

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

Problems of peace and socialism

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Convocation of a Consultative Meeting

In the decisions of their congresses and leading bodies and in the course of mutual consultations, a large number of Communist and Workers' Parties have expressed themselves in favor of convening an international meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties with the purpose of strengthening the unity of the Communist movement and rallying all Socialist and other democratic forces in the struggle against imperialism, for the national and social liberation of peoples and for world peace.

The Communist and Workers' Parties of Australia, Argentina, Bulgaria, Brazil, Great Britain, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, India, Italy, Mongolia, Poland, Syria, the Soviet Union, the United States of America, Finland, France and Czechoslovakia, which participated in the consultative meeting held in Moscow in March 1965, have had bilateral consultations among themselves on the question of preparing the ground for another international meeting.

On the basis of these consultations and in conformity with the views and desires expressed at the March 1965 meeting, the above-mentioned parties have found it expedient to convene a consultative meeting in February 1968 with the purpose of collectively exchanging views on the question of convening an international meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

We call upon all fraternal parties to support the initiative aimed at convening a consultative meeting and to participate in such a meeting.

Our parties have requested the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party to make it possible to hold the consultative meeting in Budapest. The Central Committee of the Hungarian Party has given its consent and will send the appropriate invitations to the fraternal parties.

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WORKERS OF ALL
COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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and socialism**

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International significance of the October jubilee

W. ATIAS, P. AUERSPERG, P. HENTGES

MODERN REALITY furnishes ample and convincing evidence that, both in basic character and impact on history, the October Revolution holds an exceptional place in the development of human society. It marked the beginning of society's reconstruction in the interests of the working people; it put an end to exploitation in a vast country. Lenin, the leader of this first victorious proletarian revolution, said in 1918: "Human history these days is making a momentous and most difficult turn, a turn, one might say without the least exaggeration, of immense significance for the emancipation of the world. . . . We awakened the faith of the millions upon millions of workers of all countries in their own strength and kindled in them the fires of enthusiasm. Everywhere we issued the call for a world workers' revolution. We flung a challenge to the imperialist plunderers of all countries." (*Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Vol. 27, pp. 159-60).

John Reed spoke of the Ten Days That Shook the World; now we can speak of the 50 years that *changed* the world. The principal result of this half-century is the radical change in the balance of world forces in favor of the working class, democracy, national liberation and socialism. The October Revolution ushered in a new era in the history of mankind, the era of transition from capitalism to socialism. And in this lies the permanent significance of October, and it was only natural and logical that it should have been made the keynote of the golden jubilee celebrations.

The jubilee was an occasion for rejoicing not only for the Soviet people, but for the whole international revolutionary movement, for it was a landmark in its present and coming struggles to assure mankind a peaceful and socialist future. It was widely and enthu-

siastically celebrated by progressive-minded people everywhere. And the distinguishing feature of the celebrations—notwithstanding the widely varying conditions in which they were held, and in which different detachments of the world revolutionary movement are waging their struggle—was their revolutionary spirit, the spirit of October.

The epochal importance of the jubilee was vividly highlighted also by the participation of men and women representing the main trends of the world revolutionary movement. Sharing in the Moscow festivities were representatives of 73 Communist and Workers' parties, and Communists from a number of other countries; delegations from 12 revolutionary-democratic parties in Africa, Asia and Latin America; 7 party-government delegations from Arab and African countries; 10 delegations from Left Socialist parties in Europe, Latin America and Asia. All in all, there came to Moscow 436 delegations from parties and other organizations in 109 countries. The 12,000 foreign guests represented millions of people belonging to national and international organizations and working for revolutionary-democratic and socialist progress.

The socialist world system, the anti-imperialist national liberation movement, the powerful and growing workers' movement in capitalist countries, the 50 million-strong army of Communists organized in 88 Communist and Workers' parties—such are the chief motive forces of the modern world. And in this world Marxism-Leninism, creatively developed by the Communist and Workers' parties, has become the battle standard of hundreds of millions, and the Communist movement has become the most influential force of our age. No other ideology can match the widespread

acceptance Marxism-Leninism enjoys throughout the world. By organically uniting scientific cognition of objective reality with the vital interests of the masses, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, as they are translated into practice, are changing the world and giving the peoples a reliable guide in their battle against the old system of exploitation, imperialism, colonialism and war.

The Communist and Workers' parties are the chief force in making Marxism-Leninism a reality in their particular countries. They speak for the vital interests of the working class and the working people generally in their fight against world imperialism and reaction. The unity and cohesion of all the national contingents of the world Communist movement acquire especial importance in this period of mounting imperialist aggression. It is no exaggeration to say that the attitude on this issue is the touchstone of genuine revolutionary proletarian internationalism.

Everyone who, like the authors of this article, attended the jubilee celebrations in the USSR will bear witness that they were permeated by a unique spirit of international solidarity and mutual understanding.

This was the keynote of the report delivered by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, which presented a panoramic picture of the Soviet Union's momentous victories over the past 50 years and set out the perspective for its continued advance to Communism, and by the statements of representatives of the Union Republics describing their achievements and tasks and the way they were being tackled by the concerted effort of all the Soviet peoples. These speeches, imbued with the spirit of socialist internationalism and Soviet patriotism, made a deep, unforgettable impression on all the foreign guests.

Comrade Brezhnev's report and the speeches of fraternal party representatives, were projected into the future; they dealt with the new tasks and the ways and means of accomplishing them. The international significance of the jubilee celebrations lies in the fact that they highlighted the urge to unity, the search for ways of bringing together the Communist and all other revolutionary forces to combat imperialist aggression and work for peace, national liberation and socialism.

* * *

The ideas of Marx and Lenin are the very foundation of world revolutionary thought and practice, and their most consistent exponent is the Party which by creative effort brought them to socialist reality in the Land of Soviets. It is no more than natural, therefore,

that that Party, the CPSU, which directs the building of communism in the USSR, should stand in the vanguard of the world revolutionary movement.

The fact that socialism is now developing as a world system and, at the same time, as a world revolutionary process, is inseparably linked with the growth of the first socialist power, the example it has set and the proud record of its first fifty years. The sweeping changes inaugurated by the October Revolution signified a leap from backwardness to the highest levels of social, economic, scientific and technical development. Capsuled into these five decades is the tremendous amount of work that led the country from landlord and capitalist rule to far-reaching socialist transformations, to a society free of exploitation; from political disfranchisement of the working people to socialist democracy; from national oppression to freedom and equality, friendship and fraternity; from technical and economic backwardness to a modern industrial structure and mechanized collective farming; from illiteracy to unparalleled progress in education, science and culture.

Representatives of fraternal parties and the national liberation movement expressed their high appreciation of the internationalist policy and revolutionary solidarity of the Soviet Union and its Communist Party. They referred to the Soviet Union as "the most revolutionary force" of the century, the "active vehicle of history, the main bulwark of the struggle for peace, democracy and national liberation." In assessing the Soviet Union's tremendous contribution to the world revolutionary process, everyone who subscribes to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is bound to draw the conclusion that a fraternal attitude towards the Soviet Union and the CPSU, conscious recognition of the historic role played by the USSR and the socialist system in the battle for peace, democracy and socialism, are the hallmarks of true internationalism, communist solidarity and political maturity.

The path of the Soviet people has been one of struggle and victory, hardship and sacrifice, dedicated labor and valor on the battlefield. All these have gone into the building of a developed socialist society. And in building that society the CPSU proceeded from the advantages inherent in socialism and the Soviet system and relied on the constructive energy of the people. But it also brought to bear factors that facilitated and accelerated the construction process.

Chief among these factors is the Soviet state which, from its very origins, represents a new type of state, a qualitatively new, pro-

letarian democracy. The development of both is a logical sequel to the assumption of power by the working class. The state of proletarian democracy, based on socialization of the basic means of production, has acquired a new content and new forms. It contributed to socialist construction and, at the same time, was developed and perfected in line with the growth of other political, economic and ideological factors of socialism.

The CPSU's unrelenting efforts to perfect socialist democracy, the exceptionally valuable contributions made by the 20th Congress, the Party Program and subsequent CPSU decisions, based on a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of objective reality, made possible the transition from a state of proletarian dictatorship to a state of the whole people as the political organization of the entire population, with the leading role played by the working class.

The work of the Soviets, local and central, and the consistent development of democracy and mass initiative created the conditions for serving and safeguarding the interests of the whole of society. The fact that now more than 25 million people, nearly a quarter of the gainfully employed population, share in the work of the Soviets at all levels, and that measures are being taken to draw still more people into economic management, is striking evidence of the progress of socialist democracy and of the way Soviet society is advancing towards Communist self-administration.

The new, socialist world in the USSR, the present level and perspectives of economic development, should be seen as the result of comprehensive application of socialist economic planning, based on public ownership of the means of production, centralized scientifically-grounded management and the widest participation of the people in the administration of industry. Without this the tremendous progress of the Soviet economy would have been impossible. And Soviet economic progress has won the admiration of friends of the USSR and is no longer deprecated, indeed is appreciated, by socialism's foes. Striking proof of the Soviet Union's high level in the economic, scientific and technical fields is provided by its achievements in space exploration, a field which represents a concentrated expression of the supreme achievements of modern industry, science and technology.

The triumph of socialism in the USSR created the necessary economic, social, political and spiritual requisites for the transition to the building of a Communist society. L. I. Brezhnev said in his jubilee report: "Today we are faced with new tasks, new not only in magnitude, but also in character. The thing is

to utilize to the full the possibilities created by our developed socialist society. We must learn to employ with maximum effect both our social gains and the tremendous productive forces our country possesses, the achievements of science and technology and the rising level of the Soviet people's culture and education. Only on this basis can we successfully build communism and advance along the path charted by the Party Program."

The Soviet economic reform now being carried out is of especial importance in this context. It will raise to a new level planned management of the economy through wide use of economic levers and material incentives, which will make it possible to combine the advantages of central planning with worker initiative. The economic reform provides more and better opportunities for scientific and technological progress which, in a socialist society, serves man and widens his abilities and requirements.

However, the most important change has been the emergence of the new, Soviet man. Born in the crucible of October and the Civil War, steeled in the early five-year plan efforts, he bore the burden of the war against fascism and rescued mankind from the Brown Plague. Today he stands in the front ranks of the fighters for progress, peace and freedom. The distinctive traits of his character are socialist consciousness, collectivism, socialist patriotism and internationalism, and a high cultural and professional level. Every third Soviet citizen is studying or raising his professional skill. The Soviet Union accounts for one-fourth of the world's scientific and research personnel. Such are the results of the cultural revolution, in which the Soviet Union was consistently guided by Lenin's proposition that socialism is not a levelling-out process, but an advance to high professional standards combined with socialist ideology and socialist morality.

A factor of first-rate international importance is the military might of the Soviet Union, the defense shield of the whole socialist world and the guarantee of effective assistance to all the anti-imperialist forces. The path from the early troika-drawn gun carriages to modern missile and nuclear weapons, so effectively demonstrated in the November 7 military parade in Moscow, shows what an impressive force stands guard for world peace, for mankind against aggressive imperialism. This enables Soviet foreign policy to speak out, boldly and effectively, in defense of peaceful international relations and against imperialist aggression.

The Soviet Union's effort for international peace and friendship has won it high prestige

throughout the world and has demolished the bourgeois propaganda figment about "Moscow aggressiveness." Engrossed in constructive labors, the Soviet people need peace, not war. But, while promoting peaceful coexistence and striving to eliminate the war menace, the Soviet Union is actively countering the imperialist provocations and warlike gambles of the United States and its allies. The aggression in Vietnam, developments in the Middle East, the imperialist-engineered reactionary coups in several countries, the revanchist policy of West German imperialism, with its demand for a recarving of European frontiers and its drive for nuclear weapons—all these are glaring evidence of imperialist aggressiveness. And to curb imperialism and rebuff its encroachments, it must be faced with a solid front of the anti-imperialist forces.

The USSR and fraternal countries are extending a hand of solidarity and assistance to peoples and countries subjected to imperialist aggression or foreign intervention. Representatives of the two parts of Vietnam spoke with high praise of Soviet assistance to their embattled people. Other foreign guests spoke of the Soviet Union's revolutionary solidarity with Cuba and of its fraternal assistance to the Arab countries, the victims of the Israeli imperialist-engineered aggression. All these are examples of the authority and prestige the Soviet Union and other socialist countries enjoy among peoples and countries defending their vital interests and freedom against imperialist aggression.

The foreign policy of the USSR and other socialist countries was and remains consistently revolutionary in content and form. It aims at ensuring optimal conditions for the building of socialism and communism and for the advance of the national-liberation and the world revolutionary movement generally. But, at the same time, it is predicated on the Marxist-Leninist thesis that revolution and socialism cannot be transplanted from one country to another by armed force. Revolution and socialism are not exported; they result from developments within each country. Still less can they be accomplished by war. The peoples demand a just peace and security, freedom and progress. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are doing everything to make that a living reality.

* * *

Lenin and the Bolshevik Party gave a new dimension to Marxism creatively applying it to the specific conditions of Russia and elaborated the principles of proletarian internationalism. This was of cardinal importance for the entire international revolutionary move-

ment. The October Revolution was a turning point in the destinies of nations. It facilitated the rise of Communist parties and the international Communist movement, and both received valuable assistance from Lenin and the party he founded. **The creative application** on an international scale of Lenin's proposition that national specificities have always to be taken into account and that the principles of proletarian internationalism have always to be consistently carried out, helped the Communist parties become the vanguard force of our era. The growing prestige the movement enjoys among progressives is the result of persevering and devoted effort to uphold the vital interests of the working class and working people generally and further their struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. The experience of October, of which the 50th anniversary provided interpretative generalization, convincingly shows that the Communists are the most consistent, courageous, persevering and devoted champions of social progress. They led the forces that overthrew capitalism and began the building of socialism and communism. In the capitalist countries the Communists are working to form a broad anti-imperialist front in defense of democracy and for a social perspective. They have shown themselves dedicated fighters for the independence and social progress of oppressed nations. They are conducting a bold and sustained struggle to prevent a thermonuclear catastrophe, create a system of international relations based on peaceful settlement of all issues in an anti-imperialist spirit and compel the imperialists to abide by the principles of peaceful coexistence. The Communists' role and aims must always accord with the growing requirements that follow from the momentous and complex processes of our time. All this underscores the need for unity of the world Communist movement.

The past fifty years have seen the spread of the revolutionary process, embodied in the three principal forces of our time—the socialist world system, the working class of the developed capitalist countries, and the national-liberation movement. It will require intensive effort to unite all the revolutionary forces in a single anti-imperialist front, but the decisive and irreversible gains of the past fifty years make that fully possible.

The socialist world system, the greatest gain of the international working class and of all the revolutionary forces, is the mainstay of the world revolutionary process. Closer relations between countries that have taken the socialist path, their unity within the socialist community, are in the fundamental interests of their peoples. The development of the so-

cialist world system has shown that member countries are in the best position to strengthen their sovereignty and independence. They benefit also from the pattern of socialist relations, which are based on respect of equality, independence, sovereignty, on socialist internationalism and comprehensive mutual assistance and support, and on international socialist division of labor.

However, the establishment and consolidation of this new type of international relations is a complex and manifold process, one that entails overcoming formidable difficulties, both objective and subjective. The 50th anniversary of the October Revolution and the growth and development of the socialist world system furnish ample confirmation that fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is the earnest of the system's continued progress and increasing influence on world affairs. An internationalist approach to all issues to work out solutions that combine national and internationalist aims, is both possible and necessary. That is the approach required of Communists today.

The triumph of the October Revolution and the fundamental changes of the past fifty years have made the international working class the central figure of our age and have produced an entirely new situation for the fight for its immediate and ultimate aims. The labor movement in the leading capitalist countries, notably in the citadels of world imperialism, is gaining in strength, scope and experience. It is more organized, reveals a higher degree of class consciousness, has extended its international ties. In several capitalist countries the working class is successfully overcoming the division in its ranks, is rallying to its banner broad sections of the population and is welding a broad anti-monopoly front.

One of the key historic consequences of October is the merger into a single revolutionary stream of the national liberation movement and the struggle of the international working class. This has become a distinguishing feature of our epoch. By dealing a telling blow at the imperialist system of colonial domination, the October Revolution gave a powerful impetus to the national liberation movement. The crisis of the colonial system, which set in 50 years ago, has now led to the breakdown of the major colonial empires. More than 1,500 million people have won through to independence and play an active part in political life. The example and successes of world socialism have encouraged several of these young states to initiate far-reaching social reforms, and there is closer contact between the revolutionary democratic parties of

these countries and the international Communist movement, also a growing interest in scientific socialism.

That change, too, was highlighted by the jubilee celebrations in Moscow. Speaking in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, representatives of these parties emphasized what peoples upholding the principles of freedom, progress and peace, have in common. They are united despite differences "in weapons of struggle, distances separating their battlefields and the diversity of the forms of struggle." The success of the newly liberated countries, their advance to social progress, require unity of the national-democratic and all revolutionary forces and movements to bring about social change.

Close unity and contact between the national liberation movement, the socialist community and the workers' movement in capitalist countries is essential to safeguarding the sovereignty of ex-colonial countries against the encroachments of imperialism and neo-colonialism, and against counter-revolutionary coups. The same applies to Afro-Asian countries that have still to consummate their fight against imperialism and change their pattern of social and economic development.

It applies also to whole continents, Latin America, for instance, where imperialist domination is in a state of deep crisis. The breakdown of traditional socio-economic structures, intensified imperialist exploitation and intervention, the growing anti-imperialist movement and the struggle for social progress, have reached a point that offers vast opportunities for revolutionary change. This poses the question of developing all forms of revolutionary struggle, but in conformity with national conditions and with due regard to the experience of the revolutionary movement now spreading throughout the continent. And there must be maximum effort to bring together all revolutionary forces and trends for united action to promote solidarity with socialist Cuba, with peoples waging an armed struggle and with underground and imprisoned revolutionary fighters.

Unity of the world revolutionary forces is not only possible, but vitally necessary—possible because it has a firm and realistic basis and a common aim—the struggle for peace, democracy and freedom; necessary because the reactionary imperialist forces are stepping up their aggression.

The experience of all Communist parties provides irrefutable proof that Communism's noble aims can be attained only if the Communist parties strive for united action on a basis of Marxism-Leninism, which is the theoretical and methodological foundation for an

analysis of reality, constructive generalization of the experience of fraternal parties, and comradely coordination of the struggle against imperialism. It should always be borne in mind that any divisive move, any retreat from Marxism-Leninism, leads to grave mistakes in theory and practice, undermines unity of the Communist parties and the Communist movement as a whole, and does grievous harm to the revolutionary struggle.

Closer cooperation, solidarity and united action of the Communist parties is demanded by life itself, by the objective laws of social development. In the course of the jubilee celebrations representatives of the Communist parties declared that unity of the international Communist movement was vitally necessary, and that every effort should be exerted to achieve it.

Many of the speakers called for a new meeting of Communist and Workers' parties. Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, said: "The vast majority of Communist parties want to see our international movement closely united. There is a pressing need for such unity in order to deal more effective blows at our common foe, imperialism. And if some choose to stand on the sidelines, that should not prevent us from going ahead with the solution of this urgent problem."

The view of the French Communist Party was put by its General Secretary, Waldeck Rochet: "The imperialists, and above all the U.S. imperialists, are desperately trying to reverse the tide of history. They are banking on a split in the ranks of the international Communist and anti-imperialist movements. That makes it especially necessary to achieve unity of the world anti-imperialist forces, and in the first instance united action of the Communist and Workers' Parties. It is in this spirit that the French Communist Party favors preparation and convocation of a new international meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties."

Having analyzed the problems involved in strengthening the unity of the socialist countries and the international tasks of the Communist parties, Antonin Novotny, First Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, declared on behalf of the Czechoslovak Communists: "It is absolutely necessary that the Communist and Workers' Par-

ties exchange views and experience on the central issues confronting the world today. In common with the majority of Communist parties we hold that the present international situation and the position within the international Communist movement call for immediate and concrete preparation of a new international meeting."

The Karlovy Vary conference showed that there can be a fruitful exchange of views on basic world problems, and there are many such problems requiring collective and thorough discussion at an international Communist conference.

Of course, there is no need to think up arguments in favor of such a conference—they stem from life itself, from the main class contradictions of our time, and the problems they pose can be solved only on the basis of Marxist-Leninist unity of the Communist movement.

Ten years ago, in November 1957, an international meeting of fraternal Parties was held in Moscow. The Declaration it issued expressed the firm confidence that "by closing their ranks and thereby rallying the working class and the peoples of all countries, the Communist and Workers' Parties will surmount all obstacles in their onward movement and accelerate further big victories for the cause of peace, democracy and socialism."

The anti-Communist forces launched a virulent campaign to denigrate the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. They failed dismally. Their efforts were demolished by the truth which rang out with such conviction from the Soviet Union, the land of the Great October Revolution. Even the capitalist press now has to admit that the campaign was a failure.

Fifty years ago the October Revolution raised aloft the banner of socialism, which now flies above the world as the symbol of mankind's future. Socialism, which in the 19th century was translated from a utopia into a science, has in the 20th century been made a reality for hundreds of millions by the October Revolution. The times we live in will recede into the past. Communism will become a reality, but never will future generations forget the Great October Socialist Revolution, which inaugurated a new era in the history of mankind. The ideas of October are immortal.

The new system of planning and management in Poland

S. JENDRYCHOWSKI

IN JULY 1965 the Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party adopted a decision on the changes in economic planning and management to be effected between 1966 and 1970. The decision was a logical sequel to the changes carried out since 1956 to increase the autonomy and encourage the initiative of the enterprises and other economic units in step with improvements in centralized planning, to promote workers' self-management, decentralize administrative powers in coordinating economic activity, enhance the role of local People's Councils, and to carry forward the system of economic levers and incentives in planning while restricting the role of purely administrative methods.

Subsequent decisions of the CC were likewise instrumental in improving economic planning and management. Thus, the December 1965 meeting of the CC drew up a program for improving the planning of foreign trade and the execution of plans; in April 1966 the CC approved a detailed program for capital construction, and in October of that year it discussed planning at factory level and rhythmic operation, with emphasis on employment and labor productivity in industry.

Let us look at the principal results achieved under the Central Committee decision of July 1965.

I.

Work has been resumed on the economic development plan for the next 15 to 20 years to ensure continuity in planning and to create an integrated system of interconnected long-range and annual plans. At the moment planners are engaged in projecting economic devel-

opment till 1985. The long-range plan will be drawn up in several variants on the basis of their projections. It will not be subject to official approval but will be updated once in five years to cover the next five-year period.

The long-range plan is to be divided into five-year periods, which will make it easier to coordinate our five-year plans with the economic plans of other CMEA countries. The tentative draft of the long-range plan should be ready in 1969. It is being drawn up by the State Planning Commission, economic ministries, industrial amalgamations, research institutes and other bodies. It will be based, among other things, on the programs of organizational and technical reconstruction of the various industries, now being drawn up by the amalgamations concerned. In addition to the main lines of capital construction, these programs cover the organizational pattern of industry, specialization and cooperation, distribution of the productive forces, productive capacities and ways of utilizing them, the optimal size of industrial enterprises, measures to cut production costs, to increase the profitability of exports, and other problems. The State Commission for Science and Technology has already worked out a tentative plan of research and technical development for a period extending to 1985.

The five-year plans, approved by parliament, are the basic guide to economic development. We have come to the conclusion that targets for the closing year of the five-year plan should be coordinated with tentative guidelines for the next plan period. This will enable us to clear the calendar barrier which in the past left planners "stranded" as to the outlook for the next period. In drafting the 1966-70 plan, an effort was made simultane-

ously to set tentative targets for the next two years (1971 and 1972). Targets are more closely coordinated with subsequent plan periods also when drafting the annual plan. Planning for two years has been an accepted practice for several years now. It means that while drafting the plan for the current year planners outline the main targets for the next year, and these serve as the basis of that year's plan.

The July 1965 meeting of the Central Committee recommended more flexible planning and readjusting plans to changing conditions. These are affected above all by changes on the world market, the influence of weather on agricultural output, frequent and unforeseeable shifts in consumer demand. Hence the need to modify the long-term and annual plans of enterprises and industries. Export production and the food and light industries are particularly subject to fluctuation. In line with CC recommendations, the principle of adjusting three-month and monthly operational plans to the requirements of the home and foreign market is now being applied. Seasonal industries will draw up operational plans for one or two quarters. Annual plan targets will therefore be less detailed.

In carrying out long-term plans, adjustments are made in annual (or two-year) plans, subject to approval by parliament, like the five-year plan.

The July 1965 meeting of the CC stressed the significance of reserves in planning. Only by setting up various reserves—investments, foreign exchange, raw and other materials—can plans be carried out flexibly enough, without infringing their main lines.

In July 1965 the CC suggested increasing the number of possible variants in drafting plans, and making economic analyses to choose optimal solutions. The drafting of the plan for 1966-70 is based on the following procedure: ministries and amalgamations send plan outlines to the enterprises, and these put forward counter-plans after discussing the outlines. This method ensures greater thoroughness in drawing up the plan, helps to make the plan more realistic, and encourages the initiative of the workers' self-management and other bodies. A substantial number of counter-plans were included in the draft of the five-year plan.

Economic analysis and estimation of effectiveness are widely used, first of all in planning capital construction, ascertaining profitability of exports and determining railway freight routes.

Given a scientific approach to planning, which makes it possible increasingly to base decisions on economic analysis, and freer use

of economic levers, we need fewer rigid indicators for the enterprises and amalgamations. This trend first stood out clearly in the 1966 plan. The range of items which earlier had been included in the plan as rigid indicators was considerably reduced. This applies, first and foremost, to industries where there is the necessary balance between demand and supply.

The indicator of gross industrial output has not been rigidly fixed since 1957. But the value of the marketable product (in sales prices) is rigidly fixed. The role of profitability as a rigid indicator has increased. This synthetic indicator, reflecting the ratio between profit and production costs, has superseded the earlier fixed indicators of accumulation and of reduction of production costs.

By way of experiment, some enterprises apply the indicator of profit rate, which reflects the ratio between profit and fixed and circulating capital.

The new system of financing industrial and building enterprises, in use since early 1966, is based on the three indices of profitability, profit allocation (fixed for two years) and sharing of depreciation costs between the enterprise, the amalgamation and the budget (fixed for five years). On the basis of the second and third indices give above, the enterprises set up a development fund, a repair fund and an enterprise fund.

In the amalgamations, the new system of financing provides for setting up a capital construction fund, a reserve fund, and funds earmarked for financing the economic activity of the amalgamation concerned. As regards the technological and economic progress fund, normally made up of surcharges on the outlays of enterprises, the amalgamations can contribute extra sums to it out of their above-plan profit.

As a result of these changes, the share of the state budget in financing the enterprises dropped from 83.4 per cent in 1965 to 78.5 per cent in 1966. We owe this above all else to increased contributions to the development fund of the enterprises (which in 1966 was 40 per cent greater than in 1965), and to deductions from profit for the capital construction fund of the amalgamations.

Appreciable changes have occurred in the system of planning and financing capital construction. The main categories of capital construction are: (1) centralized (including key projects), (2) capital construction by amalgamations, and (3) capital construction by enterprises. Only those projects considered of key importance (their cost is roughly 12 per cent of the total cost of capital construction) are still financed out of the state budget. The

other centralized capital construction projects are financed through bank credit, repaid out of centralized depreciation funds and budget subsidies upon completion of the projects. This method is being introduced as new projects are launched. Small and medium investments made in capital construction by amalgamations or enterprises and intended mostly for reconstruction or for the replacement of worn out or obsolete plant, for the modernization, renewal or limited extension of available capacities, are financed out of the development fund of the enterprise or the capital construction fund of the amalgamation as the case may be, both funds being supplemented with bank credit. The proportions of these investments are not strictly limited but are regulated through appropriate credit policies.

A number of important and interesting aspects of the new system of planning and financing capital construction cannot be dealt with for lack of space. The system is highly flexible and allows ample scope for the initiative of enterprises, local government bodies and mass organizations.

To make the utilization of fixed capital more effective, all industries in which the level of accumulation made this possible have ever since 1966 generally paid five per cent of the cost for fixed assets. Industries in which accumulation is less pay a lower percentage. This approach is based on the principle of paying for fixed assets out of profit without, however, raising the sales price of output.

Until recently we in Poland had a rather rigid system of planning the employment and wage-funds. Labor productivity, the number of employed and the wage-fund were planned on the basis of gross output, even though this indicator had long since ceased to be rigid. Wage-funds, too, were adjusted, when the plan was exceeded, according to gross output. This practice was sharply criticized in the course of the economic discussion, for it hampered increased production of the more labor-consuming items. And this kind of output was in demand, both in the home and foreign market.

In keeping with the CC recommendations of July 1965, these difficulties are being overcome in two ways:

First, as labor discipline improves and wages are readjusted, we no longer set employment indicators, though wage-fund indicators remain. At the close of 1966, this applied to almost 40 per cent of those engaged in the socialized sector of the economy, and the process will continue.

In Polish conditions, a certain caution in abolishing employment indicators is due to the

fact that in some regions it is relatively easy to increase employment outside agriculture, but chiefly at the expense of changing the age composition of those employed in agriculture. Besides, factory managers are still in the habit of resolving every difficult situation by bringing in more workers.

Secondly, new indicators, tied in effect to net output, are being introduced to replace the gross output indicator in planning employment and wage-funds, and in altering these elements when plans are exceeded.

In the service industries, in industries catering to agriculture and certain other branches of the economy, we have abolished also the wage-fund indicator.

With regard to material and technical supply, the CC in July 1965 recommended systematically restricting centralized allocation of raw and other materials, machinery and equipment, extending their direct sale, and promoting contractual relations between the principal suppliers and the consumer. Restricting centralized allocation of materials was common practice also before the July 1965 meeting of the CC. The number of items allocated centrally was 1,575 in 1965, 418 in 1966 and only 310 in 1967.

II.

The July 1965 meeting of the Central Committee called for flexible use of the price lever according to the requirements of the law of value and to basic economic objectives. In the case of retail prices our main policy is to stabilize the cost of living by compensating the population for the effects of economically warranted price alterations. This compensation takes different forms. In some cases an increase in commodity prices or service charges is made up for by cutting the prices of other commodities and charges for other kinds of service, and in others by raising wages or in some other way. For example, rent increases in October 1965 were compensated for through extra wage increases. As wages rose these were gradually reduced. The tobacco price increase introduced in August 1966 to cut consumption was not made up for at all. The growth of the cost of living in 1966 was relatively low (1.3 per cent) compared with 1965. If we take into account this growth, real wages increased 3.3 per cent during that period, so that the standard of living improved.

We maintain that under the new system of planning and management the state should retain control over price formation. This is why principal retail and wholesale prices are regulated by government bodies (state or regional commissions).

However, there is a certain decentralization in pricing. Retail and wholesale prices for fruit and vegetables are fixed by the relevant trade enterprises. These prices change often enough, depending on demand and supply. The executive committees of the regional People's Councils have been empowered to fix maximum prices for fruit and vegetables for a definite period.

Some prices are fixed by the producers themselves. This applies to restaurants and bars, culinary products, and clothing. Local industry enterprises and cooperatives manufacturing small items of wood or metal and ornamental articles are allowed to fix their own prices. This is true also of charges for certain services. Shops dealing in hand-made goods price them at their discretion. The prices of handicraft wares sold by private dealers are not controlled except for some necessities. The prices of farm produce sold by peasants on the market shape according to demand and supply. The cost of commodities and services priced in decentralized fashion makes up about 12 per cent of the overall cost of all commodities and services intended for the population. This does not include the cost of goods and services priced by the regional price commissions. The latter's share is roughly 7.5 per cent of the total cost of commodities in circulation.

The prices of almost all new products used in industry or in capital construction are fixed by the appropriate ministries or, in some cases, by the heads of amalgamations. This is true also of imported raw and other materials that come in the same category.

However, prices for certain products used in capital construction and having a considerable impact on construction costs (such as railway equipment, ships, motor vehicles, turbines, excavators and transformers) are fixed by ministries with the consent of the Chairman of the State Planning Commission. This checks undue increase in capital construction costs.

Prices for non-standardized items or items delivered under cooperation contracts are fixed by the manufacturer by agreement with the contractor. But if the actual profit exceeds estimated profit by more than three per cent the surplus goes to the state budget. In some industries, such as heavy engineering, the manufacturer is obliged to transfer this surplus to the contractor.

Export manufacturers are entitled — by agreement with foreign trade enterprises — to fix the prices of items differing from similar items on the home market.

We are working on regulations to extend the pricing powers of the amalgamations.

The foregoing shows that decentralization in price formation in our country has gone a long way. We believe, nevertheless, that the state should control price formation, as this process is of immense economic, social and political importance. We think an effort should be made to ensure that retail prices shape according to the need for a balance between demand and supply. This, however, should not be a spontaneous process, for if the producers are given a free hand, their prices might tend to become monopoly prices. Resort to elements of competition to counter this trend—for instance, through import or by encouraging competition between enterprises—would only have a limited effect and would not securely guard against inflation phenomena.

The fact that the state controls price formation and directly fixes the prices of most goods does not, however, affect the flexibility of price formation. The necessary flexibility is achieved, for instance, with the help of seasonal differentiation of the prices of some goods, such as eggs, canned vegetables, fish, poultry, cement and mineral fertilizer (apart from fruit and vegetables, prices for which are altered at short intervals), as well as by lowering the prices of goods for which there is no demand (which is done by both trading establishments and industry) and charging more than the average for new products, new models of clothes and goods in high demand.

A system of factory prices has been effective in Poland since January 1, 1967. Essentially the producer's price, the factory price, becomes the sales price when the turnover tax is added. It should be added that in Poland the turnover tax is paid in the sphere of production, not distribution. Hence the factory price determines to a certain extent the size of the turnover tax and consequently the profit of the enterprise. At the same time, the factory price is called upon to create more or less equal conditions ensuring profitable production of various goods at the given enterprise. The level of factory prices should guarantee the enterprise (on condition that it does not exceed planned production costs) the possibility to build up the development fund, the enterprise fund, etc. Factory prices make for conscious differentiation of profit rates to give preference to products that are more modern, enjoy a demand and require greater efforts on the enterprise's part. Sales prices cannot be always instrumental in this. Thus, factory prices constitute an important economic lever bearing upon the activity of the enterprise.

There is no need for a general price reform in Poland now. Since the basic reform in mid-1960, all industries, with few exceptions, have been operating at a profit. The unjustified

disparities in the prices of some goods are removed in the course of regular price readjustments. There exist, however, goods and services whose prices are below cost, with the difference covered through state subsidies. Whenever possible these prices are revised and subsidies abolished. For example, in 1963, new, economically-substantiated prices of coal, electricity and gas were established; in 1965 rents were raised to a level ensuring maintenance costs; in July 1967 the problem of city transport fares was solved, although not everywhere yet.

Thus, in its economic policy the state strives to make price express the value of a product and serve as an instrument influencing demand and supply.

III.

The present system of economic incentives for workers, engineers and technicians has existed, with improvements, since 1957. The changes have affected mainly the enterprise fund as a form of profit-sharing. Today the size of this fund at most enterprises depends on the attainment of planned profitability targets.

As a rule, upon reaching the profitability indicator the enterprise establishes its enterprise fund as a percentage of the planned wage fund. Additional sums go into the fund when the profitability plan is overfulfilled. Under-fulfilment entails appropriate sanctions. Operation at less than 80 per cent of profitability level means forfeiture of the right to set up the enterprise fund.

Twenty-five per cent of the enterprise fund must be spent on housing construction. The rest (within 8.5 per cent of the planned wage fund) is distributed in premiums, with the surplus going into housing construction again. Workers' self-management organs have the right to reallocate part of the sum set aside for premiums for welfare measures. The principles of premium distribution are established by the self-management organs in keeping with the directives of the Central Council of Trade Unions. In 1965 the enterprise fund equalled, on the average, 6.8 per cent of the wage fund.

There also exists a premium fund for engineers and technicians at enterprises and amalgamations. Its size, determined annually by the government for each branch, depends on the intensity and complexity of assignments but should not be less than 10 per cent of basic pay. Distribution is on the basis of a points system. The factory manager determines basic assignments for each body of workers (the higher organs do the same for factory managers), with each assignment car-

rying a definite number of points. The assignments differ widely; improving overall performance, increasing production for export, improvements in design and processes, production of new items, fuller use of production capacities, cutting production costs, etc. This system of stimulation is characterized by flexibility and a possibility of varying assignments. At factory level assignments can be revised once in every three months.

Since 1963 a special system of incentives for both wage and salary workers has been effective at state farms, where the size of premiums depends on the fulfilment of assignments as regards crop yields, livestock productivity, etc. The assignments remain valid for several years running. Since the introduction of this system output at the state farms has increased and general performance improved.

In view of the special importance of export for our economy, in mid-1966 a system of premiums was established for the workers of export-oriented enterprises and foreign trade establishments. Premiums are paid for both increasing the physical volume of exports and raising its effectiveness.

So far we have been speaking about particular systems of additional economic stimulation. But the main material stimulus for a working man, especially an industrial worker, is his wages, the chief source of his income. Hence constant improvement of the wage system (from the viewpoint of its influence on labor productivity, the quality of output and thrifty use of materials) is a very important task in the field of material stimulation. Until recently the wage system has not been effective enough in stimulating quality improvement and material saving. The Fourth Plenum of the CC called special attention to this aspect of remuneration. In the course of wage readjustments we have endeavored to tie up, as far as possible, the workers' earnings with these factors, for instance, in the metal-making and mining industries.

A number of problems remain outstanding, such as the ensuring of a correct correlation of wages in different branches of the economy, or the removal of unjustified disproportions in remuneration, encouragement of skill reclassification, etc.

IV.

The specificity of improving planning in agriculture deserves, in my opinion, more detailed consideration. As we know, agricultural production depends on weather conditions and cannot be planned as precisely as other branches. Therefore we use preliminary esti-

mates of farm output. Rigid plans are drawn up only for the production and delivery of producer goods needed by agriculture and for the procurement of, and contracting for, farm products. The latter, however, are obligatory planned targets only for the procurement agencies.

The application of the method of preliminary estimates involves the problem of crop forecasts, especially for short periods of time. We know from more than ten years' experience how harmful it is to found plans on too optimistic forecasts. On many occasions unfavorable weather forced plan readjustments, and therefore we have for several years now been more cautious in planning field husbandry, basing preliminary crop estimates on the average for the previous four years. This method presupposes a certain reserve, for it leaves out increased delivery of mineral fertilizer and pesticides, the results of land betterment work, the improvement of farming practices and other factors which, given average weather conditions, should boost yields above the average for the previous years. Thus, given average conditions, to say nothing of better-than-average ones, the output of crops and consequently of livestock products in the second half of the year, the production of the agriculture-based food industry, the export of farm products and foodstuffs, the incomes of peasants and the reserve for the next year will, as a rule, exceed the preliminary estimates built into the plan. In planning for a longer period we must take into account improvements in farming practices and growing deliveries of agricultural machinery.

