

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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OF PEACE AND
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**THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF WORLD MARXIST
REVIEW GREETES THE APPEARANCE OF THE
JOURNAL CUBA SOCIALISTA, VOICE
OF REVOLUTIONARY CUBA.**

On July 26, celebrating the Eighth Anniversary of the day when the spark kindled the flame of the revolution, the people, displaying remarkable maturity — the fruit of eight years of the grim but useful experience acquired by peoples only in the process of revolution — unanimously and enthusiastically supported the idea of forming a United Party of the Socialist Revolution of Cuba.

CUBA SOCIALISTA is a step forward in this direction.

The journal proclaims its basic aims as follows: to popularize the experience of the Cuban revolution, pose and discuss the various problems encountered by the revolution; to study, from the standpoint of Marxist theory, the various aspects of the struggle for socialism waged by the working class with the support of the peasants and other working people; to further ideological, political, theoretical and practical training of the leading cadres and activists; to acquaint the people in Cuba with the experience, problems and theoretical contribution of the fraternal movements in Latin America and throughout the world.

FIDEL CASTRO.

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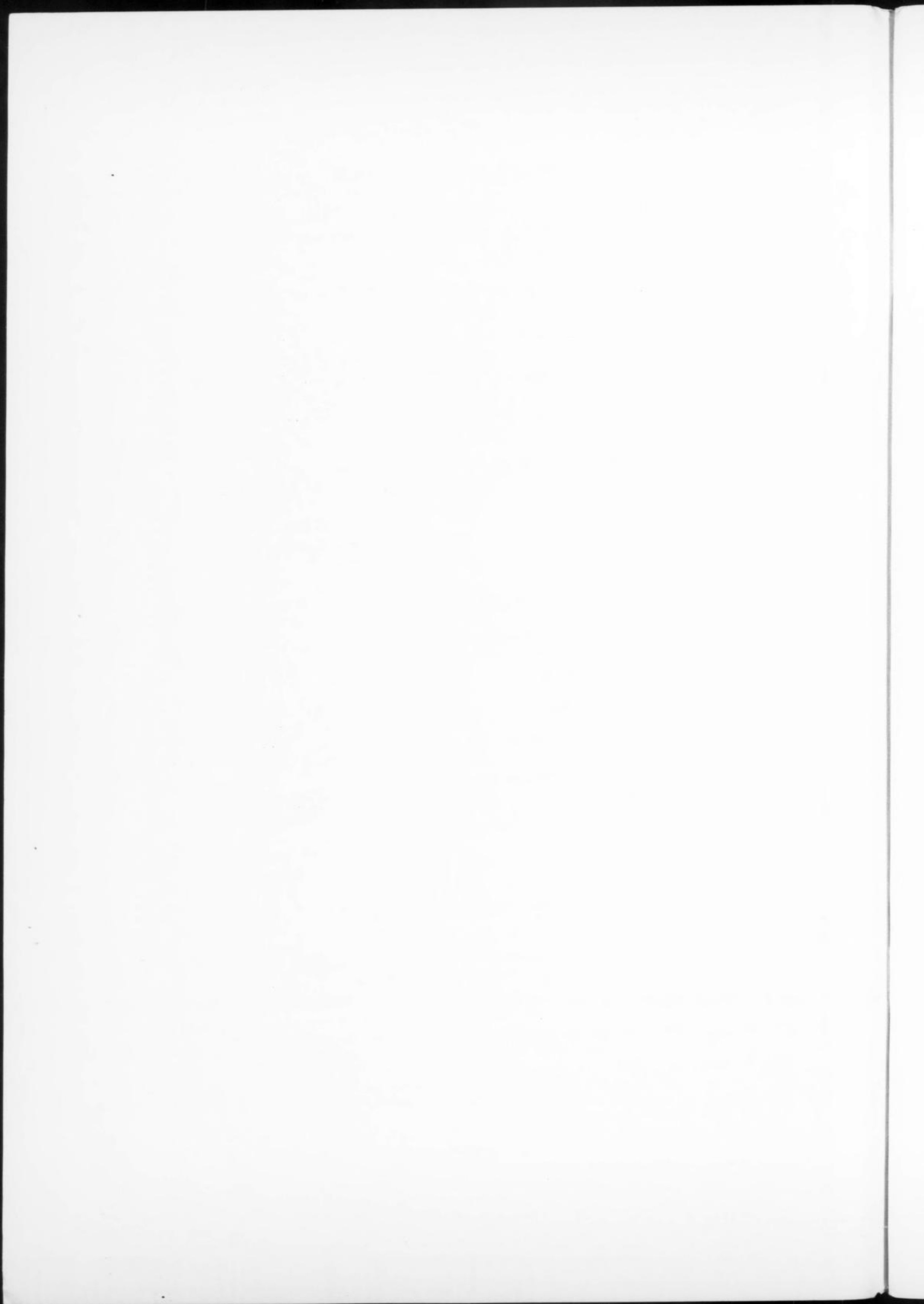
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New Stage in the Cuban Revolution

