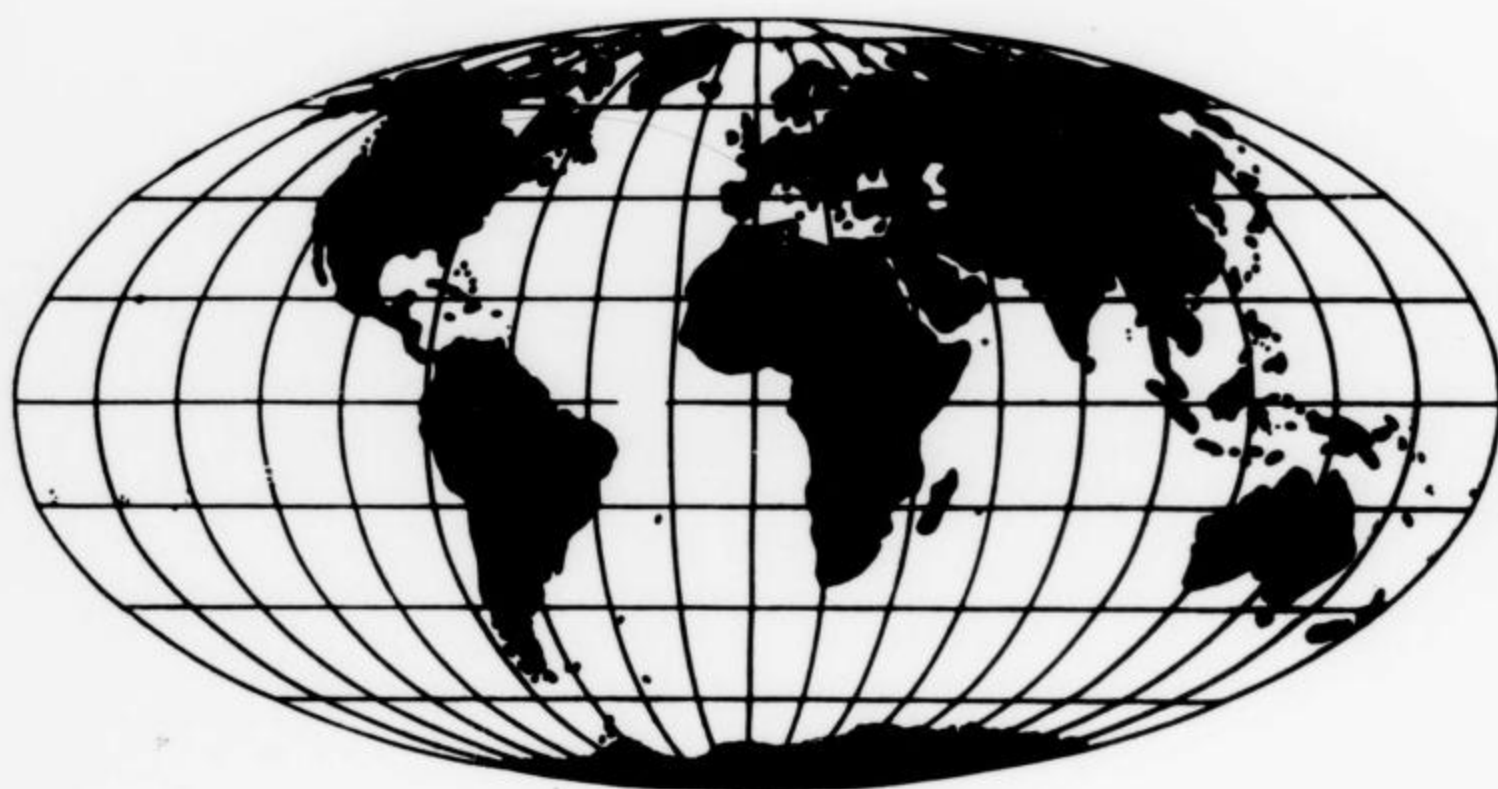


WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

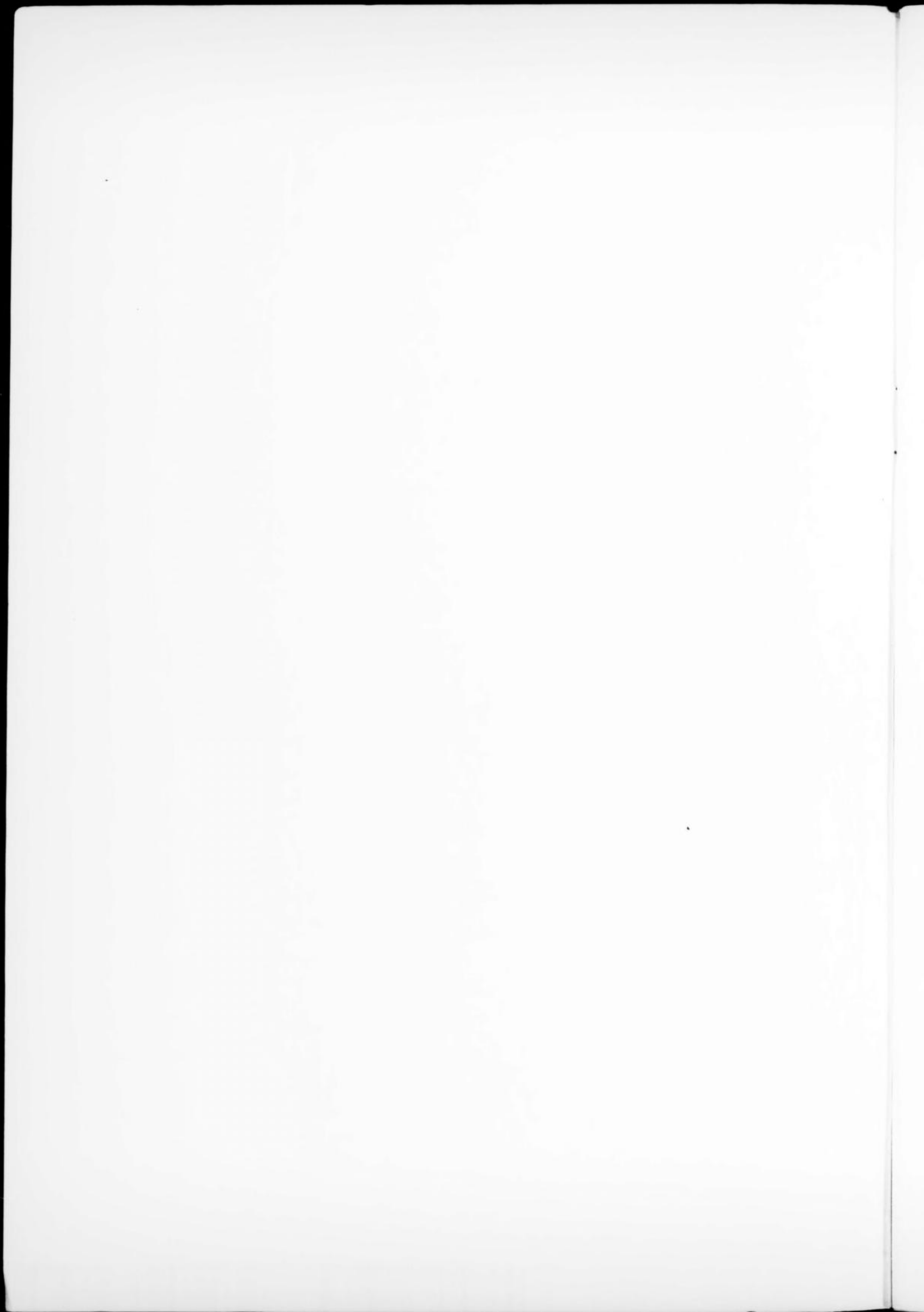


Problems of Peace and Socialism

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COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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First conference of the peoples of three continents

LIONEL SOTO

FOR THE FIRST TIME in history representatives of revolutionary and progressive forces active in those turbulent parts of the world where the liberation struggle is most intense met to discuss common problems and agree on joint action. More than 600 people (512 delegates and 141 observers and visitors), emissaries from 72 countries, met in Havana at the Tri-Continental Conference, the first solidarity conference of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

As noted in the General Political Resolution of the Conference, the choice of Cuba for the conference "is the highest recognition of the importance of its revolution and its significance for the peoples of the three continents. . . . Because Cuba is a relatively small country situated in the immediate vicinity of the United States and surrounded by countries ruled by U.S. imperialist puppets hostile to it; because it is situated thousands of miles from the socialist camp which renders it reliable support, it is demonstrating by its revolution, victorious despite all acts of aggression committed or provoked by the United States, that when a nation is determined to defend its freedom and independence to the death if need be, that when that nation has staunch and indomitable leaders, then the revolution is invincible."

Thus, the choice of Havana was in itself a revolutionary act. The delegates, notwithstanding pressure and threats on the part of U.S. imperialism, met in the country whose destiny epitomizes the basic trends of the liberation movement of our time. Cuba is the symbol of that new spirit of independence and social progress that is spreading outwards

enveloping the colonial and neocolonial empires in its purifying flames.

THE ROOTS OF SOLIDARITY

The history of the liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America reaches back into the centuries. The traditions of these people are very different and the paths they have traversed have been far from smooth. Since the end of the 15th century their history has been bound up with the colonial adventures of Spain, Portugal, Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Japan, Italy, Russia and the United States. The barbarous colonial rule allied with the domestic reaction brought untold suffering to the peoples of the three continents, crippled and deformed their development. Ancient civilizations were destroyed; the colonial yoke retarded the economic, cultural and social development of the oppressed people. Each colonial power left its particular imprint, the imprint of its cultural, social and political influence on the subjugated countries. But in the eyes of the oppressed peoples, all oppressors, whatever the forms of domination and enslavement they employed, shared the same features: brutality, crimes, ruthless exploitation, the plunder of the natural resources of the conquered countries, humiliating treatment of their peoples, racial discrimination—in a word, a thirst for enrichment elevated to a high principle.

This, understandably, aroused the resistance of the oppressed. The yearning for freedom and the tireless search for their own national destiny united the peoples of Africa, Asia and

Latin America in the struggle against foreign exploitation. And although as yet the peoples of these continents may not be acquainted with each other's traditions, cultural heritage, heroic struggle, and sufferings they are nevertheless linked together by bonds of common struggle. And this unity is becoming a mighty force, the catalyst of the great social changes of our age.

The end of the last century saw the rise of the big capitalist monopolies and the growing influence of U.S. imperialism. The United States, the imperialist colossus of the twentieth century, was destined to usher in a new era of plunder and colonial enslavement. The North American monopolies captured their first colonial booty as a result of U.S. intervention in the liberation war waged by the people of Cuba in 1898. Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines were grabbed by the United States.

The history of imperialism, as Lenin said, has its roots in the early colonial plunder. Imperialism aggravates all the ills inherited from the old colonialism and all the ugliness of its plunder. The world was virtually divided up among a few powers headed by the United States, Britain, France and Germany. The imperialists were constantly at each other's throats.

Most of the countries of Latin America won political independence from the old colonial powers—Spain and Portugal—in the first half of the 20th century when the expansionist tendencies of U.S. capitalism were just beginning to emerge.

After 1898 the situation throughout Latin America (with the exception of the vast territory seized by the U.S. from Mexico, and Puerto Rico, which simply became a U.S. war trophy) was marked by intensified U.S. economic and cultural penetration. It established its control over the economic and political life of these countries by what we now know as neo-colonialist methods, i.e., by the virtual subordination of the Latin-American countries to imperialist diktat, though they nominally retain their independence. The servile bourgeois-landlord oligarchy of the continent renounced the independence which the peasant population and the urban poor had won at the price of blood and sacrifice. And so Latin America became an outwardly calm and untroubled realm doomed, it seemed, to eternal rapine. Up to the Second World War it was the centre of Washington's colonial operations.

In the meantime, Britain, France and Japan had entrenched themselves in Asia and Africa, trampling upon the national aspirations of

the peoples of these continents and oppressing them in the name of their "civilizing mission"; for them the peoples of Asia and Africa were savages and semi-savages incapable of deciding their own destiny.

But the laws of social development were operating in their own way. In 1917 Russia dropped out of the capitalist system. The fresh breeze of the October revolution swept through that prison of the peoples, itself an Anglo-French semi-colony. The first socialist country made its appearance.

The crisis of colonialism entered a new phase in the nineteen forties.

Little did the imperialists know when, in pursuit of their rapacious, egoistic ends, they started the Second World War, what the consequences of Hitler's onslaught against the Soviet Union would be. The war against fascism was fought as a war for democracy and freedom. The defeat of the fascist bloc was a crushing blow also to the world imperialist system. Although in the postwar the United States headed the reactionary forces and began to act as an international gendarme, the influence of its partners, Britain and France, to say nothing of its wartime adversaries, sharply declined.

The European People's Democracies and the Korean People's Democratic Republic came into being. A direct result of the war was the accelerated development of the Chinese revolution which won a decisive victory and led to the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic. The people of Vietnam threw off the yoke of colonialism and in the war against the French imperialists won a resounding victory at Dien Bien Phu. Many peoples of Asia and Africa joined the struggle in one or another form and won political independence. The year 1959 saw the victory of the Cuban revolution. In 1960 began the liberation war of the South Vietnamese people, unexampled in its heroism. In 1962 the seven-year struggle of the Algerian patriots ended in the victory over imperialist France.

Such has been the march of history. The actions directed toward the national and social emancipation of the enslaved nations merged in a single mighty torrent. In the course of this process the revolutionary vanguards of the peoples, became convinced of the need for alliance of all the oppressed against the oppressors, for the unity of all peoples in the struggle against the enslavers.

A few years ago the history textbooks and the daily press gave pride of place only to the Great Powers. Today they mention countries and people about whom little had formerly been written.

The conference of the peoples of three continents was in a way the logical outcome of the historical movement presently developing at an accelerated rate.

THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS OF THE THREE CONTINENTS DRAWING CLOSER

The movement to unite the revolutionary forces of Africa began with the conference held in Manchester in 1945. An expression of this unity was the First Conference of African Peoples held in Ghana in 1958. Of outstanding significance for the development of the national liberation movement in Africa and throughout the world were the Egyptian revolution of 1952; the patriotic war of the Algerian people; the valiant resistance of the people of Kenya; the rise of the republics of Ghana and Guinea; the armed rebellion in the Portuguese colonies—Guinea, Angola and Mozambique; the fight of the peoples of the Congo (Leopoldville). The desire for unity on the part of the African peoples led in 1963 to the establishment on the initiative of the more progressive states on the continent of the Organization of African Unity.

In March 1955 the Congress of Asian peoples in Delhi set up the Asian Solidarity Committee. A month later the historic Bandung Conference took place attended by the heads of state and governments of 29 Afro-Asian countries. This conference formulated the famous Bandung principles. The vanguard role played by the African and Asian countries against imperialism found expression also in the First Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in Cairo in December 1957-January 1958. From this conference there arose the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization, whose work in the past eight years has borne rich fruit.

In Latin America, as noted in the political report of the International Preparatory Committee of the Tri-Continental Conference, "the victory of the Cuban revolution in 1959 brought about a radical turn in the development of the anti-imperialist struggle, strengthened the revolutionary movements, and imparted a greater consciousness to the mass struggle. It can be said that since this great event the strategy of U.S. imperialism in this part of the world is shaped by the consolidation of the Cuban revolution which has shaken to the foundations the system created by U.S. imperialism in the Americas. By putting paid to the dogma of geographical fatalism and revealing a new world balance of forces, the Cuban revolution showed the peoples that it was possible to fight and win

revolutionary victories on this continent. The Cuban revolution became the bulwark of the fight of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America for self-determination, independence and sovereignty.

"These processes and circumstances made it imperative for the broad and powerful Afro-Asian solidarity movement to extend a hand to Latin America, to study and determine both the common features in the position and struggle of the peoples of the three continents who are victims of the same imperialist and colonialist exploitation, aggression and intervention, as well as the specific features engendered by the different historical, economic, social and cultural conditions."

As the Second Havana Declaration pointed out: "Is not the history of Cuba the history of Latin America? Is not the history of Latin America the history of Asia, Africa and Oceania? Is not the history of the nations of these areas the history of ruthless exploitation by world imperialism?"

The idea of convening a solidarity conference of the peoples of the three continents was first mooted at the fourth session of the Council of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization in Bandung in April 1961. That was the time of the U.S. imperialists' attack at Playa Giron, the time when the Cuban people won their historic victory. The meeting in Bandung was attended by an observer from Cuba. In December of the same year the executive committee of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization which met in Gaza (Palestine) adopted a resolution to prepare for a conference of Asian, African and Latin-American peoples. Later, during the Third Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference held in Moshi (Tanzania) in 1963, at which a representative from Cuba was present, a message from Fidel Castro was read out suggesting that the First Solidarity Conference of Asian, African and Latin-American peoples be held in Havana. It was decided to set up a preparatory committee which was to include representatives from Algeria, Guinea, Morocco, United Arab Republic, Tanzania, South Africa, the Chinese People's Republic, India, Indonesia, Japan, the Soviet Union and Vietnam. (Later it was decided to include a Ghanaian representative in the Preparatory Committee in place of Morocco since the Moroccan revolutionary movement had been offered the chairmanship of the Committee, a post subsequently occupied by Ben Barka.)

Later, at the sixth session of the Council of Afro-Asian Solidarity held in Algiers it was decided to invite representatives from 12 Asian and African countries to the inaugural

meeting of the Preparatory Committee. This session took place in Cairo in April 1964. From Latin America representatives of Mexico, Venezuela, Guatemala, Chile, Uruguay and Cuba were included in the Committee. And, lastly, at the Fourth Conference of Afro-Asian Solidarity held in Winneba (Ghana) in 1965 it was finally decided to hold the Tri-Continental Solidarity Conference in Havana early in 1966 to coincide with the celebration of the seventh anniversary of the Cuban Revolution.

The Conference opened on January 6; the closing session on January 15 was addressed by Fidel Castro.

Following the initial plenary meeting of the Conference, the following working committees were formed:

The *Political Committee* which was divided into the General Political Committee and three sub-committees: on urgent problems, on Vietnam and on colonialism and neocolonialism;

Organizing Committee;

Economic Committee;

Committee for Social and Cultural Questions.

POLITICAL COMMITTEE

This was the largest committee. Nearly all the countries participating in the Conference were permanently represented on it.

The *Political Committee*, which examined questions of a general nature, not dealt with in the sub-committees, adopted comprehensive resolutions in support of the Cuban revolution; condemning the "inter-American peace forces"; on the OAS and on resolutions adopted by the U.S. House of Representatives; condemning West German imperialism, and also military pacts and bases; on holding an international solidarity week with the Asian, African and Latin American peoples; on the Ben Barka case; on the rights of Negroes in the U.S.; on the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Colombia, Venezuela and Peru, and on a number of other matters.

The *Sub-Committee on Urgent Problems* endorsed resolutions on the Dominican Republic, the Congo (Leopoldville), Angola, Guatemala, South Africa, Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia), Korea, Cambodia, Cyprus, Laos, Peru, the Portuguese colonies, Palestine, Mozambique and South Yemen. These resolutions deal with the situation in the above-mentioned countries, and examine the basic issues confronting them.

The *Sub-Committee on Colonialism and Neo-colonialism* adopted a general resolution

on colonialism and neocolonialism and separate resolutions on Brazil and Guadeloupe.

The *Sub-Committee on Vietnam* adopted a resolution on the situation in that country, a resolution concerning a Tri-Continental Committee For Aid to Vietnam and a resolution on the establishment of an international fund for aid to Vietnam.

GENERAL POLITICAL RESOLUTION

The General Political Resolution reflects the large number of resolutions adopted by the Political Committee and the Sub-Committees. It is a valuable document providing a political orientation on the urgent issues of contemporary international life.

The political resolution recalls that the decision to convene the first Tri-Continental Conference was dictated by the need to exchange experiences and to promote solidarity. It dwells on such achievements in the anti-imperialist struggle as the blows dealt U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, the victory of the Algerian people and the consolidation of the Cuban revolution, and sums up the events of the past fifty years which have made the greatest impact on the development of the liberation movement. It states that "the Great October Socialist Revolution, the victory of the Chinese revolution, the rise of the socialist world system, the victories won by the peoples in their struggle against colonial rule in Africa and Asia and the triumph of the Cuban revolution—these developments have led to the emergence of new conditions and circumstances favorable to the liberation struggle."

While noting that the revolutionary liberation struggle is developing at different levels, the resolution stresses that the objective conditions for its development exist on all three continents. To the violence resorted to by the imperialists in many countries of the three continents, the peoples of these countries, the resolution declares, are justified in replying with revolutionary violence both in defence of the national independence already won and to gain freedom. The peoples, the Resolution points out, "should have recourse to the most effective forms of struggle, among which armed struggle is one of the highest forms, in order to achieve final victory." In this connection the resolution underscores the role of the anti-imperialist revolutionary vanguard, of the political groups responsible for leading the revolution; on this depends not only the prestige of the vanguard but also "its very existence."

The document denounces the brazen cynicism of the imperialists who claim that the

people who have risen to fight for their freedom have done so "under foreign influence." The imperialists have resorted to this argument in the case of Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, Colombia, Cyprus and other countries. Further, the Resolution rejects as utterly groundless the U.S. claim that it is entitled to intervene at will in any Latin American country, a "right" proclaimed by the U.S. House of Representatives. On the other hand, it is stressed that the progressive countries and revolutionary movements should render unconditional and consistent support to peoples fighting for liberation or subjected to imperialist aggression.

The resolution condemns the use of the United Nations by U.S. imperialism "as an instrument of its aggressive policy," as was done in the case of "the Congo, Korea and the Dominican Republic."

Several sections note the exceptional importance of the movement of solidarity with the Latin American peoples waging armed struggle. Every blow against the United States in Latin America "decisively weakens North American imperialism." The document exposes the existence and collective colonialism in South Africa and stresses the need for all-out support to the heroic struggle waged by the people of Vietnam.

Characterizing U.S. imperialism as the main force of international reaction, the political resolution qualifies West German imperialism as its principal ally, and points to the need to strengthen cooperation between the revolutionary movements of the three continents and the "socialist countries and the working class and other revolutionary and progressive forces in Europe and North America."

RESOLUTION ON COLONIALISM AND NEOCOLONIALISM

This, too, is an exceptionally important document characterizing the contemporary forms of colonialism and neocolonialism and enumerating the main factors impeding social progress and accounting for the intensification of the revolutionary struggle on the three continents. Stressing that the world is now experiencing the disintegration of the colonial system, the awakening and regeneration of the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, the resolution states: "Imperialism is a result of the domination in the developed capitalist countries of cartels, trusts and finance concerns; their sole aim is maximum profit, a principal source of which is the plunder and exploitation of the colonies and

countries which have become the objects of neocolonialist policy."

In order to preserve its domination, imperialism bases itself on the traditional exploiting classes of these countries and enters into an alliance with them. It creates a machinery of power combining terror with corruption and handouts. Religious, cultural, race and ideological differences are used to divide the people.

In many countries the crude methods of the old colonialism have been replaced by more subtle devices, by a new type of colonialism known as neocolonialism. First victims of neocolonialism, the resolution notes, were the Latin American countries, most of which, upon winning political independence, came under British influence and, to a lesser extent, French influence. Later they came under U.S. imperialist domination. The British and French imperialists have acted in exactly the same way in the newly independent countries in Africa and Asia.

The features of neocolonialism are defined as follows:

Collective colonialism—in other words, co-ordinated action by several imperialist powers against the peoples' liberation movement as happened in the Congo and earlier in Algeria, and "joint exploitation of the natural resources of Asian and African countries by U.S., British, French, West German and Japanese monopolies." "The imperialists, confronted with the advance of the liberation movement, are anxious jointly to uphold their common class interests."

The use of imperialist military alliances to suppress national liberation movements. This was the case with NATO in Algeria and the Portuguese colonies, and with SEATO in Laos and Vietnam. The resolution likewise points out that the USA has used the United Nations to further its neocolonialist aims, witness the Congo and Korea.

As an example of collective colonialism the document cites the European Common Market. By taking advantage of a system of trade preferences, the member countries "secure themselves privileges as regards customs duties on the manufactures they export to Africa, and also enjoy advantages in the sphere of investment. This policy benefits most of all the imperialists of France and West Germany." The same applies to the United States in its relations with Latin America.

Imperialist investments in Africa, Asia and Latin America are steadily growing. They mainly take the form of "aid," usually loans at high interest rates, which represents a

new form of export of capital. The purpose of this "aid" is to strengthen the monopolies. The recipient country is compelled to buy from the monopolies of the country providing the loan. The goods are often sold at exorbitant prices.

The use of international credit organizations, such as the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Inter-American Development Bank, which serve the expansionist policy of the imperialists, especially the U.S. imperialists (all these institutions are U.S.-controlled). This enables the USA to dictate conditions without doing so openly. Credits are provided for purposes meeting above all the interests of imperialism and not the basic requirements of the recipient countries. Take the imperialist attitude towards the building of the Aswan High Dam. In Latin America the so-called "stabilization plans" imposed by the International Monetary Fund are common knowledge.

The resolution calls for support of the struggle of the people along three lines:

Support for the peoples fighting for liberation from the "traditional" colonial yoke—the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, "Portuguese" Guinea, Sao Tome and Principe, the Spanish colonies, Aden and Oman in South Arabia, Northern Kalimantan and Malaya (including Singapore), Puerto Rico, British Guiana and Guadeloupe.

An active, all-out movement of solidarity with countries subjected to imperialist aggression, with maximum attention to Vietnam, which "is in the very centre of the struggle against U.S. imperialism." Solidarity should be displayed for Laos and Cambodia, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Congo (Brazzaville), Ghana, Guinea, Mali and Tanzania.

Support for the national liberation struggle, especially in countries where armed struggle is under way: Venezuela, Colombia; Guatemala, Peru, Oman and the Congo (Leopoldville).

The resolution declares that it is "the right and duty of peoples subjected to aggression" to reply with revolutionary force to "the armed force of imperialism." The countries of the three continents should "render full moral support as well as material, political and diplomatic support to revolutionary movements waging armed or political struggle." On the other hand, the resolution exposes the greater emphasis placed on policies aimed at engineering reactionary coups in Latin America, Africa and Asia. "*Colonialism and neocolonialism are a canker on the body of contempo-*

rary humanity," the resolution states in conclusion.

ON VIETNAM

The Subcommittee for Vietnam adopted a resolution noting the heroism, indomitable will for victory and remarkable successes of the Vietnamese people battling against the might of the United States. The resolution qualifies the Vietnam problem as the central problem of the Conference; "human conscience," it declares, "is deeply shocked and indignant at the genocide practised by the North American aggressor."

The resolution exposes the hypocritical manoeuvres of the United States like the notorious "peace offensive" and demands observance of the 1954 Geneva Agreements. It supports the January 4, 1966 Statement of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Statement of the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam dated January 5, 1966, the five points in the Statement made by the NLFSV on March 22, 1965, and the four points contained in the April 8, 1965 Statement of the DRV Government. "The conference considers these documents to be the sole just basis for the solution of the Vietnam problem," for which the demand for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops and those of its satellites from South Vietnam is of decisive importance.

The conference decided to set up a *Tricontinental Committee for Aid to Vietnam*, the chief purpose of which will be "to mobilize, organize, coordinate and intensify the movements of solidarity, support and aid to the Vietnamese people in all fields — moral, political, material and economic, including aid through volunteers and arms — within the framework of each country, each continent and all the three continents." Havana was chosen as the seat of the committee.

The Political Committee of the conference discussed the proposal submitted by the delegation of the Soviet Union on the establishment of an *International Relief Fund for Vietnam* under the auspices of the above-mentioned committee which should study the practical aspect of this question.

ON PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

The Political Committee also approved other important resolutions, including a resolution containing a clear-cut definition of peaceful coexistence.

Peaceful coexistence, it is pointed out in this resolution, "is related exclusively to the

sphere of relations between states with different social and political systems," ruling out any "coexistence" between exploiters and exploited or between the peoples oppressed by imperialism and their oppressors. The resolution also proclaims the right of the peoples to carry out a social revolution and demands respect for the principles of self-determination of nations. "When progressive and democratic states resolutely assist the peoples suffering from aggression, they act in keeping with the principle of peaceful coexistence."

This theoretical definition of the principle of peaceful coexistence is of the greatest importance for delineating the political boundaries of this term, over which many lances have been broken and which has been used for ideological deviations in the revolutionary movement when reformist elements interpreted it as adhering to the status quo, recognition of new spheres of influence and, in the final count, paralyzing the will of the peoples and their revolutionary vanguard for struggle for liberation.

MESSAGES

The Political Committee adopted a *Message to the Working Class and the Popular Movements of Europe and North America*, which emphasizes the role of the struggle of the working class in the advanced capitalist countries in defence of their rights and urges the proletariat to strengthen bonds of solidarity with the peoples and liberation movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America under the slogan: "We are waging a common struggle against a common enemy." The liberation of the three continents, the Message points out, will "hasten the process of liberation of the oppressed in the capitalist countries." A message of greetings addressed to the people of the United States called upon them to step up the fight against the war of aggression in Vietnam and for civil rights for the Negro people.

THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

The general resolution approved by the Economic Committee summarizes the chief problems facing both the newly-free peoples and the peoples fighting for national and social emancipation, specifically against neo-colonialism. The resolution explains why technological progress has by-passed many countries of the three continents; why labor productivity in their agriculture and other branches is low; why they are short of skilled personnel. It shows how imperialism pumps

wealth out of the underdeveloped countries by promoting economies based on the production of one or a limited number of raw materials, and how the imperialists have employed loans as instruments of economic penetration and political enslavement. The resolution stresses the need for a genuine agrarian reform to abolish the old feudal and semi-feudal structures, promote the development of agriculture and expansion of the home market, and broaden the range of exported goods. *The resolution proclaims that the Conference supports "the principle of abolishing exploitation of man by man through non-capitalist development leading to socialism in keeping with the specific conditions in each country."*

The resolution also advances a program of reforms which are vitally important for the anti-imperialist struggle and decisive for economic development: "(a) rational control over the basic natural resources; (b) nationalization of banks and enterprises vital to the national economy; (c) state control over foreign trade and currency exchange; (d) growth of the state sector in the economy."

Another part of the resolution says that the newly-free countries "should develop their national economy by relying on their own forces" and "effectively and rationally utilizing aid from the socialist countries and the more developed anti-imperialist countries." The resolution emphasizes the role of planning, which is indispensable for rapid and comprehensive development.

The resolution points to the need "to put an end to the constant fluctuation in prices for raw materials and to establish fair prices reasonably collated with the prices of manufactured goods." This question, it will be recalled, is related to what is now called "worsened price relationships in trade," i.e., purchase of raw materials and semi-manufactures by developed countries at low prices and the sale of manufactured goods by them at high prices. Needless to say, this foreign-trade policy is most intensely pursued by the imperialists, the U.S. imperialists in the first place. That is why the Committee declared for an international trade based on "fair prices and long-term agreements"—in other words, for justice in relations between more developed and less developed countries—and also for a system of preferences not bilateral but general in character, benefiting all underdeveloped countries without exception.

The resolution affirmed the political concept which is mentioned in many of the documents of the conference and which has economic aspects as well. This concept presupposes "the

need to render economic, financial and material aid of all kinds, including the provision of arms and munitions, to the peoples waging an armed struggle for the liberation of their countries."

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL COMMITTEE

The Social and Cultural Committee approved a *General Resolution* and eight special resolutions. The preamble to the General Resolution deals mainly with the liberation struggle of countries under foreign tyranny. The Resolution lists the cultural achievements of such peoples with a long history as those of Egypt, India, China, Japan, Vietnam, Cambodia and Indonesia; the peoples of Zimbabwe, Benin, the Congo, Mali and Ghana in Black Africa; the peoples of North Africa and the Arab world; and mentions the pre-Columbian civilizations of the Aztecs, Mayas and Incas. These civilizations, many of them thousands of years old, have left a deep imprint on the cultural history of man. "But colonial rule with its cruelty and its mercenary spirit robbed these cultures of all opportunities for development."

The General Resolution speaks of the exploitation, poverty, hunger and racial discrimination that befell the peoples of the three continents. At the same time it points out that "armed struggle is also a cultural factor; the age-long psychological resources, emotional forces, aspirations and sentiments of every Asian, African or Latin American people are mobilized in the practice of heroic struggle, and once again the vast cultural heritage that was lost comes within reach."

The Resolution speaks of imperialist penetration into the cultural and ideological spheres. It exposes imperialist attempts to deprave the national consciousness of peoples by boosting imperialism's decadent culture. Specifically, it gives much space to an analysis of the maneuvers which U.S. imperialism carries on through printed propaganda, radio, films, the use of so-called cultural centres, and the policy of "cultural exchange and co-operation." It emphatically condemns the U.S. Peace Corps, made up largely of CIA agents in the guise of "technical experts," "sociologists," and so on. The Resolution recommends a steady weeding out of the elements of imperialist "culture." This applies to the peoples fighting for their liberation as well as to those that have achieved political independence, peoples that are victims of "cultural" infiltration, a powerful instrument of neocolonialism.

The Committee passed particular resolu-

tions on closely inter-connected matters: the cultural revolution in the new countries, the revolution in science and technology, and the training of national personnel.

The first of these resolutions recommends "(a) abolishing illiteracy and raising the educational level of the population; (b) promoting scientific and technical education in schools and higher educational institutions; (c) encouraging the arts; (d) stimulating intra- and extramural activities to foster physical training and sports; (e) organizing revolutionary political education . . . especially for workers and peasants."

On the *revolution in science and technology* the resolution says: "The social revolution cannot be consolidated without a technical revolution, and unless a higher standard of economic development is achieved."

Since the revolution in science and technology is a necessary condition for economic progress, the Committee devoted much attention to the problem of education, in particular the training of scientific and technical personnel.

The resolution on *training of national personnel* gives pride of place to training administrative and managerial personnel, scientific and technical experts for agriculture and industry, scientists and researchers, teachers, cultural workers and politicians.

The resolution on the *cultural and scientific heritage*, says that the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America "have paid more than their due of tribute for the scientific and technological achievements of the imperialist metropolitan countries" and that the needs of development call for proclamation of the right to make free use of these achievements of human thought and science. The resolution insists on "the abolition of all copyrights bringing profit to monopolistic commercial organizations." (On the other hand, it provides for the possibility of paying compensation to those authors who have devoted their work to the cause of human progress.) The resolution is thoroughly revolutionary in spirit and is intended to make the scientific and technological achievements of the imperialist countries available to mankind.

The Committee approved a resolution on *social security, the health services, physical training, sports, and recreation*. It contains scientifically sound principles tested in the crucible of revolution, principles on which the state can provide extensive benefits for the people. It raises the question of the well-being of the population, disease prevention, and protection of the lives of the working people and their families.

Formally this group of resolutions is addressed only to the newly-free, revolutionary countries. But since they concern numerous aspects of any social revolution of today, they can be also a valuable program and stimulus for every revolutionary movement fighting for freedom and for the adoption of a sound policy by newly-independent countries caught in the vise of neocolonialism. They reflect in a generalized form the national experience of the countries which have won their freedom, and emergent ideas that can inspire, by lofty goals and by the clarity and precision with which these goals are stated, revolutionaries and patriots fighting for a bright future for their peoples.

The Committee also passed a resolution on *tricontinental cultural cooperation*, specifying the forms of establishing cultural relations between peoples, and approved the recommendations to *coordinate the activities of the public organizations of the three continents*. The recommendations welcome the establishment of contact with the Women's International Democratic Federation, the World Federation of Trade Unions and other progressive international organizations. They also express support for actions of solidarity with the peoples of South Africa and Zimbabwe.

ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

The Organizing Committee adopted only one resolution, but it is an extremely important one, for it registers a momentous result of the conference—the establishment of a tri-continental solidarity organization whose task it will be to “unite, coordinate and develop the struggle of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, headed by U.S. imperialism,” and also to render effective aid to the national liberation movements and the newly-free peoples of the three continents. The solidarity organization will give effect to the decisions adopted by the conference.

The resolution provides that the Tri-Continental Solidarity Organization will have an executive Secretariat made up of a General Secretary and 12 secretaries (four from each continent) and that its temporary headquarters will be in Havana. Besides giving effect to the conference decisions, its functions will include, in particular, preparations for the second solidarity conference of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, to be held in Cairo in 1968. The question of the Tri-Continental Solidarity Organization's permanent headquarters will be decided at this conference. The Executive Secretariat will also

supervise the activities of the Committee for rendering aid to the national-liberation movements and to the fight against neo-colonialism.