As distinct from the other European socialist countries (with the exception of Yugoslavia), Polish agriculture is characterized by the predominance of individual farming. Hence the special importance of economic means of influencing production. Foremost among them are the prices of farm products the peasants sell to the state. Prices, for instance, enable the state to give preference to those crops and products which are important for the economy as a whole. At present, for instance, these are grain, livestock products, fruit and vegetables.

Farm products are purchased chiefly on the basis of contracting, with the help of which the state can influence the volume, distribution and specialization of production. In 1966 state purchases accounted for about 83 per cent of the value of gross marketable output. Also important from the viewpoint of influencing the structure of agricultural production and promoting progress in farming practices is the policy of fixing prices of capital goods for agriculture. The prices of mineral ferti-

lizers, fuel, tractors and other farm machines usually equal cost plus a small profit, while pesticides, implements for their application, lime and combined fodder are sold below cost.

As far as credit policy is concerned, individual peasants can have practically unlimited credits for expanding production, to be repaid in 18 months. Ever wider use is made of long-term and medium-term credits for the construction of houses and farm facilities and the purchase of cattle. Some farm machines are sold on the instalment plan.

Mention must also be made of the agricultural development fund established by the state in 1959. It is made up of the means that constitute the difference between purchasing prices on the free market and the prices of obligatory procurements which, in the individual peasants' case, make up about 47 per cent of marketable grain, 23 per cent of cattle and hogs (live weight) and 30 per cent of potatoes. A development fund is set up in every village and disposed of by the local farmers' association. In 1966 there were 33,600 such associations with a total of 1,800,000 members and embracing approximately 90 per cent of all villages. The associations use the fund for the purchase of tractors and other machines and equipment for their maintenance and repair. A certain part of the fund can be used for other production needs.

As concerns the socialist sector in agriculture, the state plans capital investments, overall economic targets and the wage fund. The state farms sell their products to the state at the same prices as individual peasants. They are free to specialize in keeping with local conditions and possibilities. They receive certain subsidies, designed primarily for services to the farming community as a whole.

V.

The current reform has affected foreign trade as well. The latter's specificity requires more flexible methods of planning compared with the other branches. The annual plan for foreign trade is drawn up when negotiations with the socialist countries have not been completed yet and the protocols on turnover in the next year have not been signed. Depending on the results of the negotiations and the degree of fulfilment of the import-export plan for the previous year, the plan has to be modified in the first months of the year. Fluctuations on the foreign market, especially the capitalist one, often call for corrections to be made in the course of the whole year. To this end, a plan for the second half of the year is worked out. This makes it clear why the annual plan for foreign trade cannot be made too detailed.

Therefore, beginning with 1966, foreign trade plans have contained quantitative assignments only for the export and import of especially important goods, whereas overall export and import assignments for separate departments are set in terms of convertible zloty. In case of a change in prices or in the situation on the foreign or domestic markets, the ministries themselves can determine the range of goods to be imported and exported, on condition that the value assignments of the turnover plan are fulfilled and the domestic supply is not affected.

However, the experience of planning in terms of value is not quite satisfactory yet. It still remains to weaken the trend for above-plan import and to make export sufficiently active. The State Planning Commission is still often asked to authorize reduced exports or allow additional imports. At the same time, planning of foreign trade in terms of value possesses considerable flexibility and makes it possible to decentralize decision-making on many matters. At present attempts are being made to determine export and import assignments for some industries, such as metal-making and pharmaceuticals, in the form of value balances.

The changes in the planning and management of our foreign trade do not make provision yet for the direct influence of world prices on the domestic prices at which foreign goods are purchased at home and at which the manufacturers of export goods sell their merchandise. The prices of imported raw materials and semi-manufactures are maintained at a stable level, regardless of foreign market fluctuations. To be sure, considerable changes in the level of world prices have to be reckoned with, but with due account to all the positive and negative consequences of relevant decisions. It is the practice in our country to fix the prices of imported consumer goods in accordance with the situation on the home market, with due account to the prices of other goods, whereas the prices of imported producer goods are established on the basis of world prices, with a certain differential.

The prices paid for exported goods are fixed on the same principles which are applied in domestic price formation, with due allowances for the difference in quality, export finish, packaging, etc.

We follow closely what is being done in this field by other socialist countries. We are particularly interested in the effect of the current reforms on the balance of payments, for its stability is essential for the normal functioning and development of the national economy.

ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

Fresh successes were scored in the first half of 1967 by the member countries of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance. Industrial output continued to grow faster than planned. Compared with the same period of 1966, it grew by 14.8 per cent in Bulgaria, 8 per cent in Hungary 7.3 per cent in the GDR, 5.4 per cent in Mongolia, 8.9 per cent in Poland, 14 per cent in Rumania, 10.6 per cent in the Soviet Union, and 5.5 per cent in Czechoslovakia.

Faster-than-average progress was registered by such key industries as power, engineering, chemicals and iron and steel. Production efficiency grew, and so did labor productivity.

These successes were accompanied by a further rise in the living standard of the people. In Bulgaria retail trade turnover was 11.1 per cent greater than in the first half of 1966, in Hungary 9 per cent, in the GDR 5.3 per cent, in Mongolia 3.7 per cent, in Poland 6.8 per cent, in Rumania 8 per cent and in the Soviet Union 9 per cent. There was an increase in the wages and in the cash incomes of the entire population.

VI.

The most important change the July 1965 meeting of the Central Committee introduced into the system of economic management was to recognize the new role of industrial amalgamations and similar organizations in other branches.

The legal status, duties and rights of the enterprise had been determined in 1956-57, providing scope for the initiative of enterprises. The same period saw the formation of the organizational principles of workers' self-management.

An important problem that had to be solved in a new way was that of the character, duties and powers of organizations above factory level. In the initial period of new Poland's economic development these organizations (central departments) acted as administrative organs.

In 1958, in keeping with the general trend to give enterprises greater autonomy, the central departments were re-organized into amalgamations, to operate as cost-accounting organizations coordinating the activity of enterprises primarily with the help of economic instruments. But in practice the amalga-

tions were not given sufficient powers and means. The question of the amalgamations was posed in a new way by the July 1965 plenary meeting of the Central Committee. In December 1966, acting in keeping with the plenary meeting's decisions, the Council of Ministers determined the functions and powers of industrial amalgamations in the field of planning, promotion of technological progress, marketing, foreign trade, financial operations, technical and economic information, accounting and branch coordination. The amalgamations were given certain powers with regard to the economic activity of the constituent enterprises and the right to set up a number of funds, such as the investment fund, reserve fund, technological and economic progress fund and what we call the branch fund for economic undertakings.

An interesting form of management peculiar to Poland is so-called branch coordination. Organizationally, our industry is managed according to branches. But the nature of production is such that the organizational structure of industry cannot fully correspond to its division into branches. Hence the need for coordinating the work of kindred enterprises subordinated to different amalgamations. Coordination is effected in different ways: in the form of inter-branch agreements in which the respective amalgamations play the coordinating role, by branch centers in the furniture-making and confectionery industries, and so on.

There is also territorial coordination, carried out by local People's Councils with regard to enterprises not subordinated to them.

The People's Councils have direct jurisdiction over almost the entire agriculture, the local industry, retail and, in part, wholesale trade, motor transport, housing and communal services, primary and secondary schools, most vocational schools, the overwhelming majority of public health and social security establishments, tourism, etc.

As regards centrally-subordinated enterprises, territorial coordination by local councils extends to such matters as distribution of industrial and other installations, water supply and sewage disposal, stores management, transport, employment of the local population, the welfare activities of enterprises, and so on.

VII.

A number of experiments are under way in Poland to test new planning and management ideas. These experiments are conducted by three industrial amalgamations and by individual enterprises and shops. The results of the experiments will soon be summed up and corresponding decisions taken.

At the same time, the Institute of Planning and the Computing Center of the State Planning Commission are studying inter-branch links and optimization models on the scale of the entire economy and the possibilities for applying mathematical methods and the latest computer techniques in planning.

Improvement of the system of planning and management of a socialist economy is a continuous process aimed at bringing out and utilizing, in the interests of society and socialist construction, all the advantages inherent in the socialist mode of production.

Greece: the junta and the opposition

ZISIS ZOGRAFOS

A FEATURE OF THE political situation that has taken shape in Greece since the military-fascist coup of April 21, 1967, is the determination of the military junta and its local and foreign backers to firmly entrench the regime that has been imposed on the Greek people. To this end it is fortifying its positions in the army, the machinery of state, in all spheres of political and public life generally. It is also trying to broaden its political base and to crush all resistance by the people and the opposition forces.

Another feature of the present situation is that the people, all democratic forces, having recovered from the suddenness of the blow struck them, are beginning to show their opposition to the regime in a more forceful and organized way. All anti-dictatorial forces show a growing tendency to develop and coordinate their activity and to unite in a single front.

The junta's representatives at home and abroad are going out of their way to justify the suppression of the rights and freedoms of the Greek people. They are circulating the cock-and-bull story that Greece has been saved from the catastrophe and chaos that "the Communists and corruption" were leading to, that there is "growing stabilization" in the country, that it is moving towards "genuine democracy." But the facts tell a different story, that the regime of April 21 has thrown our country back many years, has condemned it to backwardness.

The junta's "doings" are seen in the repressive measures against the democratic movement, mass organizations, political parties, people's champions, against its opponents, even the most moderate. Even the army, which the junta claims carried out the "revolution," is not exempt. Disciplinary punishment, staged "accidents," the torture of soldiers—all this has become a daily occurrence. Officers considered "suspect" by the junta are remov-

ed from the armed forces and replaced by officers loyal to it and by men who engineered the "Aspida" affair and the assassination of the prominent political figure, Dr. Lambrakis.

Purges continue in the machinery of the state, in the municipal and communal councils, diplomatic corps, the trade unions and agricultural cooperatives. Although the junta follows the tactics of concealing the arrest and torture of patriots the truth is seeping through. As in the time of the Metaxas dictatorship and the occupation, political prisoners are subjected to all kinds of indignities by the secret police in an attempt to wrest from them signed statements renouncing their progressive views.

Out to physically destroy or at least politically discredit its most consistent opponents—irrespective of the party they belong to—the junta has concentrated its fire on the leaders and activists of the Communist and other left parties. Thus, proceedings have been instituted against EDA deputies, the proceedings to try Andreas Papandreou, leader of the Center Union, have been stepped up. The secret services are busy concocting the necessary charges. Take, for instance, the publication of the so-called secret materials of the EDA, which were allegedly confiscated on its premises. The obvious absurdity of this should not lull the vigilance of the world public. The present regime needs to stage trials of this kind. It has to vindicate (even if belatedly) at home and abroad the crime of April 21 before it can intensify its terrorist methods against the population. The allegations by Pattakos, Minister of Home Affairs, and a semi-official organ of the junta that the Communists engineered assassinations, arson, sabotage, are not accidental. They clearly indicate the regime's plans to organize provocations against the democratic movement and clear the way to a more vigorous offensive

against it and the resistance fighters.

Diverse means are used to get the country's intellectuals to submit to the dictatorship, or at least not to oppose its arbitrary rule. Men of science and art are being hounded; 340 journalists have lost their jobs and another 44 have been imprisoned or sent to concentrations camps. Many of the classics of ancient Greek and world-famous writers have been banned. The reactionary ideas of the military regime are propagandized by the national radio and in special armed forces broadcasts. The junta has also invaded the sphere of public education and higher learning: university professors will no longer be elected by the Council of Professors, as has been the case hitherto, but by the military.

The purpose of the junta's economic policy is to consolidate and expand the privileges of monopoly capital, both domestic and foreign, which played a significant role in the events of April 21. The special emergency law (No. 98), which legalizes what amounts to capitulations, exempts foreign commercial and industrial enterprises from taxes and customs. The junta has traded the country's economic interests for foreign monopoly support.

The U.S. imperialists are taking advantage of Greece's economic straits to tighten their stranglehold. What more eloquent proof of this than the agreement concluded with Litton, a company producing military electronic equipment for the U.S. armed forces. Under the terms of this agreement the company has the right to act for the government on Crete and in the Western Peloponnes (of particular strategic interest to the Pentagon). This can only imperil the national interest.

The country's economic problems are the Achilles heel of the dictatorship. Compared with the first half of 1966 the volume of industrial output dropped sharply for the same period in 1967, particularly in the months following the military takeover. With few exceptions, all balance of payments items show a downward trend. Instead of a surplus in the first six months of 1966, Greece is now running a considerable deficit in the balance of foreign trade. The bulk of government funds are invested in road building which directly or indirectly serves military purposes. The growth rates of the national income are slowing down. Circulation of paper money has greatly increased. Industry is faced with the danger of operating below capacity which means mass unemployment. Bankruptcies and uncovered promissory notes have become a regular feature.

Even the junta-controlled journal *Oikonomiki poria* (all other publications are controlled by the junta, too), has been compelled to

acknowledge that economic difficulties exist and are being aggravated as a result of the measures imposed by the United States. Thus we read in the journal's issue of August 15-16: "The Greek economy is undoubtedly encountering difficulties, caused by external factors and the *internal* situation, and especially by the trends inherent in it, also in industry where growth rates are slowing down and production even shrinking." Highly significant, too, is the resignation of two leading personalities of the banking world, Zolotas and Pesmazoglu, who declared that the "national economy was on the verge of catastrophe."

The dictatorship is, of course, trying to find a way out of the economic impasse by shifting the burden onto the shoulders of the working class and other sections of the working people. Practical expression of this are the wage and salary freeze, the cutting down of the salaries of civil servants, the nullifying of the rights won by the working people in hard-fought battles, fleecing of insurance funds and mass dismissals.

The peasants—whose incomes have undoubtedly dropped compared with last year—and other middle sections of the population are feeling the consequences of the junta's policy, too. The much publicized pension increase for peasants was followed by the decision to impose a one-per cent tax on all products sold wholesale.

As for the junta's foreign policy the Minister of Home Affairs, Pattakos, spelled out with truly military brevity its direct and complete dependence on other governments, particularly the American. When asked by journalists: "Where would the government turn if the Americans refused to recognize it?" Pattakos replied: "To America, of course. Where else?" Although no one doubted this, still the answer is inimitable. That the junta is blindly subservient to Washington and the aggressive NATO bloc, and intends to remain so, is borne out by every public statement made by its ministers. Take the interview given by Prime Minister Kollias to American journalists on October 19th: "We carried out a revolution," he stated, "because slogans like 'Americans, get out!' 'NATO, get out!' were proclaimed all over Greece." The military tribunals incidentally are passing stiff sentences on those accused of "discrediting" the United States.

At a time when the movement to stop U.S. aggression in Vietnam is mounting throughout the world, when in America itself it is gaining momentum and many Americans are demonstrating their indignation at the dirty war, the Prime Minister declared that "we can

only express our unbounded admiration of the war which the United States is waging in Vietnam," that "the American people should be proud of the struggle they are waging in Vietnam." This subservient declaration is designed to psychologically prepare the ground for Greece's participation in this reckless venture.

In this same interview Kollias clearly defines the junta's position in the sphere of international relations. To quote: "The fellow-travellers of the countries behind the iron curtain are more dangerous than those countries themselves." "The American people over-rate and incorrectly understand the meaning of personal freedom and democracy to the detriment of the security of the free world." "The cessation of American military aid would be to the advantage of international communism." "The Scandinavian governments have, consciously or unconsciously, become instruments of international communism, and the free world is heading today towards its self-destruction, for it co-exists with communism. There can only be two categories of citizens in the world today—communists and anti-communists." What better expose of the junta ringleaders' fascist way of thinking and subservience to the U.S. foreign policy!

Of course the junta is trying not to be too crude in giving effect to this policy. Its caution is dictated by American interests. It is quite a different matter that it is anything but easy to camouflage the anti-Soviet and anti-communist essence of this policy, and keep it within the bounds of diplomatic propriety, particularly when American interests set the tone.

Anti-Soviet hysteria, repressions against the representatives of the friendship societies with the socialist countries, the continuous visits of NATO generals to Athens, the closing of the frontier with Yugoslavia, the use of Greece's military bases by the Americans at the time of the Middle East crisis—all these actions by the junta have only added to the tension in the Balkans, the Mediterranean and the whole of Europe. The NATO maneuvers were quite clearly not only an expression of moral support of and confidence in the dictatorship; their purpose was also to aggravate the situation in the Balkans. The junta is also furthering American plans when it intends to decide the question of Cyprus in a way that would suit its American masters who want to include the island in the system of their rocket bases.

Fascism and war have always run parallel. Greek fascism is no exception, especially considering that it is nurtured and led by that world gendarme—American imperialism.

It is obvious from the facts cited that, far

from solving the country's problems, the dictatorship has by its policy only added to them, has increased Greece's dependence on other countries, and particularly on American imperialism, that it is selling out her natural resources. The past few months have shown that the regime lacks stability. Although the junta is still able to stay in power as a result of the purges and reshuffles in the army and machinery of the state it has aroused discontent and antagonism. It has not been able to gain a foothold among the people, to broaden its social base. Dissension and contradictions have arisen within the junta itself and in its relations with King Constantine.

The dictatorship is finding it increasingly difficult to choose people for leading government and administrative posts loyal to it but who at the same time enjoy a measure of popular influence. It has had to fall back on upstarts who are least suited to bridge the gulf dividing the junta from the people. The people continue to maintain an uncompromisingly hostile attitude to the dictatorship. Their hatred of the army colonels is growing. Life itself and the actions of the military dictatorship are rousing the people to action.

Despite the intensification of terror, popular resistance, whether passive or active, is beginning to spread. Actions by the democratic, anti-dictatorship forces have become more organized and bold in recent months. Such actions include the submission of complaints and petitions, the establishment of committees which present demands to the bodies concerned, resignations from leading posts, the refusal to publicly support representatives of the regime. Protests have been voiced and demands advanced even at meetings held on instructions from above, of trade unions and cooperatives (in which only the most conservative peasants have remained) and at conferences of civil servants and private employees.

Anti-dictatorship leaflets and proclamations are distributed, and slogans written on the walls of houses or transmitted with the help of tape-recorders and loud-speakers. Rumors are rife much to the exasperation of the colonels. Mention should also be made of the anti-junta youth demonstration held on one of the central thoroughfares of Athens, which made a great impression in the country and abroad.

The most important event, however, is the establishment of the Patriotic Front which includes, besides leaders of the Left parties, representatives of the Center and even Right parties. Also several other resistance organizations have been formed. An active anti-dictatorship movement has been started by Greeks living abroad (emigrants, students, intellectuals). They have formed action com-

mittees in towns and countries of Europe, with the purpose of uniting these eventually in a broad European movement.

A widespread protest movement is under way abroad. This movement is directed against the usurpers and those who support them — the American imperialists and the NATO militarists.

The Mideast crisis and Israel's war against the Arab world, it is true, overshadowed the Greek tragedy temporarily. But with the cessation of hostilities the "Greek question" figures more prominently than before, for now the connection between the plot against the freedom of the Greek people and the plot against the Arab peoples and the cause of peace generally has been fully revealed. The coup in Greece was the signal for a U.S. imperialist offensive in support of reaction in other countries. We know that Prometheus was not the only plan of its kind. However, the establishment of the fascist dictatorship in keeping with the NATO plan undermined the moral and ideological foundation of this aggressive block, confirmed that the danger against which it is supposedly protecting its members came from itself and exposed it to still greater criticism.

The coup in Greece, Israel's aggression and America's fixed purpose to settle the Cyprus question in the interests of NATO are the links which, together with the dirty war in Vietnam, the establishment of anti-democratic regimes in Indonesia, Ghana and other countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, make up the chain of imperialism's global strategy to safeguard the predatory interests of the monopolies and the reckless ventures of the imperialists.

However, the attitude of world opinion — of the most diverse political complexions — towards the present regime is most unfavorable. We see this in the refusal to participate in the Athens festival and the Salonika trades fair, to travel to Greece, in the boycott of Greek vessels in a number of ports, in the Soviet Government's statement in defense of Manolis Glezos and Mikis Theodorakis, the message sent by Chivu Stoica, Chairman of the State Council of Rumania, in the decisions of the governments of the Scandinavian countries, and the resolutions of the European Council, Common Market Commission and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions condemning the regime of the dictatorship. All these are significant actions which cannot be ignored. Needless to say, they have not been to the liking of the dictatorship, and its representatives are venting their virulence on world opinion, describing it as being "communist" and "fellow-travel-

ler." The dictatorship is spending vast sums to get foreign papers, even the most insignificant, to print some words in its favor. It is also resorting to all kinds of measures, including withdrawal of citizenship, against Greeks living abroad in an attempt to silence their voice of protest.

This growing movement of condemnation of the April 21 regime is creating quite a few political and diplomatic snags for the U.S. imperialists and NATO ruling circles as well, and this at a time when America's aggressive policy is finding itself isolated more and more, and when centrifugal tendencies are making themselves felt in the NATO bloc itself, especially because of the attitude adopted by the French government.

In view of the internal and international isolation of the junta, American ruling quarters are beginning to realize that the violent actions of the army colonels, which are condemned by the whole world, are bound to weaken their own positions and NATO's southeastern wing. Hence their hypocritical statements that they did not know a coup was being prepared (Defense Secretary McNamara's statement in Paris) and that they hoped constitutional order would soon be restored in Greece (statement by President Johnson at the time of King Constantine's Washington visit and when the new Greek Ambassador, Xanthopoulos-Palmas presented his credentials).

But the fact remains, that the present situation in the country suits Washington's interests. Characteristic in this respect is the statement made by General Van Fleet, Gauleiter of Greece during the civil war and who already then enlisted the present ringleaders of the coup in the service of the CIA. Van Fleet who in general plays an important role as special adviser in engineering coups, said Washington should applaud the present government of Greece, for by establishing a dictatorship it has saved the United States from the danger of a new Vietnam. The Washington militarists feel obliged to give public expression to their support for the present military regime, set up on their instructions and with their direct help, and which could not exist otherwise.

A somewhat different attitude has been adopted by the British imperialists who are not at all happy about the fact that they did not play first fiddle in the take-over. While not objecting to the neutralization and isolation of the Left forces and to restraints on the mass movement, the British imperialists would prefer, in the interests of home and also foreign policy, a situation where a semblance of legality is preserved, with the

King in control. They consider him as their man, as distinct from the army colonels who are the faithful henchmen of Washington.

It is the uncompromising resistance of the people to the dictatorship and the broad protest movement abroad that largely account for such significant events as public criticism of the present regime by R. Kanellopoulos, leader of the ERE party and ex-Prime Minister, and by Mrs. Vlachou, publisher of the conservative paper *Kathimerini*. These facts speak of the changes taking place in the ranks of the Rights; they confirm once again the negative attitude of the country's political forces to the dictatorship.

The fact that P. Pipinellis, representative of the ultra Rights, declared his support of the dictatorship and proposed that the junta be given time to finish the job it had started, does not change things basically. Pipinellis has always operated behind the scenes. Even before the take-over he had thrown in his lot with the militarists. All he has done now has been to publicly confirm this. His attitude should be seen as a reaction to the response the ERE leader's condemnation of the dictatorship evoked, especially among the Rights.

In these circumstances attempts are being made to present the dictatorship in the eyes of the world as "worthy of respect." Hence the official statement about the drafting of a new constitution, to be ready by December 15, and the holding of a referendum and parliamentary elections in 1968. But already now there is a tug-of-war going on between the men on whom the present regime relies, the junta ringleaders and the King. Each of these forces is interested that the new constitution should ensure its supremacy. The real purpose of the new constitution, however, is to give legislative embodiment to the military tyranny, the gross violation of the people's rights and freedoms, the discrimination against citizens, the banning of parties and thought control, and to confirm the supreme power of the High Court to control all and everything in our country.

As far the "referendum" on the constitution, one has only to recall similar ones held in U.S. dominated countries—in South Korea and South Vietnam, and in Greece before and after the war—to know the real purpose of such "referendums."

At its plenary meeting in June, the Central Committee of the Party critically analyzed the causes that made possible the establishment of the dictatorship and the situation in the country after the coup.

One of the main lessons to be drawn from this analysis is that the lack of united action among the democratic parties and forces was

the main reason. The danger of fascism could have been averted if the democratic forces had acted in concert before the coup, had repelled the offensive of reaction and thus barred the road to fascism. But, some of the democratic parties and leaders rejected unity with the Lefts and the Communists before the take-over, evidently fearing that they would be made the target of an anti-communist smear campaign. Their rejection did not obviate this. The junta is well aware of the importance of unity, of joint action by all patriotic and democratic forces. Hence its savage persecution of the Communist Party—which calls for the unity of all forces opposed to the dictatorship—and of all who cooperate with the Party.

Our Party believes that the objective basis exists for creating a broad, genuinely national movement which would include all parties, organizations and public figures, irrespective of their political beliefs—from the Communist Party and Left forces to the Rights. United action by the people, by anti-dictatorial parties and organizations on all issues, whether of primary or secondary importance, (the fight for bread, for the economic demands of the workers, peasants and middle sections, of the employers who feel the brunt of foreign capital's disastrous operations, the fight for the restoration of constitutional and democratic freedoms)—this is the foundation on which a firm patriotic front can be built.

Examining the forms of united struggle, the plenary meeting noted that these could be most diverse. They could be refusal to cooperate in any way whatsoever with the dictatorship, oral propaganda against the regime, the writing of slogans, strike action and demonstrations and, if need be, a nationwide struggle to overthrow the dictatorship. The forms are to be determined in the course of the struggle itself.

The experience of the first few months has shown that the Party has taken the right course. It believes that the creation of a union of patriotic forces should not be delayed, that mutual trust should be restored among them. Discussions and contacts should serve to promote unity. Every action by the dictatorship must be combated. Their common enemy, the junta, must not be given a chance to act and strengthen its positions while the patriotic forces are discussing the prerequisites for unity.

We also stress the need of forming a patriotic front among the masses. The stronger and broader such a front, the more effective will be the struggle against the dictatorship and the greater the possibilities of achieving cooperation at higher levels.

The Communists lay no claim to any special position in this struggle and are prepared to respect the interests of all other democratic forces. The Communists want unity with all anti-dictatorial forces without exception (parties, organizations, leaders, activists) irrespective of past differences. The Party Central Committee has proposed to other parties and patriotic forces a common program containing the following points: overthrow of the dictatorship; restoration of constitutional and democratic freedoms and the right of all parties and organizations to function freely; general political amnesty; dissolution of the junta; free elections on the basis of a simple proportional system, to be held by a government representative of all parties.

Other issues of vital concern to the people, to the country's democratic forces, are revision of the constitution and the monarchical system, withdrawal from NATO, annulment of shackling agreements, particularly the Greek-American agreement of 1953, deliverance from foreign dependence. While fighting for the overthrow of the dictatorship, we under no circumstances want a return to the situation that existed prior to the coup. We want a regenerated, modernized and broader democracy, a democracy free of medieval institutions and survivals. While not for a minute renouncing these basic goals (for we think it essential to provide a broader perspective for the anti-dictatorial struggle), our goal to establish a united front, we are co-operating directly in the anti-dictatorial struggle, are developing parallel actions with all who want to. We support any truly anti-dictatorial movement, whatever its origin. We are confident that in the course of joint struggle the prejudices and enmities of the past—the consequences of the acute form the class struggle acquired in our country—will be overcome.

We think that the main lesson to be drawn from the coup is the need to reject the policy of discrimination against the Communist Party and the other parties of the Left. This

policy has invariably weakened the struggle and democratic resistance generally.

The Communist Party of Greece is the political organization of the working class, the main national force, and as such should not be in a position of inequality in the anti-fascist movement. We fully appreciate the need for a broad union, but we do consider that the Party can play a vanguard role in it. It is up to every party to prove its right to leadership in the course of the struggle and dedicated service to the people's interests.

Considering that the dictatorship of the junta is, along with repressive measures and terrorism, widely using social demogogy and is conducting a smear campaign against the Party and the Left forces, we think it is imperative that propaganda and ideological work be intensified to combat the provocations and slanderous statements by the fascist government, to explain the problems of the anti-dictatorial fight more comprehensively and to promote more effectively the struggle of the Greek people.

If the Communists in Greece and abroad are to be successful in their struggle they must organize their own forces. This is an important prerequisite. The plenary meeting of the Central Committee stressed that the Party organizations must base themselves on the tested Leninist principles of vigilance and strict decentralization, that they must have a strong underground organization. It is important to correctly combine legal and illegal work, preserving and broadening the Party's ties with the masses and safeguarding the activities of the Party and the anti-dictatorial struggle from the blows and persecution of the regime.

Communists are called upon to do everything to unite still more firmly.

The stronger the Party, the stronger will be the anti-dictatorial front and the more consistent and effective the anti-dictatorial struggle. This is the valuable lesson that follows from international experience and the experience of our Party.

Fight to legalize the Communist Party of Germany

THERE IS A MOUNTING and increasingly vocal demand for an end to the 11-year ban on the Communist Party of Germany. Persecution of the Party is widely condemned as a carry-over from the cold war, and its legalization is widely considered the touchstone of the government's readiness to follow a policy of democracy, peace and detente.

The movement to restore the Party's legal rights has been joined by many political personalities, writers, scientists, jurists and members of the clergy. Realization is spreading that prohibition of the Communist Party has tended to narrow public life, and one of the most fateful consequences of this has been the rise of neo-nazism. For, once anti-communism has become an official doctrine, any alternative to government policy is naturally regarded as violation of the law banning the Communist Party.

Professor Ridder, an eminent jurist, says prohibition of the CPG has markedly changed West Germany's political structure. Everything that does not fit into government policy and thinking is suspect and denounced as communism. Seen in this light, Professor Ridder says, legalization of the Communist Party is a matter of life and death for parliamentary democracy. That is why leading intellectuals, representing diverse political and religious persuasions, have repeatedly urged the Bundestag to repeal the ban.

And that demand is meeting with more active support in the working class. The 15,000 Dortmund miners who demonstrated against pit closures at the end of October discarded the black flag, usually carried in protest demonstrations, for the red flag, and their streamers called for legalization of the Communist Party. Repeal of the ban was urged by May Day demonstrators in Munich, strikers in Mannheim and Stuttgart, and trade union meetings in the industrial Ruhr area. Writes *Welt der Arbeit*, the official trade union paper: "Whether or not the verdict of the Karlsruhe court of August 17, 1956 can

be rescinded and how, has been the subject of much discussion in these past years. But never has it been debated so heatedly as it is today." The metalworkers' union paper gives unqualified support to the legalization demand.

The simple fact is that the German working class needs the Communist Party. The workers can see that even in these difficult conditions, amidst incessant persecution and hardship, the Communist Party has consistently and faithfully upheld labor's interests.

The student youth wants a legal Communist Party, too. The demand for legalization has come from the Socialist Student Union, the Social Democratic University Alliance and the Liberal Student League. Of course, not all students understand, as class-conscious workers do, that the Communists are devoted champions of the people's interests. But a very considerable part of the students wants to know more about communism, its principles and ideals, for they are looking for an alternative to the indoctrinated capitalist way of thinking. This is why Communists get a good hearing in the universities.

In February, Max Reimann, the Party's First Secretary, suggested to the Federal Government a procedure by which the Party could win back its legality. Bonn chose to disregard his proposals, but they aroused a wide response among the public.

Speaking on a TV program on the 11th anniversary of the Party's prohibition Reimann said: "The German Federal Republic is our country and we Communists are not indifferent to what kind of a country it will be. We want a republic committed to peace, democracy and social justice." Reimann told millions of viewers:

"We have submitted to Chancellor Kiesinger these four demands:

"1. Amnesty and discontinuation of all proceedings against individuals and organizations prosecuted under the CPG ban or related legislation.

"2. Constitutional guarantees of freedom of thought, speech and the press for all FRG citizens who subscribe to Communist philosophy and policy.

"3. The right of all Communists to stand for election in local state and federal elections under existing electoral regulations.

"4. Re-establishment of the Party's legal status. This could be done through consultations between the federal authorities and legal and political representatives of the Communist Party.

"We are prepared to enter into negotiations at any time."

The government thus have before them concrete and fully realizable measures that could lead to the re-establishment of a legally functioning Communist Party. Eleven years ago Herr Schroeder, the then Minister of the Interior and now Minister of Defense, declared that the Communist Party would no longer figure in West German political life. What, one wonders, will Herr Schroeder say today, when the question of rescinding the ban is being so widely discussed in the press, on radio and television?

And also these questions. Why did the Interior Ministers of the various states find themselves obliged, at their October conference in Ulm, to examine the demands for the re-legalization of the Communist Party? What prompted five members of Dr. Kiesinger's cabinet to come out in favor of giving the Party legal status?

The reason for the present keen debate over the CPG legalization issue should be sought in the political development of the Federal Republic. The Erhard government was forced out of office a year ago. It had continued the positions-of-strength policy which for 15 years had been directed against the socialist countries, notably the German Democratic Republic. It proved wholly ineffectual, but no alternative has been advanced to this day. On the contrary, the ruling element has tried to rescue its policy by bringing the Right-wing Social Democrat leaders into a coalition government whose policies are more to the Right than ever before.

Now, in the second year of this Grand Coalition, it is perfectly clear that all the talk of a "new" policy towards the East designed to remove the strain and give Europe a "peaceful structure," is a sheer deception. And it can certainly lay no claim to novelty, for it represents a continuation of the old course, with its claims to speak for the whole of Germany, with its annexationist proclivities towards the German Democratic Republic, its demand for a return to the 1937 frontiers and

for atomic weapons for the Bundeswehr (euphemistically referred to as the Bundeswehr's "nuclear component").

An expansionist policy vis-a-vis the German Democratic Republic and persecution of the Communists in the Federal Republic—such is the sum and substance of Bonn's policy. It stands out in sharp contrast to a real policy of peace and detente, and is coming under increasingly sharper criticism. The mounting demand for recognition of the GDR and normal relations between the two German states goes hand in hand with the demand for normal (that is, democratic) treatment of Communists in West Germany. More and more people want an end to cold war policies with all their evil consequences and repercussions. In an attempt to denigrate this dual demand Kiesinger has described its supporters as the "recognition party," but many in the Federal Republic consider the appellation an honorable one, for the "recognition party" is the party of peace, and it is steadily and rapidly winning support.

Bonn's reactionary measures—its drive to push through emergency legislation and its curtailment of the welfare services in favor of the armed services—is meeting with strong public resistance. And there has been sharp criticism of the Social Democratic leadership for helping their Christian Democrat partners carry through this policy. All this is bringing home to the public the alternatives proposed by the Communist Party.

The situation is causing a good deal of concern also to Big Business. One of its chief press organs remarked recently that the "economic miracle has moved to the GDR." The big industrialists and the Federal Ministry of the Interior make no secret of the fact that their adamant opposition to legalization of the Communist Party is due to the Party's growing influence, powered by two factors, socialist development in the GDR and ominous crisis symptoms in the FRG. It is only natural that the socialist system should stand out as a practical alternative to state-monopoly capitalism in West Germany. And the clearer that alternative becomes, the more vocal is the demand for legalization of the Communist Party, the only Marxist party in the Federal Republic.

Another major factor in the legalization campaign is the solidarity of the Communist and Workers' Parties. Their close support for the CPG was expressed at the Seventh Congress of the Socialist Unity Party. This support and the demand to repeal the ban clearly formulated at the Karlovy Vary conference have had a very appreciable impact on West German public opinion.

Much the same can be said of the Legalize-the-Communist-Party conference in Duesseldorf on May 6 and 7. It was attended by more than 200 representatives from European countries and sponsored by 124 West-German public personalities, among them Pastor Martin Niemoeller, Prof. Ridder, Dr. Drexel, Prof. Abendroth, Prof. Fabian, writers Peter Weiss and Christian Geissler. The speakers included members of parliament, church personalities, trade union officials, jurists and writers, and representatives of a number of international organizations.

The conference agreed on the following basic principles:

Prohibition of the CPG is a negative political decision which should be seen in close context with the Nazi resurrectionist trend.

Repeal of the ban is central to the defense of democracy and should therefore be supported by all democrats.

Repeal of the ban is necessary in the interests of peace and European security, for both are jeopardized by the growth of neo-Nazism and persecution of the Communists.

Repeal of the ban is necessary from the political viewpoint and fully possible from the juridical viewpoint (on this aspect the conference drew up a number of concrete recommendations).

The conference report was published and circulated to Bundeswehr members.

Hundreds of Communist supporters in all parts of West Germany have been campaigning for restitution of the Party's legal status and have explained the Communist position on national and international issues in their public statements and press articles.

Much of this work is being done through the Committee for Legalization of the CPG, inaugurated in March 1967. Its members are Karl Schabrod, former leader of the Communist group in the North Rhine-Westphalia Landtag; Franz Ahrens, former editor of the Communist *Freies Volk*; Kurt Erlebach, former Communist member of the Hamburg Senate; Richard Scheringer, former leader of the Communist group in the Bavarian legislature, and journalist Manfred Kapluck.

In a letter to the Federal government and the Bundestag, five members of the Committee declared that lifting of the CPG ban "would be in line with a policy aimed at an international detente and the promotion of peace." The government, the letter says, should analyze political developments and draw the necessary conclusions. At a time like this, they declare, when a peace policy has become a vital necessity for every nation and every individual, every movement capable of helping such a policy deserves a full

share in the country's political life. And the Committee insists that the CPG be afforded the right and opportunity to speak for the working class and advocate its socialist aims.

By the end of October, Committee members addressed 64 meetings attended by more than 15,000 people. In Cologne, Mainz, Darmstadt, Karlsruhe and Goettingen the meetings were sponsored by students' organizations, and in Hamburg, Essen, Frankfurt and Fuerth there were debates with representatives of political parties, journalists and youth groups. Former CPG members of Parliament addressed meetings in Remscheid, Solingen, Stuttgart, Duesseldorf and other cities, and more such meetings are scheduled.

The consensus of opinion at these gatherings was in favor of giving the Communist Party full legal status, and everywhere there was a keen interest in Communist principles and policy. And though Committee members could not speak on behalf of the banned CPG, they nevertheless gave a clear interpretation of its policy.