Blas Roca

ON April 16 the revolution in Cuba was officially proclaimed a socialist revolution. . . .

The declaration was made at a dramatic moment when we were preparing for a hard and decisive struggle against the combined U.S. imperialist and counter-revolutionary forces. On that day we buried those who had fallen victim to the treacherous bombardment of our airfields by the North American imperialists in preparation for the invasion of Playa Giron which began on the following day. Addressing a memorial meeting attended by thousands of members of the People's Militia and the Rebel Army, factory and office workers, men and women, Comrade Fidel Castro not only accused the U.S. imperialists of being responsible for the crime, but also disclosed the reasons for their deep hatred of the Cuban revolution. This revolution, Castro told the meeting, is a socialist revolution which fought first and foremost for national independence and sovereignty; it was not, however, completed after the agrarian reform and other democratic changes, but went forward to carry out the task of abolishing the exploitation of man by man, towards socialism.

The enthusiasm with which these words were met defies description. Thousands of rifles and sub-machine guns were raised aloft by valiant fighters, and hundreds of thousands of voices chanted: "Viva our socialist revolution! The fatherland or death! We shall win!"

For a long time the people had been asking for a categorical statement concerning the aims and character of the revolution. An insistent chant was always heard at big meetings and rallies: "We are socialists, so let's go right ahead!" In these words the people expressed their desire to chart the future course.

In the conditions of a frenzied anti-communist campaign by imperialist agents and counter-revolutionaries of all hues and shades, the absence of a clear-cut definition of aims created not a few difficulties.

Taking advantage of the fact that the socialist path of the revolution had not yet been defined, the enemy engaged in counter-revolutionary activity under the cover of pseudo-

revolutionary phraseology, spiced with anti-communist watchwords.

This statement by our leader, Fidel Castro, struck hard at the provocateurs. On the following day our soldiers went into battle, fully aware that they were going to shed their blood for the independence and integrity of their country, for the right of the people to determine their future for themselves, for socialist ideas, and the abolition of the exploitation of man by man in our country.

The battle against the mercenaries who were organized, financed, armed, transported and directed by the U.S. government through its Central Intelligence Agency and the Pentagon was fought and won under the slogan of defense of the country and the socialist revolution. The people, the revolutionary militia and air force, and the Rebel Army, in fact all the armed forces, displayed magnificent courage and daring and in less than 72 hours routed the well-armed, well-trained imperialist and counter-revolutionary invaders and forced them to surrender. They did this for their country and for socialism, for independence and peace.

This exploit is of great historic significance for the Cuban people. The victory at Playa Giron was won in the name of socialism.

I

When the socialist character of our revolution was proclaimed, some people believed this would create new difficulties in our relations with the governments and leading circles in other Latin American countries. Subsequent developments have demonstrated the absolute fallacy of this conjecture.

Three basic factors determine the attitude of the Latin American governments to the Cuban revolution:

1. *The interventionist pressure exerted by the U.S. government* which is insisting on severing relations with Cuba, condemning her and isolating her; armed action and economic sanctions against her in an attempt to crush the revolution.

2. *The fear felt by the oligarchies, latifundists, monopolists and other big exploiters in Latin America* that, under the impact of the

Cuban revolution, the people will go into action and deprive them of their privileges. These exploiters — like those double-dealing politicians who serve both them and the U.S. imperialists and who pose as “democrats,” “progressives” and even “revolutionaries”— are doing their utmost to inflict defeat on the Cuban revolution and on its leadership.