Cuba was given the honor of electing the General Secretary of the new organization. The Communist Party of Cuba nominated to this post Captain Osmany Cienfuegos, member of the Party's executive and chairman of its international relations committee.

The resolution also notes the establishment of a 12-member committee to aid the national-liberation movements and the fight against neocolonialism. The committee's aims are to organize active solidarity and “promote the methods and means necessary for effectively carrying out the basic aims of the organization, particularly armed struggle as a legitimate form of defense against imperialist violence.”

LATIN-AMERICAN SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATION

Although the formation of the Latin-American Solidarity Organization is not directly connected with the deliberations of the Tri-Continental Conference, it nevertheless derives from the spirit and decisions of the conference.

On Sunday, January 16, after the conference ended, all members of the 27 Latin-American delegations held a meeting which was attended by Prime Minister Fidel Castro and leading members of the Communist Party of Cuba and unanimously decided to form a Latin-American Solidarity Organization with headquarters in Havana. This organization will convene the first solidarity conference of the people of Latin America in 1967. To this end an *organizing committee* was set up at the meeting chaired by Pedro Medina Silva (National Liberation front of Venezuela), vice-chairman of the Tri-Continental Conference from Latin America. The Organizing Committee includes representatives of the revolutionary movements of Brazil, Cuba, Colombia, British Guiana, Guatemala, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela. The object of the Committee is to direct the activity of the new organization in close cooperation with the national committees of the respective countries of the continent. The function of the national committees will be to unite the most active anti-imperialist circles which enjoy the support of the people. The Latin-American Solidarity Organization, states the communique published after its formation, will coordinate its activity and that of the member-organizations with the activity of the Tri-Continental Organization.

The formation of the Latin-American Solidarity Organization meets the aspirations of the peoples of the continent; it is prompted by the objective need to have common revolutionary tactics and strategy in this part of the world where U.S. imperialism is most "sensitive" and therefore particularly aggressive towards the liberation movement.

GENERAL DECLARATION OF THE CONFERENCE

The General Declaration is the most important document of the Conference. It summarizes the main points discussed in the various working committees and formulated in the numerous resolutions adopted by the Tri-Continental Conference. As Fidel Castro declared in his closing speech, the General Declaration is the most profound, comprehensive and radical of all documents ever elaborated and adopted at such meetings."

The General Declaration states in particular: "The peoples who have freed themselves from oppression and exploitation of man by man and are building socialism, are showing other peoples an example and are rendering them assistance. They therefore represent a force that plays a big role in the struggle of the oppressed peoples against imperialism." There is no doubt about the progressive nature of the aspirations which guided the representative delegations of the revolutionary movements who adopted this statement.

Another basic idea of the General Declaration is the statement that "as the liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America develops, the working class and progressive circles in the capitalist countries will be able to render more and more effective and direct aid to this movement." This statement is based on such facts as, for example, the growing protest movement of the American people against the war being waged by the United States in Vietnam. The liberation movements of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are awakening the consciousness of the peoples and in this way stimulating the growth of progressive and revolutionary actions in the developed capitalist countries of Europe and in the United States. On the other hand, the upsurge of the revolutionary movement in the developed capitalist countries will further the struggle of the forces fighting for national liberation all over the world.

The Declaration once again solemnly proclaims "the right of peoples to counter imperialist violence with revolutionary violence" and the need to wage a resolute struggle

against U.S. imperialism, which heads world imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism. The Declaration urges preserving and strengthening the unity achieved at the conference for the sake of carrying out its basic decisions.

The General Declaration of the First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America closes with the inspiring words, taken from the Second Havana Declaration: "The masses said: 'enough' and began to move, and their movement—the movement of giants—will continue until they achieve real independence."

SOME CONCLUSIONS

At the closing session of the First Tri-Continental Solidarity Conference, Fidel Castro said: "Despite all the predictions of the imperialists, all the prognostications which reflected their hopes that the conference would come to nothing, that after concentrating on the problems of the international Communist movement the delegates would split and the conference would end in failure, something happened which the imperialists least of all expected and perhaps did not expect at all. The Conference was crowned with success, a tri-continental organization was formed as a result, the conference adopted decisions reflecting the cherished aspirations of the peoples fighting for liberation; a committee to aid the liberation movements was formed. And that is not all: something else happened which undoubtedly has greatly annoyed the imperialists: I am referring to the fact that Cuba was chosen to be the headquarters of the Executive Secretariat of this organization until the next tri-continental conference is held."

The victory won in the struggle for the *militant unity* of the revolutionary movements of the three continents, is embodied in the documents, resolutions and immediate practical results of the Tri-Continental Conference.

The Conference showed that *unity of the revolutionary forces* is quite possible on a number of basic issues of the national and social liberation movements of the three continents.

The general preparedness of the revolutionary movements to wage the liberation struggle was reflected in their unanimous appraisal of U.S. imperialism as the most ruthless enemy of the peoples, as the bulwark of reaction which must be defeated if the national and social liberation of man is to be achieved.

The Tri-Continental Conference confirmed

the principles of the self-determination of peoples and national sovereignty, the *right of nations to carry out*, without foreign intervention, *the revolutionary changes they consider necessary*. The slogans of national independence and the self-determination of peoples are the powerful foundations on which the revolutionary movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America are based.

The Tri-Continental Conference clearly defined its attitude with regard to the *political, economic, social and cultural content of the revolution*, i.e., to its program, and with regard to the *forms and methods* of mass actions to win freedom, and specifically armed action.

The line charted four years ago by the Second Havana Declaration found its historical continuity in the repeated statements of the conference in favor of *armed forms of struggle* to which the peoples of many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are obliged to resort in answer to the violence and crimes of the imperialists.

The revolutionary movement of the three continents considers *the struggle of the people of Vietnam and the effective solidarity with the struggle to be the central issue* and the decisive link of progressive mankind's struggle in our day. Vietnam is the focal point of the conflict between the forces of progress and the forces of reaction. Its fight and solidarity with this fight are essential for the victory of the liberation movement over U.S. imperialism.

The Tri-Continental Conference marks a new, higher stage in the liberation movement of the peoples when the national-liberation and socialist trends merge for the purpose of creating a new Asia, a new Africa and a new Latin America, i.e., a new world *where exploitation of man by man will be abolished for all time*.

This liberation movement will be a powerful catalyst also strategically. It will spur on *social revolutions* in the capitalist countries

in the process of which both these social phenomena will become closely interlinked. This calls for coordinating the actions of the revolutionaries of the three continents with the working-class vanguards of the oppressor countries. On the other hand, the peoples oppressed by imperialism have already formed an alliance, permeated with the spirit of active unity and solidarity, with the countries of the socialist camp which can counter imperialism politically, economically and militarily and thus render powerful moral and material support to the liberation movements.

No action of any importance on the world arena is conceivable today in isolation from the liberation movement of the three continents. In elaborating their policies, national and international revolutionary organizations should take into account the existence of this powerful movement.

* * *

Only a short time has passed since the Tri-Continental Conference was held, yet many voices can already be heard protesting its decisions. In the lead are the U.S. imperialists and their covert and overt agents (particularly from their "colonial office"—the OSA), reactionaries, revisionists, reformists, the secret agents of the CIA mouthing ultra-Left slogans, faint-hearted revolutionaries, the motley cohort of direct and indirect henchmen of imperialism who intended to give battle to the ideas of the Tri-Continental Conference.

Why these protests? The answer is that they are afraid that the revolutionary ideas of the conference will be embodied in facts, for we are on the eve of a new stage of powerful political actions by the peoples and, first of all, armed struggle, a frontal battle for freedom.

And nothing can stop the march of millions upon millions of people who until recently were still oppressed and humiliated.

Changes in the class structure of society in the process of building socialism

MITKO GRIGOROV

THROUGHOUT THE MORE than 70 years since its foundation the Bulgarian Communist Party, standing in the van of the industrial working class and all working people, has waged a consistent struggle against capitalism and fascism, for socialism and the building of a classless society. It faced many ordeals in its time, but its selfless endeavor to abolish the old system of exploitation and to build the new socialist society has borne fruit.

The post-capitalist process of building socialism is accompanied by deep-going changes in the class structure of society. A Marxist-Leninist analysis of these changes at each stage in building the new society is most helpful, for it alone can yield the best solutions to the tasks and provide safeguards against possible blunders.

The experience of the USSR and other socialist countries in recasting the class structure of society is of prime significance also for the Marxist-Leninist parties still working to bring about the socialist revolution. For sooner or later the building of socialism and all the multifarious and complex problems associated with it will be on the order of the day in all countries.

CLASS STRUCTURE IN BOURGEOIS BULGARIA AND THE LINE OF OUR PARTY

Following Bulgaria's liberation from Turkish bondage in 1878 our society gradually acquired a typically capitalist structure. The proletariat and the bourgeoisie became the basic classes. By 1939 nearly 100,000 workers were employed in industry. Wage labor gained ground in agriculture and in other branches. Despite its small numbers, the proletariat, by virtue of its role in industry and public life, gradually took its place as the vanguard of all working

people in the struggle to overthrow capitalism and establish government by the people.

In the course of capitalist development the bourgeoisie became consolidated as a class. Although accounting for less than 10 per cent of the population, it owned the basic means of production, appropriated the lion's share of the national income, aided and encouraged foreign monopolies and in time became an obstacle to the further development of the country. Overthrow of capitalist rule became an historical necessity from the standpoint of our country's social progress.

A feature of pre-revolutionary Bulgarian society was a numerous stratum of petty bourgeoisie — small and middle peasants, handicraftsmen and small shopkeepers. Occupying as they did a position between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, they were politically inconsistent and subject to vacillation.

The ideologists of the bourgeoisie argued that since Bulgaria had no mature working class, there could be no class struggle, hence no working class party could be expected to spring up or the soil to develop for socialism. Examining social relations in our country and the tendencies implicit in them, Dimitr Blagoyev, the founder of the Marxist party in our country, showed as far back as 1891 that the ground existed for the development of capitalism. "And if there is a soil for capitalism," he said, "it unquestionably exists also for socialism."

The Marxist party saw its social base in the growing proletariat, and it was from this class that it mainly drew its membership. "Class against class" — this was the watchword of the revolutionary Marxists of the time, an expression of the deep-seated revolutionary spirit of our Party and its uncompromising class stand vis-à-vis the bourgeoisie and councillors of

the reformist type. Yet up to the Leninist period in the Party's development this watchword had a number of negative connotations. The most serious of these was a lack of understanding of the revolutionary role of the peasantry as the principal ally of the proletariat. Gradually the realization grew that the Party would not be able to fulfil its historical mission—to carry out the socialist revolution and to abolish the exploiting classes—unless it built a solid worker-peasant alliance, a broad front of all progressive and democratic forces.

Our Party began to elaborate the Leninist strategy and tactics of class struggle under the impact of the October Revolution in Russia. At its congress in 1919 it declared itself a Communist Party, decided to affiliate to the Communist International, and set as its immediate task the conquest of power and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Two years later it put forward the slogan of the alliance of the workers and peasants led by the working class as an indispensable condition of victory. However, subsequent developments showed that the Party was still not completely free of doctrinaire and sectarian concepts.

On June 9, 1923, a fascist coup took place which overthrew the Agrarian People's Union government headed by Alexander Stamboliisky, outstanding democrat and republican. The leadership of our Party, underestimating the democratic character of the Agrarian Union government, failed to grasp the essence of the June 9 events, to see the fascist nature of the coup. It adopted a neutral attitude, assuming that it was a matter of replacing one bourgeois government by another. As a result the proletariat was temporarily isolated from its ally, the peasantry, and the Party's efforts to rally broad sections of the urban and rural working people to combat fascism were impeded. An extremely favorable opportunity to defeat the monarcho-fascist forces and to win strong positions in the fight against capitalism was missed.

During the monarcho-fascist dictatorship the Party worked to unite all the anti-fascist forces. Under its leadership the workers and peasants rose in September 1923 in the world's first anti-fascist insurrection aimed at establishing worker-peasant government in Bulgaria. Although the uprising was crushed, it showed up capitalism and fascism as being profoundly inimical to the people, and thus was a milestone in building the alliance of the workers and peasants.

In the course of two decades (1923-44) the Bulgarian Communists, tirelessly combating the opportunists, both Right and Left, made effective use of diverse forms of struggle—legal and illegal, peaceful and armed, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary. The multiplicity of forms and methods of struggle and rapid transition from one to another depending on the situation enabled the Party to lead the

masses both at times of revolutionary uplift and in periods of reaction. Although the Communists never rejected legal, peaceful means whenever possible, they were forced time and again to take up arms in defense of freedom. Our experience taught us that there are times when rejection of armed struggle is tantamount to political surrender, betrayal of the revolution. But it also shows that armed struggle produces the desired results only when the ruling circles are in the throes of severe crises and when the revolutionary sentiment of the working class and broad sections of the people generally is predominant. Lacking these prerequisites, armed action is nothing but a gamble fraught with the danger of defeat for the revolutionary movement.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International rendered our Party invaluable assistance in assimilating Leninism and overcoming the dogmatism and sectarianism of some of its leaders. The Party launched extensive work to build a people's front and trade union unity, bending every effort to strengthen its contact with the masses and to heighten its role in the political life of the country. Painstaking efforts were made to enlist in the people's front the democratic petty-bourgeois and bourgeois parties, primarily the Agrarian Union and the Social-Democratic Party. By the outbreak of the Second World War the front had grown into a major political force with considerable influence among the working people.

The war and Bulgaria's entry into the fascist coalition created, the intensified terror notwithstanding, even more favorable conditions for strengthening the people's front and extending the social base of the anti-fascist struggle. On the initiative of Georgi Dimitrov the task was advanced of building a broad patriotic front and work was begun throughout the country to organize committees of this front. The victories won by the Soviet Army gave further impetus to the anti-fascist struggle, and a widespread partisan movement developed under the leadership of the Party.

In view of the growing democratic and anti-fascist struggle any manifestation of sectarianism and dogmatism, lack of faith in the anti-fascist forces or inflexibility would only have created difficulties for the Party and limited the scale of the struggle. The Party saw in the realization of democratic tasks an indispensable stage which, far from delaying, accelerated the victory of the socialist revolution. In these circumstances, too, it considered it imperative to preserve its ideological and organizational independence. It did not allow itself to be dissolved in the general democratic movement; it did not lose its proletarian class character but worked as the vanguard of the working class, as the exponent of its fundamental and ultimate interests and aims. This enabled the Party to carry the popular struggle to victory in the favorable international situa-

tion created primarily by the victorious march of the Soviet Army.

On September 9, 1944, as a result of the armed uprising headed by the working class and its Party, political power passed into the hands of the working people. This ushered in the socialist revolution, opening the doors to socialism in Bulgaria.

THE FORMS AND RATE OF CLASS CHANGES

With the establishment of people's rule the Party was faced with the task of taking over big capitalist property, the social base of fascism and reaction. "Fascism cannot be radically and completely eliminated" said Dimitrov, "without encroaching on the domination of big capital; it is impossible to guarantee democratic rights for the working people so long as big capital retains its political and economic might."

One of the merits of the Party's policy at this time was that upon coming to power it did not ignore the potentialities of the democratic forces, did not break its alliance with them formed during the years of anti-fascist struggle. On the contrary, it continued to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat under the banner of the Fatherland Front in close alliance with all the democratic and anti-fascist forces. This accelerated the revolutionary process and facilitated the realization of the social changes dictated by history.

A big role in consolidating the people's democratic system and building the socialist society has been played by our Party's principal ally, the Agrarian People's Union, which enlists its followers in the countryside to play their part in the socialist construction. Drawing the correct conclusions from the lessons of the past and the successes achieved by the worker-peasant alliance, the Agrarian Union has developed both ideologically and politically. Gradually it discarded its unscientific class ideology, its claims to "independent" peasant government without, and even against, the workers, and rid itself of illusions concerning the possibility of building a just society without encroaching on the foundations of capitalism. The Agrarian Union has embraced the principles of class struggle and the program for the building of socialism and recognizes the vanguard role of the working class and the historically conditioned leading role of the Communist Party in the political life of our country. Its leaders and rank-and-file members take an active part in political life, in all administrative and government bodies. The Union plays an important role in the international arena as well, enjoying the respect and confidence of democratic agrarian parties and movements all over the world.

In the specific conditions prevailing immediately after the revolution, when the capitalist class (although its economic and political wings had been clipped) still existed with a

predominance of small proprietors, the Party could not entertain any illusions as to the possibility of "reconciliation" with the ousted classes, or expect them to abandon their plans to recapture their lost positions. And indeed, the deposed exploiters, aided and abetted by imperialism, did everything to restore their rule and crush democracy. The Party therefore displayed (and taught the people to display) maximum vigilance with regard to the machinations of the class enemy. The organs of people's power exposed conspiracies hatched by the reaction and, in conformity with revolutionary law, nipped them in the bud. Under the leadership of the Party the army was purged of reactionary officers, and those leaders of democratic parties who deserted to the side of the counter-revolution and sought to impede the consolidation of the new system were brought to book. These measures, far from weakening the alliance of democratic forces in the Fatherland Front, strengthened that alliance and heightened its role in the progressive advance of the country.

The people's government could not expropriate the capitalist class immediately. At that time it was concerned primarily with tasks of a democratic and anti-imperialist nature: consolidating the people's democratic system and the alliance of all democratic and anti-fascist forces participating in the war on the side of the anti-Hitler coalition, fighting to safeguard national independence and to restore the economy.

In this period the Party pursued a policy of curtailing the economic power of the capitalist class, a policy spearheaded primarily against the big profiteers and the fascist-minded section of the bourgeoisie. This was done by confiscating the property of fascist criminals and profiteers, the transfer to public ownership (with compensation) of some of the key industrial enterprises, establishing a state monopoly on tobacco and spirits, and introducing workers' control in the enterprises. These measures restricted the opportunities of the bourgeoisie to counteract the economic policy of the people's government and to exploit the workers, and at the same time served to build up a socialist sector in the national economy. With the nationalization of capitalist industry and the banks in December 1947 the urban bourgeoisie as a class ceased to exist.

In the first few years after the revolution a number of important measures aimed at restricting and, eventually, at eliminating the rural bourgeoisie were carried out. The agrarian reform, the compulsory transfer (with compensation) of privately-owned agricultural machinery to public ownership and other steps seriously undermined the economic might of the big farmers. In implementing these measures the Party relied on the alliance of the workers with the poor and middle peasants and on the fraternal assistance of the Agrarian People's Union.

Small-scale private farming, however, tended to preserve the soil for the growth of capitalist economic relationships. The Party realized that cooperative farming alone could lead to the socialization of the means of production in the countryside and launch the peasantry on the highroad to socialism.

The existence of a numerous class of petty bourgeoisie demanded a flexible policy from the Party in carrying out the reconstruction of society. It was necessary to steer the petty bourgeoisie toward socialism in such a way as to preserve and consolidate the alliance of all sections of the working people. The Party realized that to use methods of coercion in dealing with the petty proprietors would only create greater difficulties of an economic and political nature and gravely injure the cause of socialism. The policy with regard to the petty bourgeoisie was carried out gradually, cautiously, without undue haste, but at the same time without delay. We emphasize—without delay, for the Party was well aware that any unnecessary postponement of this process would inevitably slow down socialist development on a national scale.

The petty bourgeoisie in Bulgaria consisted largely of small and middle peasants. The difficult task of launching them on the socialist path was successfully carried out in less than 15 years. The big farmers resisted the introduction of socio-economic reforms in the countryside. It was only when, as a result of the restrictive policy, their economic positions were weakened and they were reduced to the status of middle peasants, and when the cooperative system triumphed, that they, or at any rate the majority of them, began to take a more realistic view of the stability of the people's government and the agricultural cooperative. This enabled the Party to place the question of the attitude to the big farmers on a new plane. They were permitted to join the cooperatives, though without the right to occupy leading positions therein. Experience has proved the correctness of this policy. It gave the former rural exploiters the opportunity to join the class of peasant cooperators and to till the soil on a cooperative basis.

In view of the traditional attachment of the small and middle peasant to the land it was necessary to find a form of socializing the means of production that would obviate the need to nationalize the land as the first step toward the socialist reconstruction of the countryside. This form proved to be the cooperatives in which, with the means of production socialized, the peasants retain their right to private ownership of the land. This right was expressed in the distribution of part of the income of the cooperatives in the form of rent for land contributed to the cooperative by the individual peasants.

The cooperatives have come a long way since they were first organized. In the course of their development the forms of socialist distribution

have been perfected, the principle of incentives has been extended and cooperators' income has grown. The share of income derived from rent has, by common consent, been gradually reduced and then waived altogether. Thus, the development of the cooperative farms has fully confirmed Dimitrov's prediction that when the peasants join the cooperatives, and with the provision of machine and tractor stations, with the prohibition of leasing land and with the reduction and subsequent abolition of rent for land contributed to the cooperatives (by decision of the cooperators themselves), the matter of nationalization of the land will for all practical purposes be solved, the land remaining at the disposal of the peasants in perpetuity.

Cooperation has also proved to be the most suitable form of socio-economic transformation of the urban petty bourgeoisie — the handicraftsmen, artisans and others.

This was made easier by the long-standing tradition of cooperatives in our country. Long before the socialist revolution, cooperatives (especially consumers' cooperatives) were widespread in Bulgaria. The peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie saw in the cooperative a means of protecting their interests against the big capitalists. The Party always supported the cooperative movement, it fought against the onslaught of the capitalists on the cooperatives and their efforts to subordinate them to their own interests. When it came to power the Party, relying on these traditions, was able to make full use of the cooperatives in the interests of social progress. In this the Party was guided by Lenin's thesis that the social content of cooperation is determined by the economic relationships predominating in the given country. Realizing that the pattern of the cooperatives cannot be changed automatically, the Party combated the mercantile and exploiter tendencies inherited from capitalism by some cooperative organizations and developed the socialist content of the cooperative movement.

Thus, waging a consistent struggle based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and of the Soviet experience, and taking into account the specific conditions of our country, the Party effected radical changes in the class structure of society.

VICTORIOUS SOCIALISM AND THE CLASSES

With the victory of socialism social relationships among the classes have changed qualitatively. There is no longer a capitalist class. The numerous small bourgeoisie in town and countryside has become transformed. The major differences in the socio-economic status of the peasantry have been overcome. Together with the industrial working class the peasants constitute a basic class of our society. The worker-peasant alliance has acquired new content and significance. The image of the intelligentsia and its role in society have changed. The socio-political and ideological unity of our society has been reinforced.

During the years of socialist construction big changes have taken place primarily in the life of the workers. The working class, freed from capitalist exploitation, has won general recognition as the leading class in society. Its political awareness, general knowledge and technical know-how are incomparably greater; in 20 years it has grown sevenfold and now numbers over 700,000, which in itself is an expression of the policy pursued by the Party to transform Bulgaria into a highly developed industrial country.

The structure of the working class, both in terms of its distribution between branches of the economy and professional status, has changed. Whereas formerly it was represented mainly by workers employed in the light industries—textiles, tobacco manufacture and printing—today its leading contingent is composed of workers in heavy industry—miners, iron and steel smelters, machine makers and chemical workers. The number of skilled workers with secondary and special technical education has grown considerably. Thousands of workers annually improve their skills in courses and technical schools. Labor, becoming ever more closely associated with the latest techniques, is acquiring an increasingly creative character. This is a manifestation of the gradual approximation between manual and mental work.

The material conditions of the workers have greatly improved, and important changes have taken place in their outlook and psychology. Communist ethics and a new, socialist attitude to labor and public property are striking firm root. The working class is becoming increasingly aware that it is the master of the country and leader of all the working people in the fight for socialism; it feels increasingly that it is responsible for the future of the socialist state.

Socialism has greatly changed the conditions of peasant life. The share of the rural population dropped from 75.3 per cent in 1946 to 54.9 per cent in 1965. Mechanization has made it possible to release part of the labor force in the countryside and channel it to industry, building and other branches.

The switch from small-plot peasant cultivation to large-scale socialist farming has radically changed things in the countryside. In the cooperatives the peasants learn to handle complex machines, use modern methods of scientific farming and acquire collectivist attitudes; gradually, the psychology of the private owner is being left behind.

The peasant, no longer exploited, has emerged from the old life of poverty and ignorance. In the past decade alone the real income of cooperators has doubled and is now approaching income of factory and office workers. New cottages, schools and farm buildings are rising on a vast scale in the villages, many of which have become settlements of the urban type. The groundwork is being laid for gradually placing the peasants on a par with factory and office workers also as regards welfare benefits.

As a result the old-time distinctions between town and countryside are being gradually eliminated.

Bulgarian capitalism kept the door closed to most people so far as education, science and technology was concerned. In the past the intelligentsia was small in numbers. Most intellectuals, oppressed by capitalism, sided with the people and many belonged to our Party even before the revolution.

Nowadays, the intellectuals, absorbing the ideas of communism, are devoting their knowledge and energy to the building of socialism. Whereas 15 years ago Bulgaria had no more than 100,000 people with secondary and higher education, today the number exceeds 350,000, including 26,000 engineers and architects, 24,000 economists, some 15,000 crop and livestock experts and veterinary surgeons, 18,000 doctors, and over 70,000 school teachers. The number of researchers, tutors at higher educational establishments, writers, journalists, artists, composers, theatre and cinema workers has grown manifold.

The intelligentsia is an essential factor for the country's rapid economic and cultural advance. Mention should also be made of the fact that today about 1,500 Bulgarian specialists are helping to develop the economy and culture in a number of countries newly freed from colonial oppression.

The new class structure is the social foundation for extending and perfecting democracy. Our state reflects, increasingly, the interests and will of the working people, who now have every opportunity to take an active part in running the country and in displaying initiative.

The process of extending and perfecting democracy encompasses all spheres of our life: politics, economics and culture. The organs of power are controlled by the working people and are composed only of representatives of the industrial working class, peasants and intelligentsia. The functions and the role of the elected bodies of power are being extended at all levels. The National Assembly (Parliament) resolves the basic issues pertaining to the country's development. The Party and the government constantly heed the advice of specialists, workers and the people generally, and make use of their knowledge and experience. The Party and state bodies keep the people informed of the most important home and foreign policy matters and the tasks to be tackled, and lend an attentive ear to their criticisms and suggestions. In this respect we are guided by Lenin's idea that the socialist state is strong when the masses know everything, when they are in a position to have their own judgment of things.

Many of the functions and tasks of the administrative bodies have been transferred to public organizations. The Fatherland Front, trade unions and the Communist Youth League are drawing the population into political and cultural life. They have been granted extensive rights in the sphere of labor protection and

observance of labor legislation, and do much to maintain public order and educate the people in the spirit of socialism.

Democratic principles are introduced on a growing scale also in ideological, scientific and cultural life; the role of conflict of opinions and debate is growing. Our Party is confident that only in a democratic situation is it possible comprehensively to consider any question and compare various views in order to find the best solution. But freedom and democracy in the sphere of culture are incompatible with departure from Marxism-Leninism.

There are today two friendly political parties in Bulgaria—the Communist Party and the Agrarian Peoples' Union. The indispensable attribute of democracy, as the bourgeoisie see it, is the existence of many parties, each vying with the other for hegemony in the government. In fact, however, in order to judge how democratic one or another social system is it is essential not to count the number of parties but to see whose interests they express and uphold, which class is at the head of the state, and to whom the basic means of production belong. Although, as a rule, there are multi-party systems in the capitalist countries, this by no means infringes the omnipotence of capital, nor does it free the working people of exploitation. Genuine freedom and democracy can be found where power is held by the working people, where the roots of all class oppression and lawlessness have been extirpated, and where the place and role of the individual in society is determined not by property status but by labor and ability.

The new system of economic planning and management, the basic propositions of which were submitted for discussion by the people, elevates the democracy of our social system to a still higher plane. In essence, this system, engendered by new demands posed by life, is a creative development of the existing mode of socialist economic management and not a deviation from socialism and drawing closer to capitalism, as some economists in the bourgeois camp aver. The new system derives from the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, the law of planned proportionate development, and from Marxist-Leninist theory. It gives managers and groups of workers more independence and freedom of action on the basis of material and moral stimuli, combining most effectively and rationally the interests of the whole nation, groups of working people (labor collectives) and those of the individual.

Experimental work already carried out in various branches of the economy indicates that the new system of planning and management will release the initiative of workers and specialists, secure greater productivity, accelerate technological advance, ensure a higher national income and a higher standard of living—in other words, ensure fuller utilization of the advantages accruing from the socialist mode of production. It is anticipated that it will result in corresponding changes in the rela-

tionships between the workers, peasants and intellectuals. Workers will participate more actively and on a growing scale in organizing social labor.

Socialization of the means of production, the abolition of the bourgeoisie as a class and the fundamental changes in the conditions of the working class, peasants, small urban bourgeoisie and intellectuals have changed the balance of the class forces in the country and the nature and forms of the class struggle. Inasmuch as an economic base for the existence of antagonistic classes is wanting, our country no longer knows sharp class struggle. However, some of the former exploiters have not resigned themselves to defeat. Some of them still engage in hostile probings: they speculate on difficulties and shortages, spread slanders about people's rule, extol the capitalist way of life and act as vehicles of bourgeois influence. Hence class struggle still takes place, although it has weakened considerably. This demands that the friendly classes—the workers and cooperative peasants and the intelligentsia—wage a struggle against the remnants of the former exploiting classes and reactionary groups, and maintain vigilance with regard to their designs.

The class struggle is spearheaded also against hostile actions on the part of international imperialism against our country and other socialist countries. The imperialists support whatever reactionaries they can find in our country and engage in espionage and ideological subversion against our society. Peaceful coexistence to which we adhere in our relations with the capitalist countries does not preclude but, on the contrary, presupposes unremitting struggle against the attempts of the imperialist powers to meddle in our domestic affairs, against their policy of aggression and war, for maintaining and consolidating world peace. A paramount task is, therefore, to educate the people in the spirit of revolutionary vigilance, to consolidate the bodies of the proletarian dictatorship—the people's army, militia and security forces—for them to be ready at any moment to defend the freedom, independence and socialist gains of our people.

The process of class changes in our society calls for steady ideological work by the Party with a view to educating the working people in the spirit of communism, and for intensifying the struggle against bourgeois ideology both at home and in the international arena.

The sources of bourgeois ideology have been eliminated in Bulgaria. However, survivals of capitalism have not yet been wholly abolished in the minds of people. Moreover, the imperialist bourgeoisie is trying might and main to "export" its ideological influence and its views on the vital issues of the day in a "modernized" and more acceptable garb, to boost the capitalist way of life and to sow anti-communist sentiment. With particular zeal imperialist propaganda plays up nationalism and chauvinism, trying to undermine the friendship of our

people with the peoples of the other socialist countries.

Hence the Party educates the working people in the spirit of uncompromising struggle against bourgeois ideology, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. This struggle on the part of all fraternal parties is a must if we are to triumph over the forces of reaction and imperialism on the international scale. An uncompromising attitude to bourgeois ideology is indispensable also for gradually transforming Marxist-Leninist ideology into an ideology of the broadest sections of the working people.

OUR AIM IS TO BUILD A CLASSLESS SOCIETY

Our Party, whose policy is founded on Marxism-Leninism, sees the building of a classless society as a complex and long process. At the lower phase of communism, when the material and technological base is not yet sufficiently developed, it is impossible to complete in full the process of overcoming social differences among the classes. In this respect the Party is guided by Lenin's injunction that "in order to abolish classes completely, it is not enough to overthrow the exploiters, the landlords and capitalists, not enough to abolish *their* rights of ownership; it is necessary also to abolish *all* private ownership of the means of production, it is necessary to abolish the distinction between town and country, as well as the distinction between manual workers and brain workers. This will take a very long period of time."

Today our society consists of three main social groups—workers, peasant cooperators and intellectuals—whose economic, political and spiritual interests in the main coincide. However, at present considerable socio-economic distinctions still remain between the working class and the peasants. Workers and peasants do not occupy a similar place in the system of social production and in social division of labor. Although much has been done during the years of socialist construction to narrow the gap between labor in agriculture and labor in industry, the former still lags insofar as its technical level is concerned. Workers and cooperative farmers do not have the same forms of socialist ownership. There are certain distinctions between them in the degree of socialization of the means of production, and in the shape and proportion of the national income accruing to them.

The years of building socialism also witnessed the start of a process of overcoming the

distinctions between mental and manual labor. This process is being accelerated by the rapid technological advance, by the rise in educational level of the people and the growing general and technical knowledge. However, what we have today is still far from the communist ideal—the organic combination of mental and manual labor in production.

The main avenue for further overcoming the differences between town and country, between brain workers and manual workers is comprehensive development of the productive forces and improved production relations. More than once our Party has criticized the petty-bourgeois view that it is possible to build communism, a classless society, overnight, even when the material and technological base is insufficiently developed.

Precisely because of this the Party focusses its activity on rapidly building the material and technological base of socialism and communism. The Eighth Congress drew up a general plan up to 1980, providing for an unprecedented growth of industry. Compared with 1960 overall productivity of social labor is to increase at least fourfold and output per hour, roughly sixfold. Power and fuel supply per man in industry will increase eightfold. Special attention and large funds are earmarked for mechanization and chemicalization of agriculture, and for irrigation purposes. On this basis labor productivity in agriculture is expected to increase approximately fivefold compared with 1960.

The changes which will be brought about by the fulfilment of this plan will make it possible to improve socialist production relations, bring closer cooperative property and property owned by the people, expand publicly-owned production assets, and satisfy man's requirements still more fully. This will lead to a further approximation between workers, peasants and intellectuals, to overcoming the distinctions between town and country and between manual and mental labor. "Gradually overcoming the distinctions between the classes and creating an ever-increasing social equality," said Todor Zhivkov at the Eighth Congress, "such will be the social expression of completing the building of the socialist society in our country."

Having gained appreciable experience, the Bulgarian Communist Party consistently exercises scientific guidance of the development of social relations in our country. Confident of the future, it is firmly convinced that it will achieve its ultimate goal—the building of a classless communist society in Bulgaria.

Fruitful unity of the working-class movement

FRIEDRICH EBERT

THE HISTORY of the German working-class movement, so rich in revolutionary tradition, is replete with events that stand out as landmarks in the life of the country and have left an imprint on the national consciousness. Salient among these events, from the standpoint of impact on the destinies of the nation, was the founding on April 21, 1946, of the Socialist Unity Party. With its establishment the German working-class acquired a united Marxist class organization. This was a great victory for Marxism-Leninism in the working-class movement of Germany. In a highly-developed industrial country in the heartland of Europe, whose monopoly capitalists were past masters in the art of splitting the working class, it was proved that in the fight for the interests of the people and the nation the different contingents of the working-class movement can overcome the factors of disunity and close their ranks.

In the 20 years since the union on the basis of Marxism of the two workers' parties in the Eastern part of Germany, the Socialist Unity Party has developed into a mass Marxist-Leninist party of the working class and of all other sections of the working people. Under its leadership the working people of town and country effected the greatest revolutionary turn in Germany's history. Standing united they abolished imperialism and militarism and their socio-economic roots in this part of the country, extirpated chauvinism and anti-communism and built a workers' and peasants' state—the German Democratic Republic.

In Germany, as in many other countries, the working class, the biggest and most progressive class in modern society, had been divided for decades. This prevented it from bringing all its forces into play, from putting an end to the pernicious influence of the monopoly bourgeoisie on the people's destiny and taking over the leadership of the nation; the split made it easier for the German imperialists and militarists to pursue a policy of aggression

and war and to instal a savage fascist dictatorship.

After the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition, and primarily of the Soviet Army, over fascist Germany, the liberated German people were confronted with the task of embarking on the political and social reconstruction of their country. The German bourgeoisie, which had pursued a policy of great-power chauvinism and which twice in the course of the first half of the century had started devastating wars, had brought the nation to the brink of disaster. The working-class, as the only force capable of leading the nation, was called upon by the logic of history to safeguard the interests of the people and to ensure their peaceful future.

In 1945, in the midst of the chaos left by fascism, the Communists and Social Democrats, drawing on the experience gained by the working class especially during the Nazi dictatorship, realized that the workers' organizations could not simply pick up the threads of their political activity where they had been broken in 1933. Lacking unity or, worse still, torn by strife, the working class could not fulfil its role of national leader, nor could it make a radical turn towards peace and progress.