The growing movement for legalization has forced the Federal Government to maneuver. The Minister of Justice, for instance, has come out with this dodge: since the Constitutional Court decision has the validity of law, there can be no question of allowing a legal Communist Party. Actually, of course—and this is widely known—the Constitutional Court decision was politically motivated. In fact, the Adenauer government admitted as much when it declared that the Party was being banned for advocating a national referendum against remilitarization. A more recent admission has come from a leading Christian Democrat spokesman, von Guttenberg: "It required the utmost courage in the Adenauer days to carry our rearmament in defiance of public opinion." The Communist Party has consistently stood for a policy of peace, whereas the Christian Democrats have just as consistently stood for positions-of-strength, dutifully following America's global strategy. That is the real background to the prohibition of the Communist Party. Eminent jurists made short shrift of the legal reasons given for the ban, and now they have adduced cogent legal arguments for its repeal. The Committee for the Legalization of the CPG fully supports the following proposals of Dr. Arndt, a noted legal expert and a Social Democrat member of the Bundestag:

1. The Bundestag should amend the statute of the Federal Constitutional Court to provide for a time limit of its decision to ban the Communist Party, and in this way the ban could now, after 11 years, be lifted;

2. The Bundestag should proclaim an am-

nesty by virtue of which all proceedings against individuals and organizations instituted on the basis of the Constitutional Court verdict or connected with it, would be discontinued.

It will thus be seen that the issue is basically political. Indeed, today, as 11 years ago, the question of a legally functioning Communist Party is a political rather than legal issue.

That view was fully, though unwittingly, confirmed by the state Interior Ministers at their conference in October. They maintained their old anti-communist position, declaring that re-establishing the legal status of the CPG was out of the question, for that would be contrary to the Federal Republic's democratic Constitution. But the CPG has repeatedly proved that its activities are well within the Constitution's framework. If anyone is threatening the Constitution, it is certainly not the CPG, but the Bonn government by its plan to introduce 84 amendments that would place the country under a host of draconic emergency laws. The CPG, in contrast, wants observance and extension of democratic rights.

The Interior Ministers' conference suggested that the Communists organize a "new" party, one that would not pursue the "old" aims. The meaning of that proposal is plain enough: the CPG is expected to abandon its socialist aims and Marxist-Leninist principles. What the Interior Ministers—and presumably the Bonn government—want is a party calling itself Communist, but existing and functioning with the grace of the government and its Department for Protection of the Constitution. Needless to say, no Communist can accept that demagogic proposal. At a time when, on German soil, in the GDR, socialism is offering a convincing and attractive alternative to the monopoly structure in the FRG, and on the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, which is exerting such a powerful influence on the whole of mankind — the Communists are being asked to give up their philosophy, their aims and principles. The answer of every Communist is: Never.

There can be no question of forming a "new" party; the only question is of re-establishing the legality of the CPG, of lifting the ban imposed 11 years ago. A party that has no Marxist principles and no Communist aims has no right to call itself a Communist party.

The socialist principles and aims of the CPG in no way contradict the Constitution, which does not tie the Federal Republic to a private-property capitalist system in which the monopoly plunderbund uses its economic power for anti-democratic political aims. Quite the contrary, the Constitution requires that all power shall come from the people. A legal Communist Party popularizing its socialist aims is necessary, indeed vital, for the West German working class.

Many democratic-minded Germans in the West are actively working for that. The success of the campaign will depend primarily on bringing in more trade unionists, Social-Democrats, working-class youth, on making legalization of the CPG the cause and concern of all the democratic forces.

The Party's announcement that it is drawing up and will publish a new program has evoked a lively response among the public. Discussion of the draft program will doubtlessly carry the legalization movement to a new stage. A leading Catholic weekly published a long interview with Max Reimann on the proposed program. "Its centrepiece," Reimann said, "will be the alternative to the undemocratic and peace-threatening policy pursued by all the Bonn governments. Our aim is socialism, for the state-monopoly system now existing in the Federal Republic cannot ensure the people peace, democracy and social welfare. Only socialism can bring the people a brighter future in peace and freedom. The immediate task is to defend democracy against the attacks of the ruling element and ensure the workers and their trade unions effective influence on political, public and cultural life and on government policy, commensurate with the role they play in society."

And the party dedicated to these aims and to the defense of the interests of the working class and the people generally, the Communist Party, must be allowed full freedom of activity.

Manfred KAPLUCK

Problems facing the British labor movement

THE FRAME OF MIND of the British working class found expression this autumn particularly in the annual conferences of its two biggest mass organizations, the British Trades Union Congress and the Labor Party. They reflected the changes in mass sentiment and highlighted the strong and weak aspects of the movement.

They revealed widespread discontent with government policy among active Labor supporters. This has been admitted even by the right-wing *Socialist Commentary* (October, 1967):

"On the one hand, Labor men and women can no longer see what the *Socialist* purposes of this government are. They can see that it has to cope with the balance of payments problems, but it is doing so in an orthodox fashion indistinguishable from that of the Tories, and with the same distasteful results (i.e., growing unemployment, H.F.). Where, they ask, is the overall strategy that would make sense to Labor supporters, where is the grand design? On the other hand—and this is becoming very serious—even when the government does try to speak to the people in the terms it longs to hear, its words no longer carry conviction. Distrust is growing; there have been too many promises which have failed, too many reassurances which were disappointed. Rightly or wrongly, there is a mounting suspicion that the country is being taken for a ride . . ."

That, too, was the tone of many of the speeches at both conferences. They also revealed — and this applies especially to the Labor Party conference—that many delegates, and the rank and file as a whole, lack a clear understanding of the situation and how to cope with it. Furthermore, the conferences were indicative of the weakness of the Labor Left, scattered and with no clear-cut notion of what the country and party need, and no firm determination in combating government policy. This made maneuvering easier for the Right-wing, enabling it largely to nullify the

efforts of the opposition. At any rate for the time being.

THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS

But the autumn conferences began on a different tone.

The TUC conference this year, its 99th Annual Conference, could be estimated as in many ways significant. The delegates were critical, constructive, buoyant, confident, forward looking and, above all, angry at the betrayal of the working class by the Wilson government. The conference put forward a progressive, militant program which, if it were adopted by the government, would radically change the political direction and economic development of Britain.

The militantly critical but constructive mood of Congress was shown by the main resolution which was endorsed despite the advice from the platform.

The main resolution deplored the use by the government of traditional deflationary measures to manage the economy which involve the creation of a pool of unemployed workers and rejected the Government's intervention in collective bargaining as a solution to the country's economic problems. It urged the government to maintain full employment, effectively control both the import and export of capital, increase its efforts with regard to world trade and development, drastically reduce military expenditure, limit and stabilize prices, rents, dividends and profits, and increase efficiency and productivity.

Congress demanded a minimum wage of £15 a week and equal pay for women (approximately one-third of Britain's labor force). Above all, Congress demanded the repeal of the Prices and Incomes Act which restricted the rights of the trade unions.

But it was not only on economic matters (on the Common Market it was agreed that the TUC must convene a special Conference before the terms of Britain's entry are finally

settled) that government policies were rejected. The 1,367,000 majority for dissociation from American policy in Vietnam, carried once more against the strong opposition of the platform, is of great significance. Congress demanded that the war should be ended on the basis of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, the withdrawal of all foreign troops, and nationwide elections following on the withdrawal.

It was, therefore, not surprising that on the eve of the TUC, Mr. George Woodcock, General Secretary, estimating the mood of the assembling delegates, sought to devalue Congress. When the Right-wing dominated Congress, no such attempt was made.

One of the chief reasons why the trade unions are always more militant when a Labor Government is in power is that the trade unionist is determined that "his" government shall carry out policies in the interests of his class, the working class, and is prepared to fight for them. That is why the Labor Party was formed by the Trade Unions and that is why his union is affiliated to the Labor Party and why he pays the political levy to the Labor Party. Moreover, thousands of Communists are members of the trade unions and their leadership is often accepted by the rank and file. The Communists try to warn their fellow trade unionists that to sit back and wait for the Labor government to keep its election pledges, plays into the hands of the Right-wing.

THE LABOR PARTY CONFERENCE

Conference took place at an unpropitious time for the Labor government. Unemployment was soaring, the cost of living rising, and living standards falling. On the eve of Conference, two post-war records had been established: the unemployment figures had risen to the record figure of 600,000 and the Stock Exchange had registered an all-time record of high share prices.

Labor had been seriously defeated in two by-elections—it lost one of its safest seats, West Walthamstow, to the Tories (after the conference, early in November, it lost two more seats and hardly held on to a third, safe, seat).

Protest and pressure for a change in policy were rising in industry after industry. Representatives of over a million workers had demonstrated in South Wales and the Northern Regional Council of Labor had protested against pit closures; 20,000 dockers, mainly in London, Liverpool and Manchester, were on strike for better pay, benefits and conditions, as were railway guards. There were

stoppages at the U.S.-owned car factory of Vauxhall and other car factories, whilst the strike for the recognition of trade unionism had broken out again in the American-owned engineering firm of Roberts Arundel, after an earlier strike lasting ten months. Some 8,000 teachers in a thousand schools were taking action in support of the National Union of Teachers' demands for better pay and conditions.

It was against the background of widespread and growing discontent in the country that the Labor Party Conference took place. Nor were circumstances made easier for Mr. Wilson by the acceptance at the TUC of an alternative policy.

It is little wonder that not only were the Labor leaders and the government gloomy, but that delegates assembled in a grim and sombre mood. A year before the Tory defeat they met in Scarborough optimistic and self-confident. Things were going their way. They had left Conference walking on air after Wilson had painted a glowing picture of what the New Britain would be like under a Labor government led by him.

Today they were returning to Scarborough with the grim realities before them of what a Labor Government had done and what it was capable of doing in the interests of capitalism. They were determined to have their say, particularly the Trade Union delegations who had been so successful at Brighton. Everyone therefore forecast a fiery and angry Conference and resounding defeats for the Government.

Despite all the political estimations and calculations, despite all that had taken place at the TUC, the Labor Party Conference endorsed, by the narrow majority of 120,000 (out of a total vote of 6,400,000, it is true), the Labor Government's unpopular economic policies, and rejected a number of resolutions advancing an alternative policy. A resolution calling for serious safeguards on entry to the Common Market was likewise defeated. And this despite the fact that the progressives put up a tremendous struggle, particularly the delegates from the depressed areas.

The Left won only on Vietnam, Greece and on restricting arms expenditure. Against the advice of the platform a resolution was carried, which, although it supported the prices and incomes policy, sought to tie it to equal restraint of prices, rents and dividends as of wages.

Two left-wing members of parliament, Mr. Frank Allaun and Miss Joan Lestor, were elected to the National Executive Committee.

The overall practical outcome of Conference was that Wilson has won more time

to show that his economic policies over the past three years have not been mistaken, that the consequences of these policies have been worthwhile in that better times lay ahead. Opposition resolutions were defeated though they obtained between 2½ and 3 million votes. Wilson must be aware of the widespread disillusionment of the masses with his policies. The deliberate creation of unemployment, the wage restraint and economic stagnation, will spread this disillusionment still wider, especially in the areas where there is so much unemployment and poverty.*

The victories gained at Conference were in effect unexploded time bombs, as one trade union leader put it.

Many of the delegates spoke of the unemployment rife in some areas, the closures of pits and textile mills, the hardship of workers in the low-pay categories.

But they did not want to attack "their" government, for the alternative, the Tories, could not be considered, as Mr. F. Cousins pointed out. Yet how could they support its policies which were causing such a serious situation, such misery and distress for the working class? How long will they continue to do so?

If the feelings of the delegates were such, how then did the government get its economic policies endorsed?

In the first place the resolutions opposing the incomes policy and the government's economic policy were affected in part by the cross-voting of the unions, since the policies were spread deliberately over the 10 resolutions selected for debate by the platform. At the TUC the resolutions had been more concentrated. Moreover, many of the delegates from the constituencies were confused and bewildered by the speech of Mr. J. Callaghan, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and by the speech of Harold Wilson.

Callaghan's speech was a masterpiece of evasion. He avoided mentioning anything which might arouse protest. He mentioned neither military expenditure, with its ruinous effects on the economy and the balance of payments, nor the role of foreign bankers, nor the pound sterling supported in the interests of the City of London. He also failed to mention the effect of growing price increases on wages. Above all, he refused to admit that the growing unemployment in the "developing" areas was being created deliberately.

*The Labor government's decision to devalue the pound (it came after this issue had been sent to press) and the attendant deflation measures show that it intends to find a way out of the impasse into which it has led the economy at the expense of the workers. The Communist Party has condemned the government's action, which is bound to increase prices, cut welfare expenditure and further increase unemployment.—Ed.

Whilst defending the prices and incomes policy, Callaghan inferred that the government's interference with collective bargaining was justified and deliberately designed to give the lower paid worker a better chance to achieve a wage increase. This fallacy has been continuously exposed by the unions. He justified profits, saying that they were a sign of efficiency.

Wilson's speech followed the same pattern. It was supposed to have been a report on the year's work in Parliament, but he avoided mentioning Vietnam, Rhodesia, the fight to enter the EEC, and the abandonment of the five points laid down by the 1961 Conference, all of which had been focal points of struggle.

He claimed that his government had carried out a social revolution, attempting to prove it by showing the measures which the government had introduced. At the most they amounted to mild reforms.

On the eve of Conference, Wilson had met a delegation of the National Mineworkers' Union who had come to protest against the proposal to close 16 more pits. Wilson was able to tell the delegation that he and his government had decided to postpone the closure of these pits. Just prior to the debate on the economic policies of the Government, the Mineworkers' Union announced that it would support the government's line at the Labor Party Conference with its vote of 416,000. At the TUC the miners had lined up with the opposition.

At the Labor Party Conference, just as at the TUC, the Executive Committee of the AEU decided, despite the decision of its own annual Conference, to cast its votes in support of the government. Following Callaghan's speech the Union of Post Office Workers also decided to switch its 169,000 votes from opposition, as it had done at the TUC, and support the government.

It was in this way, by appealing to certain TU leaders over the heads of the delegations, that Mr. Wilson finally obtained his victories. As *The Times* (Oct. 6) Labor Correspondent put it, "loyal trade union leaders saved the government by their block votes in the Labor Party debate on the Common Market today as they did in the economic debate. . . . It may be the last time they will be able to do it."

However, by intrigue and horse-dealing Wilson managed to win his victories, but he did so chiefly because the Left in the movement is still divided and splintered.

THE DIVIDED LEFT

At the 1966 Labor Party Conference there appeared to be a strong possibility that the

Left might come together under the leadership of Frank Cousins. With his appearance for the first time on the Tribune platform together with some Left-wing MPs, with the leaders of some of the white-collar unions, firmly opposing the government's home and foreign policies, it seemed as if unity would in time be achieved between the Left-wing MPs and TU leaders round a common program of action. But despite the fact that at the TUC they did combine to support an alternative policy, at the Labor Party Conference — despite its important victories over Vietnam and Greece and despite the fact that the government's victories were of limited value—the Left appeared to be more fragmented and scattered by comparison to last year.

This is all the more tragic since today the opportunities of the Left successfully challenging the government's policies have never been so good.

It is the government's Right-wing policies, not the activities of the Left which have caused such serious loss of support for Labor throughout the country as evidenced by the local elections last spring and the more recent by-elections. On the contrary—only the alternative policy advanced by the Left at the TUC and the Labor Party Conference can save the government in the long run.

There is a pronounced turn to the Left in Britain as shown by the TUC vote and the large minority vote at the Labor Party Conference alternating between 2½ to 3 million votes. (The resolution calling for continued support for the government's policies was op-

posed by 3,091,000 votes). But unless and until there is a greater unity of all Left and progressive forces, including the Communists, the opportunity to force the government to change its policies will be missed. Consolidated and strong, with the apparatus of both the TUC and the Labor Party firmly in its grip, with the power of patronage over ministerial jobs in its hands, the Right-wing has most of the advantages on its side, when faced by a scattered and disorganized Left which cannot agree among itself. Above all, the chains of anti-communism which were hung onto the Labor Movement by the Right-wing in 1925 still hamper the Left. Communists and all their democratic rights in the trade unions, of which they are loyal, devoted and hard-working members, must be fully restored. The bans and proscriptions still existing against the Communists remain a hindrance to the entire Left-wing of the Labor Movement.

Strong and resolute struggle against the government is demanded, despite the strong feeling of loyalty which exists in the Labor Movement and which causes the best in the Movement to pause, for the alternative to a Labor government can, at the moment, be only a Tory government. But, as Frank Cousins put it, only by real constructive criticism can the Labor government be forced to change its policies, the soul of the Labor Movement saved, and the struggle for socialism continued. It is on this greater clarity, conviction and a basic understanding of the dialectics of the struggle that the future depends.

H. FAGAN

Guinea's tenth year of independence

A. DANSOKO, P. NAUMOV, V. SHELEPIN

IT WAS NINE YEARS on October 2 since the yellow-green-red national flag was hoisted amid jubilation over Conakry, capital of former French Guinea, culminating years of preserving struggle by the country's progressive forces led by the Democratic Party of Guinea.

On September 28, 1958, Guineans proudly rejected the French imperialist project of a neo-colonial commonwealth and on October 2 the DPG became the ruling party of the new African republic.

This year independence day coincided with the 20th anniversary of the Democratic Party of Guinea and the convocation in Conakry of its 8th Congress, which summed up the results of the first nine years of independence and defined the nation's basic home and international tasks.

Below, the writers, who represented this journal at the Congress and witnessed the constructive efforts of the people of Guinea, have endeavored to set out their impressions of the highly complicated but essentially progressive processes at work in the country, which has just embarked on its tenth year of independence.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

Economically, Guinea is one of Africa's most hope-inspiring countries. By virtue of its climate and fertile soil it can grow almost all the essential foods and valuable export crops. Besides, it has rich deposits of iron ore, bauxite and other minerals and an inexhaustible reserve of hydro-electrical power.

Economic development, it is true, has been encountering all sorts of difficulties. The imperialist countries were determined to choke the country's economy and divert Guinea from its path of progress. Foreign, chiefly

commercial, capital was promptly withdrawn, foreign specialists went home *en masse* and there were acts of outright sabotage. But Guinea survived, and Guineans say they owe this largely to the disinterested assistance of the socialist countries.

Guinea's development rates have been affected by the fact that much of the investment was not initially channelled into production. The Democratic Party held that the people had to be shown first that independence spelled a better life for them. Much of the resources was therefore spent on social needs — building schools and hospitals and promoting culture.

Considerable funds were spent on the infrastructure, primarily roadbuilding, with paved highways alone tripling in length over the past years.

Now, the Democratic Party and the Government believe the time to be ripe for modernizing farming, the occupation of the bulk of the people. Greater agricultural production is expected to stimulate the processing industry and industrialization within the state sector.

An industry processing local raw materials will yield considerable advantages. For one thing, it will meet many of the domestic needs, reducing the outlay of foreign exchange for imports. Secondly, it will be a source of additional means for broader economic development, bringing certain structural changes in the economic pattern of whole regions of the country. Besides, building and running a processing industry is bringing hundreds of African families into modern production and, no less important, boosting marketable output of raw materials which is making inroads into the old mode of family farming, one of the main drags on the country's agriculture and general economic development.

State-operated enterprises built in the past few years include a fish-processing and re-

frigeration plant in Conakry, the cannery in Mamou, a brick factory in Kobaya, a timber mill in N'Zerekore, rice mills in Kaukan, Siguir, Kouroussa, Faranah, Boffa and Koundara, a furniture factory in Sonfonia, a cigarette and match factory in Conakry, a textile mill in Sanoyah, and a factory of domestic utensils and aluminum roofing in Conakry.

The more prominent public structures, built largely with the technical aid of socialist countries, include the Olympic stadium seating 25,000, the Polytechnical Institute for 2,500 students, an up-to-date airport, the Patrice Lumumba Printing Plant big enough to meet the needs of all West Africa, and the People's Palace in Conakry, which was the venue of the 8th DPG Congress.

Agriculture is still predominantly extensive, with only one-fifth of the arable land being cultivated annually. Lately, efforts have been made to meet the country's needs more fully and cut down food imports and to enlarge the key export crops, the harvests of which dropped for various reasons in the early sixties. This will yield additional foreign exchange and supply raw material for completed and still projected processing factories.

Sekou Toure, General Secretary of the DPG, said in his report to Congress that "political independence and anti-imperialist policy will be illusory if Guinea's agriculture does not meet the nation's food needs, the need in raw materials and does not produce enough export crops to build up foreign trade, promoting modernization of economic, social and cultural life."

Modernization, Guinea's leaders maintain, is the key to rapid agricultural growth. They note, however, that it is less urgent today to give the peasant a tractor than to instil a conscious attitude towards modern farming techniques and farm machinery, an attitude ensuring expeditious and correct use of new technology. In the past 12 months special training centers have been set up, combining instruction with actual production. Trainees are to promote party policy in the countryside and pioneer modern farming.

It may be too early still to speak of sensational economic progress, but the social and cultural progress is there for all to see. Take public education. In 1957-58 enrolment in elementary schools was 42,543 and 2,547 in secondary schools, whereas in 1966-67 the figure soared to 149,572 and 36,379 respectively.

For a developing country national personnel is a key problem. The shortage of proficient and loyal personnel to run the economy often acts as the main drag on economic de-

velopment and social progress. But Guinea is reaping dividends from its personnel training policy, with the main economic posts gradually going to Africans. Dozens of foreign-trained specialists are coming home each year, many of them from socialist countries, and the Polytechnical Institute built in Conakry with Soviet technical aid will graduate the first batch of technicians at the end of this academic year.

By 1971 the country expects to have 1,255 men with university-level training and 7,360 with specialized secondary training.

The national arts, fondly fostered by the state, are doing much to promote culture. Guinea has 8,000 amateur performing companies with an average of 50 members each. These hold contests at regular intervals, with the best groups competing in national art festivals that are to be held annually by decision of the 8th Congress. The grand concluding contest of the 1967 festival took place in Conakry during the Congress, featuring 2,500 amateur performers.

Public health has made good headway. Between 1958 and 1967 the number of hospitals increased from 2 to 26, specialized dispensaries and medical stations from 46 to 290 and state-operated pharmacies from 1 to 37.

The new regime can also claim credit for making women and youth equal builders of the new life. However, the process of emancipation — the liberation of women and fostering a new mentality—is an arduous one. Abolition of polygamy, for example, is difficult, as evidenced by the discussion on this score at the Congress.

Guineans are now preoccupied with their seven-year economic development plan (1964-1970) laying the foundation for the country's all-sided progress, and Party and Government leaders believe that effective mobilization of manpower coupled with correct leadership and a flexible policy of international cooperation will secure fulfilment of the key targets. In any case, the 8th Congress proclaimed conscientious labor the revolutionary duty of each Party member.

NON-CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT

After independence, Guinea's leaders declared their determination to follow the non-capitalist path of development.

For years many African patriots thought that since imperialism was their main enemy, the broad national front that had won independence could also serve as the basis for further development. They held that the existing internal contradictions were insignificant and could be ironed out, and that the new

society could be built without revolutionary violence and class struggle.

Experience showed, however, that the class enemy existed not only outside but also inside the country and that the class struggle assumed various specific forms. Progressive measures nationalizing foreign and national capital, buttressing the state sector and imposing state controls over the economy in the interest of the people were bitterly resisted by class enemies at home with imperialist support.

The structure of classes in Guinea is really a patchwork of interlacing social strata. More than 85 per cent of the population is rural, engaged in crop cultivation, animal husbandry, fishing and handicrafts. Wage-earners, including office and factory workers, are estimated to comprise some eight per cent of the population, though their number is growing steadily. However, there are still plantation owners controlling considerable property and financial resources, thriving on hired labor, and many real estate operators and merchants, shop proprietors, privately operated public transport companies, building contractors and small factory owners. The Guinean press points out that the soil for the growth of the exploiting bourgeois class is still very fertile.

Foreign private capital, too, has considerable interests in independent Guinea. The Fria bauxite enterprise, for example, is operated by a consortium of West European and U.S. monopoly interests, though it pays 65 per cent of its profit into the treasury under an agreement concluded with the Government and is one of the country's biggest sources of foreign exchange.

It went into operation in March 1960 and now produces some 500,000 tons of alumina annually, with the ultimate goal set at an annual 1,200,000 tons. The company operates the country's biggest 41,214-kw diesel power station and 144 kilometres of railway linking Fria with the port of Conakry, where it has been given the use of state-built harbor installations. With Fria's high degree of mechanization and automation, it employs as few as 1,500 workers and other employees, quartered with their families in company houses. The rapid Africanization of personnel has not affected Fria to any marked extent, with 270 non-Africans still employed in 1965 against 500 in 1959. Thus, despite the tight state control the consortium is a potent economic lever in the hands of foreign monopolies.

Another large-scale enterprise is soon to be put into operation by Harvey Aluminum, a U.S. firm, and other imperialist bauxite and aluminum monopolies. The project, sited in Boka, is to extract and ship out bauxite, with

an alumina mill and an aluminum works planned for the future. Private U.S. capital will thus be channelled into an enterprise that will, as Guinea's leaders point out, greatly affect the country's economy, though under the agreement with Harvey Aluminum and the other firms the Government will have full control over construction and the operation of the project.

It is scarcely right to say that in our time developing countries should on no account cooperate with foreign and local private capital. What is important from the standpoint of the revolution is the extent of such cooperation and the correlation of strength between the progressive revolutionary state and the interests it represents, on the one hand, and the local and foreign private capital, on the other—a correlation that hangs not only on the political orientation and structure, but also on the economic weight in the country of each of the forces involved in the class struggle.

Many of the delegates to the Congress stressed that the state's economic potential had to be strengthened in the interest of the people. This does indeed appear highly important in view of the mounting class struggle between the friends and foes of non-capitalist orientation. The DPG branded as the most pernicious class enemy the bureaucrats, diverse administrators and middlemen who engage in profiteering and embezzlement of public funds, betraying the interests of the people and the revolution.

This new bureaucratic stratum has become so great a menace as to compel the Party and the Government to issue a reform law on November 8, 1964. The law provides for the dismissal from political and economic offices of all dishonest officials and for a purge of the Party and government apparatus. Also, it provides for measures to combat profiteering and dishonest practices in trade. However, enforcement of the law has been sabotaged quite extensively by various sections of the apparatus that it is designed to clean up.

Congress called for steps to combat parasitism, corruption and irresponsibility. "The class struggle," said President Sekou Toure, "is assuming the form of a political confrontation between those who want genuine social progress within the framework of broad popular democracy and those who wish to consolidate their power and material and political means to the detriment of various categories of working people."

Congress passed a decision to enforce the 1964 reform law aimed at weeding out parasitic elements, profiteers and embezzlers. The property of Party and government employees

acquired since independence is to be investigated, with all unlawfully appropriated property to be confiscated by the treasury.

African statesmen told us that the parasitic bureaucracy has become a social evil in many developing countries, including progressive ones. All old and new reactionary elements are backing it, and in many African countries it has gained considerable economic prominence, with a tendency to fuse with the merchants and the rural bourgeoisie, investing unlawfully acquired public funds in the private sector and abroad for what is outright capitalist accumulation. This fusion of the bureaucratic caste with the national private sector and with foreign interests, that is, its transformation into a bourgeois one, is a menace to the revolutionary regime and jeopardizes the non-capitalist orientation of newly-free countries.

Congress accentuated the need for mass support and for consolidating the state sector, the only effective guarantee of non-capitalist development.

It pointed out that Guinea's non-capitalist path is leading it to a socialist society. "The socialism we want to build in our country," said the report to Congress, "reflects our desire to secure happiness and welfare for the whole nation, to bring progress into the home of every peasant, every engineer, teacher and doctor."

ORGANIZING ROLE OF THE PARTY

Congress laid stress on the leading role of the Party in all spheres as the main condition for non-capitalist progress towards socialism.

Throughout the fight for independence and the years of national reconstruction, the Democratic Party has been the organizing social force in the country. Formed 20 years ago largely on the basis of the trade union movement, it has gradually acquired influence among the anti-imperialist section of the people and, what is more important, among the peasants. Even before independence it succeeded in moderating local and tribal trends and arresting the trend towards a tribal structure, rallying all patriots, whatever tribe they belonged to, to the common cause.

The distinctive feature of Guinea's Democratic Party, as in the case of many other African revolutionary-democratic parties, is that it is not a party of a definite class. It represents a broad alliance of various classes and social strata, embracing nearly the entire adult population. Yet a class struggle is under way inside it, assuming different specific forms.

The Party follows the principles of demo-

cratic centralism, observed, in particular, in preparing and holding the 8th Congress. A month before it opened, the main report and the two other reports were approved by the central leadership and circulated among all party organizations. The discussions at meetings of primary organizations or committees, that is, in villages, town blocks and enterprises, were summed up at district sections and then at conferences of regional federations held shortly before Congress.

Spokesmen of the federations addressed Congress, evincing concern for improving the revolutionary regime, buttressing the Party, speeding up economic development and providing better living conditions for the people. Often, they expressed opinions diverging from the recommendations of the central leadership, producing a truly democratic discussion.

Congress charted concrete measures to extend the role of the Party and strengthen its structure. Now, the Party leadership consists of a 45-man Central Committee which includes the 30 federation secretaries. A seven-man Political Bureau headed by General Secretary Sekou Toure has been instituted as the Central Committee's executive organ. Party organizations and their leaders are to be afforded all essential material and technical facilities to discharge the functions of leadership. Party premises are to be built for every committee, section and federation, and federation secretaries are to be relieved of other work.

Congress devoted itself also to ideologico-political matters. The number of party schools is to be increased and responsibility for selection of Party cadres is to be given added emphasis. Many Party cadres, the report of the Credentials Committee pointed out, are people from outside the sphere of production. Of the 742 delegates, 268 were peasants, 9 artisans, 16 housewives, 35 factory workers and as many as 396, that is more than half, government employees, teachers, doctors, and the like.

To purge the leadership of exploiter elements and prevent abuses of power Congress drew up a directive disqualifying persons exploiting the labor of others, possessing commercial or industrial enterprises and leading a life that contradicts the revolutionary code of morals and revolutionary principles, for posts of leadership in the Party or Government. Every Party or Government cadre, whatever post he occupies, the directive stressed, must be a model of diligence.

The DPG attaches prime importance to co-operation with other mass organizations, chiefly the National Confederation of Labor and the women's and youth organizations. In

its resolution, Congress urged "the working class to redouble its efforts and vigilance in order to block the road to all forms of counter-revolution and work continuously for greater production in all spheres, for a steady rise in labor productivity, for effective and profitable operation of all services and enterprises and for continuous heightening of general standards.

Party work in the army was singled out as highly important. It will be recalled that in many African countries disregard of the army as an organized force led to sad results. Measures are being taken to avert the emergence of a closed military caste and to prevent tendencies of exclusiveness in relation to the rest of society. The Guinean soldier is considered a Party member in military uniform whose task it is to safeguard the country's revolutionary gains and national independence against foreign encroachment, and to promote the country's economic development and the people's standard of living.

GUINEA'S ANTI-IMPERIALIST POLICY

Congress reaffirmed emphatically the anti-imperialist orientation of the Party and the Government and their determination to extend fraternal cooperation with all progressive forces, primarily the socialist countries. It appealed to revolutionaries all over the world to promote anti-imperialist solidarity. Its resolution underscored the need for "developing solidarity among the African peoples, particularly the revolutionary states, in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and their African agents."

Guinea will continue to assist African peoples fighting against the remnants of colonialism on the continent. Many speeches, particularly the concluding remarks of the General Secretary, also stressed the need for extending cooperation between African countries of different orientations and, first and foremost, promoting good-neighbor relations between Guinea and its neighboring countries.

The DPG and the country's leadership attach considerable importance to Guinea's economic cooperation with the outside world. The Congress resolution pointed out, however, that "any aid which does not help us to get along without aid, to develop our own strength, any aid that goes against our desire for sovereign development, that encourages idleness and irresponsibility, has got to be rejected . . . any aid which promotes the formation in Guinea of a petty-bourgeois class has got to be rejected . . . any aid which impairs our dignity and goes against our sovereign orientation has got to be rejected."

These principles of sovereignty are appreciated by all friends of the Guinean people.

It will be recalled that some developing countries, compelled to collaborate economically with imperialism, are prone to emasculate the content of the anti-imperialist slogans and to treat imperialism as an abstract idea, glossing over the immediate grave menace presented to the peoples by U.S. imperialism, the world gendarme fighting a dirty war in Vietnam and responsible for reactionary intrigue in Europe, Asia, Latin America and Africa.

Any attempt to obscure the main contradiction of our time, that between imperialism headed by the United States, on the one hand, and socialism and the countries and forces working for emancipation and social progress, on the other—any attempt to supplant this contradiction by a trumped-up struggle between "rich" and "poor" nations—does untold harm to the anti-imperialist front and each of its contingents.

Such tendencies, some African leaders told us, stemmed from the fact that, as a rule, progressive parties still lacked a clearly-defined ideological program, while imperialism and its propaganda factories exerted strong pressure on the young states. We were told of the usefulness of cooperation in the ideological sphere between the African patriotic parties, the world revolutionary movement and countries of the socialist system.

Fraternal delegates to the Congress denounced attempts to identify as so-called "rich nations" the imperialist countries, the most bitter enemies of the peoples, and the socialist countries who are the loyal friends of all peoples fighting for social progress and national liberation. A rousing reception was accorded to representatives of the socialist countries, who stressed in their speeches the solidarity of their peoples with peoples fighting imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and, in particular, with the DPG, which is steering its country to progress and peace.

"Soviet people rejoice sincerely at the achievements of the Guinean people in building a new life. They warmly hail and support the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist policy of the DPG," says the message to Congress of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party delivered by Sharaf Rashidov, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau, CC CPSU, and First Secretary of CC, Communist Party of Uzbekistan. Warmly greeted by the audience, the head of the Soviet delegation conveyed the hearty greetings of the CPSU and the Soviet people to Congress, to members in the DPG and the people of Guinea. He wished them success in consolidating the

country's independence and in its continued progress.

The idea of genuine anti-imperialist unity of the three main movements of the world revolutionary process—the socialist countries, the national liberation movement and the working class in the developed capitalist countries—was the keynote of speeches of fraternal delegates from socialist states, Communist parties of capitalist countries and many delegates of African revolutionary-democratic parties.

Jeannette Thorez-Vermeersch, member of the Political Bureau, French Communist Party, said: "No task is more important today than that of fusing in a united front all socialist and anti-imperialist forces, of uniting all resources and coordinating all efforts, in order to make imperialism retreat . . . Imperialism's aggressiveness cannot conceal the fact that the gains of socialism and the independence of peoples are the result of an irreversible historical process. . . . The future belongs to the peoples, and united, the peoples are invincible."

Attended by fraternal delegates from 54

countries and international democratic organizations, the DPG Congress was a powerful demonstration of world anti-imperialist solidarity, showing that the Guinean revolution has the sympathy and support of the socialist countries, the world communist and working-class movement and all progressives in Africa and the world.

For its part, Congress expressed "unconditional solidarity with the people of Vietnam in their fight for liberation." It reaffirmed its support of the Arab peoples and called on the Government to use all means at its disposal, particularly within the framework of the United Nations, to secure the unconditional and immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops behind lines occupied by them before June 5, 1967.

Communists and democrats the world over are following the constructive work in the Republic of Guinea with deep sympathy and support its people in their difficult struggle. They welcome the decisions of the 8th Congress of the DPG and wish the people of Guinea every success in building the new society.

Whither modern capitalism?

A Round Table discussion to mark the centenary of Marx's *Capital* and the half-centenary of Lenin's *Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism* was held in Prague on October 25-26, 1967. Arranged by *World Marxist Review*, it was attended by representatives of fraternal parties working on the magazine and Marxist economists from a number of countries. The discussion centered on topical questions of the Marxist-Leninist theory of modern capitalism. After a brief introductory address by the Editor-in-Chief, Y. Frantsev, there was a comprehensive discussion in which the following took part: V. Novy (Czechoslovakia), John Campbell of Britain (who read a paper compiled in cooperation with Bert Ramelson), C. Vernay (France), Michele Rossi (Italy), Tudor Postolache (Rumania), Felix Oliva (Czechoslovakia), Victor Perlo (USA), Lutz Maier (GDR), A. Mileikovsky (USSR), Antonio Pesenti (Italy), J. Natan (Bulgaria), Jozef Zawadzki (Poland), Pierre Hentges (France), Antonin Kolar (Czechoslovakia), Ramon Pena (Spain), Emile Bjarnason (Canada), Barbu Zaharescu (Rumania), Milos Cihak (Czechoslovakia), Hannes Wunderlich (GDR), Juan Vines (Spain), Zdenek Bednarik (Czechoslovakia), Gheorghe Badrus (Rumania), Francisco Mieres (Venezuela), Ismail Sabry (UAR), Gyorgy Goncol (Hungary), E. Kamenov (Bulgaria), Stefan Heretik (Czechoslovakia), Heinz Schwarz (FRG). In addition, written papers were submitted by Ludek Urban, Josef Zavada, Vladimir Gerloch (Czechoslovakia), and Hans Mueller (GDR).

We publish here the first part of a summary of the papers and the discussion. The second part, dealing chiefly with the problems of capitalist reproduction, the socio-economic consequences of state-monopoly capitalism and the class struggle, will appear in the next issue of *World Marxist Review*.

In this summary we have sought to bring out the high points in the discussion on basic issues.

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MARXISM IN OUR TIME

IN INTRODUCING the discussion, G. Frantsev said it was important to establish the relevance of Marxist economics to analysis of the political situation, its countervailing trends, and the basic aims and methods of imperialist strategy.

All the speakers noted that the centenary of *Capital* and the 50th anniversary of Lenin's *Imperialism* have stimulated a lively discussion among Marxists of the central problems of capitalist development.

And common to all the speeches was the thought that any analysis of modern capitalism, notwithstanding all the new phenomena and processes since the appearance of *Capital* and *Imperialism*, must be based on the fundamental conclusions set out in these works and on the methodology employed by their authors.

That was especially stressed by E. Kamenov, who said that Marx's conclusions retain all their validity and value in analyzing modern capitalism. For it was not Marx's purpose merely to produce a photograph of the capitalism

of his time, but rather to formulate a general theory of economic and social development. In investigating capitalism as a historically-formed system, Marx discovered the laws and principles governing its evolution and gave a scientific explanation of its roots, development and objective long-range trends.

The jubilee of *Capital* and *Imperialism* provides an excellent opportunity for an assessment not only of their theoretical and practical significance, but also for a review of the development of Marxism-Leninism as a whole. And it is by no means fortuitous. Jozef Zawadzki remarked, that today even bourgeois economists reveal a heightened interest in Marxist theory, and some are trying to "vindicate" Marx by counterposing him to the present generation of his followers.

The controversy between Marxists and non-Marxists, or anti-Marxists, now revolves around the question of whether Marxist economics help towards a better understanding of the realities of present-day capitalism and socialism. For myself, Zawadzki said, I think the

best service we can render Marxism-Leninism is not to try to prove, again and again, that Marx and Lenin were right, or that every word they wrote and uttered is still true today, but rather creatively to develop their theory in adaptation to our times. That, I believe, is the main duty of the present generation of Marxists.

The crisis of bourgeois ideology and the urge to re-interpret reality, H. Schwarz said, is one of the main reasons for the growing popularity the ideas of Marx and Lenin now enjoy among Western economists and intellectuals generally. The success of the socialist countries plays a very material role in this process.