3. Counterposed to these two factors and in part cancelling them out is the third — *the growing solidarity of the Latin American peoples* — the workers, peasants, intellectuals, students and other progressive forces. The people of Latin America see in the Cuban revolution the realization of their aspirations, their hopes, ideals and dreams; they regard the people of Cuba as brothers who have arisen against the common enemy and the common misery. They see Cuba as a small fraternal country repelling the aggression, violence, criminal acts and lawlessness of a big imperialist power, the United States; and they wholeheartedly support the revolution — sometimes purely instinctively, at other times with a deep consciousness of what they are doing.

These factors were not changed one iota, nor could they be changed, by the act of proclaiming the socialist character of the Cuban revolution. Even without the proclamation the U.S. imperialists would have persisted in their action against Cuba and in bringing pressure to bear on her; the latifundists, monopolists and the other big exploiters in Latin America would have continued hatching plots against her; the double-dealing politicians and traitors would not have given up trying to obliterate the example of Cuba, because Cuba is the living proof that the hated U.S. imperialism can be resisted and defeated; the working people, patriots and progressives, in fact the people as a whole, would have continued to support the Cuban revolution and to uphold the right of our people to live under the social, economic and political system of their choice.

And that is exactly what did happen.

The more docile, more reactionary, and more anti-national of the Latin American governments — stooges of imperialism — who broke off relations with Cuba under U.S. pressure have not changed their policy in the least since the proclamation of the socialist character of the Cuban revolution. The tyrants in Guatemala and Nicaragua, receiving hand-outs of millions of dollars and political support from the United States, are drowning the

patriotic, democratic and progressive aspirations of their people in blood and have made their countries available for the training by U.S. officers of mercenary troops for an invasion of Cuba. These dictators do not, needless to say, maintain relations with Cuba and are calling for the overthrow of the revolutionary government. The military junta in Salvador, which waded to power through blood and treachery; the savage Stroessner tyranny (Paraguay); the reactionary government in Haiti; the heir to Trujillo (the Dominican Republic); and the brutal oligarchy that is plundering, betraying and undermining the prestige of Peru have no relations with Cuba. In their capacity of overt accomplices of the USA they oppose a Latin American country, abjure the principle of non-intervention and the fight of all peoples and of the Cuban people in particular to self-determination.

The less dependent governments, influenced greatly by their peoples and paying due regard to the national interests, have maintained relations with Cuba since the socialist character of her revolution was proclaimed. This does not mean that they declare themselves to be supporters of the revolution, or the Cubans' revolutionary methods, or socialism, which Cuba has advanced as its ultimate aim. They have simply adopted an independent attitude — an attitude of condemning any attempts at military, economic or political intervention with the object of imposing an economic, political and social system of their liking on a country, and hence, an attitude of respect for the right of the people of Cuba to free self-determination.

The working people, peasants, intellectuals and students in Latin America, the people generally, continue to display — even more so than before — solidarity with the Cuban revolution. Some bourgeois politicians who in fact never supported the revolution, seized on the proclamation of the socialist character of the revolution as a pretext to oppose it openly. And conversely, the industrial workers, oppressed masses, progressives, people who want justice, now support the revolution with even greater vigor and resolve. They know now that they need have no fear of surrender or betrayal, that the revolution is a genuine revolution, that it will not retreat and that, sure of itself, it is steadfastly moving forward.

The proclamation of the socialist character of the revolution proves that it is developing at a relatively rapid pace.

Few in 1958 believed that Cuba would soon rid herself of the Batista tyranny and become the revolutionary vanguard in Latin America.

But she did. Cuba — where reactionary repressions and crimes had been savage in the extreme — no longer a citadel of reaction, has become a stronghold of the Latin American peoples in their efforts to achieve independence, progress and social advancement.

Cuba, where U.S. imperialist domination was most powerful and, it seemed, the most stable, was the first to take vigorous measures towards abolishing imperialist domination and exploitation in Latin America.

The revolution, having overthrown the Batista tyranny which, under cover of mock independence, was the executive power of imperialism's political domination over Cuba, destroyed all the Batista organs of repression and established a power that does not depend on foreign countries.

This revolutionary power has won full national sovereignty; in a brief space of time it has carried through a radical agrarian reform and has begun to pursue an independent foreign policy of maintaining friendly relations with all countries, a policy of safeguarding peace; it has freed Cuban foreign trade from the U.S. monopoly and gradually nationalized the imperialist enterprises which held sway in our economy.