Such was the general conclusion at which the Social Democrats and Communists arrived in the struggle against German imperialism and its fascist dictatorship. As far back as 1934 the Prague Manifesto of the Social Democratic Party leadership in exile declared that "the unification of the working class is becoming the imperative demand of history." Unfortunately, this sober view, supported at the time by people like Otto Wells and Erich Ollenhauer, was not carried into effect by the party's leadership. It left the matter of achieving unity to the Social Democratic groups and functionaries in exile or working in the underground resistance movement.

In the grim conditions of the Hitler dictatorship the Communists and Social Democrats in many places joined in resistance groups to-

gether with non-affiliated patriots. The decisions taken by the Communist Party at its Brussels Congress in 1935 concerning a united front with the Social-Democratic Party served as a platform for broad cooperation among Communists, Social Democrats, trade unionists, and non-party and Christian workers. Thus there crystallized, in the years of Hitler rule, elements of working-class unity which were to be consolidated and developed further after the liberation.

Of decisive significance for unity of action between the two workers' parties was their agreement on the political platform for cooperation and on immediate aims. The standpoints of the two parties were defined in their policy statements published after resuming legal activity. In an address to the people in June 1945, the Communist Party called for eradication of the roots of imperialist policy and the creation in Germany of a united, democratic anti-fascist republic in which the people would exercise governmental power and the right to self-determination. "There must be no repetition of the mistakes of 1918," the Party said, "an end to the division of the working people! No quarter to Nazism and reaction! No hatred and hostility towards the Soviet Union, for where such hatred exists imperialist reaction will raise its head!"

In its address, also in June 1945, the leadership of the Social Democratic Party likewise demanded complete extirpation of the economic and social roots of fascist rule and voiced the readiness of the Social Democrats to work for a democratic anti-fascist system and for democratic rights and freedom for the people. It welcomed the Communist Party statement and declared for the building of a new Germany "based on the organizational unity of the working class," seeing in this the "moral rectification of past political mistakes."

The policy set forth in these statements envisaged completion of the democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class and the transfer of political power to this class and the democratic forces generally.

Reflecting the will of the overwhelming majority of the working class as expressed in numerous conferences and meetings, representatives of the Communist Party headed by Wilhelm Pieck and of the Social Democratic Party headed by Otto Grotewohl concluded on June 19, 1945, a united action agreement between the two parties. A joint working committee was set up. In the agreement the parties pledged "by cooperating on all questions relating to the anti-fascist struggle and rehabilitation of the country to create the conditions for the political unity of the working people" throughout Germany.

The agreement, hailed by the overwhelming majority of workers in all four occupation zones, found an eager response also among the intellectuals and other sections of the working people. But above all the joint action corresponded to the interests of the working class,

which was called upon not only to win its own political and social rights in struggle against the capitalists and Junkers, but also to uphold the vital interests of the nation.

Thanks to this unity the working class became the prime mover of all the creative forces of the people in their effort to overcome the aftermath of the chaos caused by fascism and to organize a new, democratic way of life. The working class became increasingly aware that the vital issues of national survival and democratic regeneration and the guarantee of a peaceful future were the common responsibility of all the working people. Broad unity of all the anti-fascist and democratic forces was consolidated *gradually* at all levels, under the leadership of the working class, especially in the Eastern part of the country.

The unity of action between the Communist and Social Democratic parties in East Germany, a triumph for the Marxist concept of working-class unity, was an important step towards the final healing of the rift in the working-class movement. But the road from unity of action to the amalgamation of the two parties into a single revolutionary organization was still long and difficult. In working towards this end we realized that the different contingents of the working-class movement would not come together spontaneously, nor could unity be imposed from without. In our case it was achieved thanks to the general realization of its necessity, to the pressing need to uphold the interests of the working class and the nation—a "pressure" to which every Marxist is susceptible.

The differences and prejudices engendered over the years by the division between the two parties could not be overcome overnight. Some Communists and Social Democrats, however, failed to realize this. Sincerely anxious for unity, they wanted amalgamation *at once*. To have yielded to this desire would have signified clogging the united party from the very start with all the old ideological problems. Local organizations of the Communist Party, for example, evinced sectarian tendencies and clung to dogmatic views about the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only later, in the course of practical work, did many members of the Communist Party come to share the view of the Central Committee that the working class cannot bypass the democratic stage of development on the way to governmental power.

In the Social-Democratic Party we had to wage a principled struggle against deep-seated opportunist views, especially as regards the questions of democracy and the state. It was essential to explain to the Social Democrats that the working class could not just take over the old, bourgeois machinery of state, but had to build its own, popular state bodies. This was one of the conclusions which had to be drawn from the lessons of the past, especially those of the November revolution of 1918. The Prague Manifesto, too, proceeded from this when it declared that "after the defeat of the

National Socialist enemy . . . the first and supreme task will be . . . to transform the machinery of state into the instrument of rule by the people. . . ."

The new democratic government bodies created by the anti-fascist democratic forces were based from the very beginning on the united strength of the working class. Only in this way could they uphold the interests of the working people against the monopolists and Junkers who, though defeated, had not yet been stripped of power. Although the Nazi state had been smashed by the Soviet Union and its allies in the anti-Hitler coalition, the reactionaries fought hard to retain their positions in the state machinery and to check the rise of the new, people's power. In the course of the struggle even the sceptics came to see that the working class could not simply take over the old machinery of state and allow restoration of the capitalist state.

The first test of working-class united action was the ousting of the Junkers from political power through the medium of a democratic land reform. This reform was, moreover, an important step towards building the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. Signifying a veritable revolution in the countryside, it was carried out by committees in which Communists and Social Democrats, agricultural laborers and trade unionists and representatives of petty-bourgeois parties worked in close cooperation. The struggle conducted through these committees to do away with the traditional seed-beds of Prussian militarism enriched the experience of the working class in exercising leadership in the democratic revolution. The land committees did more than all the numerous agrarian programs of previous decades to clarify the views of the working class movement as regards alliances.

The same applies to the joint work done to carry out democratic educational reform and to put the judiciary on a democratic footing. Here, too, practical work on the part of the anti-fascists to drive out the spirit of fascism and its spokesmen from these institutions and to give effect to democratic principles was the best school of unity.

Close cooperation between Social Democrats and Communists in the trade unions was another important factor. Unity of action was welded in the trade union committees and production councils in the course of the fight for the right of the workers to exercise control over production and to have a say in management. With the assistance of the workers' parties, the trade unions in the Soviet occupation zone overcame their disunity. "One employer—one trade union!" was the watchword here from the beginning. The culminating point in the unity movement was the First Congress of the Free German Trade Unions held in February 1946 in Berlin. For the first time in the history of the German working-class movement

unions of different orientations amalgamated in a single organization.

At this initial stage of struggle for the reconstruction of Germany it became clear that the factors making for unity between the Communists and Social Democrats were stronger and more durable than those that tended to divide them. As a result of the joint solution of complex problems of democratic reconstruction and the dissemination of Marxist ideas, a high degree of political and ideological unity was achieved. This facilitated and eventually made possible the union of the Communist and Social Democratic parties in a single Marxist party of the working class.

When the delegates elected by the membership of both parties met at the inaugural congress of the new party in Berlin on April 21, 1946, the Communists and Social Democrats in the enterprises and in the towns, villages, districts and regions of the Soviet occupation zone had for all practical purposes already achieved unity. The congress merely sealed this unity when it decided to found the Socialist Unity Party. The new Party declared its loyalty to the revolutionary teaching of Marx and Engels, and set itself the aim of abolishing the sources of war, crisis and imperialist policies in Germany. In its "Manifesto to the German people" the inaugural congress declared: "Only destruction of the forces of militarism and imperialism, the establishment of a viable militant democracy and a sincere desire for peace backed by deeds can return the German people to the community of peace-loving nations."

An important step towards realizing the aims of the Party was the expropriation, following the democratic land reform, of all active Nazis and war criminals and the transfer of their enterprises and other property to public ownership. The monopolies, concerns and banks, whose owners had been the organizers of fascism and war and had waxed rich on them, were expropriated without compensation, as were their allies, the big landowners and Junkers. This revolutionary act received democratic approval through a national plebiscite. The measures carried out conformed to the letter and spirit of the Potsdam agreements, which not only called for denazification and demilitarization but also for "eliminating the present excessive concentration of economic powers as exemplified in particular by cartels, syndicates, trusts and other monopolistic arrangements."

With the stripping of the monopoly bourgeoisie of power and the establishment of a nationalized sector in industry the foundations were laid for an anti-fascist and democratic system, gradual economic upbuilding and development of the productive forces in the interests of the working people. Public ownership of the basic means of production in industry and distribution of the land among the land-hungry peasants and agricultural laborers safeguarded the people's sovereignty. A genuine anti-fascist de-

mocratic system pursuing a policy of peace and defense of the national interests was built on this economic foundation.

The working class and its allies occupied the decisive positions in the state and in the economy. Under the leadership of the SUP they learnt the art of government. They effected political changes and rehabilitated the economy, thereby nullifying the effect of the boycott proclaimed by the monopoly capitalists, who still had an army of agents on our territory. The political and social status of the working people of town and countryside changed in every respect with the abolition of capitalist exploitation. Now all the fundamental social rights were theirs, including the right to work. Measures were taken to ensure equal rights to women and the youth. A new attitude to labor began to crystallize on the basis of public ownership of the principal means of production and the new social relationships. State and economic bodies learned better to organize the economy and to guide it according to a unified plan. The whole of this process, which took place under the leadership of the SUP, naturally enhanced the Party's prestige in the working class and among the people generally to whom it had shown the way out of a catastrophic situation.

Needless to say, the SUP, being the product of the merger of the two trends in the working-class movement, could not rid itself at once of the old views. Although the amalgamation had taken place on the basis of Marxism and the Party had declared its resolve "to achieve socialism through the political rule of the working class in the spirit of consistent Marxism," at the moment of its inception it could not yet be called a consistently Leninist party.

For one thing, the class consciousness of many workers had been dulled during the years of Hitler. Moreover, many of the new Party members knew nothing or very little about Marxism and lacked experience of class struggle. And most of those who had been members of political organizations were insufficiently versed in Marxism-Leninism.

As a result of education of the membership through intensive study of Marxism, and analysis of the lessons and experience of the German working-class movement, the SUP developed into a party of a new type. And in the struggle to build the anti-fascist democratic system, in running the machinery of state, re-educating the people in the spirit of internationalism and friendship among the peoples, primarily close friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and their Communist parties, it became a firmly welded militant association of Marxists-Leninists.

The democratic and, later, socialist changes on the territory of what is now the German Democratic Republic had to be effected in extremely complex conditions. While the policy of the Soviet occupation authorities in East

Germany accorded with the principles of the Potsdam agreements and was aimed at supporting the democratic forces, the imperialist occupation powers violated these agreements in the West. From the very beginning they worked to preserve the old balance of forces and to revive German imperialism. Meddling in the internal affairs of the working-class movement they, contrary to the striving for unity throughout Germany, did their utmost to perpetuate disunity in the workers' ranks.

But even in the Western zones the German and foreign imperialists by themselves could not have prevented working-class unity and the consistent democratization of social relationships. To their aid came the opponents of unity in the Social-Democratic movement represented by Schumacher who opposed every form of cooperation with the Communists. Blinded by anti-communism, they ignored all the lessons of recent history, including the experience of their own party. They denied that the point of departure for a new Social-Democratic policy serving the interests of the working people could only be joint struggle by the workers and other sections of the working people to strip the reactionaries of political and economic power.

Instead, Schumacher rallied around himself all the opponents of unity and embarked on a policy essentially directed at collaboration with the big capitalists and their parties. To carry out this line they split the Social-Democratic Party. Their policy, strongly nationalistic, boiled down to subordinating the interests of the working class and the nation to the interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie and facilitated the reinstatement of the mortal enemies of the people in their former positions of power.

Seeking to counteract the growing impact of the democratic changes in East Germany and to retain their positions at least in one part of the country, the reactionaries in West Germany, back by the imperialist occupation powers, pursued a policy of continued division of the country. This policy could have been resisted by joint working-class action throughout Germany. And this indeed was the aim of the SUP. Although the political principles of the Social-Democratic Party in West Germany did not coincide with the principles of the SUP, united action of the two parties to prevent the division of Germany was not only necessary but possible.

It is the tragedy of the West-German working-class movement that the Social-Democratic leaders could not agree to united action even on this issue so vital to the nation and its working class. Consequently, the German imperialists and militarists were able to set up their own reactionary state on the territory of the three zones occupied by the troops of capitalist countries.

The patriotic forces representing all sections of the people irrespective of political views and religious beliefs united in the National

Front on the basis of a constructive national policy put forward by the SUP. Proceeding from the interests of the nation which the West-German imperialists had betrayed, these patriotic forces, headed by the working class, founded the German Democratic Republic. This was the only alternative that could be counterposed to the division of Germany effected under the leadership of U.S. imperialism and the Christian Democrats, the main party of the West-German monopoly capitalists.

The establishment of the GDR and the building of socialism in it are the greatest achievements of the working class since its unification in 1946 and at the same time the supreme result of this unification. Had the working class not achieved unity in the East of Germany there would be no German workers' and peasants' state today, a state expressing the viewpoint of the peace-loving forces of the nation on decisive national and international issues.

Today, twenty years after the achievement of working-class unity in East Germany, when the GDR has entered upon its seventeenth year, we can clearly see the vast national and international significance of the creation of the German workers' and peasants' state not only for the future of the German nation but from the standpoint of ensuring peace for all the peoples of Europe. One can easily visualize how great the danger hanging over Europe and the world would be if the revenge-seekers and militarists in West Germany now reaching out for nuclear arms were to extend their rule to the entire country. Without working-class unity and without worker-peasant rule in the GDR, and without friendship between the people of the GDR and the other Warsaw Treaty countries, the aggressive elements in the USA and West Germany would have attempted long ago to recast the outcome of the Second World War, futile though any such attempt would have been.

The entire history of the German working class movement, and especially the history of the past twenty years, shows that the working class can triumph provided its diverse contingents and trends work together. Only if they coordinate their efforts and jointly uphold the interests of their class can the policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie be defeated. Working-class united action for a policy of peace and social progress is the guarantee of success.

The course steered towards unity by the Communists and Social Democrats after 1945 in East Germany accorded with the conditions in which the fight for democratic and socialist development proceeded at the time. An important factor in bringing the two workers' parties together was the growth and consolidation of unity in the course of joint actions against the reactionaries. Essential though discussion of theoretical and ideological questions concerning the aims and methods of the socialist movement was, the decisive thing nevertheless was the joint struggle which strengthened unity of action stage by stage and in diverse forms.

Considering the deep-seated differences that existed in the working-class movement, unity could be built only gradually.

From the very beginning an important condition and at the same time a guarantee of successful cooperation between the Communist and Social-Democratic parties was the fact that their joint efforts served the interests of the working class and the nation. Our experience shows that the workers realize the need and the possibility of joint action best of all from their own experience. Common struggle against the monopoly capitalists reinforces their conviction that, all differences notwithstanding, they have a common stake in upholding peace and democracy. United actions help them gradually to become conscious of their historical mission, of their responsibility for ensuring peace and abolishing imperialism.

The U.S. imperialist policy of escalation in Vietnam and elsewhere, as well as the obdurate hankering of the West German militarists for a finger on the nuclear trigger, heighten the responsibility of the working class for the preservation of peace. Aware that this responsibility rests primarily with the organizations of the working class, its parties and trade unions, the Central Committee of the SUP addressed early last February an open letter to the delegates of the Dortmund Congress of the SDP and all its members and supporters proposing efforts to reach mutual understanding on the vital issues facing the people of Germany. The SUP in the German Democratic Republic and the SDP in the Federal Republic are the two strongest parties in Germany. We hold, and experience proves that we are right, that these two parties can jointly make a decisive contribution to lessening tension, reducing the danger of war in Europe and resolving the German question.

We therefore propose to the Social Democrats and their supporters in West Germany and West Berlin that we jointly consider what can be done to remove the danger of a further deepening of the division and the outbreak of war. We do not stipulate any preliminary conditions. Only one thing is required of both sides, namely, a readiness to engage in a frank, business-like exchange of views. To this end we set forth our own views and advanced our proposals on the question of national unity.

If, despite the differences between the SDP and the SUP, agreement should be reached, this would be a tremendous victory for peace in Germany and all of Europe. Hence we support everything that strikes at the Christian Democrats, the West-German party of monopoly capital, and that helps to pave the way to cooperation with the SDP.

As a result of the economic and political consolidation of the GDR, the anti-fascist democratic system under working-class leadership became a state of workers and peasants and the socialist character of the state system became increasingly manifest. Led by the working class, the citizens of the GDR began in 1952

to lay the foundations of socialism in accordance with the decision adopted at the Second Conference of the SUP. In taking that decision we drew on the experience of the Weimar Republic. After the First World War the leaders of Social Democracy declared that socialism was on the march. In reality, however, within a few years the reactionaries, having made a comeback, prevented the consummation of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and emasculated the democratic gains of the November revolution, eventually establishing a fascist dictatorship.

In the light of this experience and taking into account the increasingly aggressive policy of the imperialists in West Germany, the working people of the GDR could ensure consolidation and development of their democratic system only by embarking on the building of socialism. This strengthened the position of the working class and its allies throughout Germany in their struggle to safeguard peace and reunite Germany as a peaceful democratic state.

In the course of laying the foundations of socialism, the SUP pursued a policy of alliance and comradely cooperation with all democratic forces and parties, a policy founded at the time of the anti-fascist democratic revolution and tested by experience. The enemies of socialism often accuse the Communists of making use of the advent to power of the working class to establish their own rule and of being unwilling to cooperate with other parties. But any such sectarian policy is utterly alien to the SUP. Its policy has always been based on the premise that the democratic forces should share the responsibility for the destiny of the nation. This policy is embodied in the democratic bloc of parties and mass organizations. After passing through various stages, this bloc of anti-fascist democratic parties, formed in 1945 in the interests of the people and the nation, is a strongly welded community, dedicated to the building of socialism.

The people of the GDR, under the leadership of the SUP, have made good progress in building the new, socialist system. Their efforts have been concentrated mainly on developing the productive forces, raising productivity of labor, steadily augmenting socialist property and consolidating their socialist state system. The workers in industry and agriculture have become proficient in management and in planning the economy.

Socialist relationships between people have emerged not only in the sphere of production but in all other areas of public life. The outlook of the people has changed. Their attitude is more and more determined by the socialist ideas of humanism, friendship and mutual aid. The success in building socialism has been accompanied by a cultural revolution. The unified system of socialist education is, among other things, an essential element of the comprehensive building of socialism in the conditions of the contemporary technological revolution. For

it would hardly be possible to build socialism without well-educated and highly skilled people.

Of particular significance for the building of socialism were the reforms carried out in the countryside. In solving this complex problem the SUP was guided by Lenin's cooperative plan. In many respects, however, it had to chart new paths. It had to find the answer to the question: how, in a highly developed industrial country with an intensive agriculture, were the peasants, with their deeply-rooted private property instincts, to be won over to socialist large-scale production?

Thanks to the creative application of Marxism-Leninism and the flexible policy of alliances, it proved possible, despite the existence of an open frontier with the imperialist West Germany, to accomplish this difficult task without political and social perturbations and without seriously dislocating agricultural production.

Taking due account of the specific conditions, the SUP elaborated forms and methods which facilitated the conscious and voluntary transition to socialism of the artisans and small and middle proprietors (producer cooperatives of artisans, agreements between small private traders and socialist trading organizations, etc.). Moreover, we adopted the policy of turning many of the former capitalist enterprises into semi-state enterprises. Small and medium employers are willing to accept state participation in their enterprises. This has led to a radical change in the socio-economic position of a large number of former members of the small and middle bourgeoisie.

Thanks to this policy, for the first time in an industrially developed country, a section of the former capitalist class was not expropriated as a result of a socialist revolution but, through the medium of economic measures and patient persuasion, was drawn into socialist construction. Needless to say, the precondition for this was the transfer to the working class of the key political and economic positions and the use of these positions for constructive cooperation with the democratic bourgeois sections.

The socialist revolution and the building of socialism was carried out by peaceful means. The new social system was established by the working class in alliance with the peasants, intellectuals and other working sections of the population in sharp political, ideological and economic class struggle against West-German imperialism and its representatives in the GDR. What complicated matters was that for nearly 13 years we had to lay the foundations and launch the comprehensive building of socialism in conditions of an open frontier with the industrially most developed state in Western Europe, the most aggressive imperialism and the most dangerous militarism.

It proved possible to embark on the peaceful socialist revolution because the SUP was able to apply the universal precepts of Marxism-Leninism to German conditions. It elaborated a policy that opened the way to uniting the patriotic forces of the people and drawing

all working sections of the population into the socialist reconstruction of society under working-class leadership. The steady consolidation of the power of the workers and peasants, the change in the world balance of forces in favor of peace and socialism, the fraternal friendship of the GDR with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries—these are the other important preconditions for our successful advance along this path.

At the beginning of 1963 the progress made by the working people in building the new system enabled the Sixth Congress of the SUP to declare that socialist production relations had triumphed and exploitation of man by man had been abolished in the GDR once and for all.

The program of the Socialist Unity Party begins with these words: "A new epoch has dawned in the history of the German people—the epoch of socialism. This is an epoch of peace and social equality, human dignity and brotherhood, freedom and justice, the triumph of humanity and joy of life. . . . The new society is founded on the principle: with the people, by the people and for the people. The German Democratic Republic has ushered in the new, socialist epoch in Germany."

The working-class unity brought about by the creation of the SUP is the biggest achievement of the German working class since Marx and Engels published their Communist Manifesto. Thanks to this unity, the working class in the GDR has fulfilled the basic requirements of all previous programs charted by the German revolutionary labor movement. The path traversed by the German working class from the *Communist Manifesto* to the program of the Socialist Unity Party and the building of socialism in the GDR was a difficult one involving great sacrifice. It was a path of grim struggle waged by generations of German workers against the enemies of the people.

Out of this struggle the revolutionary working-class party emerged, grew and matured, learning to elaborate a correct strategy and to apply it in practice. In alliance with other working people, the SUP laid the foundations of the edifice of socialism in the GDR in the brief historical span of two decades; and in this period there has emerged the most stable party and state leadership Germany has ever known. The German Democratic Republic and the Socialist Unity Party are the embodiment of the future of the German working-class movement and of the entire nation.

People's councils and socialist democracy

SYLWESTR ZAWADSKI

I

PEOPLE'S COUNCILS in Poland were first set up on the initiative of the Workers' Party towards the end of the Nazi occupation as bodies of a broad popular front uniting all the democratic, anti-fascist forces fighting for national and social emancipation. After the liberation these councils were reconstituted as organs of people's rule exercising control over the local administrative machinery. Since 1950 they have been elected by general vote and hence represent society as a whole. Their functions include guidance of social, economic and cultural life in the areas under their jurisdiction.

In the 20 years since the birth of People's Poland the role of the councils has steadily

grown in the overall governmental mechanism and in building socialism (notwithstanding certain retrogressive trends during the excessive centralization of 1949-54). This has been particularly evident in the last ten years, and especially since the October 1956 meeting of the Central Committee of the Party. In the course of these years the Third and Fourth congresses of the Party and a meeting of the Central Committee in June 1961 took up the questions of decentralization and deepening of democracy in local government.

In other words, the greater role played by the People's Councils is associated primarily with decentralization, as a result of which the sphere of their activity considerably expanded and they came to exercise greater indepen-

dence. This is evident if only from the fact that whereas in 1955 the People's Councils' budgets totalled 16,400 million zloty, or 14.1 per cent of the state budget, and in 1961 some 58,000 million (24.8 per cent), the 1966 figure is 77,400 million, or 25.8 per cent of the state budget. Investments show similar changes. In 1956 local investment amounted to 9,000 million zloty, 20 per cent of the total state investment. This year the figure is scheduled to go up to 20,700 million, which, together with the 12,000 million to be invested by cooperative associations (mainly housing cooperatives), will account for 31.9 per cent of the investments called for under the national plan.

Parallel with the extension of the powers of the People's Councils in the economic, cultural and social spheres their independence, too, has been growing. This is manifest in the substantial reduction in the number of instructions "from the top" and in the greater opportunities thus provided for local initiative. The financial position of the councils has also improved, witness the sizeable increase in the share of their own revenue in their budgets, sharing in the income of key industries, and the considerable reduction in subsidies from the central budget. New stimuli have been provided to local initiative making for more businesslike functioning of the councils.

Another instance of decentralization is the extension of the councils' powers in coordinating the work of administrative agencies and economic undertakings not subordinate to the councils. This is one of the specific aspects of the evolution of the Polish model of representative bodies. As a result they are in a better position to influence the placing of centralized investments, distribution of key industries and fuller utilization of the capacities of enterprises subordinated to the centre. Growing cooperation between the councils, on the one hand, and enterprises subordinated to the centre and administrative bodies outside their jurisdiction, on the other, enables them better to carry out their duties and to harmonize local and national interests.

Although the decentralization affected primarily the economic, cultural and social spheres, it had definite political connotations. The thesis was fully confirmed that decentralization in a socialist state cannot be confined to a simple transfer of powers to local authorities. What was in question above all was giving the public and its representative bodies a bigger say in the conduct of local affairs. Consequently, decentralization was accompanied by further democratization of local government as expressed in the leading role of the People's Councils in relation to the local administrative agencies. In this respect the June 1961 meeting of our Central Committee which laid down the guidelines for the further development of the People's Councils was a landmark. The Central Committee particularly underscored the need to heighten the role of the People's Councils as governmental bodies, while extending the

powers of the administrative machinery. In the process of carrying out this decision stress was laid on the place occupied in the work of the People's Councils by such forms of public activity as plenary meetings and standing committees, the functions of the deputies and their contact with the public (in particular this found juridical expression in the amendments introduced in June 1963 to the People's Councils Act).

In view of the fact that council members continue working in their own occupations and hence perform their duties mostly at periodical sessions, special thought was given to ensuring that the sessions should be used with maximum efficacy to direct the functioning of the local administrative departments and to supervise their functioning. Agendas are prepared in advance so as to focus attention on the urgent issues, in particular those raised by the voters during election campaigns. Satisfaction of the requirements of the electorate is, needless to say, the main concern of the councils.

No less significant from the standpoint of deepening democracy is the greater importance attached to the standing committees, which are empowered to issue instructions to the heads of executive departments. The legal status of these committees has changed accordingly. Besides enjoying the right to advise and exercise supervisory functions, they help to shape the general policies of the local administrative departments, guiding their activities together with the council presidiums. Heads of departments are obliged to consult with the committees on all important issues. In view of this, it would be incorrect to regard them simply as auxiliary bodies called upon to assist the council. No small role in many People's Councils is played by what are called Boards of Elders, consisting of the leaders of the United Workers' Party, Peasant Party and Democratic Party groups in the councils, the chairmen of the standing committees and representatives of the presidiums of the councils.

Noteworthy are the economic results of decentralization. The People's Councils and the executive branch under them are, unquestionably, functioning more effectively. The fruits of the decentralization are evident in seemingly minor as well as in major issues. What at first glance might be described as a minor matter was the transfer to the village councils of the right to fix the land tax. Formerly this was done by the district administrations. Contrary to fears voiced in advance that the experiment would have an adverse financial effect, the 60 districts in which the new practice was first introduced registered an increase in tax revenue. Peasants began to meet their tax commitments more promptly, and many mistakes in assessment were corrected. There were fewer complaints and fewer instances of peasants having to go to district towns to correct mistakes. As of January 1 this year all village

councils have the right to set their own tax rates.

The results of economic coordination by the councils are another positive example. Although this activity is still in its initial stages, it has already effected a big saving. Thanks to coordination by the councils of the capital investment plans of enterprises in the key industries, costly construction undertakings are now financed jointly. This applies to railway spurs, warehouses, boiler rooms, transport bases, roads, medical institutions, housing, etc. The results obtained in this respect in Katowice Region, where activity of this type was initiated with the joint construction of a railway branch line serving a number of enterprises in Bielsko-Byala, are common knowledge.

In Wroclaw Region coordination in the sphere of medical care eliminated duplication in building premises for medical institutions. In Gorlice the People's Council initiated pooling of funds of enterprises belonging to different ministries to finance the building, instead of separate small clinics for each, of one large medical center servicing not only the workers of the enterprises concerned but the townspeople in general. Enterprises in the key industries which are called upon to invest in public utilities, allotted for this purpose in 1961-65 roughly 1,700 million zloty. Last year the People's Councils worked out coordinated alternative plans for 1966-70. These plans, which offer a notable instance of harmonizing ideas emanating from "the top" with those "from below," proved highly useful in drawing up the five-year plan for 1966-70.

The social and political effect of decentralization is harder to define. Here such factors must be taken into account as 1) a heightened sense of responsibility on the part of the functionaries of the People's Councils for the public property entrusted to their care; 2) deeper realization by the people generally that it is they who are the masters in their towns and villages; 3) greater public initiative as expressed in socially useful undertakings, for example, voluntary contribution of labor to improving roads, municipal improvement, etc. The value of the labor thus contributed amounted in 1960 to 1,400 million zloty, in 1963 to 2,900 million, and in 1965 to more than 5,000 million. This is a striking manifestation of the concurrence of personal and local interests and the interests of the country as a whole.

It should be pointed out that the fears expressed during the discussion on decentralization proved to be groundless. Far from increasing, the number of employees of the councils decreased substantially (from 135,000 in 1956 to 110,500 in 1965). At the same time efficiency increased. Thus, decentralization combined with greater democracy raised the functioning of the local authorities to a higher level and made their efforts more productive.

Summing up the 20-year record of the People's Councils, it can be said that the sys-

tem as a whole has fully passed the test of time.

II

The salient features of the People's Councils are the following:

1. Constituting as they do together with the Sejm components of an integral system of representative government, the Councils are in a sense an extension of the latter to all levels of local administration. In this way the scope of *popular representation* is substantially expanded. At the last elections in May 1965, besides 460 members of the Sejm, nearly 172,000 deputies (out of more than 244,000 candidates) were elected for four-year terms to 6,502 People's Councils at all levels. As can be seen from these figures, the political, trade union and other organizations united in the Front of Popular Unity nominated 50 per cent more candidates than there were seats. The continued democratization of the electoral system is evident also from the changes in the procedure of nomination. The candidacies of members of the United Workers' Party were discussed at district conferences of the Party where endorsements were made by secret ballot. Besides, there were extensive consultations with the electorate at pre-election meetings. During the 1965 election campaign 40,000 meetings attended by millions of voters were held to discuss candidates; over 7,000 nominations were rejected and more than 10,000 new candidates put forward instead. One can judge of the importance of such consultations by the fact that when the electoral lists were finally revised some 6,500 candidates (nearly 4 per cent of the total) were replaced by others.

The importance of the People's Councils as the basic form of popular participation in government is underscored by the fact that hundreds of thousands of citizens take part in the numerous committees and agencies directly subordinated to or associated with them. For example, apart from the members of the councils, nearly 100,000 take part in the standing committees, and more than 20,000 in legal collegiums. Moreover, nearly 80,000 citizens are active in community bodies functioning in close association with the city councils.

2. The People's Councils offer a *broad arena for cooperation among all political and social forces* working towards socialism. At present they include 80,280 members of the United Workers' Party (46.8 per cent of the total), 37,096 members of the Peasant Party (21.6 per cent), 4,373 members of the Democratic Party (2.5 per cent) and 49,975 non-party people (29.1 per cent). As regards social composition, they include 21,128 workers (12.3 per cent), 77,037 peasants (44.8 per cent), 63,680 professionals (37.1 per cent) and 9,879 members of other social groups.

3. *The People's Councils play an important role in economic life.* Local industries employ 3,200,000 people, or 40 per cent of the total engaged in the national economy.

Of all the branches of the economy under the jurisdiction of the People's Councils, they exert the greatest influence on agriculture. As to industry, the output of local enterprises amounts to nearly one-seventh of the country's overall industrial production. This year the value of local industrial output is planned to reach 74,500 million zloty, more than the value of the total industrial output of pre-war Poland. It should also be borne in mind that thanks to their powers in the sphere of coordinating the work of governmental bodies, enterprises and institutions organizationally not subordinated to them the People's Councils exert an increasingly multiform influence on all aspects of the local economy and hence on the development of the national economy as a whole.

4. *The Councils conduct especially extensive activities in the sphere of public services, entertainment and recreation.* They have jurisdiction over all schools (with the exception of higher educational establishments), all cultural institutions (community centres, clubs, libraries, regional museums, cinemas and, with a few exceptions, theaters), the entire public health system (children's nurseries, hospitals, chemists' shops, hygiene and epidemiological stations, etc.), and the municipal services generally. They attend to a substantial part of housing construction and generally decide all questions pertaining to housing in their respective territories. The expenditures of the councils for education, public health, recreation and municipal services amount to 75 per cent of the total spending under the local budgets. Their activities thus extend to all the principal areas of life and play an important part in meeting public needs. In other words, they have a big share not only in giving effect to the political rights of citizens (primarily the right to participation in government) but also in ensuring those civil rights which are essential elements of socialist democracy (the right to work, education and medical care).

5. Owing to the vertical system of representation and subordination of executive bodies to representative organs, the *People's Councils play an important part in combating bureaucracy in the state machinery.* The sessions of the councils and their standing committees are convenient forums for comparing recommendations and directives handed down from "the top" with the views "below" reflecting local needs and interests, and also for harmonizing the professional, departmental approach of executive bodies with that of the representatives of the public. This mechanism based on democratic centralism makes it possible to avoid cut-and-dried solutions disregarding the specific features of the situation in the various territorial subdivisions and helps to prevent departmental or local parochialism. A particularly effective instrument in combating bureaucracy is the right enjoyed by the People's Councils and their standing committees to exercise control over all state administrative agencies in the localities, regardless of whether these are

directly subordinated to the councils or not (for example, the administrative apparatus of the railways, post office, higher schools and enterprises in key industries subordinated to central bodies).

III

While emphasizing the important role of the People's Councils in the mechanism of socialist democracy it must be said that their place in the governmental system of people's Poland has not yet been firmly established. This is because, in the first place, many of the legal norms defining that place are not fully realized in practice, as has been revealed by various studies aimed at comparing the legal requirements with the actual situation. Secondly, because the dynamics of social development call for a constant search for better structural forms, for legal institutions capable more effectively of developing the initiative of the working people. These two factors highlight the need for a closer examination of numerous questions concerning the People's Councils in their present form with a view to their improvement.

The basic question of course is that of the relations between the People's Councils and the local administrative bodies. Hitherto this question has been treated rather one-sidedly in Marxist literature, with little regard for the consequences of technological progress, its effect on the division of labor, the growing role of specialists, and the expansion of the sphere of state activity. Representatives of the technocratic school of thought in the West see the crisis of democracy as the result of the diminishing role of representative bodies and the decline of local self-government. The prospect of "government by technocrats," or government by managers and experts, is envisioned as the solution best suited to the needs of the 20th century. The fallacy of their argument lies in their tendency to blame technological progress alone for the degradation of the parliamentary system and local government, completely overlooking the class roots of this process associated with the deepening economic and political contradictions of the capitalist system. This explains the attempts of the bourgeois theorists to present their narrow technocratic view of capitalist reality as a universal theory applicable to capitalism and socialism alike.

The methodological fallacy of the technocratic concepts does not, however, negate the need for more extensive Marxist theoretical examination of the question of how the development of the productive forces and technological progress influence the development of the political superstructure in socialist society, and also the role they will play in the shaping of communist society. Suffice it to mention the impact of television on social consciousness and the development of democratic institutions, and the effect of mechanization and automation on the numbers of managerial person-

nel in the socialist state as well as the methods of work of this administrative apparatus.

While rejecting the inevitability of the prospect of "government by technocrats" it should, however, be remembered that the role of "specialists in the sphere of management" is far greater than the founders of Marxism had anticipated. At the same time the practical realization of the Leninist thesis concerning the leading role of representative bodies in relation to administrative bodies is proving to be considerably more difficult than could have been foreseen in the latter 19th and early 20th centuries. It would be underestimating its importance not to admit that this problem is rather more complicated than might appear at first glance. Suffice it to cite one example. The regional People's Council consists of 120 deputies, while the apparatus of the presidium subordinate to it has a staff of some 1,000 functionaries and a budget of 3,000-4,000 million zloty. The enterprises under the jurisdiction of the presidium of the People's Council employ several thousand workers. How can the dominant role of the People's Council be ensured if it meets only a few times a year? How can constant control be ensured over the realization of plans and proper utilization of the huge budget? This is by no means a simple matter, despite the fact that more than ten committees work in the intervals between sessions and that the council deputies maintain contact with their constituents.