Practically every decade since the appearance of Volume I of *Capital*, Emile Bjarnason said, produces a fresh spate of theories and disquisitions by bourgeois economists purporting to prove that Marxism is dead and buried. The list is a long one, beginning with Boehm-Bawerk and Keynes and ending with Samuelson. But each time Marx arises like a phoenix, and all the theoretical exercises of his would-be destroyers are disproved by living reality.

The evolution of bourgeois attitudes towards Marxism was largely the subject of the contribution of Josef Zavada. The campaign against Marx assumes diverse forms, from outright rejection of his economic theories to attempts to contrast Marx the scientist to Marx the revolutionary. A view now current among bourgeois economists is that Marx was right in his description of 19th century capitalism, but his theory has no bearing whatever on mid-20th century capitalism.

But precisely now, in the post-war 20th century, Marxist economics are exerting a growing influence on capitalist political and economic thinking. So much so, that French economic historian Emile James says that never before have the ideas of Marx commanded such keen attention as they do now, and not only in socialist countries, but in capitalist countries as well.

John K. Galbraith, says, in his *The Affluent Society*, that in the past Western economists were inclined to underrate Marx's influence, but now Marx dominates the thinking of millions and influences many who do not accept his teaching. Little surprise, then, that the centenary of *Capital* was marked even by the American Economic Association by a symposium at which practically every speaker stressed the influence of Marxism not only on social development, but on the development of the science of economics.

Marx's contribution to an understanding of economic dynamics is admitted by proponents of the "growth theory," now the most influential trend in bourgeois economic thought. In fact, we find the American economist E. D. Domar admitting that Marx anticipated the neo-Keynesian principles of balanced economic growth. It should also be noted that Marx was the first to design a bisectoral growth model, a type

which has only recently been made the subject of economic studies. And we know that Marx's reproduction schemes anticipated what is sometimes referred to as the inter-industry balance.

The functional value of the Marxist economic theory, V. Gerloch said, has been enhanced by the building of socialism and has become the basis of socialist economic policy and management. In analyzing the capitalist economy, Marx discovered not only the specific law of its development; he also formulated a number of propositions that have universal validity. Capitalist economic processes have their distinctive, specific features, but also features that apply not only to capitalism.

That point was made also by Josef Zavada, who suggested that one of the key tasks of Marxist economics was to elaborate a socialist system of management and closely study the problems involved in the functioning of the socialist market and the price mechanism.

Economists in many socialist countries no longer regard the market as an alien body within the new society, but rather as a definite form of regulating relations between members of society on a basis of equivalence. Capitalism developed a very wide market, but in the process perverted the law of equivalence into the law of capitalist appropriation. Only in a socialist society are exploitation and basic economic inequalities eliminated. And socialist society has all the necessary requisites to develop the market mechanism in the interests of the entire community and in harmonious combination with planning.

Much was said of the creative character of Marxism-Leninism and its intolerance both of bald empiricism and ossified dogmas.

One of the major defects in the study of modern capitalism, several speakers declared, was underestimation of the influence the development of the productive forces exerts on capitalist relations of production. Speaking on this subject, M. Cihak agreed with Zawadzki that disregard of the dialectical unity and complex interaction of the production forces and relations of production is closely associated with the one-time current theory that in the period of the general crisis of capitalism the productive forces are in a state of stagnation. The 20th and 22nd CPSU congresses, and the research involved in drafting the new Party Program, helped to produce a Marxist theory of the scientific and technological revolution. At about the same time several Marxist studies on the subject were published in socialist and capitalist countries.

The study of modern capitalism—and this was emphasized in many of the contributions—should bear a partisan, class character; that is how Marx and Lenin analyzed capitalism and imperialism. A. Kolar remarked, in this context, that the need was for a study in depth of the capitalist economic mechanism, state intervention and economic policy, in order to equip the working class with the knowledge necessary in its fight for social progress.

Lenin's analysis, *John Campbell* said, can help us properly assess state monopoly capitalism (SMC) and thereby enable us more effectively to combat it on the basis of a comprehensive anti-monopoly strategy.

Other speakers pointed out that in the present stage in the development of the Marxist-Leninist theory of modern capitalism, it is important to work out a system of categories for the various elements of state-monopoly capitalism. The foundation for that had been laid by Lenin. *Gheorghe Badrus* pointed out in his paper that Marxist-Leninist economics should single out and systematize the various categories in their inter-relation and inter-penetration in the light of accumulated historical data. This would enrich both Marxist-Leninist theory and methodology.

It would be useful, *Badrus* continued, to systematize the categories and contradictions of capitalism in their various spheres of operation and according to the functions they perform. For instance, we can speak of microeconomic categories and contradictions expressive of production relations at enterprise level, and microeconomic categories in reference to production relations at industry-wide or nation-wide level, that is, relations between the mutually-opposed classes and within each of them, e.g., within the capitalist class (average profit, interest, competition, finance capital, etc.). Lastly, categories and contradictions that stem from international production relations (world market, export of capital, international monopolies) could be classified as mondoeconomic. Such categories as, for example, commercial profit and organic composition of capital, apply to various spheres and levels of production relations. The sum total of these categories, *Badrus* added, make up capitalism's economic anatomy.

That view was supported by *A. Mileikovsky*, who said that the idea of working out such a system of SMC categories appeals to Soviet economists, too. The time has come to pass from analysis to synthesis of new phenomena, that is, to a higher level of abstraction that would allow for generalization and interpretation of a wider range of phenomena. *Mileikovsky* suggested that *World Marxist Review* give coverage of further theoretical studies of state-monopoly capitalism.

DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF STATE-MONOPOLY CAPITALISM

Most contributions dealt with state-monopoly capitalism—definition of its substance, its present stage and development.

T. Postolache said that major changes in capitalism have led most Marxist researchers to regard state-monopoly capitalism as the modern form, or present stage, of capitalist society.

In the view of *I. Sabry*, SMC (State-Monopoly Capitalism) can no longer be considered the sum total of exigencies dictated by special situ-

ations; it has become the normal form of developed capitalism.

SMC is the modern phase of imperialism. That view was put by many of the speakers (*Vernay*, *Maier*, *Urban*, *Wunderlich* and others).

A central economic factor in the rise and development of state-monopoly capitalism, *C. Vernay* and *A. Pesente* maintained, is operation of Marx's law of the declining norm of profit, and restricted opportunities for increasing the value of capital. We can only speak of state-monopoly capitalism, *Pesente* argued, when state intervention is coordinated and is an essential condition for increasing the value of capital and boosting capitalist reproduction.

Pesente also emphasized that SMC can no longer be treated as an element of an economic policy aimed at subjecting the entire economy to the interests of finance capital. SMC has become a built-in element of the capitalist economic structure, and one vital to the preservation of the capitalist social structure, which mounting antagonisms threaten with collapse.

Considering the present level of economic monopolization, *Postolache* said, we can no longer describe monopoly capitalism as a superstructure, which it was in the transition period from free competition to monopoly. Monopoly capitalism is fundamental to the economic structure of advanced capitalist countries and any attempt to treat it merely as a superstructure can only complicate a scientific understanding of the new developments in capitalism. Though there are still many small and medium enterprises in the more advanced capitalist countries their role has declined drastically. The state-monopoly oligarchy has devised a more flexible and far-flung system of coralling and controlling the country's capital and the larger part of its resources. Small and middle firms are nominally independent, but in reality are no more than subsidiary units of the top monopolies.

The link between politics and economics, *A. Pesenti* suggested, is becoming more and more close. The capitalist must now think and act as a representative of his class rather than an independent entrepreneur, and, furthermore, must rely on the state, that highest form of class organization, for defense of his interests.

A. Mileikovsky stressed that SMC should be seen as encompassing both economics and politics. We cannot clearly understand the nature of SMC, he said, if we work only from narrow economic categories and leave out of account the fact that modern capitalism operates within a global economy and with the existence of two mutually opposed systems, the struggle of which tends to substantially modify the laws governing SMC development.

T. Postolache likewise stressed that SMC includes both economic basis and superstructure; its development is therefore shaped not only by economics, but also by social and political factors such as national traditions (for instance, the nationalization slogan in Britain, Italy, France), war, militarization, etc.

H. Wunderlich defined SMC as the result and manifestation of the general crisis of capitalism and, inferentially, as an essential symptom of the decline of world capitalism, a process decisively influenced by the main forces of our age.

A. Pesenti agreed that the qualitative change (the emergence of SMC), began when capitalism entered its general crisis, of which SMC is one aspect.

F. Mieres questioned that, remarking that the unparalleled growth of capitalism can hardly be considered part of its crisis, nor can state-monopoly capitalism be rightly defined as the result of that crisis. He also challenged the proposition that the expansion of productive forces is the chief factor in the rise of SMC phenomena. The chief factor, in his view, should be sought in the capitalist relations of production, which inevitably lead to war, class struggle and, as the end result, revolution and the triumph of socialism.

A. Kolar, however, maintained that the investigation of new phenomena in modern capitalism leads to the inescapable conclusion that state intervention in the economy is objectively due to the high level of productive forces, functional changes in the capitalist economy (especially since the 1930's), and the political and economic contradictions of monopoly capitalism. The bourgeoisie, he argued, in its own selfish interest, in order to keep the capitalist system afloat can—indeed is obliged—to find solutions for social and economic problems affecting the whole of society. This applies to economic growth, public demand, investment, progress in science and technology, sharp cyclical fluctuations, unemployment, education, welfare, the infrastructure, the preservation of nature, etc.

One of the principal factors in aggravating the contradictions of capitalist society is the rapid expansion and perfection of the productive forces, which should be attributed largely to the scientific and technological revolution. However, it would be sheer vulgarization, another speaker, *G. Concol*, said, to conclude from this that SMC is merely the product of technological progress. That would be a mechanistic interpretation of the law of correspondence of productive forces and production relations.

Continual state intervention in the economy in the opinion of *R. Pena*, is conditioned by changes in the material basis, but the immediate cause lies in the deepening and sharpening of social contradictions. The state intervenes for various reasons depending on the conditions obtaining in the given country and the place it holds in the world.

To assure stable development, SMC must have a coordinating and planning mechanism operating directly (through state and semi-state concerns, state purchases, state subsidies and credits), and indirectly (through taxation, investment policy, credit, foreign trade, regulation of the labor market, etc.). But the founda-

tion is always material: high production, a definite, and sizeable, share in the international division of labor, reliable accumulation sources, skilled manpower, patent rights, research facilities, and a definite degree of socio-political equilibrium.

The interests of the ruling classes remain the motive force of economic growth. However, these in turn, and the authority that defends them, do not always reveal themselves in their "pure" form. They are much more intricate and contradictory than before, and this explains why some state intervention measures do not directly accord with the drive for profits and, in fact, might work in the opposite direction.

John Campbell emphasized in his paper that an important factor in the rise of SMC is the ever-increasing challenge of the working class. The ruling class must reckon with this and employ every means at its disposal, above all the state, to bolster the system of capitalist reproduction and exploitation.

B. Zaharescu pointed to two pitfalls in defining state-monopoly capitalism. At one time Marxist economists were inclined to regard SMC as signifying complete submission of the state to the monopolies, but that went against all the facts, for though the capitalist machine of government is intimately associated with the class it serves, it enjoys a margin of independence in representing that class.

In the speaker's opinion, SMC should be regarded as the intertwining and inter-penetration of the state machine and top monopoly capital. That follows from the very fact that the monopolies are now directly represented in government, and, on the other hand, from the constantly increasing part played by the economic levers controlled by the state, which assure it a degree of autonomy vis-a-vis individual monopoly groups. Nor should we underestimate the growing strength of the working class, which, on occasion, gives the state a bigger maneuvering margin in relation to various capitalist groups.

It has always been the function of the state to uphold the common interests of the class it represents. SMC upholds the interests of the bourgeoisie as a class, but there are specific interests of the big bourgeoisie as distinct from the small and medium, of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie as distinct from the monopoly, interest differences between various categories of monopoly capital, etc. In short, we cannot speak of the state "upholding common interests."

It should also be borne in mind that, even under SMC conditions, the capitalist state is obliged to take a definite stand in relation to concrete economic interests, that is, it must favor the interests of some to the detriment of others. At present the U.S. is spending more than \$70,000 million a year on the war in Vietnam and on armaments, which, of course, benefits mainly the monopolies directly concerned. This explains why Johnson's war policy

is meeting with heightening opposition from part of the bourgeoisie.

T. Postolache drew attention to the widely current view that state-monopoly capitalism is the merger of the power of the state and the monopolies into a single mechanism to save capitalism and, at the same time, assure the monopolies maximum profit growths. That cannot be considered the final consensus of Marxist thinking, on the contrary, it is but a new starting point for continued investigation.

The discussion revealed that such a complex and manifold phenomenon as state-monopoly capitalism can only be explained by the operation of inter-acting and inter-connected factors. And chief among these is aggravation of capitalist contradictions — primarily between social production and private capitalist appropriation — labor and capital, the imperialist and developing countries and between the imperialist countries themselves, and the two mutually opposed world systems. The rise and development of the socialist world system and the achievements of socialist planning have in many ways stimulated mobilization of all the latent reserves of what is an obsolescent system.

DEVELOPMENT STAGES OF STATE-MONOPOLY CAPITALISM

Periodization of the development of state-monopoly capitalism was another subject that received much attention. A point made by many speakers was that SMC does not manifest itself in the same way at different times and in different countries. But this, it was emphasized, should not prevent us from singling out distinctive development stages common to most capitalist countries.

J. Natan maintained that elements of state-monopoly capitalism were evident in Bulgaria before World War I when the state intervened in such industries as railways, transport, communications, mining and banking. However, most speakers (*Vernay*, *Postolache*, *Urban* and others) held that the first symptoms of SMC appeared during World War I.

T. Postolache observed that administration of a huge war machine, with monopoly holding sway in the principal imperialist countries, made for the inter-twining of the state machine and private monopoly. It required the foresight of Lenin to distinguish those early, rudimentary manifestations of state-monopoly capitalism from customary state intervention in the economy. Lenin established that this intertwining of monopoly and state was a qualitatively new development and from it he drew a conclusion of vast importance for both theory and practice — that the objective trend of monopoly development was towards monopoly capitalism.

When the war was over, *John Campbell* remarked in this connection, the bourgeoisie was quick to dismantle state-monopoly control and return, to the extent that this was possible, to pre-war conditions. That view was supported by *Pesenti*, *Postolache*, *Urban* and *Heretik*.

A. Mileikovsky took issue with the contention

that state-monopoly capitalism appeared to have shrunk after the first world war until the thirties. He thought it overlooked certain processes of the twenties. The concept of a war-economic potential appeared, military experts coming to the conclusion that victory in a war depended on economic resources. Appropriate institutions appeared within the state-monopoly framework charged with building up the war-economic potential. Furthermore, fascism appeared on the scene long before the 1929-1933 crisis, and being closely associated with the militarists, set out to mobilize the war-economic potential by distinctly state-monopoly means.

It is therefore hardly conceivable that contrary to Lenin's analysis based on wartime experience, state monopoly capitalism had made no headway until the thirties. Lenin generalized not only wartime experience, but also the long-term trends of capitalist development. Later, structural changes oriented on state-monopoly capitalism were introduced to build up the war-economic potential, and also the country's economic resources and competitive capability in the world market.

All speakers noted that a new stage began in the practice of capitalist state intervention with the world economic crisis of the thirties. That was the time, *A. Pesenti* observed, when the bourgeoisie began to understand the substance of prevailing processes. The disastrous crisis struck terror into it, and the theory of John Maynard Keynes appeared to express the bourgeoisie's new-found comprehension of the new demands. The Keynes theory was designed to buttress and preserve capitalism.

L. Urban drew the same conclusion. It was the crisis of the thirties, erupting against a setting of economic growth in the world's first socialist state, that drove home the need for complementing market machinery with state intervention in spheres where uncontrolled market mechanics imperilled the stability of the bourgeois economic system.

For a number of reasons, the crisis proved an important turning point for monopoly capitalism. Its sharpness and extraordinary intensity were due largely to the fact that the monopoly structure, fully shaped by then, prevented the market machinery from automatically securing the necessary economic solutions as regards production capacity and employment.

The situation was indeed ripe for state intervention. Yet people still treated the economy, though already monopolistic in complexion, as if no structural changes affecting the operation of market machinery had occurred. The thirties were high-lighted by essential mutations of the economic mechanism and the intrinsic structure of monopoly capitalism, witnessing the introduction of greater state intervention. State-monopoly capitalism grew intensively at the time, and not in just the previous forms bred by extra-economic factors such as war and war preparations, but also in new forms wrought by increasing economic instability and other such economic factors.

War preparations and the second world war accentuated the state-monopoly trend, said *T. Postolache*. It was this specific development that prompted the inference in Marxist economic literature that state-monopoly capitalism is a transient condition associated principally with economic crises and armed conflicts. The effectiveness of state-monopolistic measures, he added, was almost entirely denied.

However, state intervention did not relax after the second world war. On the contrary, intertwining of the state and the monopolies became more pronounced.

The fact that in many capitalist countries state-monopoly growth was accompanied by a relatively long period of good business indicated that state-monopoly capitalism did not stem from wars and crises alone. Furthermore, state-monopoly intertwining proceeded in both the old and in new, previously non-existent, forms (e.g., elaboration of long-term economic policy and state penetration into the key economic spheres, including scientific research). In the past two decades, state influence in matters of foreign trade, has grown considerably and inter-state monopoly organizations have made an appearance.

State-monopoly regulation, *Urban* remarked, has gone through two distinct stages after the war. Measures aimed at securing full employment predominated in the fifties, with state efforts centered on raising and stabilizing general demand. Yet these were short-term anti-cyclical measures. Gradually, the emphasis shifted to long-term stimulation of economic growth. State intervention began to take the shape of planning and programming. The early sixties were the watershed between the first and this second phase.

THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION

E. Kamenev pointed out that Marxists would do well to give the scientific and technological revolution in the capitalist and socialist countries deeper thought. He stressed that the revolution was generated by external as well as internal factors. Among the latter he named the logic of scientific and technical development and the driving influence of the scientific and technical legacy. Internationalization of science, he said, made the internal factors operative in both socio-economic systems. The external political, social and economic conditions and factors, on the other hand, differ in the two systems. Kamenev listed the following factors as operative in the capitalist environment: ...

1) drive for super-profits from the reduced individual cost of commodities in relation to their social cost;

2) arming and war;

3) economic competition with the socialist world.

A. Pesenti maintained that the growth of the productive forces in the past few years amounted to a qualitative technical leap rather than

a steady, though rapid, process. Some people may think, he said, that there is no call for being over-precise in our assessment of this phenomenon. Past experience shows, however, that every quantitative growth is bound to create new economic problems and contradictions. If such quantitative growth leads to qualitative change, the contradictions in society are bound to be much deeper and cannot be entirely removed unless far-reaching qualitative changes are secured also in social relations.

Unquestionably, the way for the current technical leap was paved by the progress attained at the close of the past century, by new sources of power, such as petroleum and electrification and by the development of comprehensive mechanization. Yet it was not until recently that past discoveries began to inject revolutionary novelties into the process of production. Even between the two wars higher labor productivity hinged chiefly on better organization of known technical elements, depending on the rising capacity and precision of plant and boosted by Taylorism and Fordism, which the bourgeois vocabulary chose to pass off as "rationalization" and "standardization."

The qualitative advance accomplished since then amounts to the substitution of mechanical electronic control of production for human control.

M. Cihak produced a broader interpretation of the changes observed in the productive forces under the impact of the scientific and technological revolution. Ever since it began, he said, it has been essentially an integral process affecting all the basic elements of society's productive forces—implements of labor, objects of labor and sources of power. Also, it covers the very important changes in the "subjective sphere" of production, giving us cause to speak not only of further development, but of a radical structural modification of productive forces.

The scientific and technological revolution, he pointed out, is based primarily on automation and cybernetics, which offer vast labor-saving opportunities in both relative and absolute terms.

The changes wrought in respect to raw materials and sources of power are another prominent aspect. The technical advances in the extractive and chemical industries stimulated by scientific progress give the manufacturing industries, building and other branches of production a wider choice of objects of labor, effecting deep-going modifications in the field of raw materials.

Technical changes are tied in with the further development of energetics. The first phase of the industrial revolution was impelled by the use of coal for generating power. In the 20th century it was extraction of oil and natural gas that developed most rapidly. And today there is conclusive enough evidence that atomic energy will dominate the power industry of the future.

Science is the strategic element. The decisive trends in the scientific and technological revolu-

tion depend on rapid scientific progress, on its outstripping production. Research is not just the decisive and determinative factor. It is more and more influencing the process of production, producing intrinsic technological, organizational and social links. To sum up, science is becoming an immediate productive force, with general economic growth depending increasingly on its scale and scope.

F. Oliva took exception to this proposition. He pointed to the need for more precise definitions of Marxist economic categories and said many Marxist economists apply the "productive forces" concept to everything of importance to, but unassociated with, production, and thus also to science.

T. Postolache, for his part, not only maintained that science came under the head of a productive force, but defined scientific research as a separate, independent phase of extended reproduction. In capitalist countries, he said, science is increasingly a province of the state, which is financing most of the research. The taxpayer's money is thus being redistributed in favor of monopolies that apply scientific discoveries in production. In France, for example, no more than 30 per cent of the funds earmarked for research in 1966-1970 are from private sources. In Britain and the United States, too, some 60 per cent of the research funds are provided by the state. By and large, in the developed capitalist countries some two-thirds to three-quarters of the sums spent on science come out of the state budget, with the benefits accruing therefrom going chiefly to the big monopolies.

J. Zawadzki dwelt on problems created by the scientific and technological revolution and warned against dissociating current technical progress from the relations of production, which he said, would make the study one-sided. In the past, Marxist economists neglected the productive force of human labor, though its study, he said, was absolutely essential.

Otherwise, *Zawadzki* said, it is impossible to explain why a worker in the United States earns more than a Polish worker. The reason, he added, stems from the greater development of productive forces and higher productivity of labor. *Zawadzki* observed that the influence of production relations on technical progress had to be studied as well. Without such a study he said, we could not explain the precipitous growth of the productive forces in formerly backward Russia.

A. Pesenti approached the issue from a somewhat different angle. He called attention to the fact that the technical discoveries of our time are bound to outgrow capitalist relations of production, describing this as their chief socio-economic impact. The more unified and automated the production process becomes, he said, the higher is the necessary minimum of advanced capital. Technically, automation implies unintermittent production, which, in economic terms, presupposes unintermittent functioning of the entire capital. Continuing produc-

tion calls for economic harmony, meaning that the product has to be consumed and the demand has to be stable. This, the speaker pointed out, is inconceivable under capitalist relations of production.

To understand the effect of the scientific and technological revolution on relations of production, one has to analyze its social consequences and the changes it produces in the economic and social structures. The matter was extensively treated in many of the reports and interventions.

M. Cihak dealt at length in his paper with the structural changes caused by the scientific and technological revolution in production and society. He said, among other things, that all essential changes in production techniques were inevitably reflected in the economic, social and political spheres. This is borne out by the industrial revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries when free-competition capitalism took final shape, and by the period at the turn of the 20th century when important developments in the technological sphere spurred the transition to monopoly capitalism.

What is or will be the role of the present scientific and technological revolution from this point of view? It is still too early to say at present, *Cihak* stated, for the revolution is in its early stage and there are still many unclear, controversial problems despite the extensive research.

The same point was made by *L. Maier*, who noted that Marxists still lacked a sufficiently conclusive idea of how the economic effects of the scientific and technological revolution were altering the political structure of capitalist society.

The change in the correlation of the productive and non-productive spheres was listed by *M. Cihak* as one of the chief structural shifts. The role of industry, the most important sphere of material production, in the economic development of the leading capitalist countries was obviously changing, he said. Greater production of consumer values was being secured over the past decades with an increasingly modest relative growth of employment. This was due to technical development and reorganization of the industrial structure, and could well be expected to prevail as the scientific and technological revolution gained momentum.

Alongside the flux in industry and agriculture, objective grounds have come to hand for the growth of service industries. Despite various specific characteristics rooted in capitalism's postwar development, the expansion of services may be described in general terms as an objective tendency traceable to the growth of productive forces.

In the past the dynamics of economic growth hinged on the development of the productive sphere, particularly industry, whereas the accent is now shifting steadily to services.

Radical changes are taking place in the social division of labor, with a distinct trend towards

wholesale transfusion of manpower from the productive to the non-productive sphere.

By virtue of this rapid growth of services and their new role in developing productive forces, the division of labor into productive and non-productive is not as relevant as before. No longer does it express the objective laws and regularities governing growth of productive forces, as it did in the early phases of the industrial revolution.

J. Zawadzki objected to this proposition. He maintained that, in effect, Cihak identified productive with non-productive labor, noting that a variety of occupations in modern capitalist society did not qualify as productive, such as preparation and conduct of war, inflated advertising and other lines not objectively useful.

F. Mieres seconded Zawadzki's point of view. Cihak, too, did not strongly object to their remarks, saying that in referring to services he meant socially useful occupations, not war-making and the like.

SPHERES, METHODS AND LIMITS OF THE BOURGEOIS STATE'S INTERVENTION IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROCESSES

Political factors, the role and impact of the state, are steadily gaining prominence under modern capitalism. The capitalist state is no longer merely the "night watchman" of the bourgeoisie. It is the principal economic agent of capitalist society and intervenes vigorously in all areas of public life.

It would be a mistake, however, to overrate the modern bourgeois state, to picture it as omnipotent or absolutely independent, as some bourgeois and revisionist theorists would have us believe.

State-monopoly capitalism, Y. Frantsev pointed out, is injecting a generous dose of politics into the economic sphere. Never was the old name of economics—political economy—more justified than now.

The most substantial changes wrought by state-monopoly capitalism refer to the economic functions of the bourgeois state. J. Natan observed that diverse methods of influencing production have been devised to complement the classical ways of influencing distribution. One of them is conversion into state property of individual enterprises and entire industries and services, coupled with state financing of private enterprise, regulation of labor-capital relations, comprehensive social legislation, etc., and conversion of taxes from a source of revenue to cover the state debt into an instrument of economic development.

A Pesenti stressed in his paper that state intervention, especially if indirect, will do no more than invigorate or stimulate capitalist reproduction. It cannot alter reproduction, because, in effect, its purpose is to "rescue" the category of profit.

That direct forms of state intervention are

gradually eclipsing indirect forms even in countries that officially espouse the principles of a "free market economy" was noted by most speakers. Referring to West Germany, Heinz Schwarz noted the predominance there of indirect state intervention by methods of financial policy, regulation of credit and the monetary system, etc., while direct intervention was limited. For one thing, he said, state property holds a relatively modest place in the FRG balance-sheet. However, the crisis that hit the West German economy this year was an indication that indirect regulation fell short of the desired mark, and that the Bonn government will now have to resort more frequently to direct intervention which it persists in masking by demagogical talk about a "free market economy."

In other capitalist countries, meanwhile, direct state intervention, particularly through state ownership of means of production, is of a considerably higher order. A. Pesenti produced data to show the fairly large percentage of state property and state "partnership" in Italy. State-controlled iron and steel mills account for more than 50 per cent of the total product, with engineering plants and cement factories accounting for some 25 and 12 per cent respectively, etc. This gave the state added opportunities of intervening in the market relations of key branches. The fairly large number of state-owned or mixed enterprises, an important investment instrument, are patterning economic activity, affecting employment, the wage scale, commodity supply, prices, etc.

Pesenti drew attention to the contradictory motives of state ownership. It appeared under the impact of the democratic movement, on the one hand, and of the critical condition of some industries, on the other. Postolache, Natan and others named yet another motive the monopolies need—and profit from—state enterprises in the new capital-intensive industries. Finance capital is making the most of the state sector for its own ends. Yet speakers stressed that this form of state-monopoly capitalism is contradictory. Pesenti, who delved into the problem at some length, noted that the first and basic contradiction of this advanced form of state-monopoly capitalism was that between the profit principle (the enterprise having to register capitalist profit like other, privately-operated, industrial enterprises) and the political "solutions" flowing from the class struggle which are "imposed" on state-owned enterprises. Such solutions often transcend the objective of increasing the value of capital, that is, the law of the rate of profit.

That these economic solutions become political only helps to elevate the class struggle and the political consciousness of the masses, for they concern the various levels of political authority (municipalities, government), making the problem of political power concrete and direct.

The difference between private and state-operated enterprises is so forcefully clear that whenever a privately-operated industry is in danger of folding or of coming under foreign control, the public demands that it be taken over by the state.

M. Rossi, too, underscored the differences and contradictions that could, and do, exist between the state and private monopolies. The tendency to minimize or ignore them, he said, is liable to impair the struggle of the working class and all the other anti-monopoly forces of today.

State-monopoly capitalism and its contradictions compel capitalist governments to invoke short- or long-term economic planning (programming).

This was observed by many of the speakers. *C. Vernay* noted that the monopolist oligarchy, which is unable to regulate progress and diversification, has no choice but to cooperate with the state's economic, financial and political machinery. This is the reason for capitalist planning, a vehicle for harmonizing the interests of the various sectors of the financial and government oligarchy. The object of such planning is profoundly reactionary, being designed chiefly to step up exploitation and enhance the competitive potential of the monopolies in foreign markets. Furthermore, such anti-democratic planning evades all public control.

"Contracts" concluded by the state with various groups of industrialists are another organizational form whereby the state endeavors to influence development of productive forces. Yet it does not transcend the bounds of compromise between the state and individual monopolies, which undertake to observe some of the essential demands of general state-monopoly policy in return for desired additional capital.

So long as the means of production remain the private property of monopolies, the organization of production cannot conform to any actual socialization of the productive forces. Greater concentration, like state interference, is nothing but a temporary palliative for the contradictions of state-monopoly capitalism.

L. Urban expressed the view that for economic reasons planning, often bitterly attacked and still a topic of academic discussion in the fifties, is being carried into practice now in nearly all developed capitalist states.

Apart from the domestic economic impulses, there is also an external one—the existence of the socialist world. The idea and practice of planning in the socialist countries evoked thoughts of long-term economic prospects of capitalism.

A. Pesenti too centered his attention on this factor. After the second world war, he said, imperialism had to face up to the fact that the socialist system was expanding. No longer could imperialism be content with mere "stability." What it needed was "stability" in development. It had to establish annual rates of

growth approaching those of the socialist countries.

Capitalist planning is also prompted by competition and growth of economic and social contradictions at times of relatively rapid economic expansion. *Urban* remarked that it is not conceived as taking the place of the market, but as the market's future model, an instrument for "improving the market." A capitalist plan forecast furnishes long-term economic information which the market cannot provide and individual enterprises are unable to secure on their own. It says what long-term tasks the government intends to carry through, what resources it expects to employ to this end and what instruments it is going to bring into play. A forecast of this kind is the groundwork for long-term planning by enterprises of the private sector, chiefly as regards investment policy. Capitalist planning, in effect, imposes certain restraints on spontaneity. Although industrialists make their own investment policy, they are guided by the state's long-term plan. In this sense they are more dependent on the centre than before.

S. Heretik took issue with *Urban*, who associated the more rapid economic growth in some of the Western countries with planning. This relationship, *Heretik* said, has never yet been demonstrated.

Monopoly capital, *A. Pesenti* pointed out, does not reject programming. The only reservation made is that planning should be no more than "indicative," that it should deal with just some of the general targets and keep intact the freedom of private monopoly enterprise and the "long-term plan" drawn up independently by the industrialist. In other words, programming is conceived as "obligatory" for the state sector, giving monopoly capital an idea of the orientation and size of state expenditures and investments and enabling it to make its own plans and calculations to better advantage. Programming of this sort has to be handled by "research centers," bureaucratic institutions and experts over which capital can easily establish control.

Capitalist planning, *Urban* observed, is not intended to alter the relationships between subjects of the capitalist market and thus act as an instrument of radical socio-economic change. On the contrary. Striving to "improve the market" and eliminate some of the sources of instability, it obstructs the effectuation of newly-arising requirements.

H. Wunderlich called attention to the contradictory nature of capitalist regulation and programming, which he described as a sign of the weakness of state-monopoly capitalism. By resorting to state regulation and planning, the monopolies are undermining the fundamental principles of capitalist enterprise and the "free market economy." *Wunderlich* held this to be an expression of the basic contradiction of the capitalist mode of production.

A. Pesenti pointed to a number of far-reach-

ing social conclusions. The need for a harmonious, that is, regulated, growth, he said, is accepted even among the bourgeois upper crust. The masses, on the other hand, want a different type of growth. By this token, the class struggle has shifted to new ground—economic programming.

Yet programming is shot through with capitalist contradictions of a higher degree. Greater centralization of economic control paves the way to authoritarian, *ipso facto* reactionary, regimes and to coups d'état. Yet objectively speaking, the principle of planning and programming is by nature socialist and its adoption, therefore, is a socialist gain.

All speakers agreed that the historically necessary principle of planning economic development cannot be fully effected within the SMC framework. Capitalist planning does not resolve the contradictions of the capitalist mode of production. On the contrary, it magnifies them and accentuates the fact that the institution of private property is anachronistic and historically doomed.

T. Postolache wondered to what extent economic life may be "governmentalized" under capitalism? It is clear, he said, that there can be no such thing as "pure" state-monopoly capitalism. To assume the contrary would be to absolutize the tendency towards state intervention and underrate the reverse trends and contradictions. This would amount to the absurdity of a capitalist society without capitalists. If private monopolies cease to exist, state-monopoly capitalism will cease to make sense.

The facts show that the main economic levers are firmly in private monopoly hands even where state-monopoly capitalism is expanding intensively, and that corporation profits soar there precisely through the employment of state intervention.

The concrete measures and levers exploited by state-monopoly capitalism may modify some specific contradiction or eliminate a "bottleneck," influence the economic cycle, etc., but only at the price of creating other contradictions and new "bottlenecks."

At best, Victor Perlo said, economic regulation under state-monopoly capitalism produces pronounced inflationary trends, and the like. The transient successes of state-monopoly regulation only build up more contradictions. They pile up continuously, generating additional difficulties for the capitalists and their state.

Summing up the discussion of the limits of state intervention in the socio-economic processes in capitalist society, Y. Frantsev noted in his concluding remarks that state-monopoly capitalism, though it irons out some contradictions, reproduces them inevitably in a stronger degree, and is thus caught in a vicious circle.

State-monopoly capitalism operates in the interest of the capitalist class as a whole, appropriating part of the profits and using them for maneuver. However, this is accompanied by inter-monopoly struggles for power, breeding acute contradictions and political crises and leaving the door open for intervention by the democratic forces, for greater public influence.

(To be Continued)

Canadian Communists rewrite party program

AT THE 19th CONVENTION of our Party a resolution was adopted calling for "the program to be rewritten with an elaboration of our position on Canada and its path to socialism." To implement this resolution the Central Committee was instructed to elect a Program Committee to "prepare points for inclusion in the program for a four month discussion." The Program Committee was further instructed to prepare a draft for consideration by the Central Committee which would then "be placed before the 20th Convention for final approval."

Guided by the Convention resolution the Program Committee has now completed the first stage of its work, the preparation of points for inclusion in the program. These, we hope, will stimulate a very active, wide-ranging and intensive discussion in the Party on the essential elements of an updated program.

It might be asked: why did the Convention propose that the Party program be rewritten?

It was our view that while the present program, adopted in 1962, had served a useful purpose, it could not fully foresee the changes taking place internationally and in our own country. Nor did it fully round out our position with respect to the possibility of the formation of a multi-party government in the period of the building of a socialist system of society, including such questions as democracy under socialism and the rights of individuals and opposition parties.

Moreover, some questions could do with further study and development. For example, does the present program fully round out our position with respect to U.S.-Canadian relations? We have been discussing for some time how to place the relationship of U.S.-Canadian monopoly, its inter-relationships, and its contradictions. The 1962 Program states: "The main enemy of the Canadian people is the U.S.-Canadian monopolist oligarchy, in which U.S. capital is dominant." This formulation, however, tended to see only one side of U.S.-Canadian monopoly relationships, expressed in the junior partnership and intertwining of Canadian and U.S. monopoly, but it did not see another

aspect of Canadian monopoly, its own special class interests, its own ambitions and effort at establishing its own independent positions giving rise to contradictions in U.S.-Canadian relationships. The easing of cold war tensions has brought these contradictions to the fore, seen in the development of trade between Canada and the socialist states, in the effort at overcoming inequality of trade between Canada and the USA in the growing debate over foreign investment, foreign control and foreign ownership which is increasingly being related to foreign policy and the U.S. war in Vietnam. It is seen also in the wide ranging discussion on continentalism versus independent economic development, i.e., between policies which lead to further integration with the USA and those which could enable our people to exercise some degree of sovereignty and control over the Canadian economy.

In assessing these contradictions it would of course be wrong to attribute to Canadian monopoly leadership in the struggle to defeat U.S. monopoly in Canada or expect it to wage a consistent struggle for Canadian independence. At the same time these contradictions need to be taken into account in delineating the path to socialism in Canada.

At our 18th Convention we strove to correct the one-sided appraisal inherent in the term "Canadian-U.S. monopolist oligarchy" but in so doing tended to speak of monopoly in general and seemed to play down the role of U.S. imperialism. It is a fact that when one hits at monopoly in Canada, one hits at U.S. monopoly too. What is lacking in this formulation, however, is the direction of the main blow at U.S. imperialism, and the complicity of Canadian monopoly in the betrayal of Canada's democratic national interests. The correct placing of the question is not a matter of semantics but of strategy and tactics directly related to the formation of broad national and democratic alliances which cut across classes, as it is directly related to how we see the struggle for Canadian independence as an integral part of the struggle for socialism.

Events in the recent period show that the struggle for genuine Canadian independence is perhaps one of the main catalysts in bringing about political re-alignments in Canada today. There is not an area of politics and economics which is unaffected by the issue of Canadian independence and this is particularly so with respect to foreign policy. U.S. aggression in Vietnam has opened the eyes of countless thousands of Canadians to the direct relationship between U.S. economic control over the Canadian economy and the supine attitude of the Canadian Government in refusing to condemn U.S. aggression. It is not accidental that the question of neutrality is again becoming a matter of public debate arising both from the war in Vietnam and from Canada's ties with NORAD and NATO, and that alongside it a current is developing to form a movement cutting across party lines, dedicated to the fight for Canadian independence. This is an interesting development and could see the emergence of a united front of progressive, left, Communist and Socialist forces and national and nationalist trends directed towards curbing the power of U.S. monopoly in Canada. It points up the fact, as our program states, that "the interweaving of the fight against monopoly and for independence is a major characteristic of present day Canadian reality."

A second question which needs further development in the Party Program has to do with state monopoly capitalism. The 1962 Program, while it dealt with the subject, did so rather inadequately. Later meetings of the Central Committee analyzed different aspects of state monopoly capitalism and in this we were greatly assisted by the various seminars sponsored by *World Marxist Review* on the subject.