The revolution completed the tasks of its first stage — national liberation and agrarian reform — with exceptional speed.

But, having done so, it could not mark time at this stage.

II

During the struggle against the Batista dictatorship, in carrying out the revolution and in developing it, we sought to unite the popular forces — the working class, peasantry, petty urban and national bourgeoisie — around a clear-cut program of struggle against the tyranny and imperialism, of radical socio-economic reconstruction to improve the living and working conditions of the people. But as the revolution moved forward and deep-going changes took place in Cuban life — changes which abolished the former semi-colonial status of the country and opened up broad vistas for its industrialization and socio-economic advance — as the decision to nationalize American enterprises was implemented, and as the nature of the revolution unfolded, a polarization of the social forces took place. Accelerated revolutionary develop-

ment has always resulted in the falling away of those sections of the population which have exhausted their revolutionary potential. And this was the case with the Cuban bourgeoisie.

In view of her economic structure, Cuba could not get rid of imperialist domination and her backwardness — the pernicious heritage of latifundism — without taking the socialist path.

But the anti-imperialist struggle for full and genuine national independence could not be led by those who feared any advance towards socialism.

That was one of the reasons why the national bourgeoisie was incapable of leading the fight against U.S. imperialism and latifundism and why it was incapable of heading the struggle for an independent and accelerated economic advance.

As the revolution developed, the national bourgeoisie's multifarious economic links with the imperialists and latifundists came to light. National enterprises were geared to the U.S. trusts and monopoly interests and had contracts with them for the exploitation of the people.

When we began to enforce the Agrarian Reform Law, we came up against the fact that among the big latifundists were not only U.S. imperialists (who owned one-third of the best land), but also owners of cigar factories and textile mills, and other "national" representatives of the bourgeoisie. Immediately after the promulgation of the Agrarian Reform Law these people, needless to say, actively opposed the revolution.

The bourgeoisie could, in a pinch, put up with nationalization of the electric power and telephone companies and banks, and especially of the imperialist-owned oil refineries, because cheaper electricity, fuel and communications would signify bigger profits. But when it came to the nationalization of the sugar plants — the "centrals" — and the other imperialist industrial and commercial enterprises, that was another story. The bourgeoisie got the jitters, turned against the revolution and began to engage in economic sabotage, clearing their stocks of goods and raw materials and converting them into cash as fast as they could. That meant taking prompt measures against them: going over from the nationalization of enterprises owned by imperialist capital to the nationalization of enterprises belonging to national capitalists or at any rate non-imperialist capital.

III

Many interesting features came to light during the agrarian reform. The reform began with the handing over of the land to the peasants and with the establishing, in a big way, of cooperatives and state farms. This was no fad, but a necessity deriving from the agrarian structure of the country.

We encountered three basic types of latifundia during the agrarian reform:

—the sugar latifundia of the capitalist type, which used machines and hired labor on a mass scale;

—cattle ranches using extensive methods, with only seven to eight workers on an area of hundreds of caballerias*;

—latifundia whose land, almost always parcelled in small plots, was either rented out to poor and middle peasants or worked by them on a sharecropping basis.

There were, in addition, big rice farms with irrigation systems, mills, etc., employing a large number of laborers.

The handing over of their plots to the tenants, sharecroppers and squatters presented no difficulty. The agrarian reform therefore annulled the hire and sharecropping agreements and freed the peasants from paying the rent; over 30,000 tillers whom the revolution has made owners of the plots they cultivated have been given title deeds to the land.

It was clear, however, that this procedure could not be applied to large farms and plantations employing labor on a big scale, for output would suffer.

Any attempt to turn the agricultural laborers into individual proprietors of small plots on the plantation on which they had worked would have had two negative results: first, it would have led to a decline in production which would no longer enjoy the benefits associated with large-scale farming; second, it would turn the laborers into small proprietors and from the standpoint of their social development this would have been a retrogressive step.

It was found necessary in view of this to introduce the cooperative system in sugarcane production and the state farm in rice-growing. These forms have all the advantages of large-scale farming and make it possible to raise the standard of living of the agricultural workers (now cooperative members and state-farm workers) without delay.