For a number of reasons the administrative apparatus occupies a considerably more prominent place in the localities than is envisaged by the Constitution or by the law governing the People's Councils. This is because local government officials specialize in various fields, they study these questions constantly and are more familiar with the legal norms in their particular field, and also because there is closer working contact between the different administrative links. This gives these officials a certain advantage over the deputies, which in itself would not be cause for alarm were it not accompanied by another negative feature, namely, the danger of bureaucratic distortions.

Doubts as to the validity of the technocratic solution arise not because the demand for a higher level of competence on the part of administrative personnel is incorrect in itself. It seems to me that we do not attach enough importance to this question and that there is considerable room for improvement here. That the qualifications of administrative personnel should be raised, labor turnover in government offices ended and the role of the government official in society heightened is obvious. At the same time, however, we must realize that this is only half the battle.

Even the most efficient administrative apparatus tends towards routine and stereotyped methods, to overestimate the technical aspect of its work and take the narrow "departmental" view. It is necessary at all levels of government to balance the purely professional ap-

proach with the approach of representatives of the public. This is not only a requirement of Marxist theory, it is a necessity confirmed by everyday life. Professional training is essential for determining the best ways of solving current administrative problems, but the defining of long-range objectives should not be left entirely to the administrative bodies. Here society and its elected representatives should take priority; their constant, systematic control is essential to ensure the realization of these objectives. The evils of bureaucracy can best be combatted if a constant balance is achieved between the opinions of the representatives of the community, who appraise the activities of the local administrative apparatus from the standpoint of the man in the street, and the views of specialists.

Improvement of the work of administrative bodies should thus be accompanied by efforts to consolidate the position of the representative bodies, to develop the various forms of public self-government. These tasks are not mutually exclusive; on the contrary, it is on the standard of performance by the administrative bodies that the ties between the representative bodies and the masses depend. And, conversely, the smooth functioning of the administrative apparatus depends on the proper control of its activities by the representative organs.

If the mechanism of the People's Councils is to be improved effort must be directed along these two lines: strengthening the role of the representative organs and raising the professional level and activity of the administrative machinery. This mechanism, which makes for a constant harmony between the viewpoint of the public functionary and that of the professional functionary, contains considerable and as yet untapped potentialities. The progress of socialist upbuilding will create conditions for the fuller utilization of this mechanism (rising level of education, the reduction of working hours, etc.).

IV

With a view to further improving the system of People's Councils, the United Workers' Party proposes to put emphasis on

- 1) further strengthening the public links in the mechanism of council activity (plenary meetings, committees);

- 2) supplementing indirect forms of democracy with direct democracy;

- 3) further decentralization of the People's Councils, taking fuller account of their specific features at the different levels;

- 4) improving administration and democratizing relations between the administrative apparatus and the public;

- 5) strengthening the leading role of the Party in the activity of the People's Councils.

As will be seen from the above, by no means complete, list of problems, it is a matter of developing the trends that have been particularly manifest in the past decade.

In examining the question of improving the public links in the machinery of the People's Councils it is important to remember that the councils are not "schools of government," but bodies of state power called upon to fulfil responsible administrative functions in the localities. Consequently, if the role of the councils is to be heightened, the criteria in selecting candidates for the councils should be changed. Without minimizing the importance of political, social and moral criteria, attention should also be paid to the abilities required of a deputy, such as educational level, knowledge of a definite department of public life, ability to conduct a dialogue with the administration, a keen eye and boldness in presenting one's point of view. This does not mean that the councils should consist of experts only, but public functionaries should be chosen with a view to their ability to cope with their duties as councillors. The progress of society as a whole will create favorable conditions for this.

Specialization of the administrative apparatus should, therefore, be accompanied by a specialization of council committees (the public factor). In the first place not every public functionary is suited for work in a people's council. Certain characteristics are required, a certain "gift" for administrative work. Secondly, a deputy is obliged to know at least one area of public life and specialize in that area throughout the duration of his term in office. This "specialization" is closely linked with the need to heighten the role of standing committees in the councils. This still leaves the disputed question: to what extent should this be combined with turning over certain functions (now performed by the presidium) to the committees, such as deciding what direction the work of the departments should take and control of their activities.

This emphasis on the committees by no means minimizes the role of the plenary meetings of the councils. Experience shows that in granting the local bodies the power to elaborate legal norms obvious preference is given the top level councils and their executive bodies. Hence the task of elaborating legal norms can be decentralized, provided of course that unity of action on a national plane is strictly observed.

Of particular significance is the question of making fuller use of the opportunities afforded by the unified system of representation. At present the connection between the public links in the machinery of the People's Councils at various levels is extremely weak. As we see it there are ample opportunities for strengthening this connection, especially between the Sejm and the People's Councils. For example, the Regional People's Councils could be given legislative initiative, the ties between the committees of the Regional Councils and the committees of the Sejm and also those between the committees of the councils at various levels could be strengthened.

In examining the question of a more har-

monious combination of indirect and direct forms of democracy, account should be taken primarily of the possibility of broader public participation in discussing the drafts of important matters under consideration by the People's Councils. This type of consultation with the public, participation of the public organizations directly concerned could be much more widely employed than at present. In our view it would also be well to consider the possibility of conducting local public opinion polls. The referendum method could be useful in deciding such matters as altering the administrative division in rural localities, the distribution of investments of importance for the given localities as, for example, the building of schools and hospitals, particularly when the local population is called upon to contribute funds for the given project. This is a debatable question, especially when it comes to realizing it in practice; nevertheless, there are definite possibilities for working in this direction, especially by such methods as the general meetings of village communities, which are becoming a legalized form of direct democracy in the countryside.

All this is closely bound up with the need to heighten the role of the People's Councils as organs of local self-government, a function which should be developed in every way. That certain changes in this sphere are already to be observed is evidenced by the growing interest displayed by City Councils in questions of self-government in neighborhoods. There is also more cooperation between the Councils and the organs of peasant and cooperative self-government. But so far the question of cooperation between the People's Councils and the Workers' Self-Management Councils remains unsolved. The present method of including representatives from the factories on the People's Councils has proved inadequate. This question becomes increasingly important as the People's Councils participate more and more in the profits of the enterprises in the key branches of industry, as they obtain greater powers in the sphere of coordination; in other words, as the relationships in the sphere of administration deepen, the need arises to strengthen the ties between the People's Councils and the key branches of industry in the public sphere. These matters are claiming increasing attention of Party Committees, the trade unions and the People's Councils.

To enhance the role of the People's Councils in public self-administration they should cooperate more with public organizations. So far the Councils do little to encourage the useful initiative displayed by public organizations. The latter, in turn, do not feel the need to maintain any permanent ties with the Councils in realizing their proposals and demands. The enlarging of these "public reserves" of the People's Councils is, therefore, a matter of first-rate importance, one indeed on which the growth of their prestige in large measure depends.

In going ahead with the decentralization spe-

cial attention should be paid to the lower links of the People's Councils. Above all, the powers of the town and village Councils should be extended. This involves taking far greater account of the specific features of the councils at the different levels, particularly the differences between Councils in the countryside which maintain direct contact with the public, and the District and Regional Councils, the nature and conditions of whose work is entirely different since they mainly coordinate the work of the Councils at the lower levels. It is obvious that the difference between them should not be confined (as has been the case hitherto) merely to the number of times a year they meet, how many permanent committees they have or how many deputies sit on the Council and its presidium.

The relationship between the local self-government and the administrative apparatus should be more clearly defined, depending on the level of Council involved. This applies primarily to the village Councils in which the difference between the Council, the presidium and the committee is lost. The village Council offers the best conditions for merging legislative and executive power, governmental and administrative functions. A more careful study of this question may possibly reveal the need to enact special regulations on this point, at any rate for the village Councils. The question of the proper functioning of the administrative apparatus, and especially its relations with the population, is acquiring increasing importance.

With the deepening of socialist democracy it is bound to appear on the agenda above all because contacts between the public and the administrative apparatus are steadily growing and assuming a mass character. A study made in Warsaw showed that the presidiums of District Councils are visited on the average by 1,000 people daily. The total number of visitors received annually by all the government bodies in the capital runs to 3.5-4 million. The presidium of the District Council in the Bialostok Region is visited by approximately 300 persons a day and that of a village Council, by 20. It should be borne in mind that the ordinary citizen judges the democracy of the governmental system mainly by the attitude of the administrative official who receives him.

The mass character of these contacts is not, however, the sole criterion of the political significance of this question. After all, a great many more people visit the various institutions and enterprises subordinated to the People's Councils — the public health institutions, for example. The Warsaw public health establishments, for instance, receive around 13 million people a year. The important thing to remember is that owing to the specific features of administrative-cum-legal relations the administrative side (notwithstanding the desire for equality of all parties concerned, as expressed in the administrative procedural code) has the advantage inasmuch as it enjoys the prerogative of decision and all the attributes of execu-

tive power, including the right to use compulsion. This is fraught with the by no means illusory danger of bureaucratic distortions in the relations between the local authority and the population.

Besides the political aspect of the question, there is the economic aspect to be considered. Bureaucracy squanders public time, forces people to waste valuable working time in queues, waiting for all kinds of papers, in most cases utterly unnecessary, creates difficulties in obtaining accurate information, etc. Nor can one overlook the vast amount of time wasted by the administrative officials themselves compiling endless essentially useless reports and other superfluous work.

In order to make the relations between the executive branch and the population more democratic, the Party, government and the People's Councils are channelling their efforts in the following directions:

1. Raising professional skills and the political qualifications of personnel as a basic condition for improving the functioning of the administrative apparatus. With this in view, departments have been opened in law schools to train administrators. These departments are now attended by a student body of 1,500.

2. Reducing fluctuation of personnel by better organization of work (introduction of rules stipulating the rights and duties of functionaries) and providing conditions attracting highly skilled people.

3. Modernization and mechanization of office work to do away with disproportions between the rapid technological progress in production and the technical backwardness in management.

4. Strengthening the juridical basis of the functioning of the administrative machine in accordance with the Procedural and Administrative Code adopted by the Sejm five years ago.

5. Elimination of unwarranted multiplicity of legal norms in order to place the functioning of the administrative apparatus on a more clear-cut juridical footing.

6. Elaboration of a scientifically substantiated organizational structure and methods of work for administrative bodies (the founding of a special research centre for the purpose is now being discussed).

The socialist changes in the economy, of which the driving force is the Marxist-Leninist party, predetermine the reconstruction of the political and legal superstructure. Hence the evolution of the People's Councils as well as the role of the Party in the mechanism of socialist democracy. With the rejection of purely administrative methods of guidance the Party is bound to play an increasingly important part as the source of political leadership and inspiration providing the basic guidelines for both governmental bodies and the public organizations.

This raises the question of what is implied by Party leadership. The tendency to regard it

merely as a matter of 1) steering the work of the councils in a certain direction, 2) promoting people to leading positions in them, and 3) supervising the activities of Party members in the councils, resulted, in my opinion, in insufficient emphasis on the responsibility of the Party committees for ensuring that the Party members should be the pace-setters in the Councils as well as in their executive machinery. Yet it is essential that Party members should be in the forefront—in the sense of greater devotion to principle, better understanding of the trends of socialist development, and exemplary performance of their duties as deputies both at plenary meetings and in the sub-committees as well as among the population — if the Party is to fulfil its vanguard part in the overall mechanism of the People's Councils.

From this it follows that Party work in the Councils should be more creative, politically more inspiring, and greater emphasis should be laid on full utilization of their democratic mechanism. In order to combat bureaucratic distortions effectively more attention should be devoted to the public aspects of the functioning of the Councils, and Party committees should build closer relations with the representative bodies. The Party attaches much importance to these questions, seeing in this the basic condition for realizing the Leninist idea of transforming the Councils from bodies of government for the working people into bodies of government by the working masses themselves. All this is closely associated with the shaping of the prerequisites of communist self-administration.

BUILDING THE MATERIAL AND TECHNICAL BASE OF COMMUNISM

Important step in Soviet economic development

ANATOLY YEFIMOV and VADIM KIRICHENKO

LAST FEBRUARY the draft Directives of the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU for the new five-year plan (1966-70) were submitted to the public for discussion.

Based on a detailed analysis of the growth of the productive forces to date and on a careful estimate of future requirements, the draft is a thoroughly realistic document.

RAISING THE STANDARD OF LIVING AT A FASTER PACE

Between 1966 and 1970 the envisaged rise in real income per capita will be roughly 30 per cent, that is, real incomes will grow faster than was the case during the previous Seven-Year Plan. Similarly, a more rapid increase in output is envisaged also for agriculture and light industry and food processing; trade and public services are likewise to expand at a faster rate.

Wages and salaries are scheduled to rise by 20 per cent on the average, and the income

derived by collective farmers from their work on the farms, by an average of 35 to 40 per cent. The collective farmers' income in cash and in kind will grow much more rapidly than wages and salaries in industry, the growth rate amounting to 1.7 times to double that of the latter. This is seen as part of the effort to narrow the gap between standards of living in the rural and urban population and to strengthen the alliance of workers and peasants.

Fringe benefits which play a prominent part in our country include social insurance, pensions, paid holidays, free education and medical treatment, treatment in sanatoria and accommodation in holiday centers either free or at greatly reduced rates, and care of children in kindergartens and nurseries. Last year these benefits equalled roughly 35 per cent of the wage and salary average. By 1970 they are expected to increase by at least 40 per cent. State investments in housing are also on a large scale.

During the past seven years 556 million

square meters of new floor space were provided, or almost as much as was built in all the previous years of Soviet rule. Since 1956 about half the population of the country has moved into new or better homes. During the current five-year plan housing construction is to be expanded 30 per cent; new housing to be built in towns, industrial communities and state farms will be 100 million square metres in excess of that built in the previous five years.

Per capita consumption of meat and meat products is scheduled to increase by an average of 20 to 25 per cent, milk and other dairy products 15 to 18 per cent, sugar roughly 25 per cent, vegetables and melons 35 to 40 per cent, vegetable oils 40 to 46 per cent, fruit, including grapes, 45 to 50 per cent, fish and fish products 50 to 60 per cent.

The draft calls for an improvement in the general educational and cultural standards, which should make it possible to reduce the differences between mental and manual labor. About seven million specialists will be trained during the five years at university and secondary school levels, or 65 per cent more than in 1961-65.

The targets set as regards standard of living are not the ceiling. Workers' initiative in raising the efficiency of production will be rewarded by bigger incentive funds in the enterprises, signifying an additional rise in income.

INCREASING THE SCALE OF PRODUCTION

The draft envisages a considerable growth of production in every field. Investments will equal the total invested during 16 postwar years, and the country's industrial power will be brought to almost seven-fold that of 1950. Gross national income is expected to increase by 38 to 41 percent in the course of the five years, to five times the 1950 figure.

The rise in *industrial output* is anticipated at 47 to 50 per cent.

The draft calls for increasing electric power output to 840,000-850,000 million kwh. as against last year's 507,000 million kwh. It is worth noting that the increase alone will equal the total generated in Britain, France and Italy.

The fuel pattern is to be improved. To this end, and to ensure the chemical industry the needed raw materials, output of oil and gas will be increased. The 1970 oil output will be between 345 and 355 million tons, and gas output between 225,000 and 240,000 million cubic metres, as against 243 million and 129,200 million respectively in 1965.

Steel output is expected to grow by 33 to 38 million tons and reach about 129 million tons in 1970. It required eighteen years from the launching of the first five-year plan (1928)—excluding the war years and postwar rehabilitation—to achieve this increment.

Output of the engineering industry will go up by 60 to 70 per cent. Priority will be given, among others, to the manufacture of plant for the iron and steel, power, chemical, oil

and gas industries, agricultural and transport machine-building, electronics and radio industries, and precision instruments.

The chemical industry will be producing 2,100,000 to 2,300,000 tons of plastics and synthetic resins against 821,000 tons in 1965, 780,000 to 830,000 tons of fibres against 407,000 tons, and 62 to 65 million tons of mineral fertilizers (in terms of conventional units) against 31,300,000 tons.

Agriculture holds a special place in the draft. Progress here is decisive for a higher standard of living and will greatly influence the effort to increase the efficiency of production. The task is substantially to increase the output of vegetables and animal products. *Rate of growth* is, therefore, to be stepped up. In the five-year period average annual output is scheduled to be 25 per cent greater than in the previous five years. Grain growing and animal husbandry will have priority. Compared with the previous five years, annual grain output is expected to increase by an average of 30 per cent.

Investments in agriculture will be increased to ensure a steady rise in output. They will amount to 71,000 million rubles, roughly 23 per cent of the sum to be invested in the entire economy in the five years.

Steady build-up of economic might and rapid rates of production growth are invariable features of our long-range plans. The program envisaged for 1966-70, however, has a new qualitative aspect which sets it apart from its predecessors: the greater emphasis on scientific and technological progress as the decisive factor in intensifying production and increasing its efficiency.

MORE RAPID SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS

Research is to assume a large scale, with particular emphasis on mathematics, physics, chemistry and biology, and on basic problems whose solution is likely to produce the greatest economic effect.

Increasing per unit capacity and designing highly efficient mechanized and automated plant will be one of the main lines of the technical advance.

Accordingly, thermal power stations with a capacity of 2,400,000 kw. or more, equipped with 300,000 kw. generator units, will receive priority. Units ranging from 500,000 to 800,000 kw. are also envisaged. Hydropower turbines of 500,000 to 550,000 kw. will be installed. The first two 500,000-kw. generators will be in operation at the Krasnoyarsk (Siberia) Hydro-Electric Station by 1967 — the fiftieth anniversary of the Revolution.

Plan targets include 2,700 cu.m. blast furnaces, 100- to 250-ton converters and 180- to 360-ton electric furnaces for the iron and steel industry, production lines for large-scale production of ammonia, superphosphates and polyethylene in the chemical industry, and installations with an annual capacity of 6 million tons per unit for oil refineries.

New, highly-efficient technologies involving chemical, chemico-physical, electro-physical and electronic processes is another important direction in which the technical standards of production will be improved. Used extensively, these should make it possible to cut expenditure of labor and materials, improve quality, and ensure comprehensive use of materials.

Quality is particularly stressed in the current plan. This implies production of technically up-to-date items with high efficiency indices, which, in turn, will go a long way towards saving labor and raising its productivity. To cite an example, improved diesel engines will make it possible to cut the per unit expenditure of metal 20 to 30 per cent and of fuel and lubricants up to 10 per cent.

During the five years labor productivity is expected to increase 33 to 35 per cent in industry (against 25 per cent in the previous five years), 35 to 40 per cent in building (against 28 per cent during the previous comparable period), and 40 to 45 per cent in agriculture.

Progress in science and technology has opened new opportunities to put all areas of social production on a modern industrial footing. Thanks to priority development of heavy industry, particularly of the branches determining technological progress throughout the economy, many barriers have been removed in this respect. As a result, new machines and techniques, the latest scientific and technological achievements, are finding their way to every branch, raising labor productivity and increasing man's control over the forces of nature.

Another feature of the present phase of industrialization is that much greater resources are being devoted to raising technical standards in light industry, in food processing, in services, trade and, above all, in agriculture.

Agriculture will get 1,790,000 tractors, 1,100,000 lorries, 900,000 tractor trailers and 275,000 lorry trailers, and 550,000 harvester combines. Electricity used in agriculture will be trebled in the five years, as will be the use of electricity per worker. The chemical industry will almost double the supply of fertilizers, to 55 million tons in 1970.

Industrial methods will be increasingly employed in agriculture. As a result of the overall trend in the development of industry and agriculture labor in the latter will approximate more to labor in industry.

The draft provides for a further advance in the use of industrial methods in building, with mechanized assembling of buildings and other structures from prefabricated standard units.

THE STRUCTURE AND EFFECTIVENESS OF PRODUCTION

The new five-year plan will initiate important structural changes in the economy.

First, the ratio between output of capital goods and that of consumer goods will improve by a considerable margin. Manufactured consumer goods and farm produce are to be

put out at a faster rate, with capital goods output growing at a somewhat slower rate than in the past. In the latter group, the average annual output growth will range from 8.3 to 8.7 per cent, exceeding the growth rate in the former group. The excess of the growth rate in the capital goods group over that in the consumer goods group will drop from 54 per cent in the previous five-year period to 13 per cent in the present.

The annual growth of consumer goods output in the current five-year period will be 7.4 to 7.9 per cent against 6.3 per cent in the previous period. All branches of manufacturing industry are to increase mass production of consumer goods substantially.

Secondly substantial changes are envisaged in the pattern of capital goods production in favor of more profitable industries meeting the needs of society at a lower cost. The electric power, engineering and chemical industries are to receive priority. With a roughly 49 to 52 per cent growth of output of capital goods in five years, electric power generation should go up by 66-68 per cent, chemical output 100 per cent and output in engineering and metal-working by 60 to 70 per cent.

With a 36 to 42 per cent total increase in steel output in the five years, smelting by the oxygen converter method should grow five- or six-fold. A special effort will be made to improve quality and extend the assortment of rolled stock, pipes and other items. Aluminum output is scheduled to increase by 90 to 110 per cent and copper output by 60 to 70 per cent.

Another development in the changing pattern of capital goods production will be a substantial increase in the output of means of production for industries catering to consumer needs. The technological re-equipment of these industries will be speeded up.

The ratio between output growth of capital goods and that of consumer goods envisaged for the years 1966 to 1970 shows overall economic development (the growth rate of the national income) being accelerated while allowing for a certain reduction in output growth for capital goods. This implies more efficient use of the existing means of production and in general increasing returns from production.

Hence the importance attached to concrete indicators concerning the use of materials, fuel and plant. *More intensive utilization of material resources is the keynote of the new five-year program.*

The draft envisages a 20 to 25 per cent cut in per unit expenditure of rolled metal in the engineering and metal-working industries, a reduction in per unit expenditure of steel in producing rolled stock, and more extensive replacement of nonferrous metals by cheaper materials and bimetallic alloys. Fuel expenditure in industry is to be reduced by 8 to 10 per cent (by 11 to 14 per cent in power generation) and the rate of expenditure of electricity by 6 to 8 per cent.

Much has to be done to increase efficiency in the use of basic production assets.

Although the ratio of output to basic assets throughout the economy, and especially in industry, rose steadily in the fifties, during the seven-year plan the trend was towards a reduction of the social product and national income per ruble of basic assets. The main reasons were slow introduction of the achievements of science and technology in production, the expansion of certain capital-intensive branches of the extractive industry, economic bottlenecks and insufficiently intensive use of plant. Slowness in launching new capacities had a particularly adverse effect on returns. Delays in building increased the number of uncompleted projects.

The draft therefore stresses that the time needed for putting newly-built enterprises, shops and production units into capacity operation must be cut, plant already in operation used more effectively, construction speeded up and the number of unfinished projects reduced.

The investment policy outlined is aimed at accomplishing these tasks. The draft stresses the need to increase investment in retooling operating enterprises, specialization and eliminating bottlenecks, so as to increase capacity faster and at less expense than could be done by building new capacities. It also calls for channelling investment primarily to completing projects already under way and capacities about to be put in operation. Special attention is to be devoted to industries whose inadequate capacity tends to retard the growth of other industries.

IMPROVING MANAGEMENT

The March and September 1965 meetings of the Central Committee revealed the discrepancies which had arisen in recent years between the sharply increased scale of production and the need to raise its efficiency, on the one hand, and planning and management methods and the system of incentives, on the other. To abolish these discrepancies, which had begun to hold up economic growth and progress in production efficiency, decisions were taken with a view to improving planning and management.

These decisions are to be carried out in the course of the coming five years.

The economic reconstruction now under way in our country presupposes, first, improving centralized planning by strengthening branch management; secondly, providing the conditions needed for a more consistent implementation of the principle of material incentives in conjunction with moral stimuli; thirdly, cost-accounting in the enterprises and direct economic links between them, extending their powers, granting them greater autonomy and heightening their responsibility for performance; fourthly, shifting the emphasis at every planning or management level to economic methods; fifthly, making greater use of commodity-money relations in the interests of socialism, above all of such economic levers as prices, profit, credits and finance.

The economic reform is a complex of measures which will take two or three years to carry out. The first stage has been completed with the adoption by 43 enterprises of the new system of planning and incentives. The first half of this year will see a larger group of enterprises go over to the new system. Later, as wholesale prices are settled, entire branches of industry will adopt the system. This year we will be able fully to carry out the reform in many branches of the light industry and in food processing. Its implementation throughout industry will be completed by 1968.

The new methods of management are being introduced also in agriculture. In the first year of the five-year plan we are taking additional measures to promote extended reproduction in agriculture. Lower prices have been fixed for a number of manufactured products used in agriculture, and for electric power supplied to the collective and state farms.

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It will be seen that the new five-year plan provides for important changes in the Soviet economy, for rapid growth of the productive forces and better methods of management. Fulfilment of the plan will mark a big advance in communist construction and will strengthen the position of socialism in the world arena.

The five-year plan of the USSR and problems of scientific and technological progress

GIREI ANISIMOV

THE ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES outlined in the draft directives of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU for the 1966-70 economic plan hinge on *maximum utilization of the potential and results of scientific and technological progress*. The emphasis on this aspect is dictated both by the objective requirements of the expanding productive forces and the production relations prevailing in the Soviet society; it follows naturally from the achievements registered by the Soviet Union's economy in past years.

The more the socialist countries march in step with the scientific and technological revolution of our time the more powerful the impact of the progressive nature of social relations under socialism on the overall march of history. For whatever the population and the potential manpower resources of one or another of these countries, the rate of improvement in the living standard of all their working people depends in the final analysis on the extent and rate of the application of the latest technological achievements.

The classics of Marxism never regarded technological development as something divorced from social relations, for progress in science and technology revolutionizes all aspects of social production—its material and technological base, the relations of production and distribution, the organization and methods of management, etc. Without strengthening its scientific and technological base socialist society would be unable consistently to carry out its basic tasks of socio-economic reconstruction.

The new methods of economic management introduced in the USSR can be traced largely to the need to ensure the most rapid possible growth of the productive forces in the overall context of the technological revolution. Placing the various industries under the centralized guidance of ministries provides the most favor-

able conditions for directing scientific and technological progress along the desired lines and facilitates a unified technical policy.

Never has such a coordinated technical policy in building the material and technological base of society been so essential as at the present stage of building communism in the USSR. This policy firstly, provides the guidelines for charting technically advanced and economically most effective trends in science and technology; secondly, ensures proportional all-round development of the material and technological base of the economy of the country as a whole as well as its various branches; thirdly, helps to create the most favorable conditions for applying the latest scientific and technological achievements, and, fourthly, coordinates domestic technological policy with the general line of development throughout the socialist world system.

The draft defines the concrete lines of development. Primarily the object is to accelerate progress through research and rapid application of its findings in production. For one thing, more extensive research is envisaged in theoretical and applied mathematics with a view to wide use of mathematical methods in the various branches of science and technology. As in the past, special attention is to be paid to research in nuclear physics and the physics of solids, controlled thermo-nuclear synthesis, and the creation of new structural and other materials. Space research will be drawn on to improve radio communications, radio navigation devices, television, etc. In chemistry attention will be focused on new, economically effective chemical processes and obtaining better materials. Further advance is envisaged in research on the processes under way in living nature with a view to evolving more productive strains of livestock and varie-

ties of crops. In the sphere of economics the focal points will be further elaboration of the theory of planned guidance of the national economy on the basis of the study and utilization of the economic laws of socialism, ways and means of increasing returns from social production, and the use of incentives to boost output.

The new five-year plan calls for *intensive development of the productive forces*, with priority to branches decisive from the standpoint of technological progress throughout the economy. The growth rate in electric-power production, engineering and the chemical and metallurgical industries is to exceed that of industrial production as a whole. Notable steps are scheduled within industries with a view to increasing the production of economically more advantageous lines of output meeting the requirements of society with less outlay. At the same time stress is laid on technically up-to-date quality output. The efficiency, reliability and durability of machines and other equipment are to be increased, their operating costs reduced, and the weight of motors and other machines reduced per unit of capacity. Much attention will be paid to developing and introducing highly effective physico-chemical, electrophysical, electronic and other processes.

In order to increase returns from outlay it is proposed to concentrate the scientific and technical potential and material, man-power and money resources primarily on the re-equipment of operating enterprises. This has been prompted by a concrete examination of the "age" structure of the country's industry, and it also follows from the need to end unwarranted diffusion of investments among large numbers of construction projects. One of the most important tasks in this connection is systematically to increase the output of operating enterprises by eliminating bottlenecks, intensifying production processes, improving technology, raising the coefficient of interchangeability of equipment, and ending underloading of capacity.

Special mention must be made of the importance of a regime of economy, in particular rational use of resources. Expenditure of rolled steel in the engineering and metal-working industries, for instance, is to be reduced by 20-25 per cent per unit of output.

It should be noted, however, that economy of the means of production which would worsen working conditions is alien to the technological policy of the socialist countries. In the coming five years up-to-date industrial safety devices will be extensively introduced, industrial hygiene will be improved, and output of equipment for the purpose increased.

* * *

The socialist countries have organizational, technical and socio-economic factors to draw on which are ruled out under capitalism. *Socialist production relations give them the benefit of all the advantages of state planning*

of science and technology, enabling them to look far ahead and to devise comprehensive programs embracing all stages from the initial scientific quests to the industrial application of the findings.

The socialist state plans are called upon to ensure not only the necessary proportions in the gross social product but also the rational structure of the material and technological base of production as a whole. Departures from a unified technological policy during the seven-year plan increased disproportions primarily in such a decisive area as the structure of the country's overall industrial plant. Owing to imbalances in the technological base of production, certain losses were incurred as a result of declining efficiency in the use of basic assets, excessive reserves of uninstalled equipment and a drop in the coefficient of interchangeability. To overcome subjectivism, plans should be put on a sounder scientific and technico-economic footing and full account taken of the objective dictates of scientific and technological progress.

Realization of the achievements of the contemporary technological revolution is a matter of a much longer span of time than the coming five years. Hence besides current planning of research and development, *long-range forecasts of scientific and technological progress* are an essential instrument of long-term planning. Forecasts of society's future requirements provide guidelines for planning for shorter spans.

To properly direct the development of the productive forces there must be a scientific, long-range approach to the basic element of these forces—machines—with an eye to the future. This will make it possible to improve the entire system of technological planning and ascertain the optimal plant—machines and equipment—for each branch with a view to ensuring maximum overall returns.

Long-range technological forecasts will ensure favorable conditions for implementing an effective policy of investment and distribution of the national income and material and financial resources among the various branches. By revealing the stable trends in the development of the material and technological base of production, such forecasts make it possible, in drawing up five-year and current plans, to include provisions facilitating and reducing the cost of reconversion in the event of the emergence of new, more modern branches.

The cardinal principle in planning research and development and the production of new machines should be all-round economic analysis of the production reserves and choice of the areas of investment in science and technology offering the biggest returns to society. Such an analysis should precede the determining of the basic lines of scientific and technological development and serve as a basis for the elaboration of coordinated technical tasks included in the state plan.

Clearly, technological targets should be fully coordinated with other aspects of the plan. In

view of this the September 1965 meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU instructed the Science and Technology Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers and the Academy of Sciences to work out, with the participation of ministries and other departments of the USSR government and the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics, proposals as regards the basic lines of scientific and technological development and the utilization of the more important findings in the economy. These proposals were to be submitted to the USSR Council of Ministers in good time for inclusion in the plans.

Only by closely coordinating technological development plans with the other aspects of the plan (capital investments, outlays of materials and funds for development of technology, and manpower resources) can fulfilment or the latter be guaranteed.

* * *

Greater emphasis on cost-accounting at the enterprises and incentives for their personnel are important levers of planned guidance of scientific and technological progress. The new system of planning and industrial management now being introduced in our country in conformity with the decisions of the September 1965 meeting of the Central Committee opens up broad opportunities in this respect. Under the new set-up, profit and prices provide a powerful stimulus to scientific and technological progress, cost-accounting relationships between producers and consumers of new technical equipment are strengthened, conditions are provided for better use of the funds of the enterprises, centralized funds and credits for promoting new technology and, lastly, the rights of the enterprises as well as their material responsibility for solving technological problems in good time are heightened.

The vast scale of retooling in all branches of production during the coming five-year plan necessitates the all-round promotion of initiative in working out and introducing technical improvements at enterprise level. A single state technical policy in no way rules out the active role of the enterprises and other production amalgamations in shaping technological development plans. This policy is a generalized, concentrated expression of the most advanced experience of the separate enterprises. Consequently, by virtue of its very nature, it cannot be counterposed to local experience. It acts as a spur to progress inasmuch as it makes standards which are economically in the best interests of the whole of society obligatory for all enterprises.

Properly practiced, centralized guidance of technological policy is by no means a matter of handing down orders from above. It is unquestionably superior to the local experience of each separate enterprise inasmuch as it draws on the collective experience of many enterprises as well as the scientific achievements in the given sphere. Socialist centralism

in shaping technological policy and science are interconnected. Concentration of managerial functions on the basis of public ownership of the means of production opens for science a shortcut to production, facilitating large-scale application of scientific achievements. Through state planning of research and development and the production of new machines and equipment, society is in a position to ensure priority to branches with a definite future.

The new system of planning and stimulating production calls for combining the unified technological policy with economic incentives to enterprises in promoting science and technology. Now that the enterprises are empowered to invest at their own discretion a substantial part of the so-called fund for the development of production, their responsibility to society for proper guidance of technological progress is greatly enhanced. The enterprise should keep the interests of society as a whole in mind not only when carrying out assignments given by the state but also when planning its own organizational and technological measures. As a matter of fact, participation of the enterprises in planning technological development is an integral part of the entire system of socialist planning. State production enterprises should work in the public interest even when exercising their own economic initiative; the national interest should always enjoy primacy in all their activity.

To ensure fulfilment of the five-year plan it is essential to make full use of the levers provided by the draft and the decisions of the September meeting of the Central Committee for increasing incentives and accelerating technological progress. For it is on the basis of more rapid technological advance that the share of bonuses in wages can be substantially increased and fuller harmony ensured between the interests of each worker and the interests of the working community and society as a whole. The greater the contribution of working collectives and their individual members to improving production efficiency, the bigger their bonus income will be.

As the draft stresses, special attention in improving the forms and systems of remuneration for labor should be paid to their stimulating role in increasing the productivity of labor, accelerating technological progress and improving quality.

As regards technological progress, a distinction should be drawn between the two basic forms of incentives:

—first, all members of society have an interest in achieving maximum results through technological progress; improvement of technology is in the national interest inasmuch as the basic means of production are owned by the whole of society and, consequently, the returns accruing from the use of new instruments of labor benefit society as a whole;

—second, the material stake workers engaged on a given job have in promoting new technology.

In recent years a number of measures have been implemented in the USSR to provide additional incentives to those directly engaged in the elaboration and introduction of new techniques. These measures affect (though in different degrees) practically all phases from research, designing, experimental production and quantity production to the introduction of new technological achievements in industry generally. Incentives to those engaged in each of these fields help to increase returns from new technology on an economy-wide scale.

If the working people generally benefit from technological progress primarily through such factors raising their living standard as better housing and public services, lower prices, extension of free services, etc., those working on creating new machines and processes enjoy additional incentives in the form of special wage scales, bonuses, remuneration for inventions, and so on.

It may be asked whether these additional incentives do not contradict the economic nature of public ownership, the principle of distribution according to labor. For in this case remuneration depends not only on the quantity and quality of labor but on the economic returns accruing from the new machines and processes devised.

There is no such contradiction here, nor can there be, inasmuch as the additional remuneration is in the interests of society as a whole. In this way technological advance can be accelerated, qualified personnel attracted to this sphere, and the living standard of all working people improved through the employment of new techniques. Therefore, additional incentives to people engaged in working out and introducing new techniques fully harmonize with promoting the general interest of all working people in the economic results of technological progress.

* * *

The rate of technological advance is directly dependent primarily on the production facilities available for this purpose and the ratio of these facilities to the fixed assets of the economy as a whole. These facilities consist above all of experimental plants, bases and pilot enterprises, and also perhaps that part of the plant of industrial enterprises which is used to launch mass (or quantity) production of new output. As science becomes a direct social productive force, its material and technological facilities likewise increasingly acquire the character of production assets.

