *New York Times* ruefully observed recently. "It is a war in the jungles of Asia against an ever-growing and well-trained guerrilla force that is fighting in its own kind of country among its own people to overthrow a government of no popular standing or strength, with which the United States is allied."

Notwithstanding the increasing American armed strength in South Vietnam and the barbarous bombings of Vietnamese territory, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam is extending the territory of the liberated regions. In the beginning of 1964 this territory amounted to two-thirds of the entire territory of South Vietnam, today it has increased to four-fifths. Ten million of the 14 million population of South Vietnam live in the liberated regions completely controlled by the patriots.

The U.S. and South Vietnamese troops do not feel safe even in Saigon. Detachments of the NLF are constantly appearing in the suburbs of the South Vietnamese capital. They have launched dozens of attacks in the immediate vicinity of Saigon in recent weeks. According to the Vietnamese News Agency *Libera-*

tion, enemy casualties between June 25 and July 25 amounted to 5,220 killed, including 665 U.S. and Australian servicemen, and 998 prisoners. Ninety U.S. planes were destroyed and 26 damaged, and 15 warships sunk or damaged in the same period.

The American press has been giving a good deal of publicity latterly to reports indicating that the "scorched earth" policy has become a favorite method of the U.S. forces in Vietnam. In its issue of August 9, the *New York Times* reported the destruction of a South Vietnamese village by the U.S. marines. Four of the 25 corpses found by the "conquerors" were children—so often listed in the Saigon communiques as "guerrilla casualties." The *Washington Post* reported that a detachment of marines, using bulldozers and mortars, demolished Cam Ghe, a village of some 150 houses, killing four women and three children. Further evidence of U.S. outrages in Vietnam is contained in an exhaustively documented article in the Italian newspaper *Unita* which compares the atrocities committed by the American marines in Vietnam to those of the Nazi SS. The article is illustrated by harrowing photographs of dying women, weeping children and burned-out villages. This is the work not of the Saigon puppets, but of the U.S. interventionists. That these actions also are revolting public opinion in the United States is evidenced by letters from readers which are appearing in the capitalist press of that country.

In an effort to deceive U.S. and world public opinion Washington is trying to conceal its aggression in Vietnam behind a smokescreen of peace talk. The words "peace," "freedom," "justice," "readiness to negotiate" and to "sit down at the conference table" emanate daily from the White House. American politicians have latterly been trying to hide behind the flag of the United Nations by appealing to that organization to help find a way to restore peace in Vietnam. This appeal, incidentally, coincided with the decision to send new big troop contingents to Indochina and with reports in the American press that U.S. aircraft had made their thousandth sortie over the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the past half year.

Most member states of the United States do not want this organization to compromise itself by complicity in American aggression, and the U.S. diplomatic moves in the United Nations are not yielding the desired results.

America's "dirty war" in Vietnam has reached an impasse. The U.S. military is trying to find a way out through the policy of

escalation and by drawing other states into the Pentagon's adventure. In this situation more and more people all over the world are coming to see that the only constructive and realistic program for the peaceful settlement of the Vietnamese problem is that advanced by the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. It stipulates that the United States must cease its aggression in Indochina, withdraw its troops and military bases from South Vietnam, in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva agreements, and allow the Vietnamese people to order their own destinies.

The aggressors are beginning to realize that the Vietnamese people are not alone, that they have the active support of the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries, the new sovereign states, the working class of the capitalist countries and progressive-minded people everywhere. The Soviet Union is rendering the fraternal DRV the necessary material support to repulse the imperialist aggression. The defense capacity of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is growing. The key centers, specifically Hanoi, have modern anti-aircraft defenses, including surface-to-air missiles, as has been noted by the Western press. The air pirates who have been accustomed to fighting the civilian population are now finding themselves faced with a new situation. Resistance to the aggressors is mounting and will continue to mount.

The present world situation calls for redoubled effort to combat imperialist aggression and reaction, to terminate U.S. intervention in Vietnam. Such actions have been increasing in scope and intensity in a number of countries in the capitalist world. The Committee of Medical Aid to Vietnam set up in Italy collected funds among the population for a field hospital. Members of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam have conveyed their deep gratitude for this assistance. The appeal issued by the Peace Congress in Helsinki for active assistance to Vietnam has met with wide support. Left forces are introducing strongly-worded interpolations in parliaments concerning the attitude of their respective governments to the American intervention in Vietnam, mobilizing public opinion against the official policy of support for U.S. aggression. Unity of all anti-imperialist forces, joint action against imperialism and its policy of aggression, is imperative for the success of the struggle to put a stop to U.S. aggression.

M. STONE

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