*In Cuba one caballeria = 13.2 hectares.

Matters stood otherwise with the ranches. It was impossible to set up a cooperative with 7-8 people spread over an area of four, five or seven thousand hectares. As it was necessary to use these lands for both crop growing and pasture, it was decided to turn them into state farms. The state invests in these farms in order to organize large-scale production, builds premises, as well as dwellings supplied with water and electricity, etc.

One hundred and fifteen thousand working people immediately joined the cooperatives which have become both the basis and stimulus for further socialist reconstruction.

The land at present is distributed as follows:

- | | |
|---|--------------------|
| 1. State farms and cooperatives | 3,816,100 hectares |
| 2. Peasants owning less than five caballerias each and united in the National Association of Small Producers (ANAP) | 3,544,900 hectares |
| 3. Proprietors of farms ranging from over five to 30 caballerias each | 1,814,400 hectares |

The socialist sector thus covers 41 per cent of the land in use, the small proprietor sector — the ANAP peasants who are granted credits by the government and participate in the production plans — 39 per cent, and the sector comprising owners of farms of over five up to the 30 caballerias permitted by the law — 20 per cent.

IV

The objective conditions in industry also accelerated the process of nationalization and the growth in the socialist sector.

The U.S. imperialist aggression made it necessary to hasten the nationalization of imperialist-owned enterprises in order to protect the national economy and the living standards of the people.

When the imperialist enterprises refused to process the crude oil purchased by us from the Soviet Union at a price lower than that on the world market and threatened to cut off all our oil supplies, introduction of control over the oil refineries, state management and, finally, the nationalization of these refineries became a matter of life or death for the country. There was no alternative. Either we had to do this or surrender, to submit

to the *diktat* of the imperialist companies and agree to the country's economic life being paralyzed.

Imperialist reprisals, which went to the length of illegally and unilaterally abrogating Cuba's sugar quota for the U.S. market (and the Cuban quota, it should be noted, has historical roots), followed one after another. They evoked retaliatory measures in the form of the speedy nationalization of all the U.S. imperialist enterprises in Cuba.

Since the U.S. imperialists owned vast properties in Cuba, their nationalization predetermined the subsequent course of economic development.

We will give a few examples. The nationalization of *Compania Cubana de Electricidad*, the telephone company and 36 U.S. sugar "centrals" signified the taking over of power stations supplying over 90 per cent of the electricity consumed in the country, the entire telephone system, and one-third of the sugar production.

Nationalization of the North American banks signified that the state would in future grant credits to the sugar industry and to all large enterprises, that is, that the apparatus which regulated their activity had been taken over by the state.

The imperialists had their grip on all the port installations, the trading concerns and insurance companies; they partly controlled the soap works and perfumery factories, a number of tobacco plants, the biggest textile mills, the whole chemical industry, most of the ore-mines, some of the railways, rubber factories and factories making glassware and tins for packaging.

The nationalization placed the main levers of the economy, formerly held by the U.S. imperialists, in the hands of the revolutionary state. This process was completed in the main by August 1960.

As we have already said, the Cuban bourgeoisie, scared by the unfolding of the revolution and firmly convinced that the revolution could not hold out against the powerful U.S. forces, resorted to sabotage, thus jeopardizing production and employment. The revolutionary state was therefore compelled to speed up the nationalization of the big enterprises, sugar "centrals," banks, railways and mines which had not yet been taken over.

A dilemma arose whenever nationalization measures were taken: either state intervention in the running of an enterprise, its seiz-

ure, placing it under state control and nationalization — or production brought to a standstill, mass unemployment and acute economic crisis.

In a brief space of time most of industry, all the banks, the railways and foreign trade, which is now conducted exclusively through the organizations of the Ministry of Foreign Trade, were nationalized on a socialist basis. The law on the nationalization of private enterprises owned by Cuban capitalists was adopted in October 1960 and the remaining North American industrial and trading enterprises were nationalized at the same time.

An idea of the growth of the socialist sector can be gained from the fact that in the current year it will account for 80 per cent of the gross industrial product.