It will be impossible substantially to increase the productivity of researchers and engineering personnel without changing the ratio between experimental and industrial production. Consequently, the new five-year plan envisages a faster rate of development for experimental production. The draft points out that in order radically to increase returns from research and to accelerate application of the results of

research in production, it is essential to concentrate researchers and material resources on resolving those key problems of science and technology offering the maximum economic effect, to strengthen the experimental production facilities of research and designing organizations and enterprises, and provide them with the latest research equipment.

New techniques require materials which often are in short supply. The interests of society, however, demand that the most important development projects should be provided in good time with the materials and equipment they need. But at the present time supplies are allocated only for projects undertaken under the national plan, which, as a rule, covers no more than 20 or 30 per cent of the total number of development projects. Consequently, enterprises frequently have to use their own internal resources, often to the detriment of their basic production programs, in order to see through research and technological undertakings.

Under the new plan it is proposed substantially to improve the entire system of material supplies for research and technological development projects undertaken both in keeping with the state plan and at the level of the enterprise.

While channelling a considerable part of the funds at the disposal of the economy to accelerating technological progress, it is clearly essential to ensure the most efficient use of these resources. With this in view it is proposed to provide during the next five-year span, for a steady growth of the skills of the workers and engineering personnel engaged in research and development.

Experience shows that lack of engineering skill and adequate scientific knowledge cannot be compensated for by economic or moral stimuli. Hence, an important place in the coming five-year program will be occupied by wide-scale retraining of personnel in industry as well as in other branches. Bigger demands are presented also to higher schools giving specialized training as well as to the entire system of technical training of workers.

Unlike capitalism, socialist planned economy combines accelerated technological progress with full employment. Planned socialist organization of production has thus for the first time in history made it possible to do away with unemployment.

But does this mean that under socialism technological advance does not give rise to contradictions in expanding the productive forces? To make any such assertion would be incorrect. There is no doubt that certain contradictions make themselves felt in our economy as well, but they are of a non-antagonistic nature and are overcome by methods of planned economy.

For instance, automation and the scale of technological advance pose the question of rational utilization, in the interests of society, of the manpower released by sweeping changes

in production. This manpower can be absorbed in two ways. On the one hand, society can reduce the working hours of all its members. On the other hand, it can expand production and increase the volume of use values turned out. Both are done by socialist society. At the present stage the released manpower is mainly channelled into those spheres of social production which still experience a shortage of labor power. This rules out unemployment and serves to increase production and to improve the well-being of the people.

Needless to say, this does not come about automatically. The replacement of old techniques by new means temporarily releasing workers whose skills have become outdated. But the state is in a position to plan in advance the retraining of these workers, thereby safeguarding their interests.

Under socialism, too, technological progress thus faces society with complex social tasks connected with structural changes in the labor force. Hence the difference here between socialism and capitalism lies not in the absence of contradictions in the development of the productive forces due to technological progress, but in the fact that public ownership makes it possible to overcome these contradictions without any appreciable economic losses and without encroaching on the welfare of the displaced workers.

* * *

The socialist countries are building up their

economy not in isolation from one another but in the overall context of rapidly developing international socialist division of labor and internationalization of economic life within the framework of the socialist world system. Clearly, scientific and technological progress too cannot be confined within national boundaries inasmuch as the latest achievements can be utilized fully only if the technological policy of all socialist countries is aimed at promoting international cooperation in research and development. As this cooperation is deepened its impact on the economy of the various countries and the entire socialist world system will make itself increasingly felt.

The draft envisages the extension of such cooperation between the USSR and other socialist countries, improvement of the methods employed, greater exchange of technical information and scientific and technological achievements and licenses. Progress in this respect will largely depend on a thorough analysis of the achievements of the various socialist countries in science and technology.

Maximum utilization in the interests of the entire socialist camp of the latest achievements of the contemporary technological revolution is an important aspect of the competition between capitalism and socialism. Hence, promotion of progress in science and technology is the internationalist duty of the socialist countries, a pre-condition of the political and economic victory of socialism over capitalism on a worldwide scale.

In the fight for peace, democracy and socialism

THE ELEVENTH CONGRESS of the Italian Communist Party was preceded by a broad and lively discussion. A total of 1,600,000 members attended the pre-Congress meetings of the 27,000 branches, the conferences arranged by the 11,193 sections and 113 federations. *Unità*, the national daily of the Party, and the journals *Rinascita* and *Critica Marxista* contained some of the speeches and contributions submitted by Party organizations on the issues discussed. Begun on the basis of a unitarian platform, the discussion produced equally unitarian results enabling the Party to face the political battles ahead as a united force, the richer for new ideas and new experience.

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE FIGHT FOR PEACE AND AGAINST IMPERIALISM

The first task which confronted the Congress was that of assessing the international situation from the standpoint of the changes that have taken place in the world arena during the past three years in order to chart as clearly as possible the Party's international strategy. What exactly is the international situation today? Who bears the responsibility for the shape it has taken? What can be done to make peace durable?

To each of these questions various answers can be given. If, for instance, we believed that the international situation was so bad that any possibility of averting another world war was ruled out, then we would be questioning the entire strategy pursued by the Italian Party and the majority of the fraternal parties all these years. The same applies to the other points: on the answers depends whether we should or should not continue to work for peace and peaceful coexistence and how the work should be carried out.

The Congress theses and Comrade Longo's report provide answers based on a thorough examination of the facts. Both documents stressed the "exceptional gravity" of the international situation; this is evident from the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, the danger of the con-

flict extending to the rest of South-East Asia and to People's China, the actions of U.S. imperialism in the Dominican Republic and in other Latin American countries, as in Africa and Asia. The gravity derives also from the crisis of the United Nations, the deadlock in the disarmament talks, the spread of nuclear armaments in the NATO countries and the danger of West German nuclear armament.

The responsibility for this state of affairs rests entirely with U.S. imperialism. "The aggression in Vietnam," Longo said in his report, "is not an isolated local war episode. It is an element of the 'Johnson doctrine' in South-East Asia, basic to which is rejection of both the right of the people of Vietnam to independence and freedom, and the right of the Chinese People's Republic, representing a great people of 700 million, to exist and to play its rightful role in the world arena. Strictly speaking, this amounts to refusal on the part of U.S. imperialism to recognize the new realities, to admit the failure of its postwar policy in Asia, and not only in Asia." This not only exposes the deception by which U.S. imperialism tries to justify its war of aggression against Vietnam, but also refutes the theory of equal responsibility current in some circles of the democratic movement which have proved incapable of seeing where the responsibility really lies. According to this theory, part of the blame rests with the United States and part with Vietnam. This theory, which even the Italian Socialist Party subscribes to, equates a people subjected to aggression with the aggressor, ignoring the crucial fact that by sending more and more troops to South Vietnam the USA is actually admitting that it is the aggressor. This fact alone shows that the point at issue is not an internal affair of South Vietnam but a war which the United States, working with a handful of corrupt politicians prompted solely by greed and lust for power, is waging against the majority of the people of South Vietnam.

The problem we are faced with here consists above all in ascertaining whether this aggression of U.S. imperialism is evidence of its growing might or whether the world balance is

shifting in its favor. We reject both points. The aggressive line pursued by U.S. imperialism by no means implies that the balance is tipping in favor of imperialism. True, we cannot ignore the fact that the U.S. imperialists have been able in different places and at different times to register some temporary successes. But that is beside the point. The problem is to ascertain whether U.S. imperialism is capable of overcoming the crisis of the system it has created since the Second World War. And here, too, the facts are inescapable. The crisis has not only not been overcome, but, on the contrary, is deepening as can be seen from the imbalance and contradictions evident in the Common Market and the Free Trade Area, and from the stand taken by countries like France, or the anti-American trends manifest in many NATO countries. This is evident also from the struggles waged by the people in the capitalist countries from Italy to France and from Greece to Spain, and is implicit in the inability of the United States to ensure stable domination over Latin America or to suppress the movements of African and Asian peoples against U.S. neocolonialism. Consequently, the "Johnson doctrine" is not so much the result of growing strength; it is rather an extreme means in the effort to maintain a grip on that part of the world which until now has been under U.S. hegemony. It signifies inability to respond to the challenge of the socialist world and of the national and social liberation movement by taking the way of detente and peaceful coexistence.

The Italian Communists believe that the change in American policy since the assassination of Kennedy is proof of this. It is not a matter of the Kennedy line not having been an imperialist line. Under pressure of the new world balance, Kennedy sought a way out in his "strategy of peace". "On the one hand," the Congress Theses say, "it was a manifestation of anxiety and the desire to avoid a world war which would be disastrous for the USA and for the whole world, and, on the other hand, it pursued the aim of preventing any change in the status quo in favor of national independence and socialism, of strengthening the Atlantic bloc economically and politically, stepping up the economic penetration of the USA and other imperialist powers in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Kennedy plan envisaged partial agreements as a way to reach general agreement between the two nuclear superpowers and in this way avert a new world war in order to divide the world into "spheres of influence", seen as the only possible basis for peaceful coexistence. An essential part of this plan was a design to take advantage of differences and disagreements between the socialist countries, differences between the newly-independent countries, and the class and political conflicts within the latter."

This plan, consequently, was aimed at perpetuating imperialist domination and, as such, it was a dangerous plan, but nevertheless contain-

ing the germ of its own destruction since it stemmed from an erroneous and anti-historical concept of international relations. But the fact that it contained an element making for detente made it unacceptable to imperialism.

The "Johnson doctrine" therefore testifies to the inability of imperialism to carry on in a new way. It shows how strong the reactionary and ultra-Right groups in the USA still are, highlighting not only the crisis of the imperialist system but also the internal social and political crisis in the United States (a crisis clearly evident in the exacerbation of the Negro problem). It is precisely to this crisis that a solution is being sought in a policy of foreign adventures and conquest.

On the whole this assessment confirms the correctness of the strategy of the campaign for peace, for detente and for peaceful coexistence, a strategy dictated above all by the need to save humanity from the disaster of nuclear war. The Theses quote Togliatti's words that "the slogan of struggle for peace, which Lenin rightly rejected during the First World War, when an acute revolutionary situation was maturing and it was necessary to work to turn the imperialist war into a civil war, is today the most correct, popular and effective slogan in the very same struggle for the final deliverance of the world from imperialist oppression."

We reject the counterposing of peaceful coexistence to the struggle for national liberation. "The USSR," the Theses stress, "while correctly making use of every opportunity to negotiate and conclude direct agreements with the other nuclear superpower, could only reject, as it had done before, the very idea of a general bilateral agreement concluded behind the backs of all the other nations and states of the world."

As Comrade Longo pointed out at the Congress, "the concept of peaceful coexistence, contrary to the claims of those who seek to denigrate it, was never envisaged as a kind of division of the world into zones of influence between the Soviet Union and the United States, or as acceptance and preservation of the status quo. It was always regarded as a dynamic process, as struggle. Shortcomings and mistakes were possible, and did occur, in the course of implementing this policy, but they were brought to light, rejected and corrected. But this does not mean that the strategic choice of the policy of peaceful coexistence was a mistake." In particular, in the course of the pre-Congress discussions and at the Congress itself, the view was rejected of those who, proceeding from an incorrect assessment of the processes now under way in the international arena and especially from an underestimation of imperialist contradictions, held that the policy of peaceful coexistence was in the throes of a crisis and that hence there should be a change of strategy.

Drawing on the facts, the Congress rejected also the absurd and slanderous charge that by putting forward its policy of peaceful coexis-

tence the Soviet Union had abandoned the struggle of the oppressed peoples. "Who," Longo asked, "is rendering the greatest help to the people of Vietnam and other peoples fighting for their liberation? Who is bearing the brunt of the struggle against imperialism? Who is tying up its main forces? Who is supplying modern weapons to help the Vietnamese deal heavy blows at the American aggressor? On this score there is not a shadow of doubt. All this is done by the socialist countries, and primarily by the most powerful of these countries, the Soviet Union. It is primarily to these countries that credit is due for helping Vietnam."

"The consistent initiative of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries towards achieving a detente and peaceful coexistence plunged the cold war policy into crisis in recent years, checked all imperialist attempts to overthrow the socialist system and helped the peoples of many Asian and African countries win political independence." Congress met this statement with applause.

It is no less erroneous to counterpose, in the name of the anti-imperialist struggle, the economically underdeveloped countries to the developed countries, disregarding their political, social and class structure and drawing no distinction between capitalist and socialist countries. Such a position makes it impossible to ascertain which really are the forces fighting against imperialism and for peace. It equates the responsibility of the working class in the capitalist countries with the responsibility of the capitalists who exploit the workers, and puts the socialist countries, which are aiding the struggle of the peoples, on a par with the capitalist countries, which oppress the peoples. Consequently, such a position rules out any progress in the fight for peace and against imperialism.

This assessment of the situation enabled the Congress to pose new tasks in the struggle for peaceful coexistence, which it qualified as a "strategic choice, a choice in favor of peace and civilization."

The fight for peace, for peaceful coexistence and against imperialism requires the unity of all anti-imperialist and peace forces, primarily unity of the Communists. Hence the Congress call for that "unity in diversity" the need for which Togliatti emphasized. Hence the repudiation of the erroneous position of those who declare that "there is nothing that unites us, nothing that we have in common"—meaning themselves and the parties which disagree with them—that "everything divides us and counterposes us to each other."

The Italian Communists pledge themselves to continue to support every concrete international initiative based on closer cooperation between all revolutionary progressive and peace forces. Once again they declare that "it is impossible to win and hold new positions if instead of being united, the revolutionary forces are divided."

It is on this general strategic foundation that the Italian Communists outlined their program of struggle for a new Italian foreign policy. The Party came to the Congress the richer for the experience gained in unitarian action for peace in Vietnam, for freedom for peoples oppressed by fascist or profascist regimes (Spain, Portugal, Greece), in solidarity with the peoples of Africa, Latin America and Asia fighting for national liberation. The Congress called for the extension of these unitarian mass actions, in which the Communists seek to enlist ever broader democratic political forces, and for an effort to ensure greater working-class participation. The immediate aims put forward by the Party are, above all, non-participation by Italy in the U.S. imperialist adventure in Southeast Asia, and an end to the policy of "understanding" which the present government is pursuing in relation to the United States.

Besides this prime task, Comrade Longo's report pointed to three other issues on which unitary agreement and mass struggle are possible:

"1. Non-participation by Italy in nuclear armament, and prevention of the nuclear armament of Germany.

"2. Italian foreign-policy initiative with a view to creating international conditions which, on the expiration of the Atlantic Pact, would make it possible to replace the present alliances—the Atlantic Treaty and the Warsaw Treaty—with a European collective security pact. This clearly presupposes a number of initiatives towards the resumption of an East-West dialogue aimed at reaching agreement, at least partial, on a nuclear armament freeze and balanced and controlled reduction of conventional armaments.

"3. Recognition of the Chinese People's Republic and its rights in the United Nations, and recognition of the German Democratic Republic and the Oder-Neisse border as the basis for resolving the problems still outstanding in the heart of Europe."

As regards more distant perspectives, the Italian Communists underscored the need for closer contact between the working class of all the developed capitalist countries and the peoples of the economically underdeveloped countries, and between the Italian working class and the socialist countries, whose experience, in the opinion of the Italian Communists, is of interest in the light of the positive new developments taking place there. Although economic competition between the socialist and capitalist countries cannot solve all the problems of the movement towards socialism in the developed capitalist countries, the Italian Communists attach much importance to it since any economic progress in the socialist countries unquestionably has a positive effect on the working class and the peoples of the so-called "Western" countries. In particular, the Italian Communists regard the reforms undertaken in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries with a view to ensuring greater in-

dependence and profitability of enterprises and heightening the role of the market as radical steps towards removing the shortcomings and limitations that have come to light. Especially important are the close links which are being increasingly established between economic management and the promotion of popular initiative and democratic participation of the masses. This imparts more concrete and advanced forms to socialist democracy and charts new paths of human progress.

In the light of the struggle for peace and against imperialism, for a just peace in Vietnam, for a new regime of international relations based on peaceful coexistence, for unity between the working class in the capitalist countries, the peoples of the developing countries and the socialist countries, the Congress laid down the basic guidelines for Italy's home policy, specifically its economic policy.

FOR A NEW POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ORIENTATION IN ITALY

The situation in Italy on the eve of the Congress was marked (as it is today) by the existence of a government founded on collaboration between the Christian-Democratic Party, which has the backing of a relative majority of the electorate, and two of the three Italian socialist parties—the Social-Democratic Party and the Socialist Party.

The Center-Left government rode to power on a promised policy of reform that was expected to solve the painful problems of unemployment, the disproportion between the North and the South, the agricultural crisis, starvation pensions, and so on. But it did not effect a single reform.

The economic position has become much more complicated. According to official statistics, the number of unemployed has climbed to 1,100,000. Emigration still stands at 300,000 a year. Over a million workers hold part-time jobs and their wages fall short of the subsistence minimum. The equality of men and women in pay, achieved on paper, often remains a dead letter. There is a sharp drop in female employment. Young people starting out on a career look in vain for jobs. Three million workers whose contracts will expire this year are likely to get no pay rise, although the cost of living is rising all the time.

Police violence against strikers has been resumed. Scores of wage and salaried workers were victimized for their part in leading union struggles and put on trial under various pretexts. Old age pensions are disgracefully low. Incomes of handicraftsmen and peasants are dwindling. The economic gap between the North and the South is widening, not narrowing. There are highly developed islands in an ocean of depressed areas.

The problem of the mountain regions and that of water supply are particularly grave. The school reform has not been carried out, and the promised allocations have not been

forthcoming. There is a shortage of schools and hospitals. These are only a few of the many facts pointing to the failure of the Center-Left. But more disturbing still is that there is no prospect of improvement. The five-year economic programming announced by the government is only a set of forecasts. It offers no specific instrument for translating the forecasts into reality and for attaining the goals envisaged for the five-year period. This is because the main levers of economic control are still in the hands of large private finance corporations.

It follows that the economic program is a mere list of more or less good intentions. For instance, it calls for an increase in output and employment during the five years. But the manufacturers' association envisages an increase in output and a drop in employment. What is actually happening is that production in many fields is rising while employment is declining, which means growing exploitation.

But the economic programming announced by the government is something more than a scrap of paper, for it rejects reforms and hence gives free rein to the private monopolies. This means that the private monopolies are free to follow their own course and to deal with the economic crisis in pursuance of their own interests, which are oriented not on national prosperity but on maximum profit. Their line is a line of internal and international concentration, increasing exploitation of labor and growing investment not in the spheres most beneficial to the nation, but in those yielding the highest profit. It is the line they have followed to date, and one that has led to a severe and protracted crisis caused precisely by the disproportions it has engendered.

Italy has many automobiles but few schools and hospitals. It makes many refrigerators but lacks sufficient housing for workers, with or without refrigerators. It is short of houses, yet vast numbers of new flats (worth a total of 2,500,000m. lire, which means roughly five million rooms) are standing vacant because the working people cannot afford to rent them.

The economic policy of the monopolies which has bred such sharp contradictions has always been based on the principle of paying low wages. They have always justified it on the grounds that this is the only way of accumulating sufficient capital fast enough for large-scale investment. Accumulation there has been as well as investments, but owing to the monopoly-capitalist set-up these investments have been chaotic and lopsided, pursuing speculative aims and quick profits rather than long-term achievement and balanced growth. As a result, we have excessively inflated industries existing side by side with underdeveloped ones, an advanced industry and a backward agriculture.

Hence the need for a policy of reform and programming based on a different distribution of income. But the Center-Left government has not only given the monopolies a free hand in reorganizing the economy along lines aimed at

deriving maximum profit, but shows a tendency to encourage the monopolies through direct and concrete measures. Among these is the so-called incomes policy, which amounts to an attempt to regulate wage levels from the top, tying the hands of the unions while leaving the employers free to line their pockets.

These facts gave the Communists grounds for speaking of the failure of the Center-Left government even before the second crisis began, and they speak of it now that the government crisis has been resolved through a third edition of the Center-Left, whose only distinction is the purely negative "novelty" of the inclusion of Right-wing Christian Democrats in the government.

The Center-Left failed both as regards the immediate and long-term needs of the country as well as its own initial objectives. The political plan put forward by the Christian Democrats, on the one hand, and the Socialists, on the other, also miscarried. The Christian Democrats declared their intention of isolating the Communists and breaking up their forces. The Socialists said the "historic rapprochement" with the Christian Democrats would make for the development of the progressive and democratic wing of that party.

In neither case was the goal reached. The Christian Democrats were not destined to see the Communists weakened. In fact, the Communists grew stronger. All that the Christian Democratic Party succeeded in doing was to push the Socialist Party, headed for a merger with the Social Democrats, to the right. The Socialist Party paid dearly for this—it lost its old Left wing (which founded a new party, the Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity) and is now faced with the emergence of a new Left wing and a split in its right wing.

The operation of the Center-Left proved so ill-advised and futile and the Communists' unitary policy so fair and so much in harmony with the requirements of the masses that the Christian Democrats and the extreme Right wing of the Socialists were unable to split the unitary class trade unions, the unitary democratic cooperative movement, and the democratic unitary movement of the masses as a whole. More serious damage was caused to unitary links in local self-government bodies, but even there the resistance of a large number of unitary Communist and Socialist administrations proved strong enough. To be sure, the seeds of a split were sown over a wide area, but this was a far cry from the results the Christian Democrats had looked forward to.

Socialist attempts to swing the latter to the left and ensure the preponderance of democratic trends among them suffered a similar, or perhaps an even worse, setback. It turned out, indeed, that the Socialists, by accepting cooperation with *all* Christian Democrats, helped to push back the Left trends which at the time of Communist-Socialist unity of action had been on the offensive but now had to fall back

on the defensive and were threatened with defeat.

It is obvious that as the Socialists compromise with the moderate and conservative wings of the Christian Democratic Party, as well as with its reactionary wing (as is the case today, in the third Center-Left cabinet), the Left Catholic forces are being eliminated. In fact, the result of three years of Center-Left government is that the representatives of the most forward-looking and democratic trend have withdrawn from the Christian Democratic Party Secretariat.

This shows the blunder made by the Socialists, who confused the "historic rapprochement" of the working-class and Socialist movements and the Catholic movement with the reaching of top-level agreement with the entire Christian Democratic Party. The Communists have stressed, and stress now more than ever, the need for this historic rapprochement. But they make the explicit reservation that the rapprochement should be brought about while waging a principled fight against the conservative orientation of the Christian Democratic Party.

From this criticism of the Center-Left and this exposure of its tiasco the Communists derive their proposal for a new unity of the Left forces, both secular and Catholic, for a new majority and a new united party of the working class and the people that would counter the manoeuvre of Social-Democratic unification.

Is there a basis for this unitary offensive? The Congress answered this in the affirmative. It rejected primarily the position of those who believe that the working class has already become integrated within the capitalist system. This view is at variance with reality. Monopoly development and the intricate technique of integration adopted by big capital and the political forces supporting it no doubt create serious difficulties. This calls for a profound and painstaking analysis, which is actually being made with regard to the methods by which the working class is being split—meaning the arbitrary wage system based not on such objective indices as the workers' ability and proficiency, but on discrimination by the employers, who try in this way to divide the workers—as well as to the massive propaganda pressure being exerted through the mass media, the adoption of measures against every form of autonomous association, the encouragement of associations controlled by the employers, and so on.

But in conducting this analysis one should not forget the fundamental fact that while monopoly development brings some benefits of secondary value to certain sections of the working class and other working people, it can neither resolve the essential contradiction between the increasing social character of production and private appropriation of the product, nor prevent the contradictions this development breeds in every sphere of social life.

Of course it should be realized that the power of capital in the developed capitalist

countries "is based not only on control over the state machinery of coercion, but also on an intricate system of mediation" (Theses) and that society in these countries "develops in relatively autonomous forms." Hence the need for the vanguard of the working class to be able to take advantage of all the contradictions existing in such a society, while rejecting both infantile extremism and unprincipled opportunism. These two errors meet at one point: those who commit them hold, or tacitly presume, that the working class in the capitalist countries has become completely integrated within the capitalist system and that the only opportunity left is, therefore, for action by negligible minority groups or for adaptation to and acceptance of the system itself.

It is important to see things as they really are. There certainly can be elements of integration, and the less the vanguard movement realizes the novelty of its tasks and the necessity for dealing with the complex problems posed by the development of capitalist society, the more dangerous and widespread these elements will become.

The problem here is to outline the alternative visualized by the advanced forces for a country of developed monopoly capitalism. What should this alternative be?

"Speaking of a program and an alternative line," Comrade Longo said in his Congress report, "we can define only the line of development, the right way, the perspective, the main idea that can indicate the direction and guarantee the unity and consistency of the entire vast range of economic demands and concrete struggles. We can consider the realization of this alternative program only as a process of political initiatives, struggles and gradual gains. This accounts at the moment for our negative attitude to the tendency to devise a 'model' in the sense of an abstract counter-plan, whose specification and adoption should be regarded as harmful to the development of any joint actions in the struggle for reform. But this attitude of ours does not imply that we refuse to make a preliminary choice of the guidelines of a development policy, that is, to specify the general objectives and the instruments suitable for their attainment. This is necessary, and its importance at the moment should not be underrated.

"In this connection it must be stressed that specifying such a line applies to deep-going changes in economic structures as well as the problems of substantial democratic reforms. This means that the line of alternative economic development confronts us simultaneously with the problem of social alliances and that of promoting a broad mass movement . . . Within these limits great importance attaches, naturally, also to partial and pressing demands that not only conflict with the monopoly line in every respect but make it possible from time to time to counter it with democratic solutions by taking proper and specific initiatives. One has only to recall the importance which demo-

cratic battles for education have had more than once, to the point of causing a government crisis."

What, then, is the type of economic programming supported by the Communists?

"The alternative which we propose and on the basis of which a broad association of social and political forces should and could be formed is not a socialist alternative. We are fighting for economic programming, for a democratic reconstruction of the state that would open the way to socialism. In this sense we reaffirm the continuity of our policy, as Comrade Togliatti did in his report to the Tenth Congress. We reaffirm the correctness and fruitfulness of the strategic choice which we have been carrying forward during the past twenty years on the basis of the gains of the Resistance."

Now as in the past, the task is to bring into being as broad an association of forces as possible with due regard to the objective needs of the country, to the requirements of the working class and other working people. Our task is not merely to show that socialism is the perfect society of the future but to provide conditions for the problems of today to suggest the need for socialism, by proposing a concrete platform that will make it possible to advance through the establishment of a unitary and militant front of popular struggle.

"It is absurd to insist so vehemently, as some people do," Comrade Longo said, "that our perspective means merely completing the bourgeois-democratic revolution and merely perfecting the existing system. Those who maintain this are not only misrepresenting our policy but are showing that they do not see the new meaning of the fight for structural reforms and subsequent democratic development, any more than the increasingly deep antagonism between this fight and these aims and values, on the one hand, and the demands and tendencies of monopoly capitalism at this stage in history, on the other . . . We feel that the need for socialism and the conditions for advance toward socialism in our country are objectively becoming more and more mature. The present processes of monopoly concentration only make us more certain of this. Let us not forget what Lenin said: 'State-monopoly capitalism . . . is that rung of the historical ladder between which and the rung called socialism there are no intervening rungs.'

"Thus we are not thinking of a democratic programming that would be an intervening rung, a sort of 'intermediate society'. We only regard the *fight for democratic programming* as an arena in which we must actively counter the mystifying initiative of the ruling bourgeois classes, the economic and political power of the monopolies, their dominance over the state. We consider this fight a bridgehead from which to make deep inroads in the economic, social and political structures of capitalism."

Indeed, the fight for programming cannot in

the final analysis but affect, in present conditions, the issue of the level and purposes of revenues, the choice of investments, and the big monopoly groups' freedom of decision. And this is already an issue of power. The important thing is to initiate a movement for objectives which today cannot be easily questioned by even the non-socialist democratic forces. It is in the course of this movement (and out of experience showing the limited character of these objectives, out of the experience of conflict with the forces opposing all reform) that the realization of the need for a socialist solution can develop, and is actually developing.

That is why the Italian Communists' program is at once organic and multiform. It combines general problems of the new system of accumulation and income distribution, and particular problems in which this general task finds expression and takes organizational form. These problems range from nationalization measures to agrarian reform, from the task of reshaping industry to its geographical distribution, from the need for educational reform to a reform of the social security system, etc. These are all concomitants of the tasks of democratic development and, consequently, of the tasks of defending the traditional democratic institutions (which are also being undermined by the authoritarian development of monopoly capitalism) and of enabling them more and more to intervene in and exercise control over the country's affairs.

It is from all these problems that the Communists derive their positive unitarian platform, a platform of initiative and struggle. In exactly the same context there arises the grave problem of the harmful effects of the presence of foreign capital in the national economy. For if the necessity for a different road of economic and political development is increasingly realized as the struggle in various sectors progresses, this will make it even more evident how imperative it is to reject all the forms of so-called aid which, in reality, are forms of exploiting the country and subordinating it to foreign interests whose sole aim is to consolidate the regime and boost the profits of big international, mainly American, capital.

To achieve progress in accomplishing these complex tasks through militant action means proceeding from the requirements of the masses. Hence the need to broaden the struggle of the working people for their immediate demands while defending the autonomy, democracy and unity of the mass trade unions against all interference. This fight for the immediate demands of the working people has, in itself, a renovating content insofar as it develops not from a corporative but a class position, that is, to the extent that it can always combine the problems of living conditions with more general problems of the country's developments. This is the course adopted by the General Confederation of Labor, whose branches do not limit themselves to a definite policy of wages (which implies a definite con-

cept of political economy) but strive to express the deep-rooted need for regeneration and reform. (There is, for example, the position of the steel workers, as well as of the building workers and railwaymen, who always combine their wage claims with the demand for contractual powers in the enterprises and for definite branch reforms). But the fight for immediate demands should be accompanied by a unitarian political movement for reform, as was the case with the nationalization of the power industry or is the case with the struggle for a revision of the functions of the state-owned enterprises, for agrarian and educational reform, for decentralization of the state, etc.

The complex character of our struggle arising from these recommendations precludes any abstract approach and sets a whole range of concrete targets for the political struggle of the masses. Take, for example, the housing question. It has been said that there is a shortage of houses and that those available are too expensive. This necessitates a nation-wide struggle for low-rent houses to be built by the state. But it also means striving (a) for a law which would confiscate from private owners land suitable for housing, and (b) the creation of a state building industry which could lower costs by utilizing the latest technical achievements. There is also need for a law establishing fair rents and limiting the enormous profits made by the landlords.

Or take agriculture. Agriculture is going through a deep crisis because the peasant must pay onerous rent to the landowner. Hence the demand "the land for the tiller" which, in turn, is accompanied by the demand that the peasants be given means enabling them to unite in associations and cope with competition.

Now take the problem of reorganizing industry: whereas the trade union struggle is aimed at securing the highest possible incomes for the working people, the political struggle should be aimed at evolving inter-branch development and modernization plans, primarily in the enterprises already owned by the state, plans taking account of the demand of the workers for stable employment.

Or take the issue of social security: vast sums are deducted from wages and salaries for social security and pensioning, but the working people have no right of control over this. It is for this reason and because of the shortage of hospitals, inadequate sick benefits, low pensions, etc., that the struggle is being organized to win a system of social security under the control of the working people themselves.

These are but a few examples illustrating the link between immediate demands and reforms, between reforms and programming. But such examples could be cited for the entire wide range of problems pertaining to the conditions of the working people.

The search for unity (of both the social and the political forces) in its various forms is taking place within the complex framework of

this struggle. The point at issue is unity of the social forces, inasmuch as in its struggle for democratic and socialist change the working class can and should find natural allies in the peasantry and the urban middle sections (handicraftsmen, small shopkeepers, etc.) who are not only numerous in Italy but objectively share common interests with the working class. These interests the vanguard party must be able to uphold, proceeding primarily from the objective requirements of production (development of various forms of association among the peasants and other categories of the middle-class producers, promotion of the cooperative movement, the establishment of closer direct links between town and country, etc.).

But unity should also be achieved between the political forces which by no means reflect mechanically the interests of classes but always express a complex relationship between the class forces they are trying to protect and the masses they control.

There is no doubt, for example, that the Christian Democratic Party is a party of the big bourgeoisie. But in order to perform this role it should be able to associate the interests of the bourgeoisie with those of other social groups, including those popular groups that support it. To be able to do so, it must evidently pursue a definite social and economic policy, adhere to a definite ideology and a definite position on culture. It is these points that bring out contradictions which it is necessary to utilize in order to foster unity with the Catholic masses still in bondage to the Christian Democrats, and with those sections of that party which are gradually coming to realize the contradictions in which they are caught. And indeed, we are witnessing the emergence of contradictions between the line of many Christian-Democratic trade unions organized in the so-called "free" trade union and the line of the Christian Democrats and the Center-Left. Right before our eyes there also emerges the contradiction between the Christian Associations of Italian Working People (an organization different from Catholic trade unions) and the Christian Democratic Party. And inside the latter contradictions of this kind take the shape of clashes between its various trends.

The greatest contradiction is the one which has come out between many aspects of the line of the Catholic Church since the Ecumenical Council and the line of the Christian Democrats. The struggle of the peoples, including the Italian people, has confronted the conscience of the Catholics with the obvious contradictions between the sentiments and aspirations contained in their religion and those links which have so far united, and in large measure continue to unite, the Church or a part of it with definite economic systems based on exploitation, plunder of the peoples, violence and hunger. Hence the stimulus impelling the Catholics to conduct a new search, which Comrade Longo analyzed and defined as a search tending to pose the problem of freeing religion

from its slavish dependence on the economic system prevailing in the capitalist world, or at least of freeing it from many aspects of the policy of the forces ruling this world. This tendency accounts for certain steps taken by Pope Paul VI (speech on the universal character of the U.N., exploration of ways for negotiations on Vietnam) and for many new formulations of the Ecumenical Council on burning social issues.

The dialogue with the Catholics has had immense repercussions and is gaining in importance also because this attitude of the Church implicitly exposes the lie which a large section of the Christian Democrats is trying to impose on the Italian Catholic forces, tying a sizable cross-section of them to interests that have nothing in common with the real aspirations of the Catholics or with the latest injunctions of the Ecumenical Council. Naturally, there should be clarity about the Communists' actual standpoint on religious freedom if this dialogue is to proceed on correct lines. The Communists have made this point more than once, but this time it has been specified and carried deeper by the Secretary and by the Congress of the Party, which stressed that the new society sought by the Communists will not be a religious or atheist state but a state in which various ideological trends will be recognized and have the right of dialogue, provided they respect the laws and social achievements of the state.

It should be perfectly clear that while agreement on concrete political problems or even on problems of the political perspective is possible, there can be no question of mixing ideologies. The Communists have their own theoretical and ideological heritage which remains different from the Catholics'. We maintain, however, that the confrontation of ideologies and the difference in the conception of theoretical problems do not necessarily preclude concrete agreement on issues of common interest.

A somewhat different problem, but one that does not contradict the problem of dialogue with the Catholics, is that of unity with the secular Left forces, most of which are striving for socialism in Italy. This problem of united action exists in many fields and more and more effort, initiative and research are being devoted to it. In the trade unions, for example, many signs point to a desire to form a so-called "socialist trade union" parallel with the continuing unification of the Nenni Socialists and the Social Democrats. Only by working for genuine and complete trade union unity based on the practice of united action and on the constitutional principles of autonomous and democratic trade unions will it be possible to resist and defeat the tendency further to divide an already divided trade union front.

The same applies to political unity. It can and should be achieved through the day-to-day solution of the big and small problems, as well as in the course of the Left forces' present debate on a common political line. This united

action should, nevertheless, be given a broader perspective, not only because the Socialists and Social Democrats are speeding the merger of their two parties—which is, in effect, a disruptive, anti-Communist move—but also because there can be no lasting united action today unless it is linked up with the question of perspective and principles. That is why the Congress again put forward—in contrast to the idea of Social-Democratic union (based on the absolute ideological vacuity of Social Democracy and the complete failure of the Social-Democratic line in Italy and Europe)—the demand for genuine socialist unity pursuing a clearcut line of struggle and aimed not at dealing pin-pricks at capitalism but at advancing to socialism. To socialist unity, to a united party of working people striving for socialism, the Communists offer all the wealth of their ideals born in grim struggles, their theoretical achievements, a self-critical reappraisal of their positions, of course without renouncing their past, their glorious tradition, their principles.