A correct understanding of state monopoly capitalism is of course crucial to seeing the road ahead. At one time there were tendencies in our Party to sit and wait for the inevitable economic crisis. In correcting and overcoming this tendency, another one emerged which accepted the fallacious argument that not only had the economic cycle disappeared, but that state monopoly capitalism has been able to surmount its inner contradictions. Both tendencies fed and feed passivity, disorientate the Party and rob it of a clear perspective.

In working on the program our Party will have to give considerable attention to how the cycle operates today, to the efforts of state monopoly capitalism to influence and modify it, to the role of state intervention and regulation of the economy and its impact, to Government indicative planning, its possibilities and inherent limits, to state intervention in collective bargaining and wage policy and, not least, to the new contradictions, which arise in the very effort of state monopoly capitalism to preserve and save itself. It is these new contradictions, or contradictions in new forms, which will require serious consideration, for out of these arise the ingredients for projecting democratic alternatives to the policies of state monopoly

capitalism and the necessary conditions created for an emerging anti-monopoly coalition headed by the **working class**.

Here a number of questions arise which the Program will have to examine. There are the immediate issues of the day around which and to which the working class and the rising democratic movements are reacting, and there are issues of more basic democratic reform which can inevitably open the door to socialist advance. This aspect of democracy as an inseparable part of the strategy of socialist advance needs considerable treatment in our Program. It has to do with economic and political measures, with the struggle for industrial democracy in plants and in industry, with the new problems posed by the scientific and technological revolution, as yet only in its infancy in Canada, the effects of the latter on the structure of the economy and on the composition of the working class and, above all, on the accompanying sharpening of the contradictions between the productive forces and relations of production.

State monopoly capitalism is conscious both of the possibilities and of the dangers in the scientific and technological revolution, and is impelled to intervene in its development so as to preserve its system; but the nature of its intervention is calculated to benefit monopoly, not the people. Here, too, the program must register what is already taking place in Canada around the battle to restrict "management rights" and indicate the path whereby the working class can win a say in the implementation of these new techniques as well as in the division of the wealth it produces, seeing this as an essential part of the struggle to extend democracy and give it a new content, a new dimension going beyond the limitation of formal bourgeois democracy.

In this connection there has been some discussion in our Party around the question of democratic and structural reforms. Again the problem is not one of semantics but of seeking out the ways through which the working class and its allies can weaken monopoly power, extend democracy and open the door to the socialist advance. The 1962 Program put forward proposals for nationalization of industry, particularly U.S.-owned industry in Canada. So far, however, it has not become a slogan of the masses and while we must continue to press for it, there may be need to seek out intermediate steps which would lead in that direction, related always to the question of the election of a government dedicated to enact such legislation under democratic controls. Nationalization or public ownership is not new for Canada. The bourgeoisie instituted it in sectors of the economy when it suited its interests to do so thereby enabling it to improve its competitive position vis-a-vis other countries. And it may do so again. On the other hand, the mass movement for nationalization of natural resources, a sphere in which U.S. imperialism is very much interested and in which it is anxious

to extend its control, could become an important element in the development of a powerful national and democratic upsurge and stimulate the conditions for serious political realignments which, in fact, are developing in our country today.

A third question is that of alliances. How do we see the question of alliances in advanced capitalist countries where the peasant question does not exist? According to latest reports from the Department of Agriculture it is anticipated that by 1980 only five per cent of the population will remain in the countryside. On one hand it attests to a high degree of productivity and the effects of the technological revolution in the countryside. On the other it poses the problem which our program must tackle: what is the nature of the alliance needed by the working class? The 1962 Program put the question this way: "Historical experience in Canada and abroad shows that the most natural and consistent allies of the working class are the mass of the farmers, the producers in the countryside, particularly those sections of the farmers who completely depend for their existence on their own labor and that of their families." But can we speak today of the worker-farmer alliance in its classical sense? Obviously not. Without excluding the countryside or a part of it, the question of alliances needs to be broadened out to include all middle strata. This of course requires a serious study of the changes in the composition of the working class, the position of the middle strata and of the urban petty bourgeoisie, their specific interests and needs, *seeking out the objective basis for an alliance between those strata and the working class*. Moreover, in the specific conditions of Canada the problem of an alliance must include the people of French Canada and take into account the existence of the two nations in our country. We are therefore faced with the interweaving of alliances of a national and democratic character and class alliances leading in the direction of basic social transformations. This is a highly complex problem, one which calls for much thought.

The 1962 Program states: "the Communist Party works for the election to Parliament of a labor-farmer government."

This statement is, of course, related to the worker-farmer alliance and needs further consideration. Elsewhere in the program we speak of "workers' rule," "the rule of the vast majority of the Canadian people."

The question could be posed whether this puts the problem too narrowly. There is no question here of the leading role of the working class in effecting social change. What is involved rather is a correct characterization both of the relation of classes and concrete political institutions which will undertake the building of a socialist society in Canadian conditions.

These questions are of fundamental importance in the formulation of a party program. As we know, a program must be built on a scientific foundation and must proceed from

facts which have been fully established. It must indicate the line of march to socialism and the forces which must unite to reach that goal. The program, therefore, has a twofold purpose. On one hand, to chart a course for today; on the other, to outline the various stages of the struggle and the movements of the people which will lead them to the achievement of a socialist Canada.

In this connection, while avoiding a blueprint approach to socialism, we need to examine the forms of the transition to socialism in our country. The 1962 program declared that "the Communist Party advocates a peaceful transition to socialism within the framework of the historically-evolved Canadian parliamentary institutions." We hold this to be valid today. It further stated that "in order to establish the widest possible national unity for the building of a socialist Canada, the Communist Party advocates agreement on a common program to this end among all political groups who recognize the necessity of such a social transformation."

The concept of a multi-party government which is implied in the above statements was further developed in the report to the 19th Convention which stated:

"We have declared in our Party Program that we seek and work for a peaceful transition to socialism. We wish to say further that with the achievement of socialism in our country all the democratic rights and institutions of the people will not only be defended but extended. Socialism will in fact give it a far richer content than capitalism ever can. Moreover, in our conditions in Canada, distinct from what occurred elsewhere due to different historical circumstances, we reject the idea of one-party government as being a necessary condition for the transition from capitalism to socialism, and work for the formation of a multi-party government whose aim will be the building of socialism. And we see the possibility of opposition parties continuing to function providing they respect the laws of the government building a socialist society." (*A New Course for Canada*.)

This concept, which is integral to class alliances led by the working class and corresponds with the historic task of widening democracy, should be reflected in the Party Program today. The Program also needs to answer the question: does this deny the element of coercion necessary in building a socialist system of society? And in what way will this element of coercion be expressed? What institutions will remain during the transition and which may cease to perform a useful purpose?

These and other questions of theory and practice are now being actively debated in the Party in the course of rewriting the present Program. In this debate we bear in mind that what we shall in fact be discussing is the strategy and tactics of socialism in our conditions. In doing so we must take into account the specific peculiarities of Canada, the interweaving of national and democratic tasks, the contradiction in-

herent in state monopoly capitalism and the forces arising in opposition to its policies, which increasingly will be compelled to take the road to socialism. Generalities here are not enough. The 1962 Program declared that the Party advocates a peaceful transition to socialism within the framework of the historically evolved Canadian parliamentary institutions while warning of the danger of capitalist violence. This revised program needs to be much more concrete and creatively develop our position.

To further the debate working papers are being prepared on the following questions: the U.S.-Canadian oligarchy; Canadian identity and self-determination; the role of the New Democratic Party; the relations of the scientific and technological revolution to social change; structural changes in the working class; the new

left; attitude to religious phenomena in present social conditions; attitude to culture and art; the education system in Canada; the concept of a multi-party coalition.

Our aim here is not only to involve every member in the consideration of the program but non-party people as well, more particularly socialist-minded workers and young people. We bear in mind that we are not formulating a program *for* the Party but a program *of* the Party, a program which is of concern to all the democratic and progressive forces of our country.

"Viewpoint," an organ of the Party, is being made available for written contributions and for an exchange of experiences on how the discussion is developing.

William KASHTAN

Party work in Bulgaria

We continue our exchange-of-experience series with several items on various aspects of Party work in the Bulgarian People's Republic.

In them the reader will find an account of how the decisions of the Ninth Communist Party Congress (November 1966) are being carried out and how the forms and methods of Party work are being modified to give more active leadership to the country's socialist construction effort.

OPERATING THE NEW ECONOMIC SYSTEM IN SOFIA

THE NINTH CONGRESS of the Bulgarian Communist Party set the country a new goal, transition to intensive economic development. That decision is based on a scientific analysis of the present stage in building the material and technical basis of socialism and expanding the nation's productive forces.

The five-year plan (1966-70) approved by the Congress envisages high growth rates, and Bulgaria has all the objective and subjective factors to make that a reality. The Party's First Secretary, Todor Zhivkov, told the Congress: "The new management system is based on accumulated experience and a closer understanding and conscious application of the economic laws of socialism. It meets the requirements of the present stage of our economic development."

And conscious application of the objective laws of socialism implies a higher standard of Party and state leadership of the economy.

This imposes very important tasks on Sofia Party organizations and work collectives. And not only because the system of economic management is being reconstructed, but also because Sofia plays such a leading part in the Bulgarian economy. At this writing, 140 Sofia industrial, trade and transport enterprises and 10 cooperative farms have made the change-over to the new system. Last year they accounted for 65.7 per cent of industrial output, 100 per cent of road haulage and 70 per cent of trade turnover, and more enterprises are making the change this year. Sofia has been the testing ground of the new system and has helped to perfect its mechanism.

From the very outset, the Sofia Party Committee was fully aware that adoption of the new system would not in itself solve all our problems, nor would the new mechanism work automatically. That is why our first concern was to strengthen the subjective factor to assure that Party organizations made full use of the new favorable conditions.

It is axiomatic that Party work does not di-

rectly influence the economy, but indirectly, through its ideological impact. Consequently, forms and methods of Party work have been oriented on raising socialist consciousness and initiative so that all workers take an active part in realizing our economic goals. The new system creates objective conditions for higher standards in every field of Party activity, but, at the same time, for a change in our very approach to economic problems.

The experience of the Sofia Party organization is not yet sufficient for any definitive conclusions. However, it has already revealed how the new system affects the work of the city, district and local Party organizations. There are many facts to illustrate the change in the methods and content of Party work.

Under the new system, responsibility for the operation of any given enterprise rests with its management which, of course, relies on the support and cooperation of the entire collective. And with factory operation becoming more complex, technologically and economically, managerial personnel must be of high professional standard, and the general technical knowledge of the workers must be improved.

The decisive factor in perfecting Party work and putting it on a scientific basis is the experience and skill of Party members. Accordingly, our Party organization has shifted the emphasis to cadre training.

We began by explaining the substance, aims and methods of the new system, the way economic laws operate under socialism, the role of the state, the state plan and work collectives, the importance of the Leninist principle of material incentives and how it should be combined with moral stimulators. In short, we have consistently emphasized the unity and harmony of personnel, group and social interests in a socialist society, and, of course, we had to explain why the new system was introduced and show up all its advantages.

Our ideological work has been directed also against a trend among certain of our cadres to take an over-simplified view of the new system. We had to show that it would work successfully and produce the desired results only if there were more purposeful activity by Party, administrative and economic bodies and work collectives.

A new content had to be given to traditional forms of Party education so that they could be used more fully and effectively. Gradually there took shape stable forms of Party training embracing Party functionaries and economic executives. The district committees started differentiated permanent courses, seminars and schools for branch secretaries, factory directors, heads of research institutions and propagandists. Similar courses have been started at factory level for technicians and economists. In all this work Party organizations are being helped by members of the Party Central Committee, Political Bureau and Secretariat, and by high-ranking Party and government officials.

This has made for a higher level of Party work in the city and district organizations.

Better use is being made of the Party education system to raise the theoretical knowledge of leading cadres and to give the public a better understanding of economic problems. There is more planning, more purpose and direction in our propaganda work, and it is more closely linked with the problems arising at individual factories and factory departments. Lectures and informal talks, too, on such topical subjects as productivity, quality standards, profitability, distribution of profits, have proved an attractive and valuable form of propaganda.

There is also this new feature: factory managers, research directors and leading officials of central government departments frequently address Party meetings.

Another innovation is theoretical conferences arranged by the city and district Party committees or at factories and scientific institutes and government departments to discuss various aspects of the new system and the problems that crop up in the process of its operation. These are analytical discussions and they usually lead to important conclusions and suggestions. In combination, these new forms have made for a higher level of theoretical understanding. This year alone, more than sixty such theoretical conferences were held to examine different problems of economic management, industrial modernization and intensification, productivity, prices, price formation, etc.

The Kirov District Committee, for instance, arranged a theoretical conference on industrial modernization and intensification as the key to raising the social productivity of labor, and in carrying out the economic reform. Leading scientists, members of the Academy of Sciences, university instructors and officials of central planning and financial agencies have an active and valuable share in this work.

Our experience has shown that factories operating under the new system provide a more congenial atmosphere for the socialist emulation and innovation movements. For one thing, the gap sometimes observed between these movements and operative wage systems has been bridged — material and moral incentives are now closely linked. Working under Party leadership, trade union factory committees have given a new aim and substance to the emulation movement. Now many Communist work teams undertake obligations that help efficiently to operate the new system, particularly in such matters as fuller use of available plant, economy of raw materials, introduction of more progressive techniques, etc.

It will thus be seen that Party work centers on cultivating a high sense of duty and a Communist attitude to one's job and giving the worker a better understanding of his part in the reform, showing him that he is master of the factory and therefore has a vital interest, and responsibility, in its proper functioning.

This scientific approach to Party work finds expression also in fuller utilization of the

latest achievements in technology and the natural and social sciences in perfecting industrial operation and management. On this and related problems district and factory Party committees maintain close contact with scientists and research institutions, government departments and the press. There is also more direct contact and cooperation between factories and research establishments. For example, factory No. 12 has an agreement with the Institute of Industrial Economics and Organization on a joint project to devise more effective and precise technological and economic indicators. One of our big tobacco factories is working with the Karl Marx Economics Institute on a new management structure. All district Party committees are drawing on scientific data and enlisting researchers to solve some of the more complex problems posed by the reform.

In this way, scientific approach and analysis are becoming a cardinal factor of all economic endeavor. And the results are encouraging: more rational use of labor power and materials, faster rise of labor productivity, more money released for investment and consumption and, naturally, higher earnings for the worker.

Party work among technicians and other specialists is being improved, too. The Party organization of the Kolarov Precision Engineering Plant has drawn on Soviet experience to enlist technicians in examining and solving the problems involved in technical progress. A group of about 150 designers, technologists, economists and other expert personnel have worked out solutions for 220 technical problems, which will mean a saving of more than 300,000 leva. At another engineering plant, a detailed plan was drawn up for improving production techniques, and now economists and other specialists are cooperating with the Party organization on a long-range program that will bring quality up to world standards by 1970 and substantially raise productivity.

In fact, the technician is becoming a central figure in the work of Party organizations. This is reflected in the changing composition of branch secretaries: about 60 per cent are engineers with higher or secondary technical education. In the industrial Kolarov district, 155 secretaries out of a total of 263 are trained specialists, and the proportion is about the same in the Dimitrov, Blagoyev and Lenin districts. The same tendency is to be seen also in the composition of district Party committees and their bureaus, and among economic cadres, which are now being drawn from university-trained and experienced specialists.

Economic analysis is receiving much more attention from Party committees and this has proved very valuable, for it produces a clear picture of the economic mechanism and its diverse elements. Party committees are setting up auxiliary bodies — technical and economic commissions, research bureaus, analyst groups, etc.—for integrated economic studies.

There were only 26 such groups prior to the

economic reform; the number now is more than 220 with a membership of 1,300 economists and other expert personnel. Their proposals are more and more often made the basis of Party committee decisions. A typical example of what can be accomplished is provided by a big shoe factory in Sofia. In the past two years, on the initiative of the Party committee, the entire production process was carefully analyzed and reorganized. What is more, all the shops were put on a cost-accounting basis, with the result that the target output figure was achieved with 150 fewer workers than before and productivity increased about five per cent. This year, its economic analysis group is studying operation direct at the machine with a view to achieving higher performance indicators.

Economic analysis of this type has proved a valuable guide to plant operation. So much so, that the 1965 city Party conference recommended to all Party organizations to arrange regular public discussions on the subject. In the Kirkov district the discussion concentrated on the work of economic executives, planning, technical and economic research, cost-accounting, participation of Party shop groups in directing production, and a review of the measures initiated by Party committees. More than 200 proposals were made on these and related questions.

A distinguishing feature of Party work today is concentration on long-range solutions of concrete economic problems. Party organizations make a point of discussing every major problem in its long-term implications. This applies notably to productivity, and in several factories Party committees have been instrumental in devising educational and organizational measures to achieve a substantial increase in productivity over the next two or three years.

Some organizations, among them the Party branch at the Sofia automobile repair plant, have made especially good progress in this respect. Technical conferences to discuss ways and means of improving production, partly by drawing on the experience of similar enterprises in the USSR, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and other countries, have become a regular feature. A careful study was made of introducing conveyor operation, and seven conveyor lines were started in the past three years with very telling results — productivity in the fourth five-year plan period rose 72.6 per cent and wages 23.1 per cent.

There is closer Party control of economic management. Party organizations are making a more profound study of factory operation with a view to utilizing the broad initiative the new system offers the worker. Economic executives more frequently discuss their problem with district Party committees, branches and shop groups.

There has also been a certain change in the day-to-day work of primary Party organizations. In practically all factories operating un-

der the new system the general Party meeting plays a more important role, and the meetings are better organized. It is becoming customary to discuss the agenda in the Party groups so that each Party member has a clear idea of his place and responsibility. This also makes for closer unity of the Party collective.

Party shop groups have become more active, devoting their main attention to such questions as the vanguard role of Communists, that is, setting an example in raising professional skills, economizing raw materials and improving quality standards. This has instilled a greater feeling of responsibility and a desire to share more actively in finding solutions for specific problems.

A characteristic feature of the new system, one expressive of its very substance, is the worker's increased share in management. Practice has shown that bringing front-rank workers and foremen on to production committees tends to eliminate bureaucracy and subjectivism and encourages a keener interest in rationalization and innovation.

The Party's enhanced leadership role, the higher level of Party organizational and political work to bring out the latent constructive abilities of the working people are, of course, integral elements of socialist construction, and experience has already shown that the new management system provides incomparably better conditions for this.

The achievements of Sofia industry are convincing proof of the new system's superiority, and of the ability of Party and economic bodies to make full use of it.

By tying investment and wages funds to profitability, the new system stimulates continuous expansion of production. For instance, enterprises working under the new system have topped their annual plan by 5.2 per cent, compared with only 2.8 per cent in factories functioning under the old system. The following figures showing percentage production gains in 1966 over 1965 are indicative:

	Old System	New System
Chemicals and rubber	8.8	19.9
Engineering	8.3	9.8
Other industries	16.0	21.5

What is more, the sale of finished goods is much quicker under the new system, due partly to higher quality. The stocks of unsold goods at factory level are much lower in the new-system industries.

KREMIKOVTSI

A RUDIMENTARY INDUSTRY, a primitive agriculture and very meagre raw-material resources were distinguishing features of the old Bulgaria. The new, people's government resolved to change that. The problem was discussed at the April 1956 meeting of the Communist Party Central Committee, with special reference

The new system has encouraged Party organizations and management to look for ways and means of improving production. Technicians and workers have suggested new techniques, work methods and more rational use of available plant. Net output is increasing more rapidly in new-system plants (a 14.2 per cent increase in 1966) than in old-system plants, where it was only one per cent.

Another significant development is a much higher growth rate and a much bigger proportion of net profit remaining at the disposal of the factory.

Better use of plant and materials has, of course, resulted in higher productivity. The rise in new-system plants last year was 10.6 per cent, compared with a very significant figure for plants still operating under the old system.

In recording these positive changes in Party work, it has to be said that there are still many untapped potentialities. It should be remembered that the introduction and operation of the new system is a continuous process in the course of which many difficulties have to be overcome and defects in Party work eliminated. For one thing, there is still a very tenacious conservatism and an over-simplified view of the new system. Besides, not everywhere have its advantages and the responsibility it implies been clearly brought home to every worker, technician and industrial manager. In some places people are prone to cling to the old methods with all their bureaucracy and management by administrative fiat. Nor is there always sufficient understanding of how to combine material incentive with material responsibility.

The Sofia Party committee is endeavoring to eliminate all these defects. It is working to heighten the economic training of Party, administrative and economic officials, so that everyone, even subordinate cadres, have a clear understanding of the principles of the reform, its mechanism, and how both should be applied in resolving the concrete problems of building socialism.

In accordance with the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress, the Sofia Party organization has made purposeful and consistent application of the new system one of its chief tasks. It considers it the principal means of attaining still higher goals in production and, at the same time, rallying all Communists, all the people, around the Party's correct economic policy.

Stefan VASILIEV

to the development of the iron and steel industry.

In 1959 prospecting by Soviet and Bulgarian geologists revealed rich iron-ore deposits at Kremikovtsi, a village north of Sofia. They are estimated at 250 million tons and the ore has a 30 per cent iron content. Other components

are lead (0.7 per cent), barytes (18.6), and manganese (6.8). Furthermore, the ore can be mined by open-cast methods. In short, all the conditions are there for a large, full-cycle steel mill.

It is now being built, the Kremikovtsi Iron and Steel Combine. What it will mean for Bulgaria is spelled out in these per capita iron and steel production figures: 1939—0.7 kg., 1960—33 kg., 1965—75 kg., 1970, when the combine will be in full-cycle operation—315 kg., and in 1975, after further expansion—425 kg.

Kremikovtsi is usually described as the product of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, and that is not simply a catchword, for the combine was designed by the Moscow Gipromet Institute in cooperation with more than 30 Soviet organizations. Practically all the equipment is of Soviet origin, and we import 25,000 tons of metal a year for the construction work.

Most of the technical personnel were trained in the Soviet Union and received further practical training at Soviet steel mills. Besides, we employ about 150 Soviet technicians, who have generously shared their experience and knowledge with our engineers and workers.

Other socialist countries, too, notably Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Poland and Hungary, are helping Bulgaria build her biggest metallurgical plant.

It can therefore be said that Kremikovtsi is the product of Bulgaria's increased economic strength and of fraternal assistance by the socialist countries.

Ground was broken in the spring of 1960. Looking across the rolling farmlands, the first builders found it hard to envisage an industrial giant springing up here in a few short years.

But the vision is coming true — there are already dozens of auxiliary units, and several sections of the steel mill have been commissioned. The project employs 12,000 building workers and 16,000 miners, steelmen, foundrymen, chemists, mechanics, truck drivers and railwaymen.

At the beginning the builders were housed in an old flour mill in Kremikovtsi village. At that time there were only 32 Party members and 42 members of the Young Communist League. Today Communist Party membership is 3,216 (1,114 employed on the building site and 2,102 in the steel mill proper). Our Party committee has the status of a district committee, and the same goes for the Young Communist organization, which now has a membership of more than 7,000.

The goal we are all working towards is accelerated construction and efficient operation of all sections of the mill. That is not easy, for we have to work in conditions that differ widely from those in established industrial areas.

True, work on the Kremikovtsi Combine began at a time when we had already built hundreds of industrial enterprises and had a trained army of builders. But this proved inadequate for such an ambitious and complex project. In the early years some of the builders could not face up to the difficulties and quit.

Instead of training new cadres and organizing work properly, the Party committee tried to keep the men on the job by purely administrative methods, which only complicated an already complicated situation.

The Party Central Committee had to intervene to set matters right. Experienced builders, new executive personnel and more Party functionaries were sent to Kremikovtsi. The Soviet Union helped, too, by sending, at our request, a number of highly skilled construction and plant-operation specialists. Besides, we sent our engineers and economists for short-term training courses in the USSR and Czechoslovakia. However, the problem of training personnel still looms large.

The Party committee and all lower units had to exert every effort to train supervisory personnel. This required great skill and perseverance. First, we had to instil in everyone confidence in his knowledge and ability and a feeling of team-work. Equally important was the matter of training people to acquire the political stamina necessary to cope with and surmount difficulties. Now, in reviewing what we have accomplished, it can be said that we have considerably reduced the "import" of trained personnel and are actually "exporting," that is, assigning men to work in central government and Party organizations.

This process of transforming our collective from a "consumer" to a "producer" of competent cadres capable of furthering the Party's cause is, we believe, one of our proudest achievements.

At present there are about 850 specialists with higher education (210 on construction work and 640 at the steel mill), and most of them are not only able and efficient executives, but are making a valuable contribution to our organization and training programs.

Another distinctive feature of Party work is the shaping of a new detachment of the working class. A project of this magnitude was bound to attract thousands of workers from all parts of the country. Some of them were skilled men, but there were also thousands of villagers, especially young people, for whom this was their first job, the beginning of a career. But there were also those whose sole purpose was to work less and earn more. Still another category were youngsters who had come here in the hope that this would make it easier for them to enter college or university.

Welding together this heterogeneous mass into a single purposeful collective was further complicated by the shortage of housing and social amenities, inadequate transport and the nearness of a big city with its more attractive conditions. Nor were things made easier by management miscalculation and bungling.

It was vital to strengthen all the Party units and create a situation in which every Party member would become an organizer. It was towards this end that we directed all our efforts.

The project employs more than 1,000 con-

struction assemblymen working at points separated from each other by several kilometers. Cultivating a spirit of self-discipline in each of these teams was one of the first things we had to do, and to do it the Party committee appointed Communists to work in each team. They would talk to the boys on the job and after working hours, explaining the need for teamwork, and where necessary exposing idlers and money-grabbers.

Early on in the work a group of Young Communists organized their own team and elected a Party member its leader. But they lacked training and could not compete with teams made up of experienced assemblymen. We started an intensive training course and encouraged the boys to enroll in evening technical school. We also started a library, arranged for concerts, invited writers, actors scientists, Resistance fighters and veteran revolutionaries to visit the team. Today it proudly bears the title of Communist Work Team.

The first two turbines of the project's power plant were commissioned in 1963. However, we soon found that the service crews did not possess the necessary qualifications. One of the turbines broke down and there were several minor breakdowns. Sabotage? No, simply lack of experience. The Party organization saw to it that every Party member attended evening courses; YCL members and many non-Party workers followed their example. In fact, this became a mass movement to master technology. In the second quarter of 1964 the power plant was operating smoothly and at full capacity. Today it is considered one of the country's best.

In April 1966 the blast furnace was scheduled for overhauling. The job had to be done in five days. Could we manage? All Party members were confident we would. With the help of the Party and trade-union committees, 600 men were chosen for the job. For two months they met every evening to go over the plan of the repair work. And these briefings helped: the job was finished in four days.

Of course, we have not always been so successful. There are still many shortcomings. For instance, we have still to form close-knit collectives on some sectors of the project, and we have still to analyze and eliminate snags that crop up now and then.

Early this year the Party committee discussed work discipline. We were faced with a seemingly inexplicable fact: in July and August absenteeism was especially high. We went into the matter and found that it was due mainly to workers going back to their villages to help with the harvesting of the family household plot. Consequently, management was largely to blame for not having taken into account that the erstwhile farmer could not be turned into a disciplined industrial worker overnight. To obviate repetition of this seasonal absenteeism we arranged that workers with village ties would be given their annual holiday during harvest time.

But this posed another problem: on some jobs most of the workers fall into this category. And so we decided to dispatch work teams on free days to help with the harvesting. This does not in any way interfere with work in the plant or on the construction site.

Our biggest difficulties, however, are still in housing and general amenities. At first it was believed that most of the workers would be drawn from Sofia and that there would be no housing problem. But it turned out that most of the workers and technicians came from distant parts. True, we provided them with dormitory accommodation, but they did not like the idea of living away from their families and, besides, we had to provide for the new families.

The Party organization could not, of course, remain a passive onlooker. It raised the question with the Party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers. Two years ago the housing program was stepped up and we have a long-term plan, up to 1970, for the construction of between 300 and 400 housing units a year. Another way of solving the problem was to provide better transportation between Sofia and Kremikovtsi—more buses have been put into service, also an extra train, and an electric line will be in operation by the end of 1968.

However, much more remains to be done. Many are still living in patently inadequate conditions, but they know that the Party, both our organization and the Central Committee, is doing everything to improve radically the housing situation.

Our educational activities are not confined to working hours. Much is being done in the hostels, mainly by the Young Communist League. The trade unions see to it that there are no complaints about wages, stringently control industrial safety arrangements, the work of canteens, and so on. And both the trade unions and the YCL have been active in providing recreation and training facilities. In this we receive valuable assistance from theatres, cultural centers, research institutes and schools in Sofia — the Musicians Union, for instance, holds regular concerts at Kremikovtsi.

However, the main emphasis is on political education, both on an individual and collective level, and into this work we have drawn front-rankers among Party and non-Party members.

The second major field of Party work is concerned with economics. There are no special forms or methods here, but there are some distinctive features in the content of this facet of our activities.

It should be borne in mind that we have to master, in a very short space of time, huge production capacities, and this raises many questions of how best to organize production work and coordination between the various collectives, how correctly to select and formulate the chief targets and consistently work towards their attainment. All these questions have from the very start been in the center of attention.

That does not mean, of course, that we have no confidence in management, or that we are trying to do its job for it. No, all Party work is directed at strengthening the principle of one-man management and at helping managerial personnel to do their job properly and efficiently. Party and management bodies jointly examine and discuss how best to allocate labor power, target dates for various jobs, what Party, trade union and YCL organizations can do to promote better organization and operation and, lastly, what requests should be made to the central authorities or to other industrial enterprises. The concrete tasks before Party, trade union and YCL organizations are discussed with management. It should be noted in this context that most of the managerial and administrative personnel are Party members. At the same time, however, the Party committee of the project and Party committees of individual enterprises have, and use, authority to control administrative action.

At the Ninth Party Congress we were criticized for being slow in starting full-scale operation of commissioned capacity, thereby creating additional difficulties for the economy as a whole. We knew that one of the chief causes of the lag was inefficient operation and repair of equipment. The Party bureau instructed all Communists concerned to review the situation and report on their findings to a plenary meeting of the Party committee.

The findings disclosed a number of shortcomings. Some of them could be eliminated without outside help, but responsibility for others lay with certain departments of the Ministry of the Metallurgical and Chemical Industries. We had drawn their attention to this, but no radical measures were taken. The Party committee thereupon drew up a memorandum which it sent to the Minister, and action was immediate and energetic.

About 80 Party, economic and administrative executives, the directors of the Iron and Steel Amalgamation, the Minister of the Metallurgical and Chemical Industries and many front-rank workers participated in the plenary meeting. This made it possible to formulate a comprehensive and concrete decision which greatly accelerated full-scale production and reduced costs—by as much as 200,000 leva in the first quarter of the year.

Party committees in the various units are likewise oriented on resolving cardinal economic problems. The committee at the ore mine, for instance, held a special conference on labor productivity, preceded by a careful analysis of potentialities for higher output per worker. It drew up detailed recommendations for a three or four year plan, outlining integrated measures to assure a steady rise in labor productivity.

Much attention is being paid to the selection and training of cadres. No one can be appointed to an executive position (or dismissed) without the consent of the Party committee. This is important, for it brings the work of leading cadres under Party control and assures

them the support of the Party committee in new initiatives, criticism, and so on. This is one way of countering attempts by some managers to put their friends into leading positions. But we still have to perfect our work in this field and devote more time and effort to careful appraisal of the work of every Communist holding an executive post.

Another major branch of Party work is drawing the workers into the solution of the central problems of planning, organization of production, wages, etc.

Party control and leadership are exercised largely through the joint Party commissions. The name may not be very accurate but the substance is this: at every construction unit we set up a commission composed of representatives of the Party organizations of the agencies responsible for the construction, usually about six or eight members, with a representative of the Party committee as chairman. The function of these commissions is to exercise day-to-day Party leadership and control of the construction and coordinate the work of the organizations concerned. The commissions hear reports from unit directors, team leaders, Party branch secretaries and Party group organizers. Whereas there are often departmental feuds between managers (each often trying to put the blame on the other), the commissions take an objective, businesslike approach, go into all the problems and work out concrete tasks for all Party members. A narrow departmental approach is thus obviated and a more comradesly atmosphere is created. That, too, is the purpose of the emulation movement, of the YCL "observer groups" and, indeed, of all our propaganda work. There is also this advantage: the Party commissions are in a better position to reveal shortcomings. We are therefore extending this form, which combines Party control with concrete organizational activity and political education.

The latter is especially important as a means of inculcating in the worker the realization that this is *his* steel mill. And though much still remains to be done in this respect, what has already been accomplished is a sure earnest of continued success.

The third important branch of Party activity is among the youth. About 15 per cent of our young workers do not stay on the job for any length of time, so that their education has become a big problem. It is further complicated by management errors and a disparaging attitude to the young worker's desire to learn a trade, continue his education or get better housing conditions. We have repeatedly drawn attention to this and have taken disciplinary action against Communists guilty of such wrong attitudes, but, unfortunately, it cannot be said that this has been productive of the desired results.

We supported a YCL proposal to poll young workers on what they think their role should be in building and developing the Kremikovtsi Combine. More than 1,500 were polled and their

answers, published in the local press, raised many important questions. These were examined by a team of sociologists, educators and economists and their findings were submitted to the YCL committee which discussed them at a plenary meeting attended by trade union delegates, representatives of management and secretaries of Party units. The discussion did much to bring about a change of attitude and served as the basis for plans to improve conditions.

They are being improved. More free time is now allowed for students of evening and correspondence courses, more vocational training classes are being started, work will soon begin on a youth club, etc. All this was discussed in the local press and at youth meetings.

It is still too early to predict what impact this is likely to have on the thousands of teenagers working at Kremikovtsi. We hope that it will exert a positive influence, and that hope

is based on the tone of the many youth gatherings held after the poll, where the discussion was frank and businesslike.

On the whole, the spirit at Kremikovtsi is such that administrative methods and subjectivism always meet with a determined rebuff. Whenever there is dissatisfaction with the action of management and the district Party committee is too slow in intervening, the workers do not hesitate to take the matter to the Party Central Committee.

We are always aware of the shortcomings in Party activity. We assess our work in the light of the requirements laid down by the Ninth Party Congress. We know that we are not making adequate use of sociological studies and economic analyses, nor exercising the necessary control to see that Party decisions are properly carried out. In short, there is much work ahead to improve the forms and methods of Party activity.

Ivan TODOROV

PARTY WORK IN RESIDENTIAL AREAS

IN ACCORDANCE WITH the Marxist-Leninist tenet that the strength of the Communist Party lies in its inseparable link with the people, the Samakov Party committee is devoting much time and effort to its residential area organizations.

Our Party has a long and proud tradition in Samakov, a town of 26,000. Its forerunner, the local Socialist Party, was founded way back in 1899 by Boris Hadjisotirov, a dedicated and able Socialist propagandist, and quickly won influence among the population. Its biggest victory came in the June 1910 municipal elections, when it won eight of the 14 council seats. Samakov thus became the first Socialist-controlled municipality in the Balkans.

In their 18 months in office, the Socialist councillors carried out practically all their pledges to the electorate—municipal services, particularly in the working class districts, were improved, new water mains laid, free school canteens started, free clothes and text books provided to poorer schoolchildren, municipal taxes tied to income, etc.

All this made for a close link with the people, and we kept it alive during all the years of fascist rule. It acquired a new significance after the socialist revolution of September 9, 1944.

About 10,000 of our 26,000 inhabitants are in industry, transport and trade. The city is divided into seven administrative areas. Each has its own problems in education, municipal and public health services, trade, culture. Each has a Party club and in some there is also a cultural center catering chiefly to housewives and pensioners, but also, of course, to workers wishing to avail themselves of its educational and recreation facilities.

It would be wrong to underestimate, or worse still neglect, the area Party organizations and thus leave a large part of the population without Party influence and leadership. The role of

area organizations was discussed by the Party Central Committee at its plenary session in May 1964, and plans were drawn up for strengthening them organizationally and diversifying their activities. Our own experience had fully confirmed the need for such active Party organizations capable of conducting political and educational work among the population and of helping the local authorities cope with their problems.

Altogether 384 Communists, or 22 per cent of total Party membership, are in these residential area organizations. Most of them are pensioners, housewives and young comrades working in offices where there is no Party branch. And though a sizable section of the membership are old-age pensioners, they are active and show a keen sense of Party duty. This is especially important for all activities are, naturally, on a purely voluntary basis.

That being so, it is important that area organizations have efficient leadership, and we have been particularly careful in selecting comrades to guide them and the local branches of mass organizations, primarily the Fatherland Front. We make a point of recommending as area secretaries comrades known for their political tact and with rich experience in Party work.

The Fatherland Front branch provides a valuable means of keeping the Party in close touch with the population. That is why we are systematically strengthening the Communist kernel in Fatherland Front branches and nominate experienced comrades in elections for branch and area chairmen. At present, six of the seven Fatherland Front area chairmen and 18 of the 43 branch chairmen are members of the Party.

However, it would be wrong to think that the city committee confines itself to selecting cadres. Through its full-time and volunteer instructors it maintains close contact with area

committees and guides their everyday activities. Secretaries and bureau members of the city committee attend area meetings and help in many other ways. This gives them first-hand knowledge of the matters in which the people are interested, keeps them in touch with public sentiment and enables them to solve problems as they arise. The city committee frequently meets with area secretaries to discuss their work and to brief them on plans affecting their particular localities.

Area secretaries attend annual week-long seminars and regular bi-monthly seminars to raise their general cultural and political level. Another form serving much the same purpose is the periodical exchange-of-experience meetings. These deal with such questions as methods of propaganda on an individual and collective level, study and assessment of public opinion, guidance of mass organizations. Each such session is preceded by a review of local activity carried out by volunteer groups appointed by the city committee.

The main function of area organizations is systematic, purposeful and effective political work among their members and the population. And in this attention centers on eradicating capitalist survivals and religious delusions in people's minds, combating careerism, individualism and contempt for the collective. Another aspect is strengthening the family as the basic nucleus of socialist society. But, of course, area Party committees have to deal with questions of town planning and municipal improvement. They also have a share in organizing cultural centers and retail trade enterprises, recruiting volunteers to help in the harvesting, collect processable waste, medicinal herbs, help in construction work, etc.

Every area has its activist group, made up of Party and non-Party people who enjoy the trust and confidence of the local population. One of the functions of these groups is to arrange area conferences, usually from 15 to 30 delegates, and informal at-home talks. The activist group is briefed by the area secretary or a member of the city Party committee in preparation for the conference.

And still another form of party work, and one with a long-standing tradition in Samakov, is public meetings. These are systematically convened in all of the seven areas and attract large audiences. The speakers are usually officials from Sofia or local men, and they always give a clear explanation of Party policy on current issues.