The nationalization was accompanied by the setting up of government organizations to manage the public property. With the adoption of the Agrarian Reform Law a National Agrarian Reform Institute (INRA) was created. This Institute expropriated the *latifundia* and distributed the land among the working people, in accordance with the provisions of the law. It was then converted into a body to direct, plan and expand agricultural production, and deal with matters pertaining to forestry and fisheries. INRA contributes actively to strengthening the cooperatives and state farms and has played an important part in establishing the National Association of Small Producers through which the individual peasants receive technical, organizational and financial aid, and which sees to it that they obtain fair prices for their produce.

A Ministry for Industry and a Ministry of Internal Trade were formed in February 1961.

The National Bank of Cuba directs the centralized banking system, controls the implementation of economic plans from the financial aspect and is gradually introducing the principles of planned credits and money circulation. The currency reform of August 1961 consolidated this role of the state banking system. The Ministry of Finance has been thoroughly reorganized and now carries out important functions in financing the plans. The General Planning Council has been assigned the task of drawing up Cuba's first Four-Year Economic Development Plan for 1962-65.

V

The rapid pace at which the Cuban revolution is developing is due to the situation that obtains and to objective laws.

Had we not taken the steps called for by the reality of the situation, we would either have led the revolution into an impasse or doomed it to failure.

The changes in the economy went hand in hand with changes in the political sphere, in the ideology and moral image of the people.

Having taken the first and decisive step along the path of building a socialist society, we rely upon state power, which is wielded by the workers and the poor peasants, by the revolutionaries who have merged with the working class and are working hard for socialism, by the armed working people in town and countryside. These form the rank and file, NCO and officer personnel of the revolutionary People's Militia, the Rebel Army and the armed forces generally. Without wielding state power the working class would not be able to build socialism.

The unity of the revolutionary forces is an earnest that the revolution will move forward rapidly and successfully. This unity was first expressed in joint action to achieve the common objectives of the revolution. During their years of close cooperation these forces reached complete unanimity of views on all major questions pertaining to the development of the revolution. This unity is now being expressed in the form of united revolutionary organizations. But as Fidel Castro said on July 26, 1961, our aim is that these organizations should form a United Party of the Socialist Revolution of Cuba. The socialist revolutionary organizations are now in the process of forming themselves into this party as the vanguard and leading core of the people and the revolutionary power, as the guarantee that socialist construction to which our people will contribute their enthusiasm, initiative and revolutionary ardor, will proceed in an organized and methodical way.

The working people have been drawn into multiple forms of managing the political and economic life of the country. They run the nationalized enterprises and are managers of cooperatives and state farms, in fact they direct the whole economy.

The coordination, management and inspection juntas (councils) established this year are a new form of local authority which has not, however, yet taken final shape. They include representatives of local united revolutionary organizations, the trade unions and other mass organizations, and representatives of provincial and municipal departments of the central government bodies.

The achievements of the revolution in the sphere of building state power of the people and for the people are accompanied by the growth of revolutionary consciousness, by its elevation to the level of socialist ideology. An essential condition for this is the wiping out of illiteracy.

The fact that the overwhelming majority of factory and office workers (at least 80 per cent) no longer work for foreign monopolies and the big Cuban exploiters, has wrought a great change in their outlook. They realize that they are working for their country and their people, for themselves. And this knowledge is deepening their socialist consciousness, which was manifested on a particularly mass scale during the days when tens of thousands of factory and office workers all over the country—men and women, young and old—worked on the sugar plantations on Saturdays and Sundays without any remuneration whatsoever in order to bring in the people's first sugar-cane harvest.

This process is reflected also in the technical aid advisory councils in the factories, through which the working people are drawn into the job of running industry. These councils, elected by the working people, have become a great organizing force, encouraging initiative and labor enthusiasm.

We now have before us the task of organizing emulation in the factories, cooperatives and on the state farms and among the population generally, with a view to increasing production and raising labor productivity.

Discussion by the people of the four-year economic development plan will contribute to an even greater upsurge of labor enthusiasm.

It is of the utmost significance in the process of building socialism to safeguard and consolidate the worker-peasant alliance so that those peasants who do not exploit other people's labor should stand firmly on the side of the revolution, on the side of the proletariat.

Another question of great import in this process is that of maintaining contact with the still remaining private capitalist sector and the urban petty bourgeoisie generally, especially if we bear in mind that Cuba's dependent position created the conditions for a numerous section of the petty bourgeoisie and that the petty bourgeois spirit spread even to some groups of workers.