The latter applies, in particular, to inner Party life. There is no contradiction between the Italian Communists' declared readiness to discuss the possible standards of the inner life of the new, united working-class party, and their firm and vigorous defense, both before and during the Congress, of the principle of democratic centralism. This principle, when applied correctly, guaranteed not only the Communists but the Lefts and Italians generally the existence of a party capable of weathering the heaviest storms and of saving Italian democracy itself. That is why we agree to discuss it, but refuse to reject it until a more reliable method is proposed.

Once again we repeat attempts under any pretext or in any way whatsoever to form trends or factions inside the Party. The method which the Italian Communists have used and propose to go on using is that of broad, frank, and open discussion in the Party. This is not to say, however, that on every occasion everything should be questioned again, for this approach would not promote but hinder discussion, and would only lead to fruitless verbal gymnastics. Part of this broad, frank and open discussion is a method used by the Italian Communists, namely, that of keeping the masses informed of the confrontations which

led to this or that decision, and of public reports on the progress of discussion in the Central Committee itself (as has been done for twenty years). Of course this should not serve to harden positions but should prevent them from hardening. It should help all comrades to see how and as a result of what political and ideological decisions a particular problem was posed. It is necessary that all comrades should both take part in discussions and quests and be equipped against possible mistakes, that they should strengthen the unity, cohesion and conscious political discipline of the Party. The Congress, therefore, guaranteed the further development of inner democratic life, linking it closely with the development of the struggle for unity in keeping with the line adopted and for the promotion of effective political leadership.

That is why the Italian Communist Party emerged from its Eleventh Congress stronger and more solidly united than ever. Little more than a month has passed since the Congress, and yet the working class and other working people are already taking part in a battle that is shaking the entire country. A Center-Left government has been constituted again in a recast form. Further steps are being taken toward Social-Democratic union. Meanwhile more than five million factory and office workers have joined in the fight for higher wages, contractual rights in the enterprises and for a new economic policy. And we see complete unity of all the forces, from Communists to Catholics, emerging in the trade unions. Large unitary actions for peace in Vietnam take place in many towns. The dialogue between Communists, Socialists and Catholics on problems of the political perspective is extending. Certain circles would have liked to see Scelba, a spokesman of the extreme Right, the man responsible for the murder of working people, enter the government. But the warning issued by Comrade Longo during the Congress stopped them and forced the Center-Left into a camouflaging manoeuvre. The political, social and economic contradictions are far from being solved. The government in its new form is even weaker and has discredited itself more than its predecessor. The Communists are active everywhere, giving effect to the Congress appeal for struggle and unity.

Aldo TORTORELLA

For independence of Cyprus

THE ELEVENTH CONGRESS of the Progressive Party of the Cypriot Working People (AKEL) was held in Nicosia from March 3 to 6, 1966.

The great interest shown by the island's patriotic forces in the Congress was only natural considering the agenda: "The irreconcilable struggle of the Cypriot people for complete independence and self-determination."

The report to the Congress was made by E. Papaioannou, General Secretary of the Party. Reviewing the world situation, Papaioannou stressed the achievements of the Soviet Union in space exploration, condemned the imperialist aggression in different parts of the world and specifically U.S. aggression in Vietnam. He spoke of the inter-imperialist contradictions and the disintegration of the colonial system and noted in this connection the importance of unity and solidarity of the national-liberation and anti-imperialist movements, the contribution made by the Soviet Union and the socialist world as a whole to the struggle of the peoples for freedom and progress.

Dwelling on the matter of unity in the world Communist movement, Papaioannou said:

"Our Party emphasizes the importance of unity and solidarity of the international Communist movement. It condemns splitting activities of any kind and supports the efforts of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal parties to consolidate international unity." Papaioannou greeted the heroic people of Vietnam and all other peoples fighting for freedom.

Paying tribute to the Soviet Union's unremitting efforts to ensure world peace, Papaioannou went on:

"The task of the peoples all over the world is to intensify the fight to end the war of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam, and to step up the fight for peace and peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems."

Defining the Party's policy on home matters, he noted:

"The only correct and only patriotic solution of our problem, and one which is supported by the overwhelming majority of our people and which corresponds to their interests and aspirations, is complete liberation of Cyprus from the fetters of the Zurich and London agreements, dismantling of all imperialist bases and espionage centres, demilitarization of the island and full sovereignty. This would give our people the opportunity, by availing themselves

of the right to self-determination, to decide their future. However, to achieve this a long and difficult struggle will have to be waged, one which will pass through different stages.

"The most immediate task of every member of AKEL, of every patriotic Cypriot is to foil the imperialist designs to dismember Cyprus and subordinate it to NATO."

Another task, he said, was to combine the national struggle with the fight for peace.

The military bases on the island are the main obstacle to a settlement of the Cyprus question. Any final solution of the Cypriot question will hinge on the dismantling of the bases and the espionage radio stations on the territory of the island.

Papaioannou noted that AKEL, acting in the interests of the people, consistently supports the Makarios government; that AKEL and the government are in accord in the matter of the national struggle. However, this does not mean that the Party, ever aware of its responsibility, does not take issue with the government whenever necessary.

The reporter also dealt with the question of unity of the people, army and government, essential to successfully countering anti-Cyprus intrigues and advancing to victory.

"An organized united national-liberation front already exists in the hearts of the people," said Papaioannou. "An outstanding contribution towards this has been made by AKEL, President Makarios, the government and other patriots. The supreme interests of our struggle demand the organization of committees of struggle, representing all social groups and ideological trends (in the capital and in the provinces), and pursuing a clear line."

The General Secretary denounced the imperialist policy of "divide and rule," which manifested itself in the Turk-Cypriot disturbances engineered from the outside. He called on the people and the government to exert every effort to secure the unity of Greeks and Turks in the common struggle against the common enemy—imperialism.

Stressing the importance of the international solidarity with the struggle of the people of Cyprus, he went on:

"The most decisive aid to the struggle of our people was rendered by the Soviet Union; by supplying Cyprus with arms and raising its voice in protest it saved the island from invasion and enslavement. We can rest assured that this voice will ring out again should the Anglo-

American imperialists and hotheads in Ankara venture to invade Cyprus. The Soviet Union was and remains our sincere and disinterested ally in the struggle for complete freedom."

The discussion on the political report was fruitful, was on a high level, and, like the resolutions, reflected the unity and cohesion of the Party. A large number of delegates took part in drawing up the various resolutions and documents. (The Congress was attended by some 900 delegates and observers.)

The political resolution underlines the aid rendered by the Soviet Union to the liberation movement and the importance of unity of the Communist world movement.

"This unity," the Resolution states, "can be achieved on the basis of the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement of the Moscow meetings. Any split in the socialist and anti-imperialist camp encourages the imperialists and makes it easier for them to pursue their reckless designs. Our Congress therefore holds that it is the supreme duty of every Communist and Workers' Party to exert every effort to promote unity of action and fraternal understanding and cooperation between the parties and the socialist countries. AKEL will do its bit for unity and help to rally the Communist and Workers' parties in a common front of struggle against imperialism."

The Congress decisions define the tasks of the Party and a concrete program of action to win complete independence.

A special Resolution expressed the indignation of our people at the flights over Cyprus of U.S. and British aircraft carrying atom bombs, flights which gravely endanger our country. The resolution urged the government to demand through the United Nations that such flights over our territory be stopped.

In greetings addressed to the armed forces the Congress called on them to be vigilant, to be ready to foil all subversive activity by the enemies of Cyprus.

Addressing the Cypriot Turks the Congress assured them that AKEL "will fight still more resolutely for fraternity among Greeks and Turks, and to break down the wall of artificial enmity and prejudice which the Anglo-American imperialists are trying to sow among us. AKEL again proclaims that Greeks and Turks can and should live like brothers, side by side, the way they lived for years before the imperialists divided them. Only the enemies of our people can gain from division and enmity and, conversely, only they can lose from fraternity and cooperation of Greeks and Turks."

Voicing international solidarity the Congress sent the following message of greetings to the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam: "The Cypriot Communists, like all Cypriot patriots, follow with admiration your valiant struggle against U.S. imperialism and its puppets, and for the liberation of your long-suffering country, for peace,

progress and the happiness of your people and for the unification of your country."

Spokesmen of the fraternal parties represented at the Congress expressed their solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle of the people of Cyprus and gave a high appraisal of the Party's activity. Delegations were present from the Communist and Workers' parties of the Soviet Union, France, Greece, Italy, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Great Britain, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria.

The Soviet delegation presented AKEL with a red banner.

The Congress turned into a real forum of the people. It was addressed by miners, agricultural workers, mechanics, women workers, housewives, in a word, by representatives of the working people who constitute the membership of AKEL.

It was addressed also by delegations of the Turkish and Armenian minorities. Applause greeted the appearance on the platform of the delegation representing the Turkish-Cypriot working people which came in defiance of the threats made by chauvinist leaders of the Turkish community. Thus, a telling blow was struck at the splitting policy of imperialism and its agents.

The announcement that the task set by the Tenth Congress to increase the Party membership to 14,000 had been accomplished, and that other aspects of AKEL's organizational plan had been successfully carried out, was hailed with satisfaction by the Congress participants. Hundreds of new recruits were made during the membership drive in honor of the Eleventh Congress. The banner, presented to the Party organization with the best results, went this time to the Famagusta organization. The Larnaca organization which had recruited the largest number of new members was presented with a banner named in honor of the Turkish-Cypriot Dervish Kavazoglu and his comrades-in-arms, the Greek Cypriot Kostas Mistaoli, who were killed last year by Turkish terrorists.

"The strengthening of AKEL's ranks," said Papaioannou in summing up, "will, in turn, help to further the national-liberation, anti-imperialist struggle of the Cypriot people, the struggle for a better, happy future."

Papaioannou, who was unanimously re-elected General Secretary, called on the people never to submit to imperialism and its agents and to fight until victory is won.

"Imperialism will never triumph, no matter what diabolical plots it hatches," stated the General Secretary. "The people of Cyprus will be the victors. They will achieve this victory in uncompromising anti-imperialist struggle, and with the support and solidarity of the freedom-loving and peace-loving forces of the world, headed by the Soviet Union."

Andreas KANNAUROS

Combining all forms of revolutionary struggle in Colombia

THE COMMUNIST PARTY of Colombia held its Tenth Congress. Considering that the Party is outlawed and that the political situation in the country is one of tension, the convening of the Congress in itself was an achievement. It was attended by more than 170 delegates.

Congress was preceded by 25 regional and 10 zonal conferences, and by a meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth organization. The conferences were attended by more than 1,500 delegates from the branches, which gives an idea of the scale of the pre-congress discussion and the democratic procedures observed in the Party.

More than 60 per cent of the delegates were workers and peasants, some of the latter with credentials from guerrilla units.

Fraternal greetings were received from most Communist and Workers' parties, including the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and fraternal delegates were present from a number of the Latin American parties.

The main item on the agenda was the political report of the Central Committee delivered by Gilberto Vieira, Secretary of the Party. Forty-five delegates took the floor in the debate which followed, devoted chiefly to the urgent problems of the revolutionary struggle in Colombia.

Concerning the differences in the international Communist movement, the Congress reaffirmed its full support of the conclusions reached at the 1960 meeting of Communist and Workers' parties and the conference of Latin American Communists held in 1964. Condemning the disruptive anti-Soviet campaign now conducted in certain quarters, the Congress called for "unity of action among all Marxist-Leninist parties against the common enemy—U.S. imperialism and its partners."

During the pre-Congress preparations and at the Congress itself a discussion took place concerning the new tactics of the U.S. imperialists in Colombia and the changed policies of the ruling classes as a result of these tactics.

Congress pointed to the role played in this by an influential group of the big bourgeoisie which has come more to the fore since associating itself with the Alliance for Progress. This group, exerting a growing influence on the government, has ousted the traditional big landlord alignment.

The theses published before the Congress, in Vieira's report and in the political resolution stress that the new attempts by the Colombian capitalists to justify the foreign imperialist domination and the superexploitation of the working people, attempts covered up by the facade of "reforms" in agriculture, tax and administrative policy and so-called "economic planning," once again show that neither imperialism nor the big capitalists can ensure progress and still less can they find effective solutions to the urgent problems confronting the people.

Both experience and even the doctored official data leave no doubt that after five years of the Alliance for Progress and measures taken under it in the spheres of the economy, finance and national policy, the country is even more dependent and living standards have substantially declined. "The only way out of the structural crisis," Congress declared, "is to remove all the obstacles to the economic, social and political changes needed by the country."

An interesting discussion took place on the scale and possibilities of capitalist development in the country. Vieira pointed out in his report that on the whole "the rate of capitalist development remains restricted and unstable." For instance, 1965 witnessed another depression and a lowering of basic economic indices, and this in a situation marked by political and economic pressure on the part of imperialism, which makes things harder for the masses. The third devaluation of the peso in recent years, effected as a concession to the International Monetary Fund, spells greater hardship for the people, especially the lower paid and least organized section of the population, unable to offer resistance to the employers. The soaring cost of living is a heavy burden. Since 1963 the cost of living index has risen by an average of 2 per cent monthly. To this should be added the "new" tax policy the sole aim of which is to increase taxes (especially indirect taxation) to cover the huge expenditure for the police and military purposes.

Congress reviewed the development of the mass movement in recent years, which has embraced not only those contingents of the working class always distinguished for mili-

tancy but also new groups such as school teachers and government employees, including those of the Ministry of Justice, who went on strike for the first time last year.

The split in the working-class movement has been the main obstacle preventing this militancy from resulting in a higher degree of organization and enhancing the role of the working class in the life of the country. Examining self-critically the work of the Communists in the labor movement, Congress pointed to the need for the Party to become the decisive factor in the fight for united action by all working people. Wherever work towards this end was properly conducted it yielded gains for the proletarian movement.

A focal point in the discussion was, naturally, that of armed struggle and its bearing on other forms of action. Speeches were made by some of the leaders of the armed struggle who treated the issue from the standpoint of Party policy. Irrespective of the interpretation and significance attached to this question by other sectors of the popular movement, the Communists hold that some forms of armed struggle are essential features of the present situation. The dogmatist view on the issue bears a twofold character: it is expressed in the attitude of those who either reject outright armed struggle and who see it as something alien and abnormal for Colombia; it is expressed also by those who, on the contrary, see in the armed struggle the sole revolutionary form, the only way in which the anti-imperialist movement can succeed.

Against these viewpoints the Communists advanced a number of points which were accepted and deepened by the guerrilla delegates. The points boil down to the following:

First, guerrilla struggle in a number of areas benefits the masses and harmonizes with the aspirations of the popular movement. Hence the extension of this struggle in the recent times. Being the response of the masses to the armed attacks of the reactionaries it assumes a more universal character as the military command and the government step up repressions in line with plans worked out or inspired by the Pentagon.

Second, guerrilla action (usually preceded by a variety of forms of mass actions, for instance spontaneous and organized self-defense), although not the principal form of revolutionary action, acquires increasing importance. Moreover, it is a factor which helps to bring the masses into motion. In areas subjected to attack by the government forces it becomes the main form of struggle.

Third, the fact that guerrilla struggle has developed at a time when Colombia as a whole is not experiencing a revolutionary situation and no general insurrection is possible is due to the "fire and sword" policy pursued by the reactionaries against some sections of the rural population. Nevertheless, experience shows that the guerrilla struggle can be con-

tinued and developed provided it reflects the will of the people and, moreover, accelerates the crystallization of the subjective organizational factors and hastens the revolutionary process.

Fourth, experience, both past and present, shows that opening up for our country is a somewhat "unique revolutionary way with utilization and combinations of all methods and forms of the mass struggle depending on the concrete local and national conditions." This in no way runs counter to any points of principle, but, on the contrary, as Congress showed, it arises from a "correct understanding of Marxist-Leninist ideology and its consistent application to the social process in our country."

Congress stressed that the Party cadres should tackle in all seriousness and with a full sense of responsibility the study and solution of the problems posed by the armed struggle. All the more so since the military, trained and briefed by the U.S. brass-hats, have evolved new methods and tactics. We have in mind the "anti-guerrilla tactics" in which an important part is played by the political aspect and so-called "military-civilian action." For several years past, these tactics add up to a complex of political, social and military measures carried out with the help of the USA. Colombian revolutionaries should give serious thought to all this.

Examining the political processes of recent years, Congress pointed out that the extreme reactionary groupings in the government, in the armed forces and in the traditional political cliques are exerting pressure to impose a still more anti-democratic policy on the country, a policy of repressions reducing democratic freedoms and rights to the minimum. It has proved impossible so far to halt this trend owing to the weakness of the popular movement and its lack of unity.

The militarist character of the Colombian state is becoming more and more patent. It should be pointed out that this is closely linked with growing U.S. intervention in official policy and with the structure and line of action of the Army. "Militarism," Congress declared, "is the *chief instrument* used for the oppression of our country by U.S. imperialists." The Communists have exposed the repeated attempts at military coups, some of which have been camouflaged with "nationalist" slogans even though they were engineered by the military camarilla. This military bureaucracy has emerged from the grouping which worked out and gave effect to the so-called "Lasso plan" (an imperialist plan for military action against the democratic rural areas which subordinates the entire structure of the army to this end).

The Party draws the attention of all progressives to the need to win over for joint actions the genuinely national-minded section of the officer corps. The number of these is growing,

partly due to discontent engendered by the overlordship of U.S. military missions.

The campaign of repressions has culminated in the proclamation of a state of emergency. This shows that the government is no longer able to achieve its ends by parliamentary means. Unable to align parliament completely behind the reactionaries, it is arrogating to itself the powers of the legislative branch.

With the proclamation of the state of emergency the peso was again devaluated, a measure which the International Monetary Fund pressed for but which was held up by the Colombian Congress. The state of emergency is used, blatantly so, to serve the interests of the big capitalists.

For instance, in the present presidential and parliamentary election campaign the so-called National Front — the political wing of the alliance of the traditional oligarchic groupings — enjoys one-sided rights and advantages. It can hold forth from public platforms, from the pulpit, over radio and television, through the cinema and the press, whereas democratic organizations are not allowed to hold demonstrations or meetings and, generally speaking are muzzled. With the state of emergency military tribunals were instituted which have already tried many democrats for "subversive activity" or "criminal conspiracy." These charges are levelled also against revolutionary organizations and are hanging over many champions of the people's cause now in prison awaiting "military justice."

The state of emergency gives arbitrary powers to officialdom and the army command. For instance, they are seizing with impunity the land and property of peasants subjected to forcible resettlement. More alarming still are the summary executions of revolutionary fighters without any process of law. The Congress paid tribute to the memory of more than 100 Communists who lost their lives in the past four years at the hands of the reactionaries. Among these heroes of the struggle for liberation were two members of our Central Committee.

Congress pointed to the deep-going crisis of the National Front and the failure of the reactionary machinations resorted to some years ago by the oligarchy. These machinations included the two-party system which secures all political rights exclusively to the top crust of the two traditional parties, Liberal and Conservative. Another is the two-thirds majority rule for the adoption of laws. Mention should also be made of the constitutional provision for "alternation," according to which each of the traditional parties has the right to appoint the President of the republic for alternate terms. These maneuvers are now in danger of complete collapse owing to the growing opposition to these insidious devices.

The political crisis has compelled the oligarchy to prepare for elections in March and May this year. The government candidate will be

Lleras Restrepo. The National Front has become so discredited that its official candidate is forced to parade under false colors, pretending to be in favor of reform and regeneration, while in reality seeking to perpetuate things as they are.

The Communists are explaining to the people that despite the crisis of the National Front, it will not fall of itself. A new force must be built up to take its place — a patriotic front standing for the broadest democracy, for the rights of the working people, for safeguarding the national interests and paving the way to the formation of a government of a new type, a progressive popular coalition government.

In view of the conditions in the country and the limitations imposed by the present system, the Communists hold that elections cannot play the decisive role. There is no immediate prospect of the ballotbox opening the way to radical political changes. But this does not mean that we reject the electoral struggle. On the contrary, we have decided to take part in the election campaign in order to impart a new impetus to patriotic and progressive trends. The Communists will oppose the government and National Front candidates in order to bring the contradictions of the system to a head and hasten its downfall. Their object is to build unity with all democratic forces fighting imperialism and reaction.

Congress decided to amend the policy statement adopted in 1958 and to make the amended statement the program of the Party. While the basic principles of the new program are the same as those in the policy statement, it includes conclusions drawn from the experience of the Cuban revolution, a definition of the nature of U.S. imperialism in the light of the developments of recent years, and an analysis of the role of the bourgeoisie in the national liberation movement and the nexus linking the democratic and socialist stages of our revolution.

Moreover, the new program reflects the experience of the stage in the revolutionary movement ushered in by the armed struggle. It affirms the point that in our conditions the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution, provided it is headed by the working class, is the first step towards the socialist revolution, and stresses the need for a democratic national liberation front as the sole socio-political force able to ensure the victory of the Colombian revolution.

Lastly, the program sets forth the basic tasks of this revolution: a democratic agrarian reform; economic independence, industrialization in a new progressive social context; broad freedoms for the people, and the establishment of a patriotic and anti-imperialist government as an instrument of the revolution and national progress.

As regards organizational problems, Congress called for building a mass Communist Party

in the course of the fight of the people for their vital rights.

The Party attaches particular importance to enlisting the industrial working class, which is coming more and more to the forefront of the revolutionary struggle as a result of capitalist development. Also stressed was the importance of work among the peasants, especially in areas where industry is least developed.

Congress unanimously denounced the machinations of the splitters who have formed a breakaway group which they designate as "Marxist-Leninist." This group has become a rallying point for defectors and provocateurs. It was pointed out that the fight for unity in the Party "is one of our main tasks" and that "defense of the political line of the Party is the duty of every Communist."

Examining the growth of Party membership, which is extremely uneven and falls far short of the needs of the revolutionary movement, Congress made a self-critical analysis of the situation with a view to putting an end to such old defects in Party work as formalism and the stereotyped methods still encountered in many places. It called upon the Communists to combat sectarian tendencies in organizational questions which lead to passivity and isolation.

The new Central Committee includes, besides professional revolutionaries who have rich

experience of underground work, many newer people drawn from workers, peasants, the guerrilla movement, and the intelligentsia.

Meeting immediately after the Congress, the new Central Committee re-elected Gilberto Vieira General Secretary.

The Tenth Congress was a big event in the life of the country and in the history of our revolutionary movement. Its decisions, adopted at a time when political struggle has been aggravated to the extreme, are bound to play a prime role in the revolutionary process and in the work of the Party and of broad sections of the democratic public.

Congress cemented the unity of the Party, upholding the correct revolutionary line against the disruptors and factionalists.

It alerted the Party to the increasingly difficult and complex struggles ahead which will demand unstinting effort, a high sense of responsibility, firm resolve and clear thinking.

It underscored the tasks confronting the Colombian Communists in rendering support to the peoples subjected to U.S. imperialist aggression, in particular the people of Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Vietnam, and reaffirmed their resolve to uphold the principles of the world Communist and working-class movement, its fundamental program declarations and its orientation on struggle for peace, national liberation and socialism.

Alvaro VASQUEZ

Finland: under the banner of working-class unity

THE FOURTEENTH CONGRESS of the Communist Party of Finland, held in Helsinki over January 29-February 1, was attended by some 300 delegates representing nearly 50,000 Communists; also present were 14 fraternal party delegations from the socialist and capitalist countries of Europe, and about a thousand visitors from all parts of the country. The Congress discussed the report of the Central Committee, adopted an economic and political program and elected new leading committees.

The Finnish Communists met at a time of important events in the life of the country, at a time when the working class is taking issue with the protracted collective agreement negotiations. The employers have refused to satisfy the workers' demand for higher wages to meet the rise in prices. The workers reacted by holding short strikes throughout the country. Meanwhile some union officials belonging to

the Social-Democratic Party and the Social-Democratic Union of Workers and Small Farmers are trying to undermine the workers' united front by ignoring in negotiations with the employers, the demands unanimously advanced by the unions.

As the Congress noted, the aggravation of the political struggle has a direct link with the policy pursued by the bourgeois governments in recent years. These governments proved incapable of solving the economic difficulties. With the connivance of the former Agrarian Union, now the Center Party, representatives of the Coalition Party, which expresses the interests of big capital, were brought into the government. Monopoly and finance capital are tightening their grip on the economy, with the monopolies influencing government policy more and more.

The economy is feeling the detrimental effects

of the agreement concluded with the European Free Trade Association; the country is being drained of capital, while the excuse is made that shortage of capital is retarding economic progress.

No serious measures were taken to liquidate the unfavorable balance in foreign trade. For many years now Finland has been importing goods from West Germany and Sweden which could be produced in sufficient quantities by national industries. Foreign trade would greatly benefit from more extensive ties with the socialist countries. However, the volume of trade with them (in percentage) has remained at the same level for years now.

A feature of the past economic policy was steadily rising prices. Unemployment also became chronic, although the general level of industrial production has risen noticeably in recent years. Skilled workers are migrating to Sweden and other countries.

The economic and political program approved by the Congress shows the way out of the economic difficulties.

It outlines measures for promoting the democratic development of the country, raising the standard of living, improving social security, introducing an educational reform and making all cultural values accessible to the people.

The program proceeds from the fact that the country has the necessary economic resources and technological possibilities to do this.

The Party proposes restricting the power of big capital by separating the state from the monopolies, ensuring independent and democratic development of the state, strengthening its role in the economy and protecting the economy from encroachments by foreign capital. This would create the conditions for utilizing the national resources in the interests of the working class, the peasantry, intelligentsia and middle sections, in short, in the interests of the people.

The Communist Party is ready to participate with all other progressive forces in drawing up development plans and in ensuring their fulfillment.

Congress noted that the only effective way of solving the political and economic problems was to extend working-class cooperation. The Party will do everything in its power to pave the way to this. Everything that contributes to unity of action should be welcomed; narrow Party interests should be discarded. The other workers' parties should be judged by their practical work on behalf of the working class. Mutual recriminations do not make for unity of action. Unity can be achieved only with time and patience, for it is not easy to overcome the prejudices and mistrust that have taken shape over the years. The Communist Party is doing everything to promote constructive cooperation with the other workers' parties. It is teaching its members the art of cooperation in all spheres of public and political life.

Congress stressed that in the present situa-

tion all the workers' parties should pursue a common policy. Such a policy would make it easier to restore unity in the mass organizations, particularly in the trade unions. It is not a question of formal cooperation but of unity of action the results of which could be seen by all. "Essential to broad unity of action," the Congress resolution stated, "is the ability of the workers' parties to see the things that unite them, to see what is in the interests of the people and the country; a common desire for an economic, social and cultural policy that would create a more secure and worthy society, that would promote peace and friendly relations with other countries."

The reason for disunity in the trade union movement is that some leaders of the Social-Democratic Party demand the movement's complete subordination. We believe that this can only hamper understanding and restoration of trade union unity. In our opinion the unions should act independently of the parties. They should fight jointly with other working-class organizations for the rights of all wage earners. The possibilities for trade union unity are growing as evidenced by the unanimous support of the demands for wage increases and better collective agreements.

Congress devoted special attention to international problems and to Finland's foreign policy. "The underlying principle of our country's foreign policy," it stressed, "is friendly relations with the Soviet Union." This policy "enjoys growing support and is meeting with understanding even among those who formerly viewed it with distrust or took a sharply negative attitude towards it."

In the sphere of foreign policy there is a certain contradiction between the words and actions of the government. Economic relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are not developing on the scale required by Finland's interests. Big capital prefers to strengthen its ties with the capitalist countries.

Congress noted that Finland's foreign policy should be directed at ensuring peace, independence and the national interests of the country; it should be a policy that would lessen tension in the relations between countries with different social systems. Although Finland pursues a foreign policy of neutrality this does not necessarily mean that it should remain neutral and passive on international issues as has been the case up to now. Thus, the government has not clearly defined its attitude on the Vietnam issue, West Germany's demand to be given nuclear weapons, the racial question in the South African Republic, not to mention other issues.

Congress condemned the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and voiced its protest at the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; the aggressive actions of U.S. imperialism which imperil world peace and are an encroachment on the right of peoples to self-determination.

Preservation of peace and settlement of international issues call for the close cooperation of all forces favoring socialism, of all Marxist

parties. The Communist Party of Finland pledges to spare no effort to strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement. Relations between the parties should be based on the principles of independence and equality. At the same time, however, it is the internationalist duty of every party, including ours, to promote the cooperation of Communists on an international scale.

Time will be needed to resolve the differences since they concern such fundamental issues as peaceful coexistence, the different roads to socialism, etc. Our Party stands for unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of the principles expounded in the jointly elaborated documents of 1957 and 1960.

Regarding the perspectives for Party activity, Congress noted that favorable conditions existed for enhancing its influence.

Interest in socialism has grown considerably in recent years. More and more see the solution to the problems in socialism. To arouse a still greater interest in socialism our Party should more actively and energetically explain its concepts. If bigger sections of the population are to be won over to socialism, the Party will have to show greater breadth of views and reject certain prejudices. Congress also stressed the need for the Party to improve its research work so as to be able to express a competent opinion on the problems agitating the population. This will add to the Party's influence and win it new friends.

Daily explanatory work among the masses calls for a deeper study of theory. It is not enough just to advance slogans and boost them.

People want to know the answers to concrete questions. This is possible only by making a profound study of Finnish society and by creatively applying Marxism in the concrete conditions of our country. Congress charged the new Central Committee to draft a new program and Rules. This, likewise, will necessitate a profound study of theoretical and practical problems, of problems related to the development of science, the consequences of the technological revolution, the changes in the structure of the population.

Congress discussed various aspects of Party work and noted that the Party does not always promptly and clearly enough express its opinion on some political issues. This has led to a weakening of explanatory work in the branches.

Congress also noted certain shortcomings in ideological work, in the treatment of international problems. Thanks to the frank exchange of views the Congress decisions were adopted unanimously, although differences of opinion were expressed during the discussion. Seven of the 35 Central Committee members unanimously elected by the Congress are new.

Villi Pessi was reelected General Secretary. Aarne Saarinen was elected Chairman and Erkki Salomaa, Deputy Chairman. Both are well-known figures in the Finnish working-class movement.

The Congress vividly demonstrated the vitality of the Party, its ability to express its views on the problems of the day, pose tasks and show how to solve them.

Aulis LEPPANEN

The pre-congress platform of Czechoslovak Communists

AS THEY PREPARE for the 13th Congress of their Party, to be held next May, Czechoslovak Communists and the people are discussing the pre-congress Theses of the CC.

Many Party organizations discussed and approved the Theses at their annual meetings and conferences. A fruitful process is under way in the course of which the creative energies and experience of our people are marshalled by the Party to work out a long-term program for the next stage of socialist development in Czechoslovakia.

The platform formulated in the Theses is based on a Marxist analysis of the development of our society since the previous congress and on the likely trends of further development.

Pride of place is given to the problems associated with the continued building of a comprehensive socialist society. The complex nature of these problems necessitates their deeper elaboration both in theory and in practice and a more realistic approach to the present state of our society in view of the growth of the forces of socialism on a world scale.

The line formulated in the Theses stems from the need for future planning to be based on such fundamental achievements of the previous phase as consistent elimination of hangovers of the personality cult, implementation and development of Leninist norms in the life of the Party and society, elaboration of principles of a new system of planning and management,

and the steps that have been taken to ensure the ideological unity and unity of action of the world Communist movement.

All this, coupled with consistent application of objective laws of the socialist states, creates preconditions for going over to a higher stage and, eventually, to communism. The Party fully realizes that this will not be a simple and quick process.

The Party is concentrating above all on the key economic problems, problems of expanding the productive forces and improving production relations, i.e., consolidation and reconstruction of the national economy; in essence this presupposes comprehensive application of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution and the turn from extensive to intensive development. Our past successes enable us to concentrate on substantially improving the qualitative aspects of the economy. This is to be achieved along three basic lines: restoring proportions in the economy and creating the prerequisite for intensive development; a corresponding improvement in planning and management, and the drafting of long-range plans for the realization of the new economic program.

The development program is based on the fact that the potential of our society at the socialist stage is far from having been exhausted. The growth of the productive forces and especially the new social relations make possible a vigorous rise in the economy, a rapid and stable increase in productivity of labor, and effective utilization of the results of science and technology.

Foreign economic relations are of primary importance for our economy. The scientific and technological revolution demands closer links of our economy with the world market and its greater participation in international division of labor and international socialist cooperation.

Raising the efficiency of the economy also calls for structural changes, greater emphasis on internationally competitive branches, and gradual curtailment and even closing of the unprofitable enterprises. The resources thus released will be used to expand the capacities of economically effective branches and increase the production of technically new items and articles in great demand.

Growth of agricultural production is essential for ensuring dynamic economic equilibrium. Setbacks in agriculture forced us to import more foodstuffs, fodder and other agricultural products. The Party's aim is to promote and rely on big, economically effective agricultural enterprises.

The new principles of planning will be applied in agriculture as well. Greater use will be made of such economic stimuli as prices, bonuses, taxes and credit.

The Party will rely on socialist principles of planned development, remuneration according to work, the objectively existing market

relations, the law of value, and material incentives.

The Central Committee links a further rise in well-being with "the provision of greater material incentives, which will be increased as production and its effectiveness grow, with the interests of the individual and society properly combined." Among other things, it is necessary to put an end to the wage-levelling and to fix remuneration in keeping with skills, importance of the job and its complexity.

In this connection the Theses pose a number of problems associated with raising living standards and the shaping of the modern way of life, the importance of quality aspects of the standard of living, the need for more and better housing through greater participation by the enterprises, local authorities and individuals; more must be done to satisfy the public demand for better working conditions, for more free time and facilities for using it to improve skills and for sound and healthy recreation. Greater output of consumer goods and better services are also foreseen; gradually working hours will be reduced to 42 or 40, with a five-day week.

The task now is to put into effect the new system of management the principles of which were approved by the CC in January 1965. At present it is being introduced in industry, building and home trade. Later it will be extended to other branches.

Attention is drawn to changes in the social composition of the population, to the integration of classes and strata of the working people as the basic trend. Our system of statehood as presently constituted is described in the Theses as transitional; the dictatorship of the proletariat is still in the process of evolving into a state of the entire people. Concepts of an anti-historical nature and non-class concepts of the growth of our society and democracy are rejected. The Party is working to consolidate the leading position of the working class, to promote its unity with the cooperative peasantry and the intelligentsia, to extend socialist democracy and socialist relations in every way and gradually to pave the way for the growth of elements of a state of the entire people.

Of importance for the development of socialist relations is a correct assessment of the role of the individual in society. The Theses emphasize the need to provide full scope for individual ability, to encourage people's initiative in every way.

The local councils, being closely associated with the public, are best equipped to secure citizens' participation in running the state and in solving social problems. Hence the provisions for enhancing their powers and responsibilities and ensuring their better functioning. These aims will also be served by changes in the structure of public organizations and by concentrating their activity in the place of residence of their members.

Special attention is devoted to ideological

problems. The complexity of the tasks calls for a new level of ideology as an effective means of cognizing and remaking society, for creative Marxism-Leninism and utilization of all achievements of progressive thought in science, art and culture.

The pre-congress documents regard creation of optimal conditions for deepening the scientific foundations of Party policy as indispensable for ensuring the maximum contribution of theory to the search for new forms of economic, political and cultural development.

In tackling these problems we are drawing on the experience of other socialist countries and of the entire world Communist movement.

Creative thinking is invariably accompanied by contraposition of views, by debate. It demands a bold approach to new problems, strict adherence to principle, and unanimity as regards fundamental ideological and political issues. The Party welcomes new ideas and encourages creative questing and confrontation of opinions which stimulate and enrich our Marxist-Leninist theory. The development of Marxism-Leninism follows no cut and dried pattern. It is conditioned by the contemporary level of knowledge, by the contemporary ideological struggle. Therefore the Theses reiterate that enrichment of Marxist-Leninist theory should go hand in hand with the fight for its purity, against all attempts to revise it, whether from right-opportunist or left-sectarian positions.