A more direct way of keeping in touch with public sentiment is through the regular evening question session which we started several years ago and which are now being conducted in every area. The advantage of this form is that it brings people into direct contact with high-ranking political, economic and administrative officials. And the people can tell them about their demands, what worries them, what they would like to suggest on matters concerning their particular area or the city as a whole.

Then there is the follow-up: the city Party committee analyzes the questions and answers and acts on them. In this way the demands raised are sure of getting close attention. For instance, after parliamentary and local elections the activist groups summarize suggestions made by voters, set a date for action on them and submit a concrete plan to the local People's Council. This, incidentally, makes things much easier for the People's Council and is a guarantee that no suggestion will be neglected and no problem overlooked.

Here is a typical example of how the population shares in city government. Allocation of plots for individual housebuilding presented a difficult problem—the number of applications was far in excess of available land. Every day people would come to the City Council or to the Party committee to press for action on their applications. A radical solution had to be found. The applications were turned over to teams representing area Party organizations, activist groups and the City Council. They carefully examined them from the point of view of the applicant's family and material position, the nature of his work, and so on. More than 300 plots were allocated by the City Council on the strength of their recommendations.

In the past two or three years area Party organizations have extended and diversified their activities. The City Committee studies new forms of work as they emerge and popularizes the most valuable ones.

Again a typical example. The Party committee of one area found that many school children were not making adequate progress and that there were many complaints of misbehavior. The matter was taken up at a Party meeting and a plan to help the school was drawn up.

This is what was done. With the help of the Fatherland Front, groups of pensioners, all of them ex-teachers, and educated members of the public were formed to help children who were having trouble with their lessons. These volunteers visited the families, especially those that had recently come from villages, acquainted themselves with conditions, talked to parents and guardians. Then there was a meeting of the activist group with school teachers to discuss joint plans. It was decided to appoint permanent coaches for some of the children. In combination, these and other measures steadily made for better progress and there were fewer complaints of bad conduct in classes. Besides this had the effect of drawing parents' attention to behavior at home.

Other areas were quick to appreciate the value of this new form. School principals were invited to address parents' gatherings and meetings of the Fatherland Front and the Young Communist League and plans were made to help the school.

There are public control commissions in every area and they have proved of inestimable value in the Party's effort to wipe out law infringement and other undesirable phenomena in the life of the community. The commissions

enjoy much influence, due partly to the fact that they include doctors, engineers, school teachers and agronomists. This enables them to carry out their work on a high level and thus help the Party in solving what often prove to be knotty problems. Most of the work of the commissions consists in checking up on operation of trading organizations, service enterprises, local transport, schools, etc, and they can be relied upon to ferret out any shortcomings there may be. Their findings are submitted to the appropriate authorities, which, in serious cases, take legal or disciplinary action.

And still another body that has proved of valuable assistance to area Party organizations is the voluntary comradely court. Its members are usually people with much experience in public affairs, men and women who are an example to the community. The comradely courts are accountable to the Fatherland Front area committees, and their competence extends to minor infringements of the law, abusive conduct, insult of the person, family disputes, property disputes (if the amount involved does not exceed 50 leva), violation of labor and public discipline, drunkenness, etc.

Most of the hearings are in public and the punishment cannot go beyond public condemnation. Last year the comradely courts in the seven areas dealt with 189 cases of which 100 ended with reconciliation of the disputants. The proceedings of the comradely courts have a salutary effect on public behavior.

These, then, are some of the new forms of Party work in residential areas. They help to enhance the guiding role of the Party and the vanguard role of its members. They help also to form a wholesome Marxist-Leninist outlook, promote higher standards of activity at work and in public life and strengthen confidence in Party and government policy. The concrete expression of this is mass participation in public undertakings and a more conscientious attitude towards one's work.

On the whole, the area organizations have accomplished much, but they also have their shortcomings. For one thing, political work is in some cases confined to campaigns—elections, or Party congresses—and after the campaign is over the work is allowed to lapse, which weakens our link with the people.

A more widespread shortcoming is inadequate control over the fulfilment of decisions and recommendations. Sometimes a very good decision welcomed by all is not carried through to the end. Another drawback is the failure of area Party organizations to bring into their activities Communists living in the area but working outside it.

Our committee is aware of all these shortcomings and is taking steps to eliminate them in the near future. Its aim is to help area committees advance to a still higher level of work and in this way carry out the tasks set by the Ninth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Kosta MALINOV

PARTY GUIDANCE OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

THE BULGARIAN Communist Party has always considered work among the youth as one of its primary tasks, and in the Dimitrov Young Communist League it has an active and reliable assistant. The League plays a big role in socialist construction and is a reserve from which the Party draws new members.

The Mikhailovgrad district Party organization regards direction of, and contact with, the Young Communist League and the youth generally as one of its main and permanent tasks. Ideological and political education of the youth and its part in socialist construction constantly pose new problems which have to be analyzed and solved.

And central to this is the selection and training of YCL cadres. In fact, the success of Party leadership of the Young Communist League depends largely on the type and quality of the cadres recommended for leading YCL posts and on controlling and assisting them in their work.

In the past few years much has been accomplished in this respect: about 95 per cent of YCL branch secretaries, and 100 per cent of all area secretaries, have a secondary or higher education. That is the type of YCL functionary we need, for 61 per cent of our young workers and farmers have a higher or secondary education, too. Correct selection and training of cadres has had an invigorating effect on YCL

activities and has practically eliminated fluctuation.

As pointed out above, many of the new Party members come from the YCL, the proportion in recent years being about 70 per cent. More than 400 young Communists hold responsible YCL posts and 50 of those recruited from the YCL in the past four years now hold responsible posts in Party, administrative and economic organizations.

Though practically all YCL branch secretaries have at least gone through secondary school, that does not mean that there is no need for further training, and this is conducted through a system of courses and seminars. The YCL district committee, for instance, arranges monthly seminars to discuss the problems involved in the ideological and political education of the youth and experience in this field. The seminars are conducted by YCL and Party officials and usually lead to interesting discussions. There are also study circles for active YCL'ers.

Party contact with YCL organizations takes on different forms. What we have tried to avoid, and not without success, is a mentoring tone, methods that smack of tutelage or guardianship and can only degrade confidence in the youth. We always try to take a comradely attitude, but we know that YCL cadres often

lack the necessary experience to cope with difficult problems. We seek to give them that experience, helping them to find correct solutions, and we make a point of seeing that every youth initiative is appraised and acted upon.

Leading members of Party, administrative and economic bodies frequently address youth meetings on current political issues and other questions that have youth connotations. Such talks play an appreciable part in fostering political awareness and understanding.

Proper orientation of YCL activity is still another aspect of our work. We know that YCL organizations must be given systematic help, but in a way that does not detract from their own initiative.

The principal task of the Dimitrov Young Communist League, as defined by the Ninth Party Congress, is to help the Party educate the young generation in a communist spirit. The congress emphasized that YCL activity should center on promoting a wholesome, Marxist-Leninist outlook among the youth and an irreconcilable attitude towards bourgeois ideology. The YCL must foster a spirit of patriotism and internationalism and a high sense of duty and responsibility to the Party and the people.

Of vast importance in this respect is the system of political training, which in recent years has been enlarged and diversified. Today this system embraces over 7,000 YCL members. The curriculum includes Marxist philosophy, political economy and the principles of scientific communism. Party organizations have appointed their best propagandists to lead the discussions, which are usually spirited, at times heated.

We try to combine ideological and political education with aesthetic training, on the understanding that appreciation of culture, the arts, music, etc., is part of an all-round education.

It has become a tradition in our district to hold folk song and dance festivals in which the youth, naturally, have a conspicuous part. In fact, in some villages nearly all teenagers are active in amateur art groups.

Communist education of the youth should be seen in the context of participation in building socialism. A major element in this is the Communist Work Movement. Mention could be made of several youth teams that have set an example of good work and hard study. In honor of the Ninth Party Congress, 30 youth collectives and work teams pledged fulfilment of their annual production programs in 10 months, and 19 other teams in 11 months.

The Young Communist League has been successful also in promoting technical progress, thereby contributing to attainment of the Ninth Party Congress goal of modernizing the country's economic structure and raising efficiency standards. In our district young workers have made more than 100 suggestions in the national technical-progress drive, and these have already meant a saving of about 200,000 leva. Last year, about 200 young technicians and 15 youth inno-

vator groups took part in the new technology movement.

Similarly, the Young Communist League has a good record of achievement in agriculture. Here, too, the accent is on more efficient use of available machinery, and last year 1,380 YCL members took part in the campaign. They employed new techniques to cultivate 38,000 hectares of corn, wheat, sugar beet and other crops.

In recent years there has been a revival of the Youth Brigade Movement which originated in the early days of people's government under the direct leadership of Georgi Dimitrov. The brigades have proved highly valuable and effective in giving young people, mostly older school children, a clear understanding of their part in the building of socialism. In 1966, over 7,000 teenagers belonged to these brigades in our district.

Lenin's appeal to the youth to assimilate knowledge has acquired a new meaning, expressed in the Central Party Committee slogan "Combine work with study." Accordingly, with the assistance and guidance of the district Party committee, YCL organizations have been instrumental in raising the skill of young factory workers. In 1966-67, more than 860 young workers attended evening classes or took correspondence courses, and some 6,000 underwent training at their place of work. Another way of raising skills is through special classes to study the experience and methods of front-rank workers and innovators.

The district YCL committee also arranges get-togethers of young technicians and agronomists with school children to cultivate a keener interest in chemistry, physics, mathematics, agronomical biology and research in general. There are now 93 circles in our secondary schools studying these subjects. And still another, and very popular, form of encouraging interest in technology is the young technicians' club at the electrical engineering school at Mikhailovgrad to which more than 100 youngsters belong.

The YCL is also active in vocational training schools. Indicative in this respect is the organization by YCL'ers of an experimental plant at the Mikhailovgrad engineering school. It is run entirely by members of the YCL and has proved immensely popular.

True to Party traditions, our district committee has been concerned to promote patriotic and internationalist education as an element of communist training. Many schoolchildren are attracted by the Dimitrov Expeditions, which take them to places associated with Bulgaria's battle against Turkish domination and the revolutionary struggle, and enable them to meet veterans of the revolutionary movement, notably participants in the September 1923 anti-fascist rising and the war-time Resistance. School children helped collect money to build a ship named after one, the *Radetsky*, associated with a famous episode in Bulgaria's liberation struggle.

A dominant feature of all our political edu-

cation is popularization of the Soviet Union, its Communist Party and the Russian people, who twice brought Bulgaria liberation from foreign oppression. We endeavor to instil a feeling of devotion to other nations of the socialist world system, fraternal Communist parties and the progressive liberation movement in all parts of the world. The heroic example set by the Soviet people and the Lenin Young Communist League in the Revolution, the Great Patriotic War and the building of socialism, is studied in all YCL organizations.

Our Young Pioneer internationalists' clubs maintain contact with similar organizations in the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and a number of other countries.

All our public organizations — the People's Councils, Fatherland Front and trade union branches, the school, the family, administrative and economic bodies — contribute in one or another way to the communist education of the youth. It is the job of the district Party committee to coordinate their efforts, and this has been the subject of several plenary committee meetings.

Our chief aim, in accordance with Central Party Committee directives, is to bring the entire public into this work of educating the youth, and we have to a large extent succeeded. For instance, many people associated with public and government organizations helped to prepare the data for discussion at our plenary meetings and to formulate decisions.

It can safely be said that every Party committee, every Party unit, has at one time or another made a thoroughgoing study of questions relating to leadership of the Young Communist League. In Lom, a town in our district, the Party committee held a special plenary session on the subject, preceded by unit meetings at which some Party members were criticized for

not devoting adequate attention to the education of their children. There was a lively discussion which served to focus attention not only of Party members, but of the people generally, on ways and means of improving the upbringing of the younger generation.

The district committee, for its part, arranged several meetings with school teachers to discuss better ways of countering pernicious outside influence.

Another cardinal problem on which the Party committee has to exercise coordinating functions is the organization of YCL clubs. We have several such clubs, but they do not measure up to the requirements of the youth, especially in the villages. We got the People's Councils, cooperative farms and Houses of Culture to pool their resources and, with help from other organizations, were able to provide the clubs with new furniture, TV sets, tape recorders and libraries. And very soon they became the center of interesting activities, places where young people could gather for amateur art performances, dancing, literary evenings, socials, etc.

Of course, some problems still await solution. For instance, we must give our educational work more drive, diversity and a clearer purpose and discard obsolete methods. In short, we should be guided by what Todor Zhivkov told the Tenth Congress of the Dimitrov Young Communist League: "The main thing now is to be among the youth, in the school, the factory, the sports ground, the farm. We must appeal to the hearts and minds of teenagers, students, young workers, young farmers, soldiers. That must become the very foundation of all our work." And it is towards this aim that we are working and orienting Young Communist League organizations.

Ivan TOMOV

BULGARIANS IN THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

IN ITS INTERNATIONAL significance the October Revolution ranks supreme. Its ideas embodied not only the vital interests of the peoples of Russia; they also gave expression to the cherished aspirations of millions of working people of other lands. Hence the worldwide solidarity with the Bolshevik revolution, a solidarity that helped the Russian workers and peasants to repel and defeat the imperialist intervention of fourteen capitalist states.

In his book, *Bulgarians in the October Revolution*, recently off the press, the historian Panaiot Panaiotov* draws on a wealth of material showing the active part taken in the revolution by Bulgarians who were in Russia at the time—students, workers, officers in the Russian army, prisoners of war, the descendants of the settlers who had fled from Turkish oppression in the 18th and 19th centuries. The author writes about the revolutionary propaganda

conducted among these sections by the Russian Bolsheviks and leaders of the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Labor Party (the Tesnyaki) whom Lenin called "internationalists in deed." As a result of this propaganda many Bulgarian workers and students joined the Bolshevik Party and engaged in revolutionary activity. A large part of the prisoners of war took up arms in defense of the revolution. The Bulgarian generals in the Russian army, Radko Dimitriyev, Pavel Stayev, Khristo Mateyev, Marin Draganov, Simeon Vankov and other servicemen went over to the side of Soviet power. Also a large group of Bulgarian settlers fought in the ranks of the Red Army.

During the October days Bulgarians were in the armed detachments which stormed the Winter Palace in Petrograd, the Nikolayev railway station, the Central Post Office and other important objectives in the capital. On instructions of the Petrograd Bolsheviks the Bulgarians Zakhariyev and Antonov helped to organize

*Panaiot Panaiotov. *Prinoist na Bulgar za pobedata na Oktomvriiskata revolutsiya*. Sofia, BKP, 1967. 246 pp.

a hospital in the city. The Bulgarians also helped establish Soviet power in Tbilisi and Tashkent.

Shortly after the victory of the October Revolution Bulgarian revolutionary regiments were formed in Bendery and Bolgrad—where large groups of Bulgarians resided—under the command of A. Khristev, V. Rainov, and G. Sadakli. In January 1918 the detachment under G. Sadakli, V. Rainov and other Bolsheviks helped to establish Soviet power in Odessa. In the Crimea a detachment under the command of Nikolai Kovachev fought on the side of the Soviets. A Red Guard detachment was organized in Novo-Tsaritsyno under the command of I. Genov. In the Kuban a detachment was formed under Benev, which was assigned to guard the railways and stations and to defend the population against raids by counter-revolutionary bands. This detachment later actively participated in the fighting against Kornilov and Shkuro.

In June 1918 Bulgarian revolutionaries helped to put down the counter-revolutionary revolt in Irkutsk, and in August-September of the same year an international detachment of 400, including a hundred Bulgarians, under the command of Jorov and Popov, was engaged in heavy fighting in the area of the Caspian where they defended the town of Petrovsk. In the autumn of 1918 Bulgarians fought in the ranks of the Orlov international battalion, the Tambov international detachment and other units of the Red Army.

In 1919 when the Red Army engaged in operations in the south of the country most of the Bulgarian revolutionaries moved with it. Thus in April the Central Bureau of the Bulgarian Communist groups transferred its headquarters from Moscow to Odessa. A Bulgarian Soviet of Soldiers' and Workers' Deputies was organized. Together with the Central Bureau it carried on extensive revolutionary propaganda among the

Bulgarian population. On May 1, 1919, *Commune*, the first Bulgarian newspaper in Soviet Russia, began to appear weekly. It widely popularized the slogan: "The Bulgarian who helps the Red Army here thereby helps his brothers in Bulgaria."

The reader will find many other interesting facts in Panaiotov's book about the revolutionaries who fought for the victory of Soviet power—about Georgi Markov, commander of a partisan detachment in the Crimea, Ivan Nyakshev, commissar of the 96th rifle regiment, Iochko Iochkov, brigade commissar in Budyonny's army, General Radko Dimitriyev whose tragic death on the field of battle in 1918 was deeply mourned by Lenin.

Bulgarian Communists were also very active in the Bulgarian Black Sea fleet during the imperialist intervention against the Land of the Soviets. Thus, when the sailors of the Bulgarian cruiser *Nadezhda*, in dry dock in Sevastopol, learned that their command was planning to hand over the ship to the interventionists, they started a mutiny under the leadership of the clandestine sailors' committee. Many similar examples could be cited.

The book under review also tells of the activity of Khristo Boyev and Georgi Gologinkov who, together with other citizens of socialist countries, were awarded the Order of Lenin by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution for their active participation in the revolution, the Civil War and the establishment of Soviet power in 1917-1922.

Panaiot Panaiotov's book gives the reader a vivid picture of Bulgarian-Russian revolutionary cooperation which in our day has gained in scope and depth as a result of the development of fraternal relations between the peoples of our two countries—the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

D. SIRKOV

Japan: election and Communist Party successes

SHOICHI ICHIKAWA

Chiefly, this article sums up the results of elections to the Upper House of Parliament and the Tokyo Municipal Assembly in 1965. At the request of the Editors additional information has been introduced about developments in the subsequent period, the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Japan and the outcome of the recent elections to the Lower House.

I.

The elections to the House of Councillors (Upper House) and Tokyo's Municipal Assembly in July 1965 dealt a painful blow to U.S. imperialism and its junior partner, Japanese monopoly capital.

In the 22 years since the Second World War Japanese monopoly capital was preoccupied with restoring its positions; militarism and imperialism were recovering rapidly. Yet Japan is still semi-occupied by U.S. imperialism and serves as an important strategic area for its aggressive plans in Asia. This situation was formalized by the Peace Treaty and the Japanese-American Security Treaty (revised in 1960) concluded in San Francisco in 1951. U.S. imperialism uses war bases on the islands of U.S.-occupied Okinawa, the biggest nuclear-rocket launching pad in the Far East, and some 200 bases in Japan proper for what are, in effect, operational purposes in its aggressive war in Vietnam. Under the pretext of filling "special orders for Vietnam" Japan's industrial complex is being used extensively to supply U.S. troops in Vietnam, to carry out repairs and sustain communications.

In June 1965, under U.S. pressure, the Sato government and South Korea's puppet Pak

Chung Hi regime concluded the Japanese-South Korean Treaty. To get the treaty "ratified," the Sato government and the Liberal-Democratic Party flaunted democratic procedures in Parliament, resorting to plainly fascist methods. The immediate purpose of the Treaty was to pave the way for a military bloc of Northeast Asian countries against the socialist states, that is, to secure a commitment for joint military action by the United States, Japan and South Korea. Its other purpose, linked with the expansion of the aggressive Vietnam war and the involvement in it of the South Korean puppet government, was to set the stage for a new aggressive war in Korea.

The rapprochement between Japan and South Korea, and the establishment on South Korean initiative of what is in effect an anti-Communist alliance in Asia and the Pacific Ocean (the allusion is to the Asian and Pacific Council formed at the nine-country foreign ministers conference in Seoul, June 1966—*Transl.*), bear out the fact that the Treaty was conceived as a prop for aggressive policies pursued in collusion by the U.S. and Japanese rulers.

The results of the two election campaigns in July 1965 were a distinct setback for the U.S. and the reactionaries in Japan, which is today a political, economic and military base of steadily increasing importance for aggressive U.S. imperialism in Asia.

Briefly, the results of the two elections in July 1965 revealed clearly that Premier Sato's Liberal-Democratic government, the political

*The above article is principally devoted to an analysis of elections to the Japanese Diet in 1965. To give a more complete picture of developments in Japan in the subsequent period, this issue also contains an account of the 5th Plenary Meeting of the CC, Communist Party of Japan, which adopted important decisions.

agent of the U.S.-Japanese reactionary forces, is continuing to lose ground, while the Communist Party of Japan, which has consistently opposed U.S.-Japanese reaction and the Liberal-Democratic government, is steadily gaining influence in the country.

The Liberal-Democratic Party did not live up to the hopes of the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries in the elections to the House of Councillors, for it did not secure the support of the majority of the nation. It received 460,000 fewer votes than in the previous 1962 elections, the percentage dropping from 47 to 44 (see Table I). It lost followers in both town and countryside, indicating that the growing political consciousness of the people is whittling down its political influence and beginning to imperil the Liberal-Democratic "absolute majority" in the Diet, the basis of the domination of the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries.

In contrast, the Communist Party, which campaigned in the elections for annulment of the Japanese-American Security Treaty, for national independence, democracy, peace and neutrality, and for better living conditions, calling for the dismissal of the Liberal-Democratic government and the establishment of a democratic coalition based on unity of democratic forces, made impressive headway both in terms of votes polled and the percentage of total votes.

In the national constituency the Communist Party polled 47 per cent more votes than in the previous elections, securing more than 1,652,000 votes and seating two of its candidates by a wide margin (Communist candidates contesting the national constituency finished second and fifth out of the 50 rival nominations). In prefectural constituencies, the Communist Party received over 2,608,000 votes or 820,000 (46 per cent) more than in the previous elections (see Table I). This is the biggest vote total cast for our Party in any postwar election to the House of Councillors.

In this context of CPJ successes, the returns in the Tokyo constituency were particularly important. Despite the various obstructions and repressions by American and Japanese reactionaries and their anti-Communist attacks, for which they even used anti-Party revisionists, CPJ Chairman Nosaka topped the returns with 620,000 ballots, polling 50 per cent more votes than in the previous elections. The Liberal-Democratic Party, which entered two candidates in the Tokyo district, suffered a total defeat. It lost 460,000 or more than a third of its votes, with neither of its candidates qualifying for a seat (see Table 2).

The Communist success and the defeat of the Liberal-Democrats in Tokyo is doubly significant because the capital is a huge city accounting for more than 10 per cent (more than 10 million) of the population and is Japan's political economic and cultural center. The fact that the Communist Party finished at the top of the list and the governing Liberal-Democratic Party suffered a total defeat has a strong

bearing on the political direction of the entire country. This is why the event was received as a powerful blow to U.S. imperialism and monopoly capital at home. The English-language *Japan Times* headlined the election results thus: "Tokyo Voted Communist." During the election campaign to the capital's Municipal Assembly, which followed the House of Councillors elections, the Liberal-Democratic Party mounted a vicious anti-Communist propaganda assault under the watchword, "Safeguard Tokyo from revolutionary forces." This reveals the impact of the blow suffered by the Liberal-Democrats.

The outcome of the municipal elections in Tokyo brought out in still bolder relief the political tendency that had surfaced in the election of Councillors. The Liberal-Democratic Party, which infallibly had an absolute majority in Tokyo's Assembly after the war, this time gained just 30 per cent of the total votes cast, seating only 38 deputies, whereas in the 1963 elections it had polled 48 per cent and won 69 out of the total 120 seats. For the first time since the war, the Liberal-Democrats controlled less than a third of the seats in the Tokyo Municipal Assembly, and shrank to a minority. The Communist Party, meanwhile, won nine seats instead of the two it had in the 1963 election. This entitled it to send deputies to all the standing committees of the Municipal Assembly (see Table 3). With the Socialist Party (38 seats), Komeito (23 seats) and the Democratic Socialist Party (4 seats), the Communist Party now constitutes a majority opposed to the LDP. This paves the way to conditions in which forces will be able to frustrate the LDP policy and move forward to the "democratic coalition city administration," a new genuinely progressive administration founded on the unity and co-operation of democratic forces advocated by our Party.

Briefly, the elections to the Upper House and the subsequent municipal elections in Tokyo opened up new horizons on Japan's political scene.

The Communist advance in these two elections stands out in still bolder relief when compared with the drift to stagnation evident, on the whole, in the case of the two Social Democratic parties—the Socialist Party and the Democratic Socialist Party (see Table I). The DSP, which campaigned in support of the U.S.-Japanese rulers in the main issues, had just three of its candidates elected to the Upper House, losing two of the seats put up for re-election. This added greatly to the contradictions prevailing in that party in recent years. As for the Socialist Party, it had opposed the reactionary U.S.-Japanese policy with a positive line prior to the election campaign, but took an incorrect stand in relation to a number of serious issues. Specifically, it was passive to the idea of democratic unity and was financially dependent on monopoly capital. The election results show that, securing the support of a fairly large section of people, the Socialist

Party increased its number of seats. But it did not make the most of the favorable situation created by the mounting distrust of the LDP and failed to augment the percentage of Socialist Party votes, with even a drop in the national constituency returns and the prefectural Tokyo constituency.

It is a noteworthy fact, too, that the Communist Party made its advance in the elections despite the vicious anti-Communist offensive of the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries. U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital that govern Japan today, have been attacking the Communist Party fiercely throughout the postwar period. It is to be noted, that after the historic struggle against the Japanese-American "Security Treaty" in 1959-1960 the anti-Communist offensive of the U.S.-Japanese reactionary forces acquired a new complexion. During the struggle against the "Security Treaty" united action by the people, stimulated by the cooperation of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and the trade unions, prevented Eisenhower's visit to Japan, deposed the Kishi cabinet and administered a spanking defeat to the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries. This was a bitter lesson to U.S.-Japanese reaction. It became aware that the Communist Party was the main obstacle and carried on methodical anti-Communist activities, that is, police reprisals, victimization by factory administrations, anti-Communist propaganda by television, newspapers and other media, divisive actions within the democratic camp through Right-wing anti-Communist groups, and the like. These anti-Communist activities were particularly evident during the two above-mentioned election campaigns.

In the circumstances, the following fact presents a serious problem. Some Right-wing Social Democratic forces are injecting a hide-bound anti-Communist sectarianism into the trade union movement which should by rights

serve as the cornerstone of democratic unity. Objectively, such sectarianism is grinding the anti-Communist axe of the reactionary forces. The most blatant expression of this sectarianism is the fact that many trade unions make it obligatory for their members to support either of the social democratic parties—the Socialist or the DSP, though in Japan trade unions are constituted as mass organizations open to all workers regardless of ideology, religion and party allegiance.* It stands to reason, therefore, that the trade union membership consists not only of members and supporters of the social democratic parties, but also of members and supporters of the Communist Party. Yet many of the trade unions affiliated with the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo), the Federation of Neutral Trade Unions (Churitsu) and the All-Japanese Confederation of Labor (Domei), whose governing bodies are at present under social-democratic influence, ignore this basic characteristic of our trade unions and violate the freedom of political allegiance that is guaranteed even by the Constitution, issuing anti-democratic rulings that unilaterally oblige all trade union members to support none but the Socialist or Democratic-Socialist parties. In some cases, disciplinary action was taken against members who violated this injunction, and some were even expelled for campaigning in elections for the Communist Party, whose activities among the workers were obstructed in every possible way.

It was in these difficult conditions that the Communist Party of Japan scored its election success. This alone accentuates the significance of its success and exerts a profound influence on political developments in Japan.

*Most Japanese trade unions are so-called personnel unions which automatically include all employees of the enterprise —Author.

TABLE 1
Returns of Elections to House of Councillors in Prefectural Constituencies

	1965		1962		
	Votes	%	Votes	%	Accretion
Communist Party	2,608,770	6.9	1,787,550	4.9	821,220
Socialist Party	12,346,645	32.8	11,917,674	32.8	428,971
Democratic Socialist Party	2,303,860	6.1	2,649,422	7.3	—345,562
Komeito Party	1,910,975	5.1	958,179	2.6	952,796
Liberal-Democratic Party	16,651,283	44.2	17,112,986	47.1	—461,703
Miscellaneous groups	185,990	0.5	187,455	0.6	—1,465
Independents	1,664,639	4.4	1,698,652	4.7	—34,013
TOTAL	37,672,162	100	36,311,918	100	

TABLE 2

Returns of Elections to House of Councillors in Tokyo Constituency

	1965		1962		
	Votes	%	Votes	%	Accretion
Communist Party	619,893	16.0	415,598	11.9	204,295
Socialist Party	714,993	18.5	800,931	23.0	—85,938
Democratic Socialist Party	372,486	9.6	225,279	6.5	147,207
Komeito Party	608,235	15.7	529,575	15.2	78,660
Liberal-Democratic Party	842,404	21.8	1,301,087	37.3	—458,683
Miscellaneous groups	122,076	3.2	58,621	1.7	63,455
Independents	587,828	15.2	154,360	4.4	433,468
TOTAL	3,867,915	100	3,485,452	100	

TABLE 3

Returns of Elections to Tokyo Municipal Assembly

	1965		1963		
	Votes	%	Votes	%	Accretion
Communist Party	384,589	10.1	178,392	4.5	206,197
Socialist Party	1,072,451	28.0	1,095,155	27.8	—22,704
Democratic Socialist Party	260,632	6.8	207,486	5.3	53,196
Komeito Party	506,705	13.2	413,826	10.5	92,879
Liberal-Democratic Party	1,153,787	30.2	1,899,977	48.1	—746,210
Miscellaneous groups	62,100	1.72	14,055	0.4	48,045
Independents	383,211	10.0	135,199	3.4	248,012
TOTAL	3,823,455	100	3,944,040	100	

II.

The Communist success in the 1965 elections was not accidental. *First*, it stemmed from the correctness of the Party Program, borne out by the developments of the past few years and from the gradual acceptance of Party policy, based on the Program, by large sections of the nation.

The Program, adopted by the Eighth Congress of the CPJ in 1961, materialized from the bitter struggle against the opportunist, revisionist and liquidationist line of Shojiro Kasuga, Tomochika Naito and their followers. First, applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the situation in Japan in a creative way, the

Party Program defined the situation in contemporary Japan as follows: "Though a highly developed capitalist country, Japan is now a virtually dependent country semi-occupied by U.S. imperialism." Secondly, besides advocating national independence, democracy, neutrality and better living conditions, the Program elaborated on the question of a united national-democratic front—a united people's front against the domination of U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital. Thirdly, the Program outlined to the people of Japan the following perspective: by means of this united front, the Japanese people will put an end to the domination of the U.S.-Japanese reactionary forces, carry out a revolution aimed at achieving genu-

ine independence and deep-going democratic changes, and continuously develop this new democratic revolution of the people, turning it into a socialist revolution. This proposition accords fully with the guidelines of the 1960 Statement of 81 Communist and Workers' parties concerning revolution in developed capitalist countries under the political, economic and military domination of U.S. imperialism.

In recent years, this line of the Party Program was fiercely attacked and denounced by the Right Social Democrats and the modern revisionists in Japan. They put forward chiefly the following arguments: Japan has become an "independent imperialist power," and references to U.S. imperialist domination are an anachronism. Holding these views, they sidestepped the struggle against U.S. imperialism and insisted on focussing the fight only on Japanese monopoly capital. What was more, when during President Kennedy's and Johnson's tenure of office, U.S. imperialism began stepping up its "dual policy," i.e., preparing aggression behind a signboard of "peace," they declared that U.S. imperialism had espoused peaceful coexistence and spread theories windowdressing U.S. imperialism and insisting that even on the international plane the struggle against it should be avoided. As for the struggle against Japanese monopoly capital, they counterposed to the revolutionary program of the Communist Party a reformist theory of "structural reforms," which infers that the political and economic domination of monopoly capital may be gradually eliminated without establishing people's power by cumulative reforms. This is a variety of the theory of labor-capital cooperation that expects Japanese monopoly capital to retreat.

But the developments of the past five years have proved beyond a shadow of doubt that the line charted in the Communist Party Program is correct and that its "critics" are wrong. As a result of the brutal U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam, Japan has been turned, against the will of the nation, into a war base of the aggressor. This shows that despite the rapidly reviving militarism and imperialism, Japan is still dominated by U.S. imperialism. It shows clearly, furthermore, that the revisionist theory about the "independence" of imperialism is an opportunist and incorrect theory at variance with reality. It is a theory of evasion, of avoiding struggle with imperialism, maintaining that U.S. imperialist domination of Japan would cease automatically as militarism and imperialism revived.

The so-called rapid development of Japanese capitalism gave birth to the tendency of U.S.-Japanese monopoly capital to step up exploitation, and to plunder and oppress the people. In particular, with the contradictions that plague Japanese monopoly capital dependent on the United States growing more acute, a policy is being pushed that makes worse the people's condition. All these facts nullified the theory

of "structural reforms," for it centered on but gradual monopoly concessions, showing that resolute counteraction to U.S.-Japanese capital is the only thing that can safeguard the welfare of the people.

All parties participated with specific programs in the election campaign to the Upper House and the Tokyo Municipal Assembly, reaffirming that the Communist Party of Japan is the most militant revolutionary party in the country, whose purpose it is to strike a decisive blow at the domination of U.S.-Japanese reaction and the policy of the Liberal-Democratic Party. The Communist Party is also the most constructive of all, for it has a clear-cut policy, showing the Japanese people the road they must follow and responding with a firm and concrete stand to the problems of independence, peace and democracy, and to all the vital demands of the people for better conditions of life.

Second, the other important fact is that the development of the people's struggle against U.S.-Japanese reaction corroborated the united front policy of the Communist Party of Japan, aiming at the unity and cohesion of all democratic forces in the country, and that this policy is gradually winning mass support.

When the struggle against the Japanese-American "Security Treaty" ended, the democratic forces in Japan had to face up to a big problem. The influence of the anti-Communist Right Social Democrats in the leadership of the Socialist Party and in Sohyo increased. This created difficulties in promoting further the joint action of the democratic forces that had fought against the Japanese-American "Security Treaty." As a result, the National Council against the Security Treaty and for Peace and Democracy, which is, in effect, a united front organization, became inactive.

In the circumstances, while criticizing anti-communism and the divisive tactics of the Right Social Democrats, who obstructed unity of the democratic forces, the Communist Party called continuously for united action by all democratic forces, including the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and the trade unions, on the basis of the common general problems of the day and worked tirelessly together with the conscious democratic forces for this end.

The flexible principled united-front policy of the Communist Party of Japan has been making headway in achieving united action by the CPJ and the Socialist Party in various areas of struggle in many parts of the country. In April 1965, for example, when a case of LDP corruption came to light in the Tokyo Municipal Assembly and the people of Tokyo gave vent to profound indignation, the Communist Party came forward with the initiative of campaigning for the dissolution of the Assembly. It advocated united action for dissolving the Assembly that would rally all forces opposed to the Liberal-Democratic Party. And our Party achieved such united action by the four oppo-

sition parties: the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Democratic Socialist Party and Komeito. The broad united actions for dissolving the Assembly carried out on the initiative of the Communist Party, helped greatly to isolate the LDP, dissolve the Assembly and strike a decisive blow at the LDP monopoly in Tokyo's city administration.

This is illustrated by the splendid successes achieved by the Communist Party hand in hand with the conscious democratic forces in promoting mass movements after the two election campaigns. During the campaign against the ratification of the Japanese-South Korean Treaty in autumn 1965, two action committees—the Central Executive Committee for the Abrogation of the Security Treaty and Realization of People's Demands, an alignment of conscious democratic forces, and the National Executive Committee for Frustration of the Japan-ROK Treaty and Prevention of Nuclear Submarines, in which social democratic influence prevails—promoted five successful nationwide united action campaigns despite obstruction by anti-Communist social democratic forces, who categorically reject joint action by the Socialist and Communist parties. The struggle was the biggest in scale since the campaign against the Japanese-American "Security Treaty," with the trade union of state railway workers and other unions joining in and holding political strikes.

The two committees are working hand in hand in Sasebo and Yokosuka against systematic visits of U.S. nuclear submarines to these ports and against turning Japan into a permanent submarine base.

This joint action of the two committees was interrupted by obstructions on the part of certain Right forces. But when the situation grew tenser due to the U.S. imperialist escalation in Vietnam, with the Hanoi and Haiphong areas becoming a target for U.S. bombs, joint action was resumed at a national level. United actions by all democratic forces headed by the Communist and Socialist parties were taken against the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam on July 20, 1966.

Joint action at party level was also taken against the proposed system of small electoral districts. The two election campaigns in July 1965 revealed clearly that the Sato government and the Liberal Democratic Party, losing more and more votes, conspired to reduce the size of electoral districts for the elections to the Lower House and establish a pro-fascist LDP dictatorship obedient to the United States. The purpose of the conspiracy is to buttress LDP power, revise the Constitution, introduce universal conscription, win legislative powers to send armed forces abroad, establish a militarist system and invigorate the Japanese-American military alliance. A three-party liaison committee comprising the Communist, Socialist and Komeito parties, was formed in March 1966 to combat the conspiracy, frustrate the project of reduc-

ing electoral districts, prevent any disadvantageous revision of the Constitution and counteract the rising prices. The fight for these aims is proceeding both within and without parliament.

Third, the Communist success in the two elections is linked inseparably with the fact that the CPJ overcame the opportunist trend which regarded the process of party growth as purely spontaneous and that it effected the Eighth Congress decision of building a mass party, a vanguard of several hundred thousand members.

Despite the increasing anti-Communist propaganda and reprisals, the Communist Party has in the past eight years since its Seventh Congress in 1958 augmented its membership about sevenfold. The number of subscribers to the *Akahata*, the organ of the Central Committee of the CPJ, has increased about eightfold, while its Sunday issue has over a million subscribers. The Party's influence in many of the mass democratic organizations is also mounting steadily. True, from the standpoint of the set goal of building a mass vanguard party of several hundred thousand members, the present state of affairs is still unsatisfactory. But in membership and circulation of its newspapers the CPJ is far ahead of the two social democratic parties.

These are facts showing that the election successes of the Communist Party are based on its correct political line, its better organizational ability, and its growing prestige and influence.

What they also show is that the Liberal Democratic Party is isolated and the unity of the democratic forces and the strength of the opposition parties have grown despite the desperate efforts of the U.S.-Japanese rulers to split them and isolate the Communist Party.

III.

The Communist success in the two elections also epitomizes the epochal CPJ success in the struggle against anti-Party revisionist elements, who suffered a serious blow.

The *Voice of Japan* group headed by Joshio Shiga, Ichizo Suzuki and others, expelled from the CPJ for open splitting activities in May 1964, flung our Party a direct challenge. These men were bent on the following: to "rally" the various anti-Party elements, to enter Shigeo Kamiyama in the Tokyo prefectural constituency, which was expected to become the scene of a bitter struggle in the Upper House election, and thus to prevent the election of Nosaka, Chairman of the CPJ. That it was their main and sole purpose in this area of the election campaign to strike a "decisive blow" at the CPJ was stated in so many words in the newspaper, *Voice of Japan*. Needless to say, the reactionaries welcomed these intentions and hoped that they would succeed.