The tasks of the present stage place high demands on ideological workers, especially as regards the new ways of thinking. Although socialist ideology has been accepted on the whole by our people, it is still necessary for the Party to combat non-socialist views, which are manifested both in the process of eliminating the contradictions in socialist society and in the fight against survivals of bourgeois outlook and ideology. This means, above all, struggle against conservatism, a creative, non-stereotyped approach to problems of building socialism, the ability to see what is progressive and necessary and conforms to the interests of the whole of society and what is conservative, obsolete, subjective, specific, etc. The importance of these tasks increases with the introduction of the new economic management system and the improved methods of running the state and society.

One of the central aspects of ideological work is elucidation of the import of the scientific and technology revolution, which, along with the cultural revolution is leading to profound changes in production, in the way of living and thinking.

The Theses point to the growing role of culture and art in shaping the mentality of the man of socialist society. Development in this field since the 12th Congress has been positive. It has been a period of healthy integration and differentiation conforming to the variegated requirements of our citizens, a period during which our art presented a rich and differentiated entity whose best works expressed, by

different means of artistic expression, the communist content and aims of our common cause. With all the differences in its form, aesthetic principles and message, ours is a realistic art, as is evidenced by works acclaimed for their social and artistic value. At the same time, we understand realism in art not so narrowly as was often the case in the past.

There have been, however, certain disquieting phenomena, such as lack of social responsibility displayed by some artists, preoccupation with fashionable trends, a compromising attitude to ideologically alien influences, a superficial approach to problems. The Party considers that such shortcomings should be subjected to principled criticism, that problems should be tackled more actively.

The problem of the relation between a work of art and the spectator or the reader will be solved by us in the traditionally democratic spirit of our art. The Party encourages healthy experimentation leading to new artistic achievements, to the discovery of new values. The chief trend, in its opinion, is modern realistic socialist art which endeavours, as Aragon says, "to help man, an art which lights up his path, seeing the ultimate goal and advancing in the vanguard." Far from contradicting the traditions of realism, creative questing is essential for the sound development of socialist art.

Our Party policy has always been characterized by a consistently internationalist approach to domestic and international problems, by co-ordination of home-policy decisions with the struggle of the world revolutionary movement. The specific conditions in which individual parties work, the CC stresses in its Theses, should under no circumstances be allowed to detach these parties from the movement as a whole. In the opinion of our Party, this understanding of socialist internationalism, stemming from unshakable loyalty to the general line of the Communist movement laid down by the Moscow conferences of 1957 and 1960, and conforming to the spirit of the Consultative Meeting of March 1965, is decisive for consolidating the unity and militancy of the world Communist movement, overcoming disagreements, and creating conditions for coordinated effort against the growing threat of imperialist aggression.

It is from this position of principle that the CC formulates our Party's point of view regarding the struggle against imperialism's aggressive actions, support for the struggle of the Vietnamese people, and the problem of European peace and security.

Cooperation and friendship with the Soviet Union are the cornerstone of foreign policy and the decisive criterion of a Communist attitude to the principles of proletarian internationalism. Proof of this is furnished by the documents which were adopted last year, when we celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia, and which reaffirmed and strengthened our bonds with the USSR.

Much attention is devoted by the CPC to problems of Party work and to enhancing the leading role of the Party. The Central Committee points to the primary importance of the political aspect of Party work, which should be concentrated on scientific substantiation and analysis of trends of our social development and elaboration of its long-range prospects and objectives. The Party also strives to make the fullest use of its control functions to ensure satisfaction of social needs. As it steps up the struggle against red tape, administration by

mere injunction, wastefulness and mismanagement, the CPC goes deeply into problems of Party life, development of Party democracy, consolidation of ideological and organizational unity, political work among the masses, and other problems whose solution will help enhance its leading role.

The Theses reaffirm the need for the activities of the Party and its members to conform to the conditions of the present stage of development of Czechoslovak society.

Pavel AUERSPERG

Regional conferences of Soviet Communists

SCANNING THE PRESS OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

JUST BEFORE the Ninth Congress of the Party, Lenin issued the following call to the membership: "All members of the Party should exert every effort to bring to the Party Congress their verified, digested, summarized practical experience." Generalization of the abundant practical experience is the lever of progress.

And this was the approach at the pre-Congress conferences of regional and territorial organizations of the CPSU held in February and March. In this review we shall endeavor to give some idea of the questions discussed at the conferences held in the Russian Federation, the largest of the Union republics.

The decisions of these conferences reflect a correct appraisal of the results achieved over the past few years. They show also that the members are deeply aware of shortcomings and difficulties still to be overcome. The conferences were held in a businesslike atmosphere of criticism and self-criticism, in itself an indication of the development of Party democracy.

The soundness of the line set forth by the October (1964) and subsequent meetings of the Central Committee was reaffirmed as fully meeting present needs and requirements. The decisions of these plenary meetings, it was stressed, were marked by a unity of ideas, objectives and trends, a sober appraisal of reality, intolerance of half-baked conclusions and of subjectivism and voluntarism, scientific substantiation of Party and state measures, the use of those levers of economic management best adapted to the present level of the production forces, including material incentives and the law of value and commodity production.

Concerning these decisions, the report of the Omsk regional committee of the Party noted that "they restore the Leninist organizational principles of Party building, the Leninist style of leadership, providing the Party and the people with new means and opportunities for heightening the effectiveness of work in all spheres through a scientific approach to the problems and study of the experience of the masses. This approach is incompatible with any manifestation of subjectivism, incompetent interference, and management by orders from above."

The March (1965) meeting of the Central Committee, it was said, had created conditions for running the collective and state farms on a sound business-like basis and for effective work by the Party organizations on the farms. Petty tutelage in farm management has been done away with, and the localities have been given full initiative in handling technological and production questions.

The time has gone, speakers noted, when the crop structure and stereotyped techniques were dictated from the top to the collective and state farms. Freedom to plan agricultural production, however, imposes a greater responsibility on managers and farmers alike for rational utilization of the land, proper crop structure and application of modern techniques.

Good progress has been registered in agriculture in the relatively brief period since the March meeting of the CC, the conferences noted, notwithstanding unfavorable weather conditions in 1965.

Decisions adopted at the September (1965)

meeting of the C.C. are making themselves felt also in the work of the Party organizations in industry. The new, economic methods of management instead of the previous administrative methods confront the Party and executives with the need radically to change their own methods.

At the conference of the Moscow City Party organization speakers emphasized the importance of ensuring that the organizations concerned are properly equipped to enable society to derive the maximum benefit from the greater economic independence now to be enjoyed by the enterprises, to employ the necessary economic levers and work in the new way.

"From now on," we read in the report of the Chelyabinsk regional committee, "the accent will be, increasingly, on quality of output. Profitability will now be the main criterion in judging the work of an enterprise."

Party members in the Volgograd and Gorky regions and in Daghestan spoke of the tendency still to be observed in some enterprises to fulfil the plan at all costs, often to the detriment of quality, or at any rate without taking the profit-factor into account. This, the speakers pointed out, contradicts the spirit of the decisions of the September meeting of the C.C.

The steadily growing role of the Party as the guiding force of society was reaffirmed at the Party conferences. The members feel that the economic reforms cannot be properly implemented without a corresponding improvement in Party leadership in all spheres, without releasing initiative, extending democracy in political, economic and cultural life and heightening the role of the state and public organizations. Communists in Vladimir Region are making a deeper study of all the problems in the towns and districts, influencing management in industry and agriculture through the Party branches.

The function of the Party Committees, the Tula Regional Committee noted, is not to dictate to managements or to substitute them, they must play their part by working directly among the people, guiding their initiative and energy into the right channels.

The decision of the November (1964) meeting of the C.C. to abolish the artificial division of Party committees on the industrial principle and restore unified Party organizations has helped the Party committees to get rid of unnecessary tutelage in their relations with state and economic bodies.

Speakers at the conference of the Kemerovo Region said that the chief method of leadership was that of persuasion. Not general appeals but the search for well-founded solutions of problems, patiently convincing people of the need for one or another measure, enlisting their conscious participation in the practical realization of these measures.

Party work is built up on confidence and respect for cadres, on heightening their sense of responsibility for their particular sector of

work. This was emphasized by members in the Vladimir, Novgorod, Lipetsk and other regions.

Complex problems can be solved only if the leading Party committees are able to combine the efforts of the members and non-members.

The Maritime (Far East) Territorial Committee reported that technical and economic councils had been set up under the auspices of territorial, city and district committees of the Party, and more than 600 economic analysis and technological rating groups are now functioning in the enterprises.

In the Volgograd Region over 50,000 people have been drawn into active participation in economic work through public councils and economic study groups. The technical and economic council set up by the Soviet District committee of the Party in the Omsk Region is studying the work of enterprises, and working out recommendations based on its findings. Problems of vital importance to the district organization are submitted by the council for consideration by higher bodies.

Councils handling Party organizational work as well as methodological and ideological councils function on a voluntary basis under the auspices of some district, regional and territorial committees.

The decisions of the March and September CC meetings specially stressed the need to heighten the role of the Party branches. The greater independence now enjoyed by collective and state farms and industrial enterprises presupposes shifting the centre of gravity of Party work to the localities—the district committees, city committees and particularly the branches. Experience has shown that this is one of the best ways of ensuring the successful implementation of Party policy. At the regional Party conference in Vologda, for instance, special mention was made of the good work of the Party branch on the Shekana collective farm. Its activity is concentrated primarily in the work groups and this imparts strength to the entire Party organization of the farm. The members are assigned to particular sectors: 8 are agricultural specialists, 4 are group leaders, 14 are machine operators and 16 work in the animal husbandry section.

At the Volgograd regional conference the example of the Krasny Oktyabr district committee was cited. More than 7,000 of the 11,000 Communists here work in the local factories and 1,200 in building organizations. This has made it possible to form Party and YCL groups in all the key sectors, in the different shifts, thus facilitating the smooth and efficient functioning of the shops and departments.

The experience of the Yaroslavl, Chelyabinsk and Moscow Party organizations, too, is worth mentioning. Before assigning members to leading posts, the Party Committee submits their candidacy for approval by their workmates and their Party branch.

Verifying fulfilment of Party decisions is an

important area of Party work. Unfortunately, this is still inadequate in some organizations and is one of the reasons for shortcomings in the economic and cultural spheres.

Another point brought out at the conference was the importance of the decisions of the December (1965) meeting of the CC on reorganizing the state and Party control bodies into organs of public control with a view to extending democracy and drawing larger numbers of workers into this activity.

It was pointed out that the efforts invested by the Party and the people generally in the sphere of the economy are closely linked with the deepening of socialist democracy and the release of initiative. Workers in production, who are directly concerned with the final results of their efforts, will decide many of the basic problems as they arise. The role of collective agreements, industrial conferences and other forms of worker participation in management is being heightened.

Thus the economic reform will not only accelerate development of the productive forces but offers new opportunities for improving social relations.

Attention was drawn at the conferences to ideological work and the need to raise the level of Marxist-Leninist education.

The purpose of the study, it was emphasized, is to help every member to tackle independently and from a Marxist-Leninist standpoint all the basic problems that arise, to be able to define his attitude and adhere to it in practical work. Marxist-Leninist study, including study of economic problems, will help provide a solid ideological basis for the reorganization of economic management and place the political and economic work in the localities on a truly scientific basis.

Big changes are taking place in the life of the peoples, changes which call for improved forms and methods of political work. Delegates to the Moscow, Kaliningrad and Rostov Party conferences spoke of the experience gained in deepening the scientific aspect of ideological work, in organizing sociological research to ascertain the effectiveness of this activity.

The regional and territorial Party conferences held in the USSR, followed by the republican congresses, show that the Party soberly appraises the situation in the country, that it is looking reality squarely in the face and is aware of the significance of the important changes that will ensue from the Twenty-Third Congress of the CPSU.

Mikhail LEBEDEV

Who is responsible for hunger in India?

Prominent among the burning problems of the world and affecting millions of people is the fight against poverty and hunger in the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This article, based on India, shows the causes of hunger which has gripped many parts of this country as well as the ways and means of overcoming the food crisis proposed by the Indian Communists and other democratic forces.

ALL OVER INDIA millions are on the move. Mass actions have grown into immense proportions: demonstrations, protest marches, collective and individual hunger-strikes, large-scale civil disobedience and even protest general strikes in cities and states have been used.

The people are fighting for their very existence, for food. But repression has been let loose against the hungry masses and their leaders, thousands have been thrown into prisons without trial—many have died in police firings and many more have suffered due to police excesses, lathi-charges and attacks. Along with workers and peasants the middle classes and youth and students have joined the struggles. Many political parties and organizations are coming together to form joint fronts for people's demands, and the food struggles have become one with the struggle for civil liberties and democratic freedoms. The whole question of the country's further economic progress, reconstruction and social advance depends on the solution of the basic and now the most acute food problem. It is this realization which has given urgency to the mass struggles, and the immensity of the tasks facing the people has brought forward with greater clarity the need for a national democratic front or alliance of all progressive and Left opposition parties.

With the food situation assuming grave dimensions, scarcities and even famine conditions developed in many areas. In the states of Bihar, Assam, Bengal, Andhra, Maharashtra and other places where people are facing starvation big mass struggles are developing. Recently biggest proportions have been assumed by this struggle in the state of Kerala in South India, where not only the food situation is

serious, because the state has to depend on the Central Government and neighboring states for rice (Kerala produces about half its requirements even when the crop is good), but where parliamentary democracy and constitutional government have been suspended and the state is under "President's Rule," i.e., direct rule of the Central Government. Deprived of an elected state government responsible to the legislature, and depending on the mercies of the Food Minister in Delhi and other state governments, the people of Kerala had to take to drastic action when their daily ration was further cut to a mere 120 grams of rice per adult.

The arrests and repressions against them had infuriated the people. The CPI has all along been in the forefront of the struggle against hunger, for the release of all Communists and progressive workers and for the restoration of civil and constitutional rights in the state.

The call of "Kerala Bundh" (one-day general strike) on January 28 made by the Communist Party and other Left political parties, and joined due to mass pressure by the two factions of the ruling Congress Party, led to a total stoppage of all activity and to normal life coming to a standstill for one day.

The united struggle brought some immediate success; on the eve of the "Bundh" the Central Government hastily announced a 20 gram increase in the rice content of the food ration in Kerala, but this could not prevent the protest taking place as planned and in a united manner. After the undisputed success of the action which had to be admitted even by the monopoly press, the Central Government announced in the middle of February that the daily rice

ration in Kerala will be restored to the original 160 grams in the third week of March. And it was promised that there would be no reduction in the wheat ration of 107 grams per day.

The "Kerala Bundh" action was something more than a strike, it was a unified action by people of different classes and trades led by the most politically conscious sections of the community—the working class and the youth and students.

The mass actions in Kerala, the resounding and inspiring success of the "Kerala Bundh" and the unity achieved by the Left parties showed the way for the whole country and confirmed the correctness of the call for a National Democratic Front of the people given by the last Seventh Congress of the CPI.

What is the nature of India's food crisis, what are its main causes and what is the way out?

Agriculture, despite industrialization, continues to be the major sector of India's national economy. As much as 69.5 per cent of the population derives its livelihood from the land and about 44 per cent of the national income (in 1962-63) comes from agriculture. India inherited from the British colonial rule a very backward agrarian system dominated by landlords and semi-feudal vested interests. A pauperized and resourceless peasantry was the victim of heavy rents and taxes, of the moneylenders who charged exorbitant rates of interest.

The price and trade mechanism worked in such a way that the peasant was continuously being robbed both as a producer and as a consumer. There were many exploiters and many intermediaries between the peasant and the retail market, all depriving him of the just fruits of his labor. Primitive methods of cultivation, illiteracy, poorly developed and very inadequate means of irrigation leading to complete dependence on rain and the vagaries of nature, absence of modern credit facilities, lack of state aid and growing concentration of land in fewer and fewer hands—all these factors worsened the already bad conditions of the poor peasant and gravely hindered the development of agricultural production.

Since independence, although some agrarian reform legislations have been passed in different states, they have been most involved and inadequate, just touching the fringe of the problems. And even the inadequate measures adopted on paper have been brought to nought due to the corrupt machinery of implementation which allows for by-passing the intricate provisions and cheating the poor peasant. The Congress Party regime is itself tied to landlords and rich peasants and depends on their support; the main aim of its policies has been to build up the class of rich capitalist farmers at the expense of the mass of peasantry. For the big majority of the peasantry the factors mentioned above as the heritage of colonial past still continue to operate.

Different laws imposing limitations and ceil-

ings on landholdings have been enacted in the states and union territories, but all these have had little effect and due to fraudulent implementation and sabotage of land reforms the intended surplus land for the land-hungry poor peasant and landless laborers has failed to materialize. In 1959-60 one per cent of the rural households owned 16 per cent of the total operational holdings, 5 per cent of the households—40 per cent of the holdings; 10 per cent of the households—56 per cent of the holdings. The bottom 20 per cent of the households did not own any land (Mahalanobis Committee Report). What is clear is the extreme maldistribution of land which has confined the main body of Indian peasantry to poverty and misery.

The extent of this can be seen from the following: The rural population of 354 million has an average per capita daily income of 0.68 rupee (1 rupee=0.21 U.S. dollar); for 100 million the income is 0.42 rupee; and about 10 million get an average of only 0.27 rupee (Survey Report of the National Council of Applied Economic Research).

Redistribution and ceilings on landholdings are not the only possible sources of availability of land for cultivation. From official figures we find that in 1960-61, the net sown area in the country was 328 million acres; the figure for area "not available for cultivation" (not including forests) was 120 million acres; other uncultivated land (excluding fallow lands) was 96 million acres and total fallow lands 56.3 million acres. It is clear that a considerable area still remains to be utilized, and the peasantry has to be helped in a planned and adequate manner to do so. And from the land "not available" much can be reclaimed by building new irrigation facilities.

But it would be wrong to think that the area under cultivation has not increased. This area was 243.2 million acres in 1948-49; it increased to 318.2 million acres in 1955-56; to 326.9 million acres in 1959-60; and 328 million acres in 1960-61.

Since independence food production has also increased:

Year	Total food grain prod. (million tons)
1949-50	54.05
1955-56	65.79
1958-59	76.7
1960-61	79.69
1961-62	79.76
1962-63	77.51
1963-64	80.2
1964-65	88.4
1965-66	100.0 Target

But this increase falls short of the minimum the country requires even to keep abreast of the population rise of nearly 10-11 million per year. Soon the rate of increase in population will be about one million per month. This is indeed a serious problem. But Western and

bourgeois propaganda tries to concentrate all attention on rapidity of population growth and not on slowness of increase in production and the extremely low yield of crops in India. Measures of birth-control and family planning propagated in the country do not affect the illiterate and the poor. Experience shows that only where illiteracy and cultural backwardness have been removed can population growth be checked. And economic progress is the basis for cultural progress. So hoping for a reduction in population growth to ease the problem is really putting the cart before the horse.

The yield of Indian crops is among the lowest in the world. In 1961-62 wheat yield (100 kg per hectare) was: France 23.9; Denmark 41.3; USA 16.1; India 8.5. Rice (paddy): Japan 47.0; Australia 66.3; UAR 45.3; India 15.1.

Considering that in India rice is grown on 22 per cent of the area under crops, and wheat takes up 9 per cent of the area, the above figures for rice production are even more important. They show that rice yield in Japan is more than 3 times and in Australia more than 4 times that of India. The above figures speak for themselves. With better irrigation, supply of fertilizers, better methods of agriculture India could increase production several times over. If we take the use of nitrogenous fertilizers we find that in 1961-62 their use in kgs per acre has been as follows: Japan 40; UAR 30; India 0.6.

The target figure of grain production in the third five-year plan for 1965-66 (last year of the plan) was 100 million tons of food grains. Due to drought and mismanagement on the food production front the output is estimated by the Food Ministry to be 76.1 million tons. This is less than last year by about 12.3 million tons. Rice shows a shortfall of 6 million tons, pulses of 3.7 million tons, and wheat of 1 million tons.

Average yearly production of grain over the third plan period (April 1961-April 1966) is calculated to be 80.7 million tons. And the production of the last year of the second plan (1960-61) was 79.6 million tons. Thus we find that on such a vital sector as food production the country has practically not advanced during the last five years. This is a serious situation.

According to official statistics the per capita availability of food grains is much less than the absolute minimum required for subsistence. This year the deficiency will be considerably more. The food crisis has overtaken a people that is already living below nutritional standards.

One strange aspect of the situation is that while the Food Minister and the Central Government have been telling the world that food-grain stocks and the current year's crops are catastrophically low and so the country will have to get grain from abroad, mainly USA, at least 10-12 million tons of grain, other experts find that the food situation is not so bad, and they think the shortage is being exaggerated to

force the country to the United States with a begging bowl.

For instance, Dr. K.N. Raj, a prominent economist, is of the opinion that since the stocks of the bumper harvest of 1964-65 are available this year "the shortfall in 1965-66 is nowhere of the order suggested by official estimates." He thinks that the 1961 per capita availability could have been guaranteed through imports of only 3.5 to 4.0 million tons. He said significantly that the estimates of India's import requirements being made both by Indian and U.S. governments "are perhaps regarded on both sides as a piece of political rather than economic arithmetic." He further declared that the reliance by the leadership of the Congress Party on the "unprecedented scale of imports to tide over the problem this year is a measure not so much of the dimensions of the food deficit, but of the unwillingness of this leadership to act against the interests on which it depends for political support in the rural areas."

The Food Ministry has not yet discovered the method of knowing the size of food stocks in the hands of private trade in the country. And the Ministry has not cared to find out where the stocks of foodgrains from last year's bumper crop had gone. They are there to be unearthed and released from the clutches of the rich traders, hoarders and profiteers who speculate on the people's hunger by artificially increasing the shortages and scarcity. And it is this class of people that the government is afraid to touch or antagonize in view of the general elections due next year, as these rich elements are the main support and financiers of the Congress Party's election funds. Simply by manipulating the stock of not more than 10 per cent of the entire marketed surplus, by withholding or releasing some of this stock, they create scarcity conditions in the market at different times of the year.

Everyone in India remembers the terrible Bengal famine of 1943, when more than 3 million died of starvation, while stocks of grain had been hidden by the traders who wanted to profiteer to the maximum, taking advantage of the war conditions. Jawaharlal Nehru in his book, *Discovery of India*, said this about it:

"Every competent observer is agreed that it was a man-made famine which could have been foreseen and avoided. Everyone is agreed there was amazing indifference, incompetence and complacency shown by all the authorities concerned."

Much has changed in India since independence, but the rich traders, grain dealers, hoarders, bankers and profiteers—the makers of famine—are the same. They always take advantage of the smallest deficits and crop failures to create country-wide scarcity conditions.

The recent period has witnessed an upward trend in arrivals of foodgrains in the country's main markets and a downward trend in the prices of grain. Thus, in Bombay, which is India's city with the highest per capita purchas-

ing power, indigenous wheat prices came down from Rs 200 per quintal in October-November last year to Rs 105-110 in the second week of February. This was due to the news regarding the prospects of grain from abroad, and also due to high interest rates and lack of finance to cover the hoarded grain for a longer period.

It is obvious that if the government had enough stocks of grain at its disposal and an effective counter-mechanism the hoarders could be defeated, prices could be brought down, and the stocks hidden by the traders could be unearthed by energetic action and strict measures by the authorities. But the government's failure in food procurement can be seen from the following:

TOTAL GOVERNMENT PROCUREMENT OF INDIGENOUS GRAIN AND IMPORTS OF FOODGRAIN (TONS)

Year	Procurement	Import
1961-62	481,000	3,149,000
1962-63	460,000	3,827,000
1963-64	590,000	4,722,000

The above figures show that as against total internal procurement of a mere 1.53 million tons the imports for these years totalled 11.7 million tons. This meagre internal procurement had really no effect on the market, which was firmly in the grip of profiteers. Forced by the seriousness of the situation this year the intention of collecting 2-3 million tons has been announced, but this depends on the mercy of State Governments where the ruling circles are closely connected with the rich traders and depend on their support. On the other hand the Central Government is going to the USA begging for 10 million tons or more.

As early as 1957 the question of the government takeover of the wholesale trade in food-grains had already come to the forefront. But various difficulties in the way of putting this proposal into effect were created by governmental departments, mainly the Ministry of Finance.

The present Food Minister, Subramaniam, initially resisted the idea of state trading, but the food crisis of 1964 forced him and the government. A powerful nationwide movement for food launched by the CPI in August 1964 was a significant event, which at long last forced the formation of a Food Corporation of India (FCI) designed to make large governmental purchases of food grains.

The Food Corporation could not become an effective mechanism and the food procurement was made ineffective by the sabotage of several State Governments, which was admitted (December 1965) by T. A. Pai, Chairman of the Food Corporation. Bhupesh Gupta, MP, making a statement in Parliament on behalf of the Communist Party of India (December 29, 1965) urged the government to order an inquiry into this gross mismanagement. He said that if the FCI had made adequate purchases and built

up stocks out of the bumper crops of 1964-65 the situation would not have been so critical today, nor would the people have had to witness the miserable spectacle of India's Food Minister fawning on President Johnson.

Marketable surplus in the surplus districts, which accounted for 48 per cent of the production, had been allowed to pass into the hands of hoarders and profiteers, thus making nonsense of the very purpose for which the FCI had been established. Bhupesh Gupta said that nothing short of monopoly procurement based on the clearest mandate of Parliament, the nation's resolve and concerted effort could meet the situation.

The ruling party has indulged in propaganda about self-reliance and self-sufficiency, during and after the conflict with Pakistan, due to the fact that since American armaments were used against India, there was a wave of popular resentment against the USA. The popular feeling was that under no circumstances should we be dependent in any way on the United States.

But if we go back a little we find that even earlier the government on many occasions had promised us self-sufficiency in food production. Even in 1957 when signing for the PL 480 food doles a number of agricultural programs were produced to convince the nation that soon the imports would end and India would be self-reliant in food. Later, self-sufficiency was promised at the end of the Third Five-Year Plan, i.e., by March 31, 1966. Now this time-limit is again being shifted to 1970-71.

Actually with every plan India's dependence on foreign food has gone on increasing. During the First Five-Year Plan the yearly average of imports came to 2.42 million tons. Under the second plan it jumped to 3.4 million tons. During the latest Third Five-Year Plan yearly imports were all the time more than 4 million tons. U.S. wheat imports to India (six million tons) in 1965 were easily equal to 50 per cent of the total indigenous output of this crop and twice the amount of the total marketable surplus. Now for the year 1966 the Food Minister is begging for 11-12 millions tons which will be almost *equal* to the country's wheat production at the present level.

The fact that imports of U.S. grain act as a brake on India's own production can be seen from the following: In 1958-59 the wheat harvest was 12.6 million tons; this figure was never reached later; in 1962-63 it came down to 10.8, and in 1963-64 to 9.9 million tons. The above facts give the lie to the contention that PL 480 imports are only meant to tide over the difficulties and create conditions for attaining self-sufficiency.

Under the PL 480 agreements already gone into till last year, the funds acquired by the USA in rupees in India were over 12,000 million or more than about one-third of the total Indian currency at the present level of circulation. About Rs 1,700 million out of this can be used by U.S. government agencies in India. Most of this is spent for financing espionage

and subversive activities and for building up U.S. political influence through shady transactions. Another part of the PL 480 payments, Rs 800 million, is set apart for loans to private Indian big business whom the Americans at their own discretion want to support.

The Americans are quite open about their aims. *Washington Post* of October 11, 1965, for example, said: "We are using food to bargain alright . . . to change Indian priorities and Indian economic development plans." The Americans want that fed on their grain Indians "should be grateful", and this gratefulness should be expressed only in agreement with their policies, and by supporting them in their aggression and adventurism in Vietnam and other places. About U.S. Vice-President Humphrey's latest visit to India in February 1966 the *New York Times* of the 20th of the same month had this to say: "Mr. Humphrey told Mrs. Gandhi that President Johnson could not ask Congress to pour millions of dollars into India if Indian newspapers were full of denunciations of United States actions in South Vietnam. Mrs. Gandhi, he was told, has instructed her ministers to make their comments on Vietnam through private diplomatic channels and not in statements to the press." One of the reasons for the Indian Government hesitations in coming out against the actions of U.S. imperialism is the constant fear of losing American food supplies.

There is no denying the fact that the widespread drought of this year was a serious setback, it was a major contributory factor to the present critical food situation. But this should not be allowed to hide the fact that the continuous food problem and chronic food crisis of many years is the result of bankrupt government policies. After a net increase of nearly 9 million tons of food grains in 1964-65 over the previous year the crisis would not have assumed such alarming proportions had the crop been in government hands. And secondly the crop this year although much lower than last year is about the same as two years ago. So that the alarmist propaganda that we are on the verge of a great famine, that only the USA can save us, is exaggerated beyond measure for political ends and also is designed mainly to justify the dependence on the USA by cashing in on people's fears. Today this line has been officially fixed for the next five years. No one will complain if it were necessary for a country to start importing food when there is real deficit *AFTER a real effort to use its own resources*, fair distribution of existing production and the effort to narrow the gap between production and need had been made.

Not only that. There is another aspect of the dependence on PL 480 supplies. *It enables the ruling party to carry on, without effecting radical agrarian reforms and eliminating hoarding and profiteering.* Otherwise the alternative would be either radical reforms or mass discontent and loss of political hold on the country. This is one of the reasons why the USA

provides this support to the ruling circles. Such is the class content of the Congress government's attachment to food deliveries from America.

The role of finance capital and banks as supporters of the unbridled speculation and profiteering in food is decisive. Profiteering and hoarding on a large scale thrive on the huge speculative bank advances given against foodgrains. The Reserve Bank of India was forced to come out with certain regulatory measures in this sphere, but the high finance and big business find ways and means of flouting these regulations, and speculation, graft and profiteering go on with the abetments of banks. The Minister of Planning Asoka Mehta had to admit recently that the hoarders are being financed by big bankers to create scarcity for profit. He rightly concluded that this should be controlled and the public sector should expand to take over the grain trade. The demand that banks be nationalized, which has been put forward by the Communist Party, is gathering popular support. People realize that without control over the banks a proper distribution of food cannot be arranged; and the tiller of the soil cannot be guaranteed a proper price for his produce without eliminating the middlemen who profiteer at his cost with the backing of the big banks.

It is not only that wholesale trading in grain has to be nationalized all over India and the nefarious role of the profiteers and famine-makers eliminated, but the bickerings and fights between state governments, between "surplus" and "deficit" states must go too. The Central Government must take all procurement of foodgrains in its control. The present conflicts between "zones" can come to an end only by treating the whole country as ONE food zone where all food available is distributed on an equal and just basis.

The fair price shops which have been the main distributing machinery of the government are at present far too few in number. And in many places they virtually close down for lack of supplies, while grain is available in the market at high prices. This causes great suffering to the poor. This means that an efficient and comprehensive system of rationing for the whole country should be put into operation. It follows that a real and national overall food policy is required.

The government cannot evade the general overall problem of raising food production. But here again promises, mere assertions and paper plans seem to be the favorite way. Now the Food Minister has put forward a target of 125 million tons of foodgrains for the fourth Five-Year Plan. We know that the Third Plan envisaged an increase of 20 million but could not bring about a stable increase of even 5 million tons in production. How will anybody believe that now the next plan will increase food production by 40 million tons?

The Government's recent surrender to American pressure on such a vital thing for agricul-

ture as fertilizers has also caused widespread protests and bewilderment. The needs of the country in fertilizers are well known; now this has been handed over to American and domestic profiteers to exploit. A big plant is proposed to be set up in collaboration with an American concern, and the foreign firm has been handed over fertilizer marketing rights for seven years. The price of the fertilizer sold by the American concern will be higher and not at par with the fertilizer sold in India at present. There is absolutely no justification for not developing this nationally vital and key branch of chemical industry in the public sector.

No one disagrees with the assertion that intensive cultivation is the need of the hour, that improved methods of cultivation are required, and the peasant masses should be taught scientific ways and won for fuller utilization of the vast land and water resources. But that calls for radical land reforms that will make the tillers the masters of the land. It is this which the CPI demands. But the government bypasses and ignores this vital question.

Now the millionaires of the Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry are insisting on further surrenders to big business to bring agriculture also into their sphere of exploitation. They are advocating farming by joint-stock companies on waste lands. On the other hand, there are millions of landless peasants and agricultural laborers hungry for land, and **if only the so-called waste lands could be brought under the plough by distribution among the poor it would mean a substantial and quick rise in production.**

The program put forward by the Communist Party, among other things, advocates: that along with a radical agrarian reform to be effected in all states of the country the peasants should be provided adequate and easy credit; there should be an assurance by law of fair and reasonable prices for what the peasants produce; middlemen and the grip of private profiteers must be eliminated from this com-

pletely. Irrigation projects on a vast scale and power supply to villages should be developed. India has limitless resources of land and rivers, minerals and manpower, and given the will and drive, determination and inspiring perspective the country can produce enough and to spare. But for this, the plans of surrender and conciliation to imperialism, semi-feudal survivals, and big business interests must go, vested interests and profiteers must be eliminated from the sphere of agricultural production and distribution. The government must have faith in the people, and the people must have a government in which they can have faith and confidence.

It is with this perspective that the people of the vast and fertile land of India are on the move. They face bullets and clubs, prisons and detentions. Their immediate demand is: "bring out the hoarders to trial," "unearth their stocks," "feed the people," "nationalize the banks," "release the political prisoners."

Addressing a mammoth meeting in Quilon, Kerala, on February 7, S. A. Dange, Chairman of the Communist Party of India, said that the "Kerala Bundh" had been a success but we shall need scores of Bundhs and united mass actions to change the direction of policies. Preparedness for struggle should not be relaxed and all avenues of winning the people's demands should be pursued. India's traditional modes of national action—mass hunger-strikes, satyagraha, hartals (closing down of factories, shops and establishments), "pen-down" strike of office workers, and huge Bundh actions—will be used. This is how the unity of the masses and class organizations, unity of all sections of the people can be built. A *national movement* of the type of Kerala Bundh is necessary.

The united determined action of six Left parties and the millions of Kerala certainly shows the way.

Masood ALI KHAN

Put an end to the onslaught of Indonesian reactionary plotters!

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE PROGRESSIVES OF INDONESIA WILL WIN

KILLINGS AND RUTHLESS terror have been the order of the day in Indonesia for several months. The reactionaries, presently in power there, have arrested and murdered more than a hundred thousand Communists and other patriots, the victims include leaders and activists of the organizations of workers, peasants, youth, students and women, the peace movement, the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity committee, friendship societies with the socialist countries, scientists, journalists and art workers generally.

The attack is, in fact, aimed at the Indonesian revolution itself. It was not fortuitous that the drive was spearheaded against the Communist Party, the main bulwark of the Indonesian revolution. Communists have been arbitrarily removed from their legal positions in government offices, from parliament, people's assembly and other institutions. Anti-communist hysteria reached such a pitch that the offices of the Party, the homes of its leaders and members, and Marxist literature were consigned to the flames. Anyone suspected of having contact with the Communists is subjected to cruel indignities. Framed charges and arbitrarily-passed death sentences by illegal military tribunals show how shamelessly law and justice have been trampled upon. A glaring example of lawlessness was the "trial" of Comrade Njono, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party.

On March 12, 1966, the day after the seizure of power (in fact the realization of the military coup was planned long before September 1965 by the Right-wing generals led by the anti-Communist General Abdul Haris Nasution), the Army Commander Lieutenant General Suharto proclaimed the dissolution of the Communist Party and all revolutionary organizations which, as he put it, are "of the same basic ideas and under the protection or guidance" of the Communist Party.

The atrocities perpetrated by the reactionaries cannot but arouse the strongest indigna-

tion and anger in the hearts of all Communists, all progressive people throughout the world. The monstrous action against the Communist Party and other progressives undertaken by the Indonesian reactionaries, in conjunction with the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, runs counter to the basic interests of the Indonesian nation as a whole. It is an attack against the revolution which in its present stage is directed against imperialism and remnants of feudalism. This action seeks to undermine the unity of the people and seriously endangers the cause of the national-democratic revolution.

General Nasution and his clique demagogically proclaim themselves "Left," "anti-imperialist," "anti-feudal," etc., etc. But their wholesale killing of Communists and other progressives and the recent arrest of democratic and anti-imperialist personalities prove even more clearly their real aim, which is: to pave the way for neocolonialism and imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, in Indonesia.

The military and political plot, masterminded by U.S. imperialism and carried out by the reactionaries, is part of a general imperialist scheme against national-liberation movements, against the international working class, against democracy and socialism. Nor can their attack spearheaded against the Indonesian Communist Party be separated from the designs of Washington to escalate its war of aggression in Vietnam, for the Communist Party has always stood in the front ranks of the progressive forces in Indonesia in rallying the people against U.S. imperialism and in support of the people of Vietnam.