To achieve this unworthy aim with the utmost effect, the *Voice of Japan* group unscrupulously appropriated the name of "Com-

Communist Party of Japan" and called itself "Communist Party of Japan (Voice of Japan)." By doing so, the people of the group tried to create the impression that they represented an alignment with the CPJ. With this object in view, they deliberately nominated Shigeo Kamiyama (expelled from the CPJ in September 1964) as their candidate, for he had run in Lower House elections on several previous occasions and was known to the electorate as a "candidate of the Communist Party." Thus they hoped to win part of the CPJ followers who, not knowing enough of the situation, might side with the anti-Party group.

But the outcome of the elections showed that the stratagem of the anti-Party revisionists failed completely. Chairman Nosaka was elected by a great number of votes. He topped the list of candidates with more than 620,000 votes, while Kamiyama polled as little as about 35,000, a figure lower even than that of some of the anti-Communist professional politicians. Besides, the election campaign indicated that these 35,000 votes included many cast for Kamiyama as a "Communist Party candidate" because voters did not know that he had become an anti-Party element. Anti-Party revisionists also entered several candidates in the elections to the Tokyo Municipal Assembly, but they, too, failed miserably.

The reasons for the defeat of the *Voice of Japan* group in the two election campaigns are obvious. To begin with, the politically conscious section of the Japanese people realized clearly the essence of the treacherous anti-people, anti-class elements in the *Voice of Japan* group.

To conceal its anti-people essence, the group kept saying that its members are the "real Communists" and successors to the revolutionary traditions of the Communist Party. But this was a shopworn dodge always used by renegades. The facts show clearly that in defiance of Party discipline they organized factional activities in 1964 and that when a plenary meeting of the CC CPJ decided to expel them from the Party, they lost no time forming the anti-Party *Voice of Japan* organization, mounting an open attack on the CPJ. Actually, the sole purpose of this *Voice of Japan* group is to disorganize and destroy the CPJ. The following facts are eloquent proof of this. Their newspaper, *Voice of Japan*, and their various other publications are devoted exclusively to slandering and attacking the CPJ. Throughout 1965, acting hand in hand with anti-communist Right Social Democrats, they devoted themselves to splitting the nuclear ban movement, the peace movement and the democratic movement in Japan. Furthermore, their foul intrigues in the two elections in 1965 exposed completely in the eyes of the masses their actual character as an anti-Party group.

Ever since Shiga, Suzuki and the others began their anti-Party factional activities openly the Communist Party of Japan, drawing support from the unity of its ranks, has been combating their treacherous anti-people activities

aimed at subverting the Party. The Ninth Congress of the CPJ in November 1964 unanimously approved the Central Committee decision expelling Shiga and his followers and thereby expressed the firm will of the whole Party to defeat the *Voice of Japan* group by rallying around its Central Committee. This clear-cut decision of the Congress speaks of the complete failure of the *Voice of Japan* group's attempts to disorganize our Party, while the results of the two elections again revealed the sorry state of the group, which is totally isolated not only within the CPJ, but also from the Japanese people. These modern revisionists accused our Party once, in defiance of the facts, of "embarking on a road leading to isolation from the people." But the results of the two elections proved irrefutably that despite the various attacks by U.S.-Japanese reactionaries and their agents, the CPJ line is gaining broad support among the people of Japan. It was the revisionists who had challenged the Communist Party, that embarked on the road to isolation from the people.

IV.

The outcome of the elections, particularly the Communist successes and the setback of the Liberal-Democratic Party, infused the broad masses with confidence, paving the way for the further development of the political and economic struggle of the Japanese people. The successes of subsequent battles fought by the people bore this out. Furthermore, the election results marked the beginning of a new situation essential to carry forward the task of building a powerful mass party, a vanguard of several hundred thousand members.

The Third Central Committee plenary meeting in September 1965, after the elections, charted a clear and concrete course for stepping up the mass struggle and the united action of the people. Also, summing up the results of the two election campaigns, the plenary meeting showed the way to still more rapid Party growth, coupled with growth and consolidation of mass organizations—trade unions, peasant unions, etc.

Two years after the elections, the situation is moving towards a further sharpening of contradictions between U.S.-Japanese reactionary forces and the people in all spheres, including the problems of independence and peace, living conditions and economy. Developments have injected clarity into the situation analysis of the Communist Party, the long-term outlook for the Party, into its course and policy, which was worked out on the strength of this analysis and of forecast.

The Tenth Congress of the CPJ, which convened in October 1966, registered the distinct successes achieved by the Party in the two years since the preceding congress. First and foremost, it noted the Party's success in the 1965 elections to the Upper House and the Tokyo Municipal Assembly, the successful development of united action by the democratic

forces in combating the Japanese-South Korean Treaty, against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the introduction of a system of small electoral districts. The Party's ties with the masses, too, have grown stronger.

By fulfilling the second two-year Party building program adopted by the Ninth Congress, Party membership has increased by something like 80 per cent, the circulation of *Akahata* by 70 per cent, and that of its Sunday issue by about 90 per cent. Never before in its history has our Party been so big an organizing force as it is today. Its membership today approaches the 300,000 mark and the *Akahata* readership totals one million and several hundred thousand people.

The Tenth Congress made a survey of the domestic and international situation, of Party work in the preceding two years, and worked out a new course of action. The general report of the CC and the concluding remarks were approved unanimously. Also, the Congress reaffirmed the Central Committee decision expelling Ryiji Nishizawa, who had betrayed the Party, and charted a line to combat firmly all anti-Party elements. Furthermore, the Congress defined still more clearly the independent position of the Party, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and formulated the aim for stepping up the fight on two fronts, against Right and Left opportunism. The Congress reaffirmed the Party's determination to work for greater international united action and a united international front of struggle against the aggression of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, for unity in the world Communist movement.

Responding to messages of greeting addressed to it by the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the Congress adopted a special resolution for stepping up the struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam.

At present, acting on the historic achievements recorded at the Tenth Congress, the Communist Party is working assiduously to put the Congress decisions into practice.

On January 29, 1967, elections were held to the Lower House of Parliament. They were extremely important from the standpoint of deposing the corruption-ridden and rotten Liberal-Democratic Party administration, interdicting its policy of dependence on the United States and of reviving militarism while lowering living standards, and from the standpoint of achieving a new democratic administration that would work genuinely for the people's interest and extending further the struggle for an independent, democratic, peace-loving and neutral Japan with a high standard of living.

The Liberal-Democratic Party polled just 48.8 per cent of the votes; as we see, the downward trend which began after the general election of 1952, continued. The LDP lost the backing of more than half of the electorate. The Socialist Party polled 1.1 per cent fewer votes, losing

one seat. The Democratic Socialist Party held its own in terms of the percentage of total votes cast, but gained seven new seats. Komeito, which participated in the elections to the Lower House for the first time, won 25 seats.

While the vote percentage of all parties, excepting the Komeito (which ran in the elections for the first time), shrank or remained at its former level, Communist votes increased by 550,000 against the previous elections. The CPJ candidates polled 2,200,000 votes and returned an additional deputy to the lower House. Our Party retained the seats from Osaka, Kyoto and Nagano. Out of the 123 constituencies, our Party registered increases in 104 urban and rural areas. In 22 out of the 104 constituencies Communist candidates polled the second largest number of votes (and according to legislation the second-ranking candidate succeeds automatically to a seat vacated in the event of death or withdrawal of a deputy's mandate—*Trans.*). Furthermore, the CPJ won an additional seat each in Tokyo and in the important industrial centre of Kitakyushu.

Joshio Shiga, who ran on a CPJ ticket and was elected to Parliament in the previous general election, and who was later expelled from the Party for malicious anti-Party activities, tried to snatch a seat in Parliament again by unlawfully exploiting the name of the Communist Party of Japan. The sole purpose of this attempt was to harass our Party during the elections. However, his disgraceful designs fell through completely.

The general elections took place in a very complex and tense situation. The U.S.-Japanese reactionaries and the Liberal-Democratic Party, sharply criticized by electors for the corruption and rottenness in the LDP and the Sato government, mounted a vicious anti-Communist action, giving broad publicity through bourgeois information media to the question of "Red Guards" in China and to the other complicated developments that have surfaced in the world Communist movement and the socialist camp.

The Democratic-Socialist Party and Komeito succeeded in attracting a section of voters disappointed in the LDP to their "middle-of-the-way policy," which has a common basis with the LDP. On the other hand, various anti-Party elements from the groups of Shiga, Nishizawa, Anzai, and others, raised foul obstructions to our Party and thereby played the role of abettors of the LDP, which champions the interests of U.S. imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital.

In this complex situation our Party achieved weighty successes. This was due to the fact that, holding aloft the banner of an independent international line, acting on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, our Party devoted much of its attention to the vital economic and political demands of the Japanese people, demonstrating to all sections of the public its correct, radical and con-

crete policy and strengthening its bonds with the broad masses, and taking strength from the increased membership and the more than one-million-strong readership of the *Akahata*. These

successes speak for the steadily rising influence of the Communist Party, which is consistently showing the people the way to liberating Japan and waging an unbending struggle at their head.

FIFTH PLENARY MEETING OF CC, COMMUNIST PARTY OF JAPAN

The Fifth Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Japan, took place at Party headquarters October 4-6, 1967.

At the Plenary Meeting, Tomio Nishizawa, Member of the Presidium, CC CPJ, delivered a report on the urgent problems of the world Communist movement. A complementary report on the same subject was made by Junkichi Geshi, Alternate Member of the Presidium, CC CPJ.

The Plenary Meeting discussed the two reports and approved them unanimously, including the concluding remarks. Besides, the Plenary Meeting approved publication of the article, "Mao Tse-tung's Present Course and the World Communist Movement." (*Akahata*, October 7, 1967.)

The article, "Mao Tse-tung's Present Course and the World Communist Movement" was published in *Akahata*, the central organ of the CC CPJ, on October 10, 1967.

The article consists of five main sections:

1. The Mao Tse-tung group—an anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist group.
2. The state and substance of the "great proletarian cultural revolution."
3. The anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist character of Mao Tse-tung's present line.
4. A malicious trouble-maker in the world Communist movement.
5. To defeat the subversive activities of the Mao Tse-tung group.

(Note by The Editors of Problems of Peace and Socialism)

Swiss Communists score success

Discontent over rising prices and inflated military spending blended with mounting anxiety for world peace when the Swiss went to the polls in the parliamentary elections at the end of October.

The Swiss Party of Labor, the voting showed, has considerably increased its following. In Geneva canton, for example, every fifth vote was cast for a Communist, making the SPL the canton's top party. Communist candidates polled 19 per cent of the votes (60 per cent more than in the previous elections) in Neuchâtel and as much as 34 per cent in the important watch-making centers of Le Locle and La Chaux-de-Fonds. In the canton of Ticino, too, a large number of electors voted for Communist candidates, who had entered the elections there for the first time since the war.

As a result, the Party of Labor will have five deputies (instead of the previous four) in the National Council, which entitles it to form a parliamentary group and to have its representatives on important policy-making committees.

Symptomatically, parties of the government majority—the Christian-Social and Socialist—lost three seats each, and the Radical Party two seats. The Independents gained several new seats, being closely connected with the Migros Department Store interests, which lavishly fin-

anced their strident and demagogical election campaign.

The Communist success in the October elections was no accident. Fighting for the people's interests, the Party of Labor has of late improved its political positions, as evidenced by the outcome of the 1965 and 1966 municipal elections and the convincing victory in the municipal elections in Geneva and Geneva canton this spring, when SPL candidates polled more votes than any other party.

For the elections the Party of Labor put forward a clear-cut program of measures in the interest of the people: improvement of social maintenance, including higher old-age and disability pensions, and a considerable reduction of military spending with released funds to be invested in new schools, hospitals, houses and roads. In international affairs, the Party of Labor advocated active neutrality that would help curb imperialist aggression, promote world peace, security and peaceful cooperation in Europe.

The striking success of the Swiss Party of Labor in the October elections proved once more that it is championing the people's interests and has won added public confidence.

L.N.

Czechoslovakia: impact of the economic reform on party work

GRADUALLY INTRODUCING the new economic management system is increasingly affecting every aspect of social life.

For one thing, some are still inclined to cling to ingrained customs and methods, and this clash of the old and the new is reflected in the activities of Party organizations.

The new economic (as distinct from administrative) approach to problems—it has already upset many long-standing notions—is becoming an important factor of policy-making. The political unity of society is undergoing qualitative change and can now be seen in its true light, as a constant process of development. And unity is being strengthened. Communists are united in a concerted effort to solve the social and political problems raised by the Party.

The economic reform has made for a new approach to questions discussed at Party unit meetings. There is a clearer and more direct understanding of economic issues. The political activity of Party members is acquiring more significance.

Excessive economic centralism, though now being overcome, laid its imprint on party work. Party organizations dealt chiefly with production, the quantity and quality of goods produced by their factory, and the discussions were mainly over technical and economic problems. But not every Party member, and certainly not every worker, could intelligently discuss the many details involved. The result was the executive personnel, who, of course, could competently examine such problems, acquired a dominant position on Party committees.

When the district Party committee at Ustinad-Orlici examined the position, it decided to concentrate the attention of the membership on a more practical feature of the new system, namely, material incentives. Attention was drawn to the need to combine material and moral stimulators in fixing bonus payments. At one factory this was applied in arranging a competition of economists and technicians for the design and production of a new machine-tool model, the BD-200. There were 17 problems for which technological and economic solutions

had to be devised. All accepted solutions would be rewarded commensurate with the economic effect they produced. The initiative came from 30 designers, technologists and economists who had always taken a keen interest in promoting production.

And so the competition began. It was based on a harmonious combination of moral and economic incentives. Many hesitated to take part, in the belief that they did not possess the necessary technical knowledge, but they were encouraged to try. Preference was given to men with technical backgrounds. It became a matter of honor to work out solutions that would result in a maximum saving of money and material.

The same principles are being applied to the solution of other problems, the selection of cadres, for instance, and this is yielding good results.

Party activity covers a very wide range. True, direct intervention in production and in the functioning of management has now been restricted, and there is a certain division of labor, a more precise delineation of technical-administrative and political work, but the scope of the latter has not been in any way curtailed.

Under the old centralized management system, some production and trading organizations acquired what might be described as a monopoly. This militated against the consumer who had to take whatever this monopoly cared to offer him.

The regional Party committee in West Czechia sharply criticized the directors of certain trade and production agencies for failing to adjust their work to the new system. The following is a typical example: the Jednota consumers' society in Touzim was receiving complaints about the quality of the meat products it was selling in its shops. It decided to contact the supplier, a meat-packing plant in Rakovník, in another district. When the local authorities learned of this they immediately banned all deliveries to the Touzim cooperative.

So far trading organizations cannot freely select their suppliers, nor can producer organizations sell their goods to other districts with-

out the consent of the higher authorities. Who is supposed to change this patently unnatural and perverted arrangement, which is a carry-over from the old management system with its excessive centralization? The decision is taken by the Party committees concerned, that is, in the areas where the two organizations, producer and trade, are located. In other words, while not interfering in the internal affairs of economic agencies, Party organizations exercise political influence whenever public interests are at stake.

Many other examples could be cited to show how the Party uses its indirect influence in resolving problems in which the interests of the community are involved. Again a typical example: some cooperative farms have refused to grow flax, sugar-beet, potatoes and certain other crops, maintaining that they require too much labor and yield too little profit. On the initiative of Party organizations arrangements were worked out that suit the producer and accord with the interests of the community. Inter-cooperative contracts were introduced and co-operative and state farms and other agricultural enterprises were amalgamated into large district units with a more diversified crop pattern.

These examples allow the conclusion that the new economic and political problems cannot be solved outside the Party organization. For it is the Party that harmonizes the interests of production, trade and consumption, the interests of the community and the individual. It is not always successful, of course. The new management system deliberately gives preference to public consumption, but for some time to come old methods and usages will persist. Not for long, however — gradually they will give place to a new relationship between production and consumption, and also to new relations between people.

The purpose of the few examples cited above is to bring out the new features in Party activity and initiative. How effective they will be depends on the composition of the Party organization, its general level and proper allocation of cadres. This will determine whether or not a particular organization can cope with the new tasks.

Candidate membership in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has now been abol-

ished. This means that a young applicant is admitted directly into the Party without having to go through a kind of probationary period in which he acquaints himself with the Party's principles, ideology and rules. New entrants to the Party are men and women who have grown up in post-war Czechoslovakia and have studied the basic tenets of socialism in school. They have also acquired a certain amount of political experience in the Youth League. That has made it possible to dispense with candidate membership.

At the Poldi steel mills in Kladno quite a number of new Party members were admitted in the past few years without having to go through the candidate-membership stage. A poll was conducted among 40 of these new members and the men who recommended them for membership. The results are indicative; they revealed a keen understanding of international problems but not, however, a similar understanding of the Party Rules, the duties of a Party member, how the Party functions, its organizational structure, and so on. The poll also showed the importance of the ceremony held on the occasion of the new member receiving his Party card. New members, the poll disclosed, were often given assignments of a purely economic nature. After the poll classes were started for 140 active Party members and management staffs, and certain modifications were made in the rules governing admission of new members, the main purpose being to induce veteran Communists to take a more active part in the training of new recruits.

These examples underscore the vast importance of political work by Party organizations. This, in turn, calls for a higher level of theoretical and methodological training. The role of theory is increasing, it is extending to new spheres, is becoming the very basis of political thinking and decision-making.

Development of the social sciences is closely linked with practice, but theory provides the groundwork for socialist practice. This was stressed by the Party Central Committee when it decided to found an Institute of Political Science to deal with topical theoretical problems of building the Party, its methods of work and its leading role in society. This should raise Party political work to a higher level.

Miroslav LAB

The people's motto: "labor and defense"

Notes of a Polish Writer

WHEN, IN THE middle of last January, I was leaving for Vietnam for the third time I wondered what it would be like now. To be sure, I knew I would see a war-torn country. My second trip took me to Vietnam in the first year of the U.S. escalation of the war and I was able to reach the liberated areas of the South controlled by the National Liberation Front.

This year my tour of Vietnam covered almost 7,500 kilometres. Its farthest point in the northwest of the DRV was Dien Bien Phu, the scene of the historical battle in the spring of 1954 which brought to a conclusion the war against the French colonialists. On my way back, passing through the provinces to the south of Hanoi, I found myself in the area of the 17th parallel and the demilitarized zone, where European correspondents are seldom allowed.

That tour was a journey through both space and time, as it were. I compared the Vietnam I saw with what I remembered from my earlier trips. I first went there in the spring of 1962, in peacetime, when the liberation fight in the South was only just gathering momentum behind the artificial line of demarcation, and when the people in the North had accomplished a great deal.

My second trip coincided with the early period of North Vietnam's resistance to the aggressor which gained in scope and tenacity as it became better organized. I watched the people adapting themselves to wartime conditions, and witnessed the beginning of the evacuation of civilians. I saw people rescue the **nation's property and gear** every sphere of life to a long and cruel war.

During my third stay in Vietnam I witnessed a well-organized struggle attesting to the courage, intelligence, energy and fortitude of the people.

What makes the resistance of Vietnam so effective? This is a question that has been put to me again and again by readers and audien-

ces in Poland and abroad. Why is it, I have been asked, that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam thwarts the plans of the United States despite the enemy's economic and military power, and resists the invader to the point of striking him counter-blows? How does it happen that the U.S. has run itself into a blind alley in spite of its vast superiority in arms and its formidable war machine, while the DRV goes on fighting.

An avalanche of fire and metal descends on Vietnamese soil every day. Bombs and rockets, napalm and phosphorus wipe out what the people created in ten years of peace. Every modern weapon and every means of mass destruction devised in the second half of the twentieth century is used in Vietnam. The only exception is atomic weapons. Nevertheless, the might of the dollar, the immense quantities of war equipment and the latest means of warfare are proving powerless in a small country whose people had no real respite, no time to do away with the aftermath of French colonial oppression over many long years, before the war started again. The Vietnamese refuse to surrender. Indeed, they have declared their determination to fight to complete victory. Their example is followed by other peoples seeking freedom and independence.

Why is the U.S. unable to force Vietnam to its knees? Why is it on the losing side in this war? This question, which I have put to myself more than once and which my readers have been asking me—I will now try to answer, although I realize that my answer is bound to be incomplete.

The principal factors in Vietnam's staunch resistance are the people's morale, their patriotism and their supreme devotion to the cause they are fighting for. The people stand united behind the Working People's Party, which is

leading their struggle. The Party has always enjoyed high prestige, especially in recent years. It became steeled in the grim war against the French colonialists and in the trying years of post-war rehabilitation. Its leaders are always in touch with the people, who are more united than ever by the desire to defend their country against the American aggression and eventually to bring about its unification. No objective is more important than this to any Vietnamese, irrespective of age, social origin, occupation or education.

People's private lives are motivated by exigencies of a higher order, by the patriotic duty of working for and defending the country. I listened to peasants in the paddy-fields and workers in the factories, to young people and members of the older generation, believers and atheists, Buddhists and Catholics, and intellectuals educated in Western universities. They invariably condemned the U.S. aggression and stressed the need to defend the country. The Vietnamese are confident of their strength. The Party has educated them politically, ideologically and morally, and is skilfully leading them in this hour of trial, the severest ever.

The people of Vietnam draw in this war on the valuable experience of the previous war. Active and passive defenses are the two great forces which all Vietnamese are cooperating to build up.

In Vietnamese conditions, passive defense is extremely important. However, this so-called passive defense requires tremendous energy, ingenuity and effort. Its main principle is to scatter the population and industry over as vast an area as possible. To "scatter" does not mean evacuating. It means re-organizing the whole way of life in the conditions of a prolonged war in which a mighty power armed with first-class weapons is opposed by a courageous and battle-hardened people.

The scattering of the population, which has been going on since 1965, helped to cut loss of life to a minimum. Those left in the towns are people engaged in indispensable jobs and taking part in the war effort. Everyone else has moved to the "rear"—to hamlets, the jungle, the mountain areas. This policy has fully proved its worth. It has also made it possible to salvage a substantial proportion of public property by removing it from the towns that were hit hardest. American bombs have destroyed residential districts, factories, schools, hospitals, Catholic temples and Buddhist pagodas in such towns as Thanh Hoa, Ha Tinh, Vinh and Ho Xa, which lie in the so-called Fourth Zone. I could add to this list Phu Lu, Nam Dinh, Viet Tri, Son La and other towns.

However, industrial plant and the equipment of schools and medical institutions, which were removed to villages and forests, remain intact and are being used. Needless to say, it is far more difficult to organize production or teach children in the jungle or in a remote village

than in a town. But there is no let-up in either activity. This remoulding of life, which has to be organized practically anew, is a frightfully arduous task, but the Vietnamese are coping with it.

Underground communication trenches, innumerable covers, shelters and dug-outs make up the second important component of passive defense. You can walk many kilometers along a trench without ever coming out. In some areas almost all activities are carried on underground, in shelters and caves. I spent many days and nights there, working, resting, eating with the Vietnamese. You find shelters wherever there are people.

One of the more popular slogans is "a shelter for every home." In the villages wooden cabins have shelters dug right under the floor. During an unexpected raid the family goes down there at once, and then makes its way to a more dependable shelter through a communication trench. The towns have concrete shelters. In Hanoi and Haiphong, the streets and courtyards are dotted with small covers for one or two persons. The covers are concrete pipes buried in the ground and topped by a concrete lid. Similar shelters have been built in villages and along the roads, except that there thick straw mats are used instead of concrete lids. Mountain caves have likewise been turned into shelters.

I saw a hospital in which surgical instruments supplied by socialist countries were used in a setting of stalactites and stalagmites. There are underground nurseries, kindergartens, operating-rooms, printing presses, shops and auditoriums.

There are also shelters for livestock and farm machinery.

The shelters are being steadily deepened, extended and improved. The network of communication trenches is likewise being extended. But the slogan "a shelter for every home" would not be so effective had it not been for the discipline and efficiency of the population. As soon as the alarm signal is sounded and the drone of bombers is heard, some rush to their air-defense posts and others go to a shelter. Streets and roads and fields and footpaths instantly become deserted. This is why casualties are not so numerous as it may seem to those in Europe who read press reports about massive American air raids and the enormous number of bombs and other means of destruction dropped on the DRV.

The Americans keep on changing their tactics in Vietnam to mislead the population, to catch it unawares and cause a panic. They use incendiary rockets and bombs of every description—cluster, fragmentation, napalm, phosphorus. The U.S. Seventh Fleet has been shelling coastal towns and villages ever since last spring. Underwater mines are dropped into the rivers. In some areas of the DRV, enemy aircraft poison crops and forests with noxious chemicals.

Last spring I passed twice through the Fourth Zone, and saw what is known as the complex system of air raids used by the Americans. First they photograph the targets from the air, then, in the night hours when traffic on the roads becomes heavier, they fire illuminating rockets, and lastly they shower bombs on the targets.

In Vinh Linh Province I witnessed another piratical tactic, often used in the southernmost areas of the Fourth Zone. The target is encircled by a bomb ring. The enemy drops large- and medium-calibre demolition bombs onto the rim of the "death ring", and cluster and incendiary rockets on to its middle.

I must stress, for my part, that American raids are directed against every living thing and all that has been created by man. I saw air pirates more than once machine-gunning fishermen who were putting to sea, children on the way to school, solitary cars, and even cyclists.

What about active defense? Its main components are fighter aircraft, anti-aircraft and coastal artillery, and rockets. Rockets reach the American pirates at the greatest altitudes. Besides, the enemy is compelled more and more to reckon with the DRV air force, which did not come into being until recently but often wins air battles. More than one encounter with a Vietnamese MIG has ended in an American bomber going down in flames. As they come lower down enemy aircraft find themselves in the defensive fire zone set up throughout the country, above all over the more important objectives. As a result, the Americans are often taught a telling lesson. This is why they try surprise attacks. Their supersonic jet bombers nose-dive and drop their bombs on targets photographed beforehand. But in so doing they are caught in the fire of self-defense units armed with tommy-guns and ordinary rifles. These weapons, which at first sight seem primitive compared with American "super-weapons," are remarkably effective, for an ordinary bullet often proves fatal to a jet bomber flying at top speed.

In addition to a standing army, the DRV now has self-defense units, people's militias and local armed forces whose task is to defend this or that province. Every precaution has been taken against an enemy landing from the sea—every small community and every shelter will become a bastion, and every man or woman will offer armed resistance to the invader.

While attacking the DRV day after day from the air and the sea, the Americans by no means forego psychological warfare. Their aircraft alternately drop bombs and tons of propaganda leaflets and false bank-notes. I was interested to see specimens of that "psychological weapon," and satisfied myself again and again that they do not really produce any effect. At-

tempts to divide believers and atheists, or people of different religions, above all Buddhists and Catholics, fall to the ground. The entire population, whatever its religion, is inspired by patriotism, and this is the dominant factor. After all, American bombs raze Catholic and Buddhist temples alike.

In an effort to starve the Vietnamese, the Americans continuously raid paddy-fields. The peasants defend their fields and work on them. Braving bombs and rockets they plant and harvest rice. In the Fourth Zone I saw peasants armed with rifles harvesting their rice crop at night.

Bombs are not the only danger threatening the rice-fields. There are also drought and floods. The enemy does his utmost to destroy irrigation works, dams and dikes, to flood the fields or, on the contrary, cut off their water supply. Destroying the irrigation system holds a prominent place in the criminal plans of the Pentagon. However, there is nothing new about this idea. The French colonialists resorted to a similar method, if on a limited scale. But the Vietnamese effectively protect their dams and canals. They have devised a whole range of measures to protect the canals, dams, pumping stations and dikes. These are guarded by self-defense units. Everywhere you see sandbags which are used promptly to stop breaches made by bombs. Furthermore, the Vietnamese are extending their irrigation network. On my way to Dien Bien Phu I saw a new dam under construction despite the bombings. It is to help irrigate rice-fields in the mountain areas being developed anew.

A campaign for bigger crops is going on in every village. Its goal—five tons of rice per hectare—has already been reached in a number of provinces.

The war has helped to hasten and complete the collectivization of agriculture. This task was made easier by longstanding traditions of mutual assistance by neighbors. Besides, people have learned by experience that it is easier to work on collective fields than on small, scattered patches of land, to use small-scale mechanical facilities and the machinery supplied by socialist countries.

In villages that had gone through many an air raid I often heard, or read in a poster, the appeal for three harvests per year, which is as widespread as the appeal for five tons of rice per hectare.

"Both are perfectly feasible if not easy," I was told in the Ministry of Agriculture. "In our climate we can grow rice all the year round. Take Thai Binh Province, for one. In 1966 most cooperatives there raised five tons of rice per hectare and four cooperatives as much as seven tons. They owe that to the use of new farming methods and machinery and better organization. What we want is to supply the country with adequate quantities of rice and,

moreover, to maintain, despite the war, the standard of living which people's rule brought to the peasants in peace time. The enemy can bomb and destroy our factory buildings, but it is more than he can do to destroy our agriculture."

"If we lose our rice-fields because of the American aggressors," said the Party secretary in Quang Binh Province, "we'll grow manioc and sweet potatoes, which require less labor and care. And if that should become impossible we'll grow vegetables. They can't starve us into surrender!"

Rice and other staples are rationed in the towns. The biggest rations go to those directly fighting the enemy or engaged in particularly laborious work, and to children. In the countryside, rice is consumed very sparingly. Each village is striving to build up its own food stocks. Every factory, workshop, school, editorial office or hospital evacuated to the countryside is expected to grow vegetables and raise poultry and pigs. This is suggested by the experience of the first war of resistance and the liberated areas of the South. Wartime Vietnam has many shortages, of course, but no one is starving.

In every peasant hut I saw a large clay vessel with "anti-American" rice. This name may seem strange, but in fact it stands for a most valuable idea. Every peasant family does its best to save rice in cooking food. In this way they lay by a supply against a rainy day—in case the crop is bad or a new bomb raid bursts a dam and the rice-fields are flooded, forcing the peasants to tighten their belts. The following lines of a poem written by President Ho Chi Minh during the previous war of resistance have become more topical than ever:

The rice-field is a battlefield today,
Hoe and plough are weapons,
And peasants have become soldiers.
So let the soldier in the rice-field
Emulate the soldier at the front!

In the maritime provinces of the DRV, fishing is an important means of livelihood in addition to farming. I asked fishermen in the Ninh Binh, Thanh Hoa, Nghe An and Quang Binh provinces whether they still went fishing, and they invariably said yes.

They go on fishing, though not as far out to sea as before, because of the proximity of the U.S. Seventh Fleet. I saw their boats push off and then come back loaded with fish and crabs.

And what happens at sea? Does the enemy attack fishing boats? Yes. How do the fishermen defend themselves? They go fishing in teams. Each team, made up of several sampans, has its own armed self-defense group. As soon as it sights an enemy aircraft the group fires on it with rifles and machine-guns. The rest take cover in so-called underwater shelters. This term stands for an incredible wartime

reality of Vietnam. Each boat is equipped with a long line to which rocks are tied. During a raid all but the self-defense group lower themselves into the water, using the line. Every now and again they come up for fresh air, instantly take their bearings, and go down again if necessary.

"Our chief motto is 'Labor and defense'," says every Vietnamese. "When the enemy attacks we defend ourselves. When he's gone we rebuild what he destroyed, and go back to work in our fields and factories."

Factories continue to operate in this small country which the enemy is devastating so wantonly. This is because many factories were evacuated from bombed towns and spread thin, and those that had to be left behind in view of their special character are protected by a strong air-defense system. Thus industrial production goes on in spite of the difficulty of supplying raw materials and providing transport and communication facilities. Some manufactured goods are exported.

I was shown enterprises evacuated from towns and a new small factories set up in the provinces. The rise of these factories is another important reality of present-day Vietnam. Each province is expected to supply itself as far as possible with farm produce and other necessities. And this accounts for the appearance of small factories making cigarettes, matches, tea or soap, and of workshops sewing clothing and mosquito nets and repairing bicycles and farm implements.

But there is also a need for arms and ammunition, for medicines and other things without which people cannot live, work and fight, and which must be distributed and delivered to various parts of the country. This is done through the network of roads and communications. The usual comparison of roads to the blood circulation system has acquired a new and deep meaning in Vietnam. Trucks move along roads pitted by bombs. Where trucks cannot pass they are replaced by bicycles, which are used as during the previous war to transport loads of up to 300 kilograms. I saw many difficult roads that were rebuilt as soon as the enemy had destroyed them.

The Vietnamese say that two new roads appear where one road was destroyed. Nor is that just talk. Of course, the new reserve roads are more primitive and less dependable than the roads built in peacetime. The important thing is, however, that they are there and do their duty. The repair of bomb-destroyed sections of a road, on which more bombs are often dropped immediately, has been entrusted to shock teams of young people formed on the initiative of youth organizations. Young men and women build new roads and repair destroyed roads and bridges, work on the railways, and transport goods—all in keeping with the slogan of "three preparednesses": preparedness for labor, for defense, and for any task the country may set.

The bridges that still stand are very few. However, reserve bridges have appeared everywhere. Many of them are thrown across during the night, for a few hours, and are removed at daybreak. There are bridges so well camouflaged as to be invisible from the air.

Ferries have always been widely used in Vietnam, a tropical country abounding in rivers. Their number has increased in the war years, and they replace bomb-destroyed bridges more and more often. They, too, have become targets for frequent bombs attacks. Nevertheless, they continue to operate. So do the railways, in the face of constant bombings. They are vigilantly guarded by self-defense units. There is strict discipline and order everywhere. People keep calm and collected in even the tensest hours, even when a raid is imminent.

Women have joined in large numbers in the defense effort of the country. Once retiring and timid beings whose duties were limited to the household by age-old customs and traditions, they have gained equality in many spheres—industry, transport, agriculture, to say nothing of schools and care of the wounded. They readily responded to the slogan of “three responsibilities” calling on women to replace men in production, assume the responsibility for the family in the absence of their husbands or sons, and fight arms in hand if necessary. Women in every age group have won fame by their outstanding achievements. Among women enjoying nationwide renown are Suot, an elderly ferrywoman in Quang Binh Province; Nguyen Thi Khue, leader of a fisherwomen’s team; Nguyen Thi Kim Hue, a courageous member of youth shock teams, and Nguyen Thi Hang, a militia-woman from Thanh Hoa Province, famed for her bravery.

Embattled Vietnam takes good care of its children. Schools of every type, kindergartens and nurseries continue to function. They are housed in bamboo cabins, caves and dug-outs. Underneath them are trenches through which the children can reach a shelter.

School children can tell aircraft types by the drone of the engines, just as our children distinguish cars by the trade marks. Many schools were gutted by bombs, such as Vietnamese-Polish Friendship School in the vicinity of Hanoi, destroyed in December 1966.

Every child goes to school carrying a bag with bandages and iodine. Children in the senior grades keep bamboo sticks ready to be used as splints. In many schools children put thick straw shields on their backs and similar hats on their heads. This “armor” protects them from bomb splinters. Every child knows the main safety rules by heart: never move in groups, keep an eye on the sky, run for cover to a trench or shelter. Large schools evacuated from towns have been divided into several small ones to prevent big groups of children coming together. Classrooms are kept at a considerable distance from one another and surrounded by ramparts against bomb splinters.

I attended a lesson in the eighth grade of a school in the area of the 17th parallel. Bombs bursting not far off shook the walls of the building. In an elementary school near Dien Bien Phu, I recorded on tape a lesson in arithmetic carried on to the accompaniment of the ominous roar of American aircraft.

In every province I made a point of visiting a school. And everywhere I saw innumerable signs of care of children, of their health and education and safety. In Quang Binh Province I was told in a kindergarten that during the night the children had to be carried to the shelter several times. In Vinh Linh Province, I visited a nursery where the children slept in wicker cradles hanging from wheeled bamboo tables. The tables stood in an underground corridor, and in the rare moments when the sky was clear the children were moved nearer the exit to breathe some fresh air.

Incredible as it may seem, the number of higher educational institutions and students has grown in the war years. I saw university faculties and a teachers’ college in the jungle, with adults continuing their studies in the terribly difficult conditions of war.

Hospitals destroyed by bombs are another crime of the aggressors reminiscent of the Nazis during World War II. The operation of hospitals in shelters and caves shows that the medical services overcome all difficulties. I saw hospitals and aid posts functioning in the most trying conditions. I was told how sanitary education and prophylaxis are carried out in the countryside. I watched the work of medical teams rushing to the aid of the victims of a bomb raid. I saw how selflessly Vietnamese doctors and nurses worked in Vietnamese-Czechoslovak Friendship Hospital after a raid on Haiphong. I saw the ruins of a hospital run by Poland before the war in the town of Vinh and the ruins of a hospital for lepers in Quinh Lap, and talked to patients who had escaped death. This is one of the most shocking memories of my tour of Vietnam.

That old proverb, “When the guns roar, the Muses are silent,” is not borne out in Vietnam. People there like to quote To Huu, a modern Vietnamese poet, who wrote: “Let the song drown the blast of bombs!”

Actors go to the most exposed regions. Every hamlet has at least one film show a month. All this is done in “field” conditions, of course, and the repertory of mobile theatres in closely linked with current events.

The DRV brings out books, pamphlets, bulletins, magazines, newspapers. Each province publishes a bi-weekly newspaper of its own. I have brought to Europe copies of those newspapers, which are printed during bombings. Bicycle-riding hawkers deliver books, including books by European authors translated in Vietnam, under the constant threat of an air raid. Librarians work in much the same conditions. I have brought with me textbooks scarred by fire during raids.

I witnessed countless instances of selfless bravery and patriotism. On more than one occasion I realized that life is stronger than the death which comes daily flying on the wings of U.S. bombers.

The aggressors are escalating their criminal war. I am sure new ruins will appear in Vietnam and the toll of death and destruction will grow before these notes are published. But then the strength, tenacity and resolve of the Vietnamese people, who are determined to fight for as long as it may take to win, will grow too. The Vietnamese do not indulge in facile optimism. They are prepared for a long war and know that the days and months to come may prove still more trying. But they will not stop fighting until the aggressors are expelled.

The two parts of a divided country—a single country inhabited by one people—serve each other as a model of courage. The exploits of fighters of the National Liberation Front inspire the defenders of the North. The resistance of the North sustains the hopes of the South. To the average Vietnamese, the problem of expelling the Americans from the South and uni-

fying the country is not a diplomatic game being played in ministerial offices, but a highly personal matter. Many inhabitants of the North have their kin—parents, wives, children—in the South. When, after the signing of the 1954 Geneva agreements, they were leaving for the North they expected Vietnam to be unified before long. This simple fact, which the Western press often tries to obscure or distort, should not be forgotten. The Vietnamese express it in the brief formula "The North and South are our common home."

Embattled Vietnam has the sympathy and friendship of millions of people all over the world, who support them morally and materially. During my stay in Vietnam I saw evidence of this support at every turn, particularly on the part of the socialist countries. Vietnam's struggle has become our own struggle. And while the Vietnam front is thousands of miles away, it is also our front. On that front, people are fighting for the future, for a just cause, as they strive to raise a barrier against which the wave of neo-fascism set loose by the United States will break.

Monika WARNENSKA

From the history of the Communist Party of Venezuela

JESUS FARIA

I.

Recent months have been rich in anniversaries associated with the revolutionary struggle of the Venezuelan people. Thus, August 1967 marked 30 years since the First National Conference of the Communist Party of Venezuela. In September, the Young Communist League celebrated its 20th birthday. In January 1968 our people will commemorate the tenth anniversary of the revolutionary battles that toppled the military dictatorship of Pérez Jiménez.

The Venezuelan Communists began their activities soon after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Organizationally, however, the Communist Party was founded, as a section of the Communist International, on May 1, 1931, when it published its first manifesto and program. It was officially accepted as a member of the Communist International in August 1935 at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in Moscow.

After the death of the dictator Gomez, a number of political emigrants returned to Venezuela, among them Communists, including the delegates who had attended the Seventh Congress.

By that time, not a few of the Party's founders had already seen the inside of prison; others had won reputes as freedom fighters in other parts of the continent. (For example, Gustavo Machado who helped to found the Communist Party of Cuba, and who also took part in the organization and successful assault on the colonial fortress at Curacao where arms and an American vessel were captured, subsequently used for a landing in Venezuela.) The Party still considered it advisable to remain underground, to send its members into other political organizations such as the National Democratic Bloc and the Popular Republican Party, for example.

The possibility and need for the Party "to show its face," that is, to appear again before the masses as it had in 1931 with its own program and propaganda, were widely debated for nearly two years after the dictator's death, in

the Party and among the leaders of allied organizations and progressives.

The leaders of the democratic parties vetoed the idea. Their argument was that since there was no working class in the country as yet there was no need, consequently, for a Communist party. They scoffed at our hopes and insinuated that we were just a "cell." Also in the Party itself (and even among those who had attended the Seventh Congress) doubts were voiced on this score.

Our membership had steadily increased meanwhile and it was decided to convene the first national conference of the Communists of Venezuela. The conference, held in absolute secrecy, opened on August 8, 1937 in the city of Maracay.

It was attended by the "recruits" who had only recently joined the Party but who boasted an impressive record of militant activity on the labor front and in strike actions, and of course by those of the Party's "veterans" who had managed to escape the repressions and were directing the Party from underground.

The conference discussed the problems debated by the Seventh Congress, in particular the struggle against fascism and imperialism, stressed the need to ideologically and organizationally strengthen the Communist parties—the organized vanguard of the working class.

The "veterans," the advocates of the Party "showing its face," had the support of the newcomers. The advocates of continued dissolution in non-proletarian parties found themselves in the minority, despite their rhetoric, literally quashed by the overwhelming majority of the delegates.

Our main arguments were: the general strike of the oil workers (December 14, 1936—January 25, 1937), graphically demonstrated the revolutionary maturity of the Venezuelan working class. It showed that their demands were meeting with a new response in the country, that the anti-imperialist struggle was gaining ground and that in this struggle the Venezuelan proletariat—which not only existed but was also

proving its mettle—had the support of the vast majority of the population.

Furthermore, a process of structural change was beginning to make itself felt in the country. In these circumstances we could not permit that the working class be condemned to passivity, regarded merely as a reserve of the political parties of the revolutionary petty-bourgeoisie. On the contrary, it was imperative to expand the proletariat's sphere of struggle against the ruling classes. This called for a politically- and ideologically-oriented headquarters of the revolution, for a Marxist-Leninist Communist party that would coordinate and direct the powerful upsurge of the anti-imperialist struggle.

And, finally we put the question: "If we indefinitely postpone the realization of these historical tasks, if we do not now begin to forge a Communist Party, an independent party in the true sense of the word, when then will we have a clear political line—the line of the working class?"

The conference, in keeping with the program planned, elected the leading bodies of the Party and charted a plan of work and struggle against the Lopez dictatorship and against imperialism. It charged the Political Bureau to draw up a manifesto addressed to the people of Venezuela, and which was subsequently distributed throughout the country.

The First Conference consolidated the political and organizational independence of the Venezuelan Communists in relation to their allies at the time. There were occasions later when we had to collaborate with them or come out against them, but at all times we acted as the party of the working class.

One of the principal factors that prompted the Party to "show its face" was the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union, a victory won by the Soviet Communists in sharp class battle inside the country and against the imperialist powers who vainly tried to strangle in its infancy the first socialist state, the victorious dictatorship of the Russian proletariat. In conditions of incredible difficulties the Soviet Union—the homeland of the international proletariat, the seat of the Executive Committee of the Comintern—gained splendid victories which exerted a tremendous influence on the Venezuelan working class, and inspired us with revolutionary optimism. If our brothers in backward Russia were able to overcome these difficulties and find the way to complete liberation, it stood to reason that we, too, should take the same road, drawing on the rich experience accumulated by the invincible working class of the Soviet Union and its Communist Party in building the new society and in the fight against imperialism and fascism.

Compared with the industrial might of the capitalist world the USSR was still a weak power at the time; its total output was only one-fifth that of the U.S. figure. But we be-

lieved in the ultimate victory of the USSR on all fronts.

Its magnificent victories in building a socialist society were a constant inspiration to the Communist and national-liberation movements throughout the world.

Already in 1937 the ruling element in Venezuela realized that it was no longer possible to keep silent about the great achievements of socialism in the Soviet Union. The working people of our country had, with justified hope, turned their gaze to the flourishing land of Soviets where, as distinct from the colonial powers, material and cultural progress had been achieved not through the exploitation of other peoples.

II.

Developments confirmed the correctness of the Party decision to "show its face." Party membership steadily increased, particularly with the influx of workers. The state of Zulia (the most important oil region) with its numerous proletariat became the Party's main base.

After the First Conference the Party's biggest success was the nation-wide clandestine distribution of its manifesto. Printed in an underground printshop, the total number of copies of this most important document was delivered to all towns, villages and working-class centers, and on the appointed day, or, more correctly, night, the entire country was literally flooded with new, Communist propaganda.

The press raised a hue and cry. Some of the papers demanded the death sentence for the Communists. It appeared that persecution of the Communists as "traitors to the country" and 20 years' imprisonment just for distributing leaflets with the revolutionary message of the Party, was not enough.

The journal *Sic*, organ of the Jesuits, wrote about "the numerically small but capable and intelligent leadership of the Communist Party . . ." This evaluation, irrespective of its source, was very much to the point.

Later, it is true, there was a split in the Party. But it was rapidly healed. And all further attempts to cause another split came to nought. One of the great merits of the "capable and intelligent leadership" of the Communists of Venezuela is that it treasures the Party's unity like the apple of its eye.

III.

The Party's slogan to "show its face" was seen as a challenge by the leaders of the petty-bourgeois parties, especially Romulo Betancourt. They furiously attacked the Party and, for the first time, but not the last, the Party was attacked also from the Left.

The attacks were so vicious that they ruled out all possibility for joint struggle. The worldwide slander campaign against the Communists was

particularly stepped up at the time of the Soviet Union's war against Finland and after the signing of the Non-Aggression Pact between the USSR and Germany.

The Betancourt group already then resorted to the "services" of the police of Lopez' government in an attempt to oust us from the positions we had won in the leading trade union bodies. These unprincipled actions glaringly revealed the methods Betancourt and his ilk employed.

Later he brazenly began to serve the oil monopolies and when he came to power he pursued the anti-Communist policy dictated by the State Department and the Pentagon.

This eloquent fact fully justified *a posteriori* our class distrust of Betancourt, that faithful disciple of Haya de la Torre.

The Lopez government, which was in the service of the oil monopolies, systematically suppressed every popular and democratic movement. This policy of the reactionary government justified the decision of the First Conference to set up an underground propaganda apparatus that would be able in all circumstances to keep the people informed of the political situation in the country.

Of course, the Party strove to preserve its legal press. We managed to publish two dailies of local importance, *La Tarde* and *Hoy*, through which we informed our readers of the international situation, of the success and progress of the USSR. In addition, we put out numerous weeklies and other publications in different parts of the country.

The Party also published many clandestine newspapers. Its central organ for a number of years was *El Martillo* which enjoyed deserved popularity among the working people. It fearlessly exposed all that was corrupt, reactionary and treacherous in the government's demagogic policy.

For a long time we had a clandestine radio station operating in Maracaibo. Although it broadcast only in the city and its suburbs, it became known throughout the country. In an attempt to discover its whereabouts the government brought over German experts and promised big rewards. It imprisoned and tortured the suspected operators. But all these attempts of the police regime came to nothing.

Later, for ten years the political police of the dictator Pérez Jiménez could not locate the printshop which put out the Central Committee's new paper *Tribuna Popular*, subsequently one of the most widely read papers in the country.

Of course we were not very experienced "veterans" in clandestine activity. But we knew our enemy and tried not to fall into his clutches. One of our advantages was that we did not consider ourselves "maestros" or geniuses. We did not underestimate the enemy. This approach compensated for the lack of experience. We also heeded the advice of those who were familiar, through literature, with the

experience of the Communists of other countries. What is more, our activists were little known or not known at all. In view of all this, we suffered few losses. Gradually the Communists won the reputation of being good expert clandestine operators.

IV.

The entire fruitful and creative work of the past thirty years is indissolubly associated with the ideas of those who on March 7, 1931, formed the first Communist cell in Venezuela, with the plans of liberation and the dreams of those who on May 1, 1931, advanced our first program for building a socialist Venezuela. It is also associated with the names of those who at the First National Conference firmly decided that the Party should appear before the working class and the people of Venezuela as an independent Marxist-Leninist, Communist Party. They considered that this was the best way to promote the establishment of the united anti-imperialist and anti-fascist front advocated by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. And if at the beginning this goal was only partially achieved, after Germany's treacherous attack on the USSR this policy was widely applied and yielded results which in the conditions of total war were a significant contribution by the Venezuelan people, and by the working class and the Communist Party in the first place, to the common cause of the peoples of the world, to the fight against the threat of fascist enslavement.

It is not easy, of course, to correctly lead the army of the proletariat in the complex conditions of the struggle for their complete liberation from the capitalist yoke. Mistakes are bound to be made, irrespective of how correct and successful the political line may be. Realizing the importance of self-criticism, we Venezuelan Communists must admit that there were cases of sectarianism and Right opportunism in our activity. But such deviations were very few in the life of the Party and it was always able to combat them successfully by applying the Leninist methods of organization and by drawing on the viable ideas of Marxism.

In the main, the Party has throughout its existence faithfully served the aim in the name of which it was founded and developed as an independent political force. Thus, it has always taken a firm stand on all questions of principle, been loyal to proletarian internationalism and Marxism-Leninism. Furthermore, the working class, as well as all the working people of Venezuela have — and always have had throughout the past thirty-five years—in the person of the Communist Party, whose leaders have staunchly withstood all threats and dangers, their most selfless and courageous defender.

Here it is in place to mention the heroic behavior of those who died under torture.

They are Donato Carmona, Alberto Lovera and other Party leaders and rank-and-file members. Luis Emiro Arrieta, Max Garcia and many other comrades were fiendishly tortured for days but betrayed nothing.

These comrades were moulded by the Communist Party, steeled and tempered as fighters of the new type, such as the social and political battles of Venezuela had not known before.

In the past thirty years it is the Communists who, more than any other force, have promoted the organization of the working masses. During the period under review there has not been a single important movement for freedom which has not felt the influence of the Communist Party, the impact of its fight for a better and brighter future.

This was the case even in the early years of its existence, in the years of struggle against the Gomez dictatorship. And although the dictator was not overthrown, the Communists led the masses to victory in the bloody battle for the abolition of "Gomezism" as a system. A mortal blow was dealt the monstrous regime of terror and oppression and it was compelled to retreat, despite the desperate resistance it offered. As it retreated, it left in its wake rivers of workers' blood and countless dead. I recall how in Cabimas (in the state of Zulia) we lost 37 members in one night alone in clashes with the police.

In October 1945, after the historic victory over fascism to which the Soviet Union had contributed decisively, the Communist Party for the first time in its history emerged from illegality. This was a momentous event in the class struggle of the Venezuelan people, and of the working class, in the first place.

V.

Our legal status — which was accompanied by the usual "trimmings" — the arrest of Communists for political reasons — lasted exactly three years. We made the most of these three years to carry on the fight in the streets, in the press and in parliament, to propagandize the revolutionary doctrine and our program of liberation, to tell the people about the successes and historic victories of the countries comprising the powerful camp of peace and socialism, freedom and human progress.

The nearly ten-year battle of the Venezuelan working people against the tyranny of Perez Jimenez (he was awarded the highest U.S. decoration) was beset by tremendous difficulties. Those were the years when all democratic and revolutionary political parties were hounded by the police who were wholly in the service of American imperialism. Many political leaders were killed, thousands of people were kept in prison and concentration camps.

They were years of many major and minor battles for freedom. Notable among them were four big national events, each of which deserves special mention and which are graphic

proof of the inexhaustible vitality of the Venezuelan people, of the courage of the Communists and the correctness of their political line.

1. The general strike of the oil workers in May 1950. It was well prepared, and had as its aim to secure a wage increase following the expiration of the collective agreement between the workers and the employers. All police attempts to prevent the strike failed. The government thereupon called in the Army, the National Guard and also part of the navy and airforce to crush the strikers. It succeeded but only after eight days of brutal mass repressions. The trade unions were disbanded, their leaders persecuted and a virtual state of siege was established in the oil industry.

2. The elections carried out by the military dictatorship in November 1952. The Democratic Action Party called on the electorate not to vote. The Communist Party entered into an alliance with the Democratic Republican Union. This bloc dealt a crushing defeat to all the other parties, including the election machine of the dictatorship. The Communists won fifteen seats in the Chamber of Deputies.

The American imperialists naturally were not going to allow their puppet to be deprived of power. The State Department and the Pentagon got busy. The American Military Mission in Caracas and the U.S. ambassador set in motion all levers at their disposal and engineered a new coup d'etat. As a result of this brazen maneuver Perez Jimenez remained in power, protected by American bayonets and the oil monopolies.

3. In December 1957 the regime, thinking that it was secure but not forgetting the defeat it suffered in 1952, held a plebiscite. The authorities reckoned that the people were crushed and demoralized. But once again the imperialists and their Venezuelan lackeys miscalculated. The Communist Party and other underground political forces, although weakened by the heavy blows that had been dealt them, pursued their policy. They called upon the masses to sabotage the maneuvers of the dictatorship. Despite enormous difficulties the masses received the needed political orientation, thanks partly to the fact that the small but well-guarded printshops of the Party did not fall into the hands of the police. The people did not go to the polls. The plebiscite thus ended in yet another fiasco for the dictatorship and its advisors. History had repeated itself, but in a different situation.

Whereas in 1952 the imperialists and their lackeys were able to gain their ends, this time they were not saved by the election fraud or by the brutal repressions. The crisis was coming to a head — the oppressors could no longer rule in the old way and the people of Caracas refused to tolerate the bloody tyranny any longer.

4. The Communist Party took the course of

overthrowing the tyranny. The signal was given by the masses who refused to take part in the plebiscite farce. The Communists, aiming at unity, created, together with the other political parties, the Patriotic Junta despite the resistance to this abroad by politicians like Romulo Betancourt.

The fight for the overthrow of the dictatorship began with the defeat of the regime at the plebiscite. The working people and students of Venezuela in general and of Caracas in particular, rose in revolt. The Perez Jimenez tyranny was overthrown. This was made possible by the correct application of the most diverse forms of struggle, including armed struggle in the towns, by the political work carried out by the revolutionaries in the armed forces, by the general strikes of workers and students, by the bloody clashes with the police and the fight to enlist the support of the navy, airforce and other armed forces.

Thanks to the boldness and foresight of the Communists and other revolutionaries at the time of the crisis, the imperialists and their lackeys were compelled to retreat temporarily. The edifice of the dictatorship which seemed impregnable — and for ten years it was — crumbled on January 23, 1958 under the onslaught of the workers and the entire people.

VI.

The political events that have taken place in the country since then are fairly widely known from the world press. And the Communist Party — the organized vanguard of the Venezuelan working class — has always been in the center of all major events as the main, leading force.

As is often the case in the history of class battles, the merits of the Venezuelan Communists were negated not only by their traditional enemies but by other political groups as well. However, the truth always prevailed. In any country the correctness of the Party's political line, the staunchness of its leading core, and the course of events have invariably put things in their proper perspective. Sooner or later anti-communism of all complexions was shown up in its true colors.

In speaking of our fruitful activity during the past ten years which were the richest in victorious battles, proving that the Party cannot be destroyed, I would like to particularly mention the solidarity of our people with the people of Cuba and the Cuban revolution both before and after its victory. This effective and militant support given by the working class of Venezuela to the Cuban people in their struggle for freedom, does credit to those who forged and organized the Party and led it. Here it should be said that we Venezuelan Communists

will continue, to the best of our ability, to act in the spirit of solidarity with other fraternal peoples. This solidarity is an integral part of our entire activity. It is based on principles we consider obligatory and absolute.

At the time of the U.S. invasion of Playa Giron our comrades fearlessly faced death in their heroic battle against the American imperialists, the common enemy of all peoples.

More Communists, young and old, were thrown into prison in Venezuela for coming out in support of Cuba than for all previous actions in which the Party had participated. President Betancourt himself gave the figure of more than 14,000. Even so, this lackey of imperialism was unable to prevent the solidarity actions of the Venezuelan Communists with the Cuban people against the aggression by a common enemy.

* * *

The Communist Party of Venezuela is preparing for its Fourth Congress in conditions of police persecution which has already cost us the lives of hundreds of our members.

The unanimous decisions of the 8th Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee prevented a split in the Party which threatened as a result of the actions by a group of adventurers. The decisions were graphic proof of the Party's political maturity.

We have elaborated a program which can serve — and is already serving — as a firm basis for patriotic unity by civilians and the military to fight imperialism and achieve full national sovereignty and the prosperity of the working people.

The Communist Party favors unity of the international working class and the Communist movement. We fully appreciate the difficulties involved. We also realize that it will not be easy to find a solution at the present moment. But we are making our contribution to unity to the best of our ability. We want friendship and good relations with the revolutionary parties and democratic movements of all countries — irrespective of the differences in tactics — based on mutual respect of the independence of every Communist Party and of the national liberation movement in each country.

Such, in brief, is the history of the battles, big and small, of one of the contingents of the international Communist movement, which grew steeled and tempered in these battles. Today, 36 years after its foundation, and 30 years since its first national conference, the Party can justifiably say: The struggle has not been in vain.

The Communist Party of Venezuela is confidently advancing to a victorious future, guided by a clear-cut and correct revolutionary political line.

BERLIN

THE SYMPOSIUM dedicated to the 100th anniversary of *Capital*, held in Berlin on September 12-13, under the auspices of the German Socialist Unity Party Central Committee, brought together representatives of more than 40 Communist and Workers' parties.

The keynote address, on the relevance of *Capital* to the socialist development of the GDR and the struggle against the state-monopoly system in West Germany, was delivered by the Party's First Secretary, Walter Ulbricht. Marx's method of scientific prognostication of social development, Ulbricht said, further developed by Lenin in the era of imperialism and enriched by the contemporary experience of the international labor movement, has become a central element in the activity of all the Marxist-Leninist parties. It holds a prominent place in the leadership system in the German Democratic Republic, particularly in prognosticating the development of science and economic and social administration, enabling the Party and Government to foresee the interaction of the productive forces and the relations of production and to disclose and resolve in good time any contradictions that may arise.

The ideas Marx set out in *Capital* have a direct bearing on the present stage of socialist construction in the GDR — the building of a full-scale socialist system. In developing the concept of socialism, the Socialist Unity Party has drawn the conclusion, Walter Ulbricht told the symposium, that "socialism is not a brief transition phase in the development of society, but a relatively independent socio-economic formation in the era of the change-over from capitalism to communism on a world scale." And this formation has its own development laws, including commodity production and the

law of value, which operate objectively on their own socio-economic basis. The task, therefore, is to make full use of these laws in the building of socialism.

Coexistence presupposes socialism's ability to prove its superiority over the capitalist system. This requires a definite historical period to allow the full development of the socialist system. The creation of that system in the GDR is the alternative to state-monopoly capitalism in West Germany.

In analyzing the latter, Walter Ulbricht emphasized that the basic contradictions of the capitalist system had reached a stage where imperialism could exist only by the merger of the power of the monopolies with the power of the state. The prospect is for further sharpening of the antagonism between labor and capital, and that can be abolished only by the revolutionary struggle of the working class.

The symposium was addressed by representatives of Communist and Workers' parties from the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Mongolia, Yugoslavia, Cuba, Austria, France, Chile, Spain, Japan, the USA, Britain and other countries. They emphasized the epochal importance of *Capital* as a tried and tested weapon in the workers' struggle for the revolutionary remaking of society, as a manual in building socialism and in the fight against imperialist reaction, for peace, democracy and social progress.

Representatives of the fraternal parties expressed their satisfaction that the centenary of Marx's *Capital* was being celebrated in a socialist and peace-oriented Germany, the birthplace of the founders of scientific communism.

V.T.

PARIS

In closing the symposium on the October Revolution and France (Paris, October 13-15), Waldeck Rochet, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, said that "in convening this symposium, the Maurice Thorez Institute wanted to pay tribute to the greatest event of our times."

The symposium discussed the impact of the October Revolution on France, and participating in the discussion were Marxist historians, political and trade-union personalities, veterans of the revolutionary movement and Soviet scholars. Among the participants was the non-Marxist historian, Prof. Pierre Renouvin.

The symposium took as its motto the words of Maurice Thorez, cited by Jeannette Thorez-Vermeersch in her opening address, that the

October Revolution "invigorated and regenerated" the French labor movement.

That, too, was the central thought of the four papers read at the symposium. Georges Cogniot spoke of the role of the October Revolution in rejuvenating the French labor movement; Victor Joannes took as his theme "The October Revolution, Proletarian Internationalism and the Nation, and the Role of Maurice Thorez"; Jean Freville and Luce Langevin dealt with the attitude of the French bourgeoisie and French intellectuals towards the October Revolution.

Georges Cogniot showed how the October Revolution infused new strength in the anti-war movement, which had spread to the army and to large sections of the working class,

notably the railwaymen, metal workers and Paris garment workers. "What we had," Cogniot remarked, "was a happy combination of national revolutionary traditions and the new invaluable contribution of the October Revolution." And it was against this background that, at the 1920 Congress in Tours, the Socialist Party majority voted to affiliate to the Communist International. Today, the French Communists can say with justifiable pride that, "they made no mistake in choosing the Leninist path."

Victor Joannes drew attention to another lesson of the past 50 years. The October Revolution imparted a new quality to the French workers' feeling of patriotism, "enriching it with the concept of internationalism." And this patriotism of the people found expression in the struggle against the Entente intervention in Russia in 1919-1920, in the campaign against the French occupation of the Ruhr in 1923, in the vigorous opposition to France's colonial wars in Syria and Morocco in 1925. In World War II, the patriotism of the French Communists was expressive both of their love of country and their gratitude to the Soviet Union.

Freville and Langevin described the reaction to the Revolution of prominent French intellectuals. Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, Anatole France and Paul Langevin, the way they explained the significance of October and exposed the slander of its enemies. Several speakers paid tribute to Jeanne Labourbe, the first French woman to give her life for the cause of the Third International — she was murdered by counter-revolutionaries in Odessa in 1919 — and to Jacques Sadoul, an army captain serving on the French Military Mission in Russia who sided with the October Revolution. Reference was made also to the French sailors of the Black Sea and Bizerte squadrons, who fought against the anti-Soviet intervention. Leon Feix cited facts to show how the October Revolution stimulated the anti-colonial traditions of the French people and their opposition to the war against the Riff and, in later years, the wars in Indochina and Algeria.

BAKU

"There is no force on earth capable of halting the advance of the Afro-Asian and Latin-American peoples to a brighter future. The earnest of their success lies in the growing unity of the national-liberation movement, world socialism and the international working class." That passage is from the message of greetings Comrades Brezhnev, Podgorny and Kosygin addressed to the scientists, public and political personalities of many countries gathered in Baku for the international conference on the October Revolution and the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Held shortly before the 50th

Problems of a more general nature were discussed by one of the Soviet participants, Academician Mints and, more especially, Waldeck Rochet. Academician Mints showed how the October Revolution had elevated to a higher level the organizational principles and methods of proletarian struggle in every part of the world.

Waldeck Rochet emphasized that "the October Revolution shattered imperialist domination, laid the foundation for a new world system and gave an impetus to the entire international revolutionary movement." "What does it mean to be a revolutionary in present-day France?" he asked, and expanding on the subject he remarked that if we were to try "to give a scientific answer to the question of revolution which today, as in 1917, is the supreme question, we would find that in the past 50 years the revolutionary process has become much more diverse, as was rightly pointed out this June at the Prague symposium on the world significance of the October Revolution" (reference is to the symposium arranged by *World Marxist Review*—P.E.)

Waldeck Rochet went on to analyze the forms of transition to socialism in a country like France. We can cite here only two passages from his speech. The first formulates the French Communist position on the home front: "All the activities of the French Communist Party are directed towards creating favorable conditions for peaceful transition to socialism, for achievement of the socialist ideal through the democratic movement of the entire working people." In the second passage the General Secretary of the French Communist Party sets out its position on international affairs: "The French Communist Party has always been guided by solidarity with the workers of the world, has always unreservedly supported the democratic forces in every country and the liberation struggle of all peoples oppressed by imperialism. Our Party will always work for united action of all the peace-seeking and anti-imperialist forces for peaceful coexistence and for isolation of American imperialism and its forced retreat." P.E.

anniversary of the October Revolution, it was sponsored by the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Soviet Committee of Afro-Asian and Latin-American Solidarity.

The main address, by Academician E. M. Zhukov of the USSR, was followed by a discussion which revealed unanimous appreciation of the role and significance of the world's first socialist revolution for the rise and development of the national-liberation movement.

Indicative of this are the following passages from two of the speeches. Dang Quang Minh, member of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front: "The Great

October Revolution awakened the peoples of the East and lit the flame of national liberation throughout the world . . . The Vietnamese revolutionaries have throughout all these years felt its beneficial influence. For us it was like fresh water to the thirsty traveller in the desert."

And this from the speech of Yusef as-Sibai, General Secretary of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization: "We are deeply conscious of the valuable role the Great October Socialist Revolution continues to play in the development of the worldwide movement for national emancipation, particularly in Asia and Africa . . .

"It has clearly demonstrated that every people can choose and follow the socialist path in conformity with the conditions prevailing in their country. The October Revolution demon-

strated that socialism is the true path to realization of the people's aspirations."

The contributions of representatives of the Soviet Trans-Caucasian and Central Asian Republics, who described how with the assistance of the Russian proletariat their peoples had overcome age-old backwardness and risen to the summits of culture, were followed with keen interest.

Representatives of four continents analyzed the principal aspects of one of the greatest movements of our time. But, of course, the symposium could not examine all aspects of the national-liberation revolution, and there were many proposals for a series of international meetings to analyze its concrete problems.

U.V.

The road to victory

FUTURE GENERATIONS will revere the feats of the Latin American revolutionaries who gave their lives for the liberation of peoples from imperialist domination and the oligarchy. More heroes are winning immortality, though the names of some will not become known until after victory.

In the past months blood was again shed plentifully on Bolivian soil. Class conflicts in that country, situated in the heart of the South American continent, have been extremely acute of late, gradually assuming the form of armed revolutionary struggle.

This alternative was imposed on the people by their oppressors. The despotism and cruelty that have always marked the methods of the Bolivian ruling classes are more evident than ever in the reprisals against all acts of public protest in the past several years.

The work and death in the Bolivian jungle of heroic revolutionary Ernesto "Che" Guevara, shot on orders of the U.S. puppet government, is a supreme model of revolutionary self-sacrifice.

And the name of guerrilla fighter Willy (the covername of Simon Cuba, a Bolivian miner), who attempted valiantly to save the wounded leader from capture, will forever be associated in our memories with that of Guevara.

On June 24 government troops occupied the mining town of Siglo XX to prevent the establishment of a headquarters for directing the people's struggle. Officers ordered their men to kill all captured trade union leaders. Rosendo Garcia Maisman, a trade unionist and member of the Central Committee of the Bolivian Communist Party, was the first to notice the troops entering the mining town. He raised the alarm over the trade union's public address system, then led a group of comrades into battle, fighting to the bitter end. He was wounded, seized by the soldiers, and shot, but his courageous act saved the lives of dozens of labor leaders.

Jorge Vasquez Viana was gravely wounded during his arrest in the zone of guerrilla operations. Army officers dragged him out of the hospital and although he was obviously unable to walk, charged him with trying to escape. Actually, he died during tortures inflicted on him

by CIA agents and army intelligence when he refused to betray his comrades. His extraordinary courage is a testimonial to the revolutionary devotion, integrity and patriotism of a Communist.

Antonio Jimenez died fighting. He had participated in class battles since he was a young boy. During the savage government reprisals in May 1965 he was wounded, but later joined the National Liberation Army, fighting valiantly until he fell in battle when covering the retreat of his comrades.

The name of Julio Oscar Velasco will also go down in the annals of the Bolivian people's liberation struggle. Like hundreds of his comrades, he began his fight for freedom in the trade union movement and was persecuted by the police. Later, he joined a guerrilla unit and fell in battle.

In late August, the waters of the Rio Grande closed over the lifeless body of a guerrilla girl whose covername, Tania, is fondly pronounced by Bolivian youth as that of another Tania, who said before her death, "We are two hundred million and you cannot hang all of us! We shall win!" is pronounced by Soviet youth. The war heroine who fell in Petrishchevo was a model for Laura Gutierrez Bauer, known as guerrilla girl Tania.

Guerrilla leader Roberto "Coco" Peredo joined the revolutionary cause as a boy. At first a member of the Communist Youth League, he then joined the Bolivian Communist Party and was one of the most prominent and intrepid organizers of the guerrilla movement which erupted this March. His name was associated with the most daring and effective guerrilla operations until he fell in battle at the end of September at Higuera.

The memory and example of the dead is a rallying cry for the living. Unbending fighters are using a variety of forms of struggle in their life-and-death battle against the tyrannical anti-national regime — a struggle crowned with victory in Russia fifty years ago. Our fallen comrades will not see victory on Bolivian soil, but have given their all to bring it closer, and it is sure to come!

Ramiro OTERO

In the van

A MYRIAD OF ARTICLES has been written about the first 50 years after the Great October. As one reads these articles one becomes more than ever aware of how truly important a milestone in mankind's history October was and what an inexhaustible source of lessons these past 50 years contain for a better understanding of the world we live in and for charting its future. Precisely for this reason one wishes there were something on this subject a little handier, more permanent and more all-embracing than newspaper or magazine articles.

Fortunately, such is now available in an extremely interesting and in many ways unique book in the Russian language, titled *The Great October and the World Revolutionary Process**. Prepared by the Institute of the International Labor Movement in Moscow, it is a skilfully devised and expertly edited book of 464 pages, divided into two parts.

The first part, titled "The International Significance of the Achievements of the USSR," contains five thought-provoking articles, each on a different aspect of the October Revolution and the 50 years since, by five outstanding veteran leaders of the world Communist movement: M. A. Suslov, of the Soviet Union; Waldeck Rochet, of France; Tim Buck, of Canada; Dolores Ibarruri, of Spain; and Gus Hall, of the United States of America. Each of these articles by itself would be a valuable and effective brochure or pamphlet for reading and study by progressive workers and students of the social sciences in every country. Together they make up not only a very impressive and all-round but also a very lively and interesting treatment of the topic, reflecting the deep knowledge and rich experience of the authors.

In his comprehensive article, M. A. Suslov examines and analyzes the full significance of the events of the past 50 years, of which he says that "never has world history moved as quickly, and at no other time have the people achieved successes as outstanding as in these years."

In a bold, frank, realistic and concrete way he examines a number of questions that have faced and still face the Soviet people in the building of a new society: the satisfaction of all the material and cultural needs of the people; the creation of the material and tech-

nological base for communism; the problems of democracy; the national question; the contradictions under socialism; the role of the Party; the role of Marxism-Leninism in the past 50 years; and many others. Nor does he simply list and review the problems; he goes into the whys and wherefores and discusses the theoretical basis of each of them.

In a section subtitled "Faithfulness to Proletarian Internationalism," Suslov recalls what the October Revolution did and has done for the working class of the world and how the latter has aided the Soviet people in their struggle. "After the Soviet Union," Suslov writes, "the experience of the other socialist countries corroborated the fact that all countries embarking on the socialist path and following it consistently have certain common features and regularities." He then lists these features.

He discusses the deep internationalism of Soviet foreign policy, which, he says, "is in line not only with the interests of the Soviet people, but also with the vital interests of the peoples of fraternal socialist countries and all anti-imperialist forces, the world revolutionary process and the peace-loving people in all countries."

Among other points he makes on this aspect, he says: "The CPSU firmly rejects 'export of revolution' to any country. At the same time we are firmly and resolutely combating imperialist export of counter-revolution."

In the concluding section, Suslov writes: "The past fifty years testify forcefully to socialism's victorious march." His article very ably and clearly shows why this is so.

Waldeck Rochet's article discusses how the October Revolution and its results relate to the international working class movement, particularly as it is expressed in his own country, France. He pays high tribute to the achievements of the Soviet people and the influence of these achievements on the world revolutionary movement. "It is because socialism has been built in the Soviet Union and other countries, weakening the capitalist world system," he writes, "that we can now advance to socialism by an easier road than the one travelled by the Russian Communists."

Rochet examines the conditions in France in the present-day period of state monopoly capitalism, reviews the objective and subjective factors in the struggle of the working class against it and shows how these factors affect

* *Veliki Oktyabr i mirovoi revoliutsionnii protsess*. Izdatelstvo politicheskoi literatury, Moscow, 1967, 464 pp.

that struggle. "Fighting for democracy is an essential part of fighting for socialism: by securing victory for democracy, one opens up socialist perspectives," Rochet writes, and then analyzes the urgent problems and perspectives facing the people of France in the struggle to achieve that goal—an analysis in which there is much food for thought for revolutionaries in all lands.

Tim Buck opens his article, titled "October, the Trade Unions and Proletarian Internationalism," with the statement that "The Great October Socialist Revolution was a historic milestone for the international labor movement, primarily by accentuating the role of the working class in the revolutionary reconstruction of society. It was a revolution that awakened the exploited and oppressed masses to an extent the world had never seen before."

He examines briefly the trade union movement before the first world war: its small size (10 million members in 1914); its difficult struggle for recognition in face of violence and terror used by the capitalists to crush it; the strong influence of reformist trends; the rise of the anarcho-syndicalist movement as a counter-reaction to these trends.

Then came the October Revolution. "One can hardly exaggerate the immediate influence of the October Revolution on the world revolutionary movement. It kindled hope in the hearts of the workers of the capitalist countries, the hearts of all the exploited and oppressed, infusing them with confidence in their own strength," writes Buck.

He recalls the rapid growth of the trade unions after 1917 (only three years after October the number of trade unionists in the world grew to 50 million); today, writes Buck, the army of the world proletariat is nine times larger than in 1917 and adds: "At this time, when the socialist world system determines mankind's development, when the imposing successes of the socialist countries are proving beyond a doubt the advantages implicit in the socialist mode of production, Marxist-Leninist ideas are winning new followers among the working people in capitalist countries."

Dolores Ibarruri, in an article titled, "The October Revolution and the Struggle for Democracy and Socialism," writes that "it is hard to compare with anything this revolutionary epic which brought liberation from centuries of slavery to millions of men and women, blazing the trail for mankind to socialism, which has established itself today on one-third of the earth's surface. That is why, she adds, "one cannot speak of the 1917 October Socialist Revolution as of past history, a festive anniversary, a glorious date. No, it has to be spoken of in terms of the present."

Most of her article consists of a sincere, passionate and moving appeal to the younger generation of the Soviet people in which she recalls the difficulties and the hardships of their grandfathers and grandmothers in the early years and of the sacrifices their fathers and

mothers made in the years that followed to make their land "the first space power, the world's second-ranking industrial country."

She then describes the reverberations the October Revolution had in her own country, Spain, down through the years, how the experience of that revolution and of Lenin's teachings helped to build a mass party. She recalls the sacrifices, the victories and defeats, the mistakes made, the heroic role played by the Party in the civil war, and finally, the tasks facing the people of Spain today and the role her Party is playing in helping them to realize those tasks.

Gus Hall, in his article, "The Soviet Union—Bastion of Peace," examines the peculiarities of the epoch that began with the October Revolution. "No major social phenomenon in the post-1917 world can be properly understood if one overlooks the influence of world socialism on the development of all mankind," he writes.

Hall writes: "In view of recent events in certain parts of Asia some may ask: could the conception of the new epoch defined at the international communist meetings have been premature? Could the conclusion drawn from this conception that world war is not inevitable, the conclusion about the determinative role of the international working-class movement and world socialism in modern social development, also have been premature?" And he answers "no" to both questions.

Hall devotes considerable space to speaking out against current efforts in his own country and elsewhere to play down the historic mission of the working class and calls for a fight for "a genuine movement of the working class." In that fight, he says, "the basic problem, the basic difficulty facing the working class derives not from the penetration of non-worker elements into the labor movement, but rather from the penetration of the ideology of petty bourgeois elements." And in discussing various aspects of this problem, Hall gives his views of what are the roots of the current events in China. (It should be added here that the "theories" and practices of the Mao Tse-tung clique are analyzed and commented on by all the authors in several parts of the book.)

He reviews some of the sacrifices the Soviet people have made in the past 50 years and comments: "This is the price paid by the people that pioneered socialist society. Most probably, no other nation in the world will have to make such sacrifices. The world owes it primarily to these sacrifices that it is moving in a definite direction, that of socialism and communism."

All the five articles make up the first 100 pages—less than one-quarter—of the book. The remaining 364 pages, which make up the second part, titled "October and Our Epoch," were prepared by a group of Soviet scientists.

This book is much more than a tribute to an important anniversary. It is actually a new Marxist handbook for the better understanding of our epoch. As such it should be read and studied by every Communist. It should be a

textbook for every student of the social sciences and for this reason, at least, it ought to be translated into all the major languages.

There is every reason to believe that today's new generation of young revolutionaries — in

their struggle toward the grand new vistas which the Great October has opened up—will find this book a source of knowledge and inspiration for years to come.

John BOYD

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

Problems of Peace and Socialism

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