Progressives throughout the world express solidarity with the Indonesian Communist Party and other patriots in Indonesia, strongly protest against the terror which has engulfed the country and against the unlawful dissolution of the Communist Party; they demand an end to the killing and hounding of Communists and other democrats and the immedi-

ate release of all those held in detention.

People of good will throughout the world also strongly protest against the interference of U.S. imperialism, in league with the reactionary generals, in the internal affairs of Indonesia, aimed at diverting the country from its anti-imperialist path.

On the pretext of crushing the September 30 Movement of a group of army officers who acted to foil the military coup plotted by the reactionary Council of Generals and at safeguarding the Indonesian revolution, the Right generals unleashed terror against the Communist Party.

This is not the first time in the 45 years of its existence that the Communist Party of Indonesia has been violently attacked by reactionaries. During the Dutch colonial regime, the Japanese fascist occupation and Indonesian reactionary rule shortly after independence, it also experienced cruel terror. But each time it stood the test and emerged even more steeled and tempered, through the ups and downs of the battle.

And no matter how hard they may try, the foreign imperialists and the home reactionaries will not be able to reverse the wheel of history. Communism, the ideas of scientific socialism cannot be uprooted in Indonesia. This is an objective law of history. And it is also this objective law of history and the experience accumulated on a national and international scale which determine the prospect that the Communist Party of Indonesia will weather all the storms. Together with other progressive forces in Indonesia and with the support of the working class of the world, it will most certainly defeat the imperialist and reactionary plot against the people of Indonesia and emerge victorious in the fight against imperialism and the survivals of feudalism in Indonesia. It will continue in the front ranks safeguarding the cause of the Indonesian revolution and make its contribution to the struggle of the peoples of the world for national independence, democracy, social progress and peace.

J. WEILAND

The consequences of escalation in Vietnam

THE UNITED STATES is steadily escalating the war in Vietnam. Last March its troops in that country numbered 215,000. According to U.S. press reports this number will be more than doubled. Secretary of Defense McNamara has boasted that American troops expend 105,000 tons of munitions in Vietnam every month, while the air force uses twice the weight of bombs it used at the height of the Korean war. According to Hanson Baldwin, *New York Times* military commentator, practically all U.S. military units in combat readiness are already in Vietnam.

What has escalation of the war given Washington? According to the American press the Saigon puppets and U.S. interventionists control less than one-quarter of the territory of South Vietnam. The Pentagon sees the only way out in escalation, in extending military operations to Laos and Cambodia, in launching an all-out offensive against the entire national-liberation movement in South East Asia.

The group of politicians headed by President Johnson no doubt has ready-made plans for combating the national-liberation movement and the world revolutionary process, plans which gradually are being put into effect.

Vietnam is the main center of international tension and the main object of attack by imperialism. But today the eyes of the world are on Indonesia where, with the installing of a military dictatorship, reaction is on the rampage. "The Johnson Administration," we read in *New York Times* (March 14) "found it difficult . . . to hide its delight with the news from Indonesia."

More and more news keeps coming about the military coup in Ghana, which was another knife in the back of the national-liberation movement in Africa. The press in the United States gleefully welcomed the coup—the outcome of imperialist intrigue in Africa.

However, the war in Vietnam is leading to a serious polarization of forces in the United States. Whereas formerly opposition to the war of aggression was confined to individual actions by progressives against the policy pursued by the Johnson Administration, today protests are heard in Congress as well as in the streets. The numerous days of protest held at the end of March in cities throughout the United States show that public opinion is on the march.

Polarization is taking place not only in

internal political life in the United States but also in the international arena. Public opinion in the NATO countries and some more far-sighted bourgeois statesmen are beginning to realize whither the ill-starred "Atlantic solidarity" and obedient following in the backwash of Washington's policy of aggression may lead.

Needless to say, this sobering up process

is stimulated by the firm policy of the socialist countries and the active struggle of Communists throughout the world against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. These stimulants are intensifying and accelerating the process which threatens the U.S. rulers with isolation both at home and abroad.

Jan PRAZSKY

Crisis of the ruling classes in Belgium

IN THIS ARTICLE, we shall not go into all aspects of Belgium's political life, which is as complicated and, viewed from the outside, as puzzling as ever.

Nor do we intend to make predictions, even for the immediate future. We merely wish to answer one concrete question: What is the significance of the recent fall of the Harmel government, the second Social Christian-Socialist government since the general strike of 1960-61?

There can be two viewpoints.

The fall of the government can be considered as being either just one more of the many "accidental crises of power," or a symptom of a serious affliction affecting the vital centers of the regime itself.

We think the second viewpoint is correct. The last congress of the Communist Party, held at the end of 1965, when the position of the Harmel government was highly precarious, expressed itself precisely in this vein. The crisis of the ruling classes in Belgium was the central point of the report submitted by Party Chairman Ernest Burnelle, and, taking this into account, the report defined the features of the struggle for the broadest possible unity of the Left demanded by the objective conditions.

The recent government crisis postdated, as it were, the prevision of that report. Reality is at once less puzzling and more difficult to analyze. But analysis is necessary, and we shall try to make it, if only in general outline.

Today no one will deny that a profound change took place in Belgium's political life after the general strike of 1960-61. No one can afford to think and act in the spirit of traditional norms without fear of grave complications.

But a closer look reveals that the general strike merely spotlighted (with tremendous force, it is true) the change that had occurred in 1959, during the great working-class action against the closure of coal mines demanded by the European Coal and Steel Community

with the agreement and support of the Belgium moneybags.

Prior to those events the working class as a whole and the Socialist workers in particular still vaguely believed in the beneficial character of Belgium's participation in NATO and the European organizations which were its offshoots. The illusions generated by skilful anti-Soviet and anti-Communist propaganda persisted, though shaken six years before as a result of the successful strike for a shorter call-up period.

In 1959 something changed. It became obvious that the policy of the ruling classes (anti-communism plus the Atlantic pact plus European organizations identified with peace, democracy, happiness and progress) had not justified the hopes reposed in it. The working-class movement realized that there had begun the economic and social destruction of the industrial Walloon regions, the oldest regions of the country where socialist ideas had taken firm root. Sensing the danger which this destruction entailed, especially for Flanders, where reactionary influence on working-class organizations is traditionally strong, the movement pointed directly to the reactionary initiators of this process, i.e., the national and international capitalist monopolies.

In the meantime, the fruitful ideas of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU were successfully working their way. They helped strengthen among the Socialist workers the striving for unity of action with the Communists, especially in the trade union movement. In Catholic circles, they nourished the ideological trend whose existence made possible, several years later, the appearance of *Pacem in Terris*.

Thus, at the beginning of 1960, right after the 1959 strike against the closure of coal mines, the big bourgeoisie in Belgium found itself in a quandary aggravated by what it lamented as its failure to rally the people for a colonial war against the liberation movement in the Congo, a movement which soon led to

the declaration of the independence of that country.

That was when Gaston Eyskens, who headed the government of the Right (the Social Christian-Liberal bloc) came up with his *loi unique*.

A financial expert and a man of the Right, Eyskens worked out a government program which he expected to operate for a long time.

The *loi unique* was simply an iron collar, an elaborate system of measures restricting labor and democratic rights and providing the big monopolies with means for sustaining their dictatorship to the detriment of the workers employed in private industry, government employees and the urban and rural middle strata. In short, it was a plan for regress.

The strike against the "law" (the biggest in the country's history) embraced more working people and was more political in character than any of the previous general strikes.

But the really outstanding thing about the strike was that its chief cause had nothing to do with things material. Nothing portended an economic catastrophe in 1960. The working people, with the highest-paid workers in the forefront, went on strike against laws which had no force as yet.

What, then, was their purpose? Their purpose was to defend their concept of a life worthy of people of the times, and their right to a bigger say in governing the country. Thus the question of extending democracy was forcefully put on the order of the day.

The Eyskens government was literally swept away by the general strike against the *loi unique* at the beginning of 1961. Eyskens figured prominently — this time as Finance Minister — also in the government which fell in February 1966, after only six months in office.

It would be wrong to conclude that history was simply repeating itself. Eyskens' second defeat had more serious implications for the bourgeoisie.

The April election of 1961, though marked by a turn to the Left, failed to force the big bourgeoisie to abandon its reactionary plans. But in order to realize them it now had to find means of checking, splitting and weakening the working-class movement, which had so vividly demonstrated its militancy. The bourgeoisie believed that with the help of some of the Socialist leaders it had found this means in a government combination which some people described as a government of "Labor."

Between 1961 and 1965 the collaboration of the Social Christians and Socialists in the government where Prime Minister Lefèvre nominally represented the Christian-Democratic workers and Deputy Prime Minister Spaak, the Socialists, was the concrete expression of that formula. At the same time, wise with the lessons of the 1960-61 strike, the Liberal Party, a traditionally Rightist anti-clerical party, renamed itself the "Party of Freedom and Progress" — a fact highly significant in itself. Its

ostensible policy of opposition helped it exploit the popular discontent to win votes in the 1965 elections. But it invariably supported the reactionary Catholic circles in their efforts to extract further concessions for big capital from the Lefèvre-Spaak government.

The skilful distribution of functions among the Right forces and the role of hostages which the Socialist ministers played in the government were designed to ensure the big bourgeoisie a fairly long period of calm, enabling it to hit hard at the working-class movement generally and the trade unions in particular. But things took a different turn. Why?

Briefly, the explanation is that the desire of the workers and the people generally for an extension of democracy is growing and coming into sharper conflict with the traditional forms of government and administration which are ideal for big business.

In passing it should be noted that this general political crisis developed during an economic boom, and the current economic difficulties can but aggravate it.

Now for some of the principal features of the crisis. In the first place everything has been called in question. The policy of subordination to NATO is opposed by the majority of the people. For the first time in the history of the country the working-class movement is in the van of the struggle for federalism and for the equality of the Walloon and Flemish communities, a policy always opposed by the reactionaries. The General Federation of Labor, which unites Socialist and Communist workers, insists on democratic control over the finances of the capitalist monopolies and the state, and their basic demand is vigorously supported by Christian trade unions, who act jointly with their workmates. Due to appear soon on the order of the day is the question of improving parliamentary democracy through incorporating in the Constitution the principle of referendums on the initiative of the people, a measure which will enable the voters freely and unequivocally to express an opinion on important issues.

It should be noted also that the "European" illusions of the organized working people have dissolved. The idea has been advanced, and approved, of active cooperation by the big trade union organizations in the Common Market countries. In some areas this cooperation is already under way. Important in this respect was the recent struggle of Belgian miners against the closure of the Zwartberg colliery. This was the first time that Flemish and Walloon workers had so forcefully declared their solidarity in the fight against the policy of the European Coal and Steel Community and its implementation by Belgian big capital.

The political crisis finds expression also in other ways.

Already at the time of the Lefèvre-Spaak government the Social Christian and Socialist parties encountered internal difficulties the

principal cause of which was, in varying degrees for each, labor, or, to be more precise, trade union opposition to the policy of regress and deterioration in all areas of social life pursued or supported by the leaders of the two parties. Obviously, the prestige of these leaders has not grown since their electoral defeat last year.

As to the Party of Freedom and Progress, it is paying the price for its demagoguery, especially since the general election of 1965. It is not easy to pursue a Right policy especially when having to do with an electorate which voted *against* this policy. Hence the constant hesitation in the PFP as regards participation in government.

It is clear, then, that already in the summer of 1965, during the formation of the Harmel government, the big bourgeoisie was in an even more embarrassing position than after the 1960-61 strike.

Indeed, shortly after prosperity, for which the ruling classes unabashedly claimed the credit, they were compelled to inform the country about a catastrophic budgetary, economic and social balance. According to tentative estimates, the national finances had developed a deficit of 15,000 to 20,000 and even 30,000 million Belgian francs. At the same time an increase in military spending was announced, for NATO was demanding re-equipment of the army. The policy designed to please the Right was obviously falling through.

As soon as it was formed—after hard bargaining, for many Socialist Party federations opposed participation in it—the new government had to cast off the mask.

It was still a Social Christian-Socialist government, for the PFP did not dare take the reins as yet. Its composition was a program in itself. It was headed by Harmel, classical representative of the masters of maneuver fostered by the Catholic Right. Finances were under the charge of Eyskens, the author of *loi unique*, in whom public opinion immediately, and quite rightly, saw the actual Prime Minister. Economic affairs were in the hands of Spinoy, Right-wing Socialist, a particularly zealous servant of the moneybags.

The principal role was assigned to Eyskens, and he played it with cynicism. In substance, his credo was: "I need money, and I will take it out of the pockets of the working people, not from the rich." As distinct from 1960, it was no longer a matter of presenting a thoroughly thought-out plan. It was a declaration of war—a bold step, of course, but also a hopeless one: tax and price increases, restrictions affecting economic development, public health, education, and research; closure of enterprises; announcement of a long-term economy regime.

The suddenness of this offensive was designed to ensure its success. But the effect of surprise did not last long. Soon the trade unions began to put up a vigorous resistance which led to the

emergence of open opposition to the Eyskens plan among the Socialist MPs. Towards the end of 1965 it was clear that in order to survive the Harmel government would have, whenever a ticklish matter arose, to seek a different majority, appealing to the PFP for support. Numerous resolutions of the General Federation of Labor, powerful joint actions by Socialist, Communist and Catholic workers did the rest. The day of struggle of January 19, 1966, in industrial Liege, which was supported by the Antwerp dockers, the strike of the Zwartberg miners, the protests against the restrictions on free medical aid heralded, at long last, the eleventh hour of the Harmel government. Thus, the government crisis that followed Harmel's resignation was not an "accidental crisis of power," but an added indication of the profound crisis of the regime, the crisis of the ruling classes, which has been developing for several years now.

Is there a way out of this crisis?

Yes, there is, provided it is sought in the direction of democracy. Belgium is clearly becoming less and less governable by traditional bourgeois methods. But a government of a democratic alliance supported by the big working-class organizations and striving first to restrict and then to breach the dictatorship of the big banks and monopolies, would, on the contrary, be quite viable and capable of leading the country out of the present mess.

At any rate, it would not have to waste effort working out a program. This program exists. It is the program of the General Federation of Labor, the last national congress of which played an exceptionally positive role. It is a program of unitary, predominantly trade union and workers' organizations, such as the Walloon movement, the initiator of the struggle for federalism and anti-capitalist structural reforms. It is a program of the peace movements uniting working people and democrats of all convictions.

Hence it would be possible for this government to restrict itself at first to the points of the Union program providing for a reasonable and satisfactory solution to the pressing problems of home and foreign policy.

Hence no great difficulties are likely to be encountered in this respect.

The first difficult step is the step from actual unity of action of the Left—Christian Democrats, Socialists and Communists—to their conscious alliance. This calls for the accomplishment by the Socialist Party, under the impact of the way of thinking and action now coming into its own in the trade union movement, of a complete or partial turn to the Left. This calls for the casting off by the Catholic workers of the yoke of the Right-wing Catholic circles, which has been growing more unbearable since the advantages of united action became obvious. Everything shows that this is possible, and the Communist Party is doing everything for this possibility to materialize. It is working

to unite, without prejudice and exception, all the forces opposed to the dictatorship of the monopolies, to the reactionary policy of regress. It is working to bring about this unity, not through spectacular explosions, but in the course of a frank and fraternal dialogue prompted by concern for preserving the organizations built and developed by the working people during a century of struggle.

The second difficult step is one from the concept of modern democratic government to that of intermediate governments. It is not in the interest of the working-class movement to commit itself to a policy of opposition at all costs, waiting for the bourgeoisie to plunge the country into chaos. It should assume its responsibilities before the formation of an ideal government of its choice. It should introduce elements of order into capitalist anarchy before this anarchy is relegated to the museum of history.

All the foregoing concerns, not abstract, but concrete problems which were created by the government crisis of February 1966 and which can again come to the fore in the near future as a result of new governmental crises. The

Communist Party considers that the working-class movement could support a government which would pledge itself to renounce the policy of regress, call a halt to the growth of taxes, to all kinds of restrictions and the closure of enterprises, and take the means needed for economic development from the banks and from big industry. With such a government, which would certainly need the vigilant support of the organized working people, it would be possible to hope for a better future. But it would be self-deception to think that this future will result automatically from new complications.

We shall not attempt to predict the outcome of the crisis. But it is safe to say that the ruling classes of Belgium are in the grip of the worst crisis they have ever experienced. The Communist Party and its allies can also state that the country needs a modern democratic government if it is to extricate itself from the present mess, and that it should also define in good time the way that can and must be travelled.

Jean BLUME

After Tashkent

INDIA AND PAKISTAN have completed the withdrawal of their armed forces from the areas they occupied during the Indian-Pakistani armed conflict. Troops of both sides have been moved back beyond the state frontiers and the cease-fire line designated in the Tashkent Declaration. One more important step has been taken toward normalizing the international situation in this area.

The Tashkent Declaration was a victory for common sense and the principles of peaceful coexistence. It evoked wide comment from diverse circles of world opinion and has become the pivotal point, so to speak, of political and social life in India and Pakistan. Its significance has been stressed in public pronouncements by members of the Indian government, leaders of political parties and prominent personalities. Commenting on the results of the Tashkent meeting Professor H. N. Mukerji, leader of the Communist group in the Indian parliament, wrote in the weekly *India* that if India and Pakistan remained hostile they would find themselves helpless victims of neocolonialism. Hostilities between India and Pakistan, he said, would shatter all hope. But thanks to Tashkent these hopes had been revived and would be realized.

Approval of the Declaration was voiced also by members of the Pakistan government, political personalities, some opposition leaders and many newspapers. This undoubtedly reflects the mood of the majority of the Pakistani people who desire good-neighborly relations with India.

Democratic and progressive opinion everywhere welcomed the Tashkent meeting, regarding it as a contribution to improved relations between the two countries, relations that had been overshadowed by conflict and bloodshed. The Communists and the international working-class movement have always advocated good-neighborly relations between all nations. This is one of the principles of the positive foreign-policy program in the genuine national interest supported by the Communists in all countries. Hence the importance attached to the Tashkent declaration by the international working-class movement. *L'Humanité*, for example, stressing that the "repercussions of this event will make themselves felt for a long time to come," assessed the Declaration in these terms: "The agreement reached in Tashkent sets an example. It proves that disputes between countries can and should be settled by peaceful means."

Tashkent, moreover, was a striking example of the constructive role played by socialist diplomacy in the international arena. The fact that two Asian countries locked in conflict were able to settle their differences through the offices of a socialist state is highly significant. The striking contrast between the position taken by the socialist countries and the actions of the imperialist states, who bring to the Asian, African and Latin American countries not peace but the sword has not escaped the attention of world opinion.

"It is an undeniable fact," the West German *Blinkfuer* commented on January 20, "that thanks to the efforts of the Soviet Union, India and Pakistan have made peace. . . . The 'contribution' of the United States to the cause of world peace is a different story altogether. Washington evidently sees its role as mediator in destroying with bombs, napalm and poison gas a small nation fighting for self-determination. . . . The termination of the senseless bloodshed between Indians and Pakistanis should jolt us into making a thorough reappraisal of former false concepts."

The American liberal weekly *Nation* stated on January 24: "Dean Rusk and his colleagues should ponder what has happened in Tashkent. It is not napalm and nuclear power that win diplomatic victories, but intelligence and patience." And the journal again reminded its readers that the United States is waging in Vietnam "a bloody, ignominious war" which is badly damaging the United States' image.

The Tashkent Declaration caused consternation in the imperialist camp. And although official U.S. and British spokesmen, making the best of a bad job, hastened to "welcome" the agreements reached in Tashkent, it was obviously a shock to them. In an effort to somehow repair their image damaged by the "ignominious war in Vietnam," to quote the *Nation*, Washington hurriedly concocted a declaration of its own, the Honolulu Declaration, in which it is proclaimed that the war in Vietnam is a war against poverty and ignorance. But these false words were drowned out by the din of gunfire and the explosion of bombs from Indochina where the U.S. aggressors are busy escalating the war.

The more crafty imperialist politicians essayed another maneuver. Striking a posture of naiveté, they pretend not to understand why the Soviet Union, which helped to reconcile India and Pakistan, does not "mediate" in Indochina but prefers to help the Vietnamese people to repulse U.S. attacks. Surely it is obvious that the two situations cannot stand comparison? What is happening in Indochina is a typical case of imperialist aggression: the United States has invaded foreign territory and is waging a colonial war there, while the Vietnamese people are defending their country, and it is the duty of all peace supporters to give them every possible assistance, including military assistance.

The Indian-Pakistani dispute was a dispute between countries whose peoples only recently fought side by side for national liberation from colonialists. Theirs was a hard-won victory. They paid a heavy price for their freedom. And it will be much easier for them to consolidate their sovereignty, to strengthen their positions and solve their many economic problems if they are friends. Strife can only retard their progress, undermine their economy, create enormous difficulties, and last but not least, seriously weaken both countries vis-à-vis neocolonialism.

That is why all the forces of peace deemed it their duty to help Pakistan and India to extinguish the flame of internecine warfare which brought unnecessary suffering, bloodshed and tears to both nations.

It is symptomatic that from the first two approaches to the Pakistani-Indian conflict appeared in the world arena.

In most countries the military conflagration in the Indian sub-continent evoked alarm and apprehension. The governments of several countries made proposals aimed at ending the conflict. At the same time it was stressed that third countries should not interfere in the dispute or take sides. On the other hand, there was much activity in some countries among the more bellicose circles which specialize in fanning conflicts and seek to warm their hands at the fires of war. These circles tried their utmost to get the contestants to extend hostilities which might easily have developed into a major war. When the leaders of Pakistan and India agreed to a ceasefire and accepted the invitation of the Soviet Government to meet in Tashkent for peace talks, these circles did all in their power to prevent the meeting or at any rate to discredit it. They clearly had no desire to see good-neighborly relations between India and Pakistan restored.

Of course the prospect of a durable peace in the subcontinent and friendly relations between its peoples and the peoples of the Soviet Union did not suit the book of those who would have liked to add fuel to the fire and aggravate the Indo-Pakistani conflict. We were in Tashkent at the time and we remember very well how at the press conferences held in Hotel Tashkent some Western journalists did their best to spread scepticism and doubt as to the success of the talks. They bombarded the Indian and Pakistani representatives with loaded questions calculated to air their own private "philosophical arguments," as one Pakistani representative ironically observed. Some bourgeois journalists tried hard to rub salt into the still raw wounds by digging up diverse problems that might serve as stumbling blocks to the negotiations. But each time they encountered a worthy rebuff.

People in both countries realized that all the differences accumulated in the course of years could not be ironed out at once. When

at one press conference one of the journalists remarked that the Western press had begun to talk about an "impasse", a spokesman of one of the two delegations replied: "It is not the negotiations that have reached an impasse but the relations between our two countries, and that is the fault of the colonialists who formerly ruled the subcontinent. The purpose of our talks is to extricate Indian-Pakistani relations from that impasse."

To do so required a hard and persevering effort on both sides. And the decisive factor here was that, having abandoned attempts to settle the conflict by armed force, India and Pakistan were able to move forward step by step. That is how it was possible in the course of these talks to reach those important decisions contained in the Tashkent Declaration which opened the way to normalizing relations between the two countries.

The Declaration opens up prospects for both parties concerned. By rejecting the use of armed force as a means of settling the conflict, withdrawing their troops, consistently pursuing a policy of non-interference in each other's affairs and developing peaceful, good-neighborly relations Pakistan and India will be able to reduce their arms expenditure. It is an open secret that the strained relations induced both sides to spend far more on arms than would be necessary in peacetime conditions. The war seriously damaged the economy of both India and Pakistan.

It would be unwise, however, to close one's eyes to the fact that the Tashkent Declaration touched off a sharp political struggle in both countries. Attitude to the Declaration has become something of a test for the political forces of both countries and has helped the peoples of India and Pakistan to see once again who is for the national interests and the cause of peace on the Indian subcontinent and who, carried away by chauvinistic feelings or swayed by outside influences, is acting against these interests. In both India and Pakistan the Declaration has been attacked by parties of the Right and by some groups who dance to another's tune. These are the forces that provoked the anti-government demonstrations in Lahore, Karachi, Peshawar, Rawalpindi and in other towns in Pakistan. Armed clashes occurred in which students, instigated by reactionaries, were involved. In an attempt to justify their subversion, the leaders of the Right-wing parties held a conference in Lahore at which the Muslim League headed by Ayub Khan, the government and the Tashkent

Declaration were violently attacked. Things reached a point where the government was compelled to arrest a group of Right extremists.

Indian reactionaries, too, have been active. The parties of the Right have censured the government for seeking to normalize Indian-Pakistani relations. On February 15 the Jan Sangh, successor to the pro-fascist organizations that served the colonial authorities and which among other things were responsible for the assassination of Gandhi, demonstrated against the Tashkent Declaration outside parliament. The following day in Parliament deputies of the Jan Sangh, Praja and some other "independent" parties attacked the agreements. As might have been expected, these sallies met with no support.

It is noteworthy that although the reactionary Indian and Pakistani parties are antagonistic to one another they are at one in their efforts to prevent fulfilment of the Tashkent agreements. They all call for rejection of a peaceful settlement and for "war to the victorious end." These reactionaries are playing into the hands of those foreign imperialist forces which continue as before to base their entire policy in Asia on the principle of "divide and rule." And it is not surprising that the Pakistani and Indian reactionaries look for support and encouragement outside their own country from those who are anxious to check India's and Pakistan's advance along the road of peace and congress.

The machinations of the reactionaries must not be allowed to impede further steps toward normalizing relations between the two neighboring states. It is no secret that many difficulties still lie ahead, many problems still remain unsolved. But what has been accomplished so far creates a solid foundation for further progress. The provocations of the reactionaries call for heightened vigilance on the part of the peoples of both countries, for their firm resolve not to permit a new outbreak of the conflict.

All who value peace in Asia and throughout the world are hopeful that the Tashkent Declaration will be carried out to the end and that this will lead to a radical improvement in the relations between India and Pakistan. This is particularly important in a situation where forces hostile to peace are at work in Asia, when the U.S. imperialists are extending their aggression in Vietnam in an effort to halt the victorious national-liberation movement on the Asian continent.

Yuri ZHUKOV, Victor MAYEVSKY

Support the just struggle of the Kurdish people!

SINCE SEPTEMBER 1961 the Kurdish people in Iraq have suffered from a savage racist war at the hands of the chauvinist Iraqi rulers. Progressive world opinion, shocked by the war of annihilation against a peaceful people, has condemned the instigators of this war and the savagery accompanying it.

The Iraqi Kurds are part of the divided Kurdish nation which in all numbers about 11 million people. Of these some 2 million dwell in Iraq. The area inhabited by the Kurds in Iraq is 72,000 sq.km. i.e., 16 per cent of the total area of Iraq. The Kurdish nation is distinguished by its common language, land, historical heritage and its common aspiration to live in freedom. Hence it has a natural and a just right to complete self-determination.

After the Baath coup d'état in Iraq in February 1963, a coup inspired by the imperialists and plotted by their agents, the new military government began a series of maneuvers with the Kurds in order to gain time and to prepare for a renewal of the dirty war. And when it was resumed by the reactionaries, headed by the present president Arif, it was prosecuted on a much broader scale and by even more brutal means. And yet despite all the effort and all the atrocities, the Arif reactionaries have not succeeded in breaking the will of the Kurdish freedom fighters.

Failure forced them to agree in February 1964 to a truce with the Kurdish leaders. They undertook, as had been the case previously, to recognize the national rights of the Kurds. But the military reactionary regime headed by Arif failed to honor its commitments; instead, it resorted to continuous provocations, tried to disrupt the unity of the revolution, to kill it "peacefully" by all kinds of maneuvers and attempts to divert it from its goal of autonomy (within the framework of the Iraqi Republic).

The renewed war of annihilation against the Kurds is the outcome of a decision, adopted in secrecy, by the Arif government in October 1965. The plan provides for large troop concentrations in a particular area; villages are subjected to saturation bombing; napalm and incendiaries and noxious gases are rained down on them; artillery and tanks follow up, after which troops move in to "mop up" any sur-

vivors and destroy the last traces of what were once peaceful villages. This has been the fate, for example, of Toozechourmatou, Chemchemal, Kifri, Adgeller, Shouan and Shaik Bezini in the Kirkuk province; in Adgeller and Shouan the destruction was carried out under the supervision of the Iraqi Minister of Defense. The same fate has befallen other areas.

The Communist Party of Iraq, true to the principles of proletarian internationalism and recognizing the principle of complete self-determination for the whole divided Kurdish nation, fully supports this demand for autonomy and regards it as an elementary and just right. At the same time it is the considered view of the Iraqi Communists that a democratic solution of the Kurdish problem is impossible unless the present reactionary regime is overthrown.

Autonomy for Iraqi Kurdistan is conceived as an administrative territory whose affairs should be in the hands of an elected legislative body which, in turn, would elect an executive body responsible to the people.

National autonomy is in the interests not only of the Kurdish people, it is also in the interests of the people of Iraq. "Democracy will be meaningless, mere nonsense for the Kurdish people, unless they are guaranteed the real possibility of enjoying their national rights and managing their own affairs. This can be achieved only through autonomy." (Report of CC of ICP, March 1962).

National autonomy for Iraqi Kurdistan would reinforce militant Arab-Kurdish fraternity against imperialism and the Arif reactionaries, would further democracy, safeguard national independence and contribute to social progress. Any union of Arabs and Kurds in Iraq based on force would heighten nationalist suspicions and facilitate the intrigues of imperialism and reaction aimed at disrupting the unity of the two peoples. It is most important, therefore, that all the forward-looking political leaders in the Arab world actively support the struggle of the Kurdish people.

The people in Iraq know quite well that the Kurdish revolt is not the outcome of "foreign intrigues." It is the natural result of national oppression being intensified to the extreme. The present rulers in Bagdad, afraid even to

mention the word "Kurdistan," have coined the term "Northern tribes." But the people of Iraq know that the Kurds are fighting a noble and just cause, hence their wholehearted support for the revolt.

The aims of the Kurdish revolution are not confined to autonomy for the Kurds. Their fight is also for establishing a genuinely democratic regime in Iraq, for only such a regime will be able to grant the basic rights and demands of the Kurds. The Kurdish problem in Iraq is, then, an organic part of the general question of political democracy.

"Autonomy for Iraqi Kurdistan is inconceivable in isolation from the regime in Iraq. Only when the Republic of Iraq itself becomes a democratic, parliamentary republic will Kurdistan gain autonomy" (Report of CC of ICP, March 1962). The two problems (the Kurdish problem and democracy in Iraq) are "so interwoven that the solving of one depends on solving the other" (ibid.). That is why the Kurdish liberation movement is a very important and effective part of the general democratic movement in Iraq, why it is a firm and powerful ally of the Iraqi proletariat and the Communist Party. It is also an important part of the national-liberation movement in the Middle East generally, a genuine ally of the Arab national movement, and part of the general struggle in this region for freedom, progress, democracy and peace.

As regards imperialist influence and intrigue, they derive from the reactionary chauvinist policy of the Iraqi rulers. The military clique and the premier, Al-Bazzaz, are capitulating more and more to the foreign oil companies. They are moving closer to the CENTO countries in order jointly to crush the Kurds. They are collaborating with the top reactionaries in Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Turkey with a view to producing a replica of CENTO in the guise of an "Islamic" pact to be directed against the liberation and progressive movements in the Middle East.

It is an open secret that it was Whitehall and the oil companies that played the decisive role in installing Al-Bazzaz as Premier. The new extortionate oil agreement was the price paid for the Anglo-American support in crushing the Kurdish revolt.

To Al-Bazzaz himself we are indebted for an explanation of the real significance of his hypocritical statements and "constitutional amendments" concerning "national rights" for the Kurds. He saw a new law on provincial administration in Iraq as the best way of solving the Kurdish problem. This signifies non-recognition of even the very existence of

a Kurdish nation, of the existence of a compact Kurdish area (Iraqi Kurdistan). Kurdistan is treated as if it were an ordinary province, like all other provinces, without a specific national character. For Al-Bazzaz the Kurdish movement is a factor damaging the "stability" needed for the imperialist plans which he was appointed to realize.

That is why there can be no basis for relations between the present reactionary government in Bagdad and the Kurdish people. The Kurds will not be misled by the demagogic promises of Al-Bazzaz. They have tested many of these ever since 1922. So they are not ready to disregard these experiences and accept petty rights as a price for their sacrifice and suffering.

Nor are the Kurds the only victims of oppression in the country; the oppression extends to all the people of Iraq. The reactionary military regime has trampled upon the rights and liberties of the people, it persecutes patriots and democrats of all trends (more than 5,000 patriots are held in prisons and concentration camps), it discriminates against Christians and Shiats (one of the two Muslim sects: Sunnis and Shiats). It gives the feudals and big capitalists a free hand and bows to the demands of the foreign oil companies. This regime is a "servile stooge of the imperialists . . . betraying the basic national interests. It is a regime of treason . . .", as was stated by the ICP in February 1966. Such a regime cannot respect and has no desire to respect the national rights of the Kurds.

There is no doubt that the people of Iraq, Arabs and Kurds, will realize their noble aims thanks to their revolutionary struggle and the unity of their anti-imperialist and anti-reactionary forces.

At this critical moment in the history of our country, Iraqi democrats and patriots call once again on progressives throughout the world to support the cause of the Iraqi people generally and the cause of the Kurdish people in particular. Here we repeat the words of our martyred comrade, Salam Adil, Secretary of CC of ICP, in his letter to the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties, dated May 26, 1962:

"Our Iraqi people, and especially the Kurdish nation in Iraq and in the neighboring countries, look now for active world support in their ordeal, an ordeal in which the blood of hundreds of their best sons is being shed. Undoubtedly, the fraternal Communist parties, in this difficult situation for our people, will be—as they always have been—in the front ranks of the forces upholding the fundamental rights of all peoples."

Aziz AL-HAJJ

Save the lives of patriots of Iran!

ABOUT 18 MONTHS AGO eight members of the People's (Tudeh) Party of Iran, mostly workers, were arrested in Teheran. Since then the men have been held in jail and subjected to torture—the usual fate of political prisoners under the rule of the Shah.

Their "crime" is membership of the outlawed Tudeh Party. Yet the Constitution proclaims freedom of speech, press, assembly and the right of all citizens to join the organization of their choice. Moreover, the Iranian Parliament endorsed the Declaration of Human Rights. But, the rights and freedoms proclaimed in the Constitution have been trampled underfoot, and it is forbidden to form legal parties or to publish democratic newspapers and journals. Not infrequently police and troops open fire on demonstrations and other public gatherings.

Persecution of the Tudeh Party and terror against its members were stepped up after the overthrow of the government of Dr. Mosaddegh in August 1953 and the installation, with the help of the U.S. and British imperialists, of a military-police dictatorship. Since then executions have become commonplace. At times, in order to evade the wrath of the people, executions are carried out in secret. The newspapers merely report that sentences passed on particular persons, i.e., political prisoners, were carried out.

Recently a military court tried 14 men, two of whom had twice been condemned to death previously. Public pressure, however, both at home and abroad, forced the Shah to commute the death penalty on the two patriots. In

1950 a military tribunal tried in absentia a group of members of the Tudeh Party, eight of whom were condemned to death. Earlier this year the same group was again tried in absentia. This time 12 men were condemned to death without any legal grounds whatsoever.

Recently another group belonging to the party known as "Islamic Nation" (55 persons) consisting mainly of high-school pupils and students were put on trial. One was sentenced to death, and the remainder to varying terms of imprisonment ranging from three and a half years to life imprisonment.

At a secret trial now being held the Prosecutor has demanded the death penalty for Tudeh Party members, Ali Khavari, teacher, and Parviz Hekmatdju, ex-Army officer. But even if, in passing sentence, the court had acted on the anti-Communist legislation of 1931, the maximum sentence on members of the Tudeh Party would be ten years' imprisonment. According to law, they should be tried not by military tribunal but only by a civil court. The law entitles prisoners to choose their defense counsel but even this right has been denied them.

The lives of the two Tudeh members are in danger. The Tudeh Party calls on all patriots in Iran and on progressive people everywhere to act in defense of these and other democrats, in defense of the democratic rights of the people of Iran. It hopes, and believes, that solidarity action with the people of Iran will save the lives of the Iranian patriots.

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