The procedure which we used in uprooting U.S. imperialist domination, latifundism and

big parasitic capital cannot be applied in extirpating the survivals of capitalism.

We must, in the interests of the revolution and the proletariat, strengthen the alliance with peasants who do not exploit other people's labor and with the non-exploiting, working sections in the towns; we must, moreover, maintain appropriate relations with the other groups of the middle sections in order to obtain their cooperation or at the least their understanding. Our road to socialism will thus be made shorter and less painful.

VI

A decisive factor in shaping the course and tempo of our revolution is the existence of the socialist camp, the socialist countries' solidarity with Cuba and their aid.

The onward march of our revolution confirms the assessment of the present epoch contained in the statement of the Moscow meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties and in the new draft Program of the CPSU.

The feature of our times is the transition from capitalism to socialism. As the draft Program points out, our epoch is the epoch of the transition "of more and more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a worldwide scale."

The character of our epoch predetermined the course and the character of the Cuban revolution and has facilitated its rapid development.

It is difficult to imagine what course it would have taken and the pace at which it would have developed had there been no socialist camp with its present strength and international influence on literally all spheres.

In the past no revolution in Latin America could have moved forward at such a pace. As our experience has shown, the revolution can now develop rapidly and pass from its national-liberation and agrarian tasks to socialist tasks without staying long at the bourgeois-democratic stage of development.

The solidarity of the socialist countries together with the solidarity of the peoples of Latin America and of the world have prevented the U.S. imperialists from embarking on direct military intervention against Cuba.

The solidarity of the socialist countries and the solidarity of the working class and peoples of Latin America and of the world guarantee our national sovereignty and independence and the conditions in which we can exercise (as we are now doing) our right to self-

determination and freely choose the economic, political and public institutions needed in order to raise the standard of living, the cultural level and ensure a general advance.

Thanks to the solidarity of the socialist countries and the Soviet Union's fraternal aid—which has no political, economic or other strings—the Cuban revolution, with relative ease and without heavy sacrifices by the people, was able to challenge the imperialist oil monopolies. Thanks to the Soviet Union, Cuba has experienced no shortage of oil since Standard Oil and its subsidiaries attempted to throttle her by cutting off oil supplies.

Thanks to the socialist solidarity and the fraternal help of the USSR, the Chinese People's Republic, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and the other socialist countries, the United States' refusal to take up the Cuban sugar quota, and the economic blockade organized by the imperialists in the hope of plunging Cuba into a crisis, paralyzing production and evoking mass unemployment and hunger, failed to yield the anticipated results. The socialist countries purchased over four million tons of sugar from us at a price higher than the world market price (which as a result of imperialist manipulations is lower than the cost of production in a country where sugar production is cheaper than anywhere else). The socialist countries are supplying the raw materials, equipment, foodstuffs and medicaments which the United States refuses to sell us.

Thanks to the solidarity of the socialist countries Cuba has been able to acquire arms. The U.S. imperialists tried hard to deprive the Cuban revolution of weapons with the aim of attacking us and crushing the revolution with impunity through their mercenaries and the fifth column. They exerted pressure on many countries so that these should not sell arms to Cuba. They committed a criminal act of sabotage on the French steamer *La Coubre* which was bringing Belgian arms to Cuba, an act which took a toll of dozens of lives. Despite this, and thanks to the solidarity and strength of the socialist camp, Cuba obtained the arms she needed to liquidate (in less than 72 hours) the carefully planned invasion by 1,500 mercenaries and fifth column counter-revolutionaries in the service of the USA. Cuba is prepared to repel any invasion of this kind, no matter what arms the enemy uses.

Thanks to the solidarity of the socialist countries Cuba has the material means, the machines, raw material and the technical

know-how which have enabled her rapidly to increase her agricultural and industrial production, and to carry through accelerated nationalization without any particular repercussions, without jeopardizing living standards or reducing consumption.

Socialism is no longer a specter, but something real and tangible in the world; it is embodied in the sputniks and in the space flights by Gagarin and Titov, in the magnificent economic and cultural achievements of the socialist countries, and this fact brings home to the people of Cuba the need to build socialism and the advantages accruing from it; socialism will consolidate our national freedom, accelerate economic development, wipe out un-

employment, raise the standard of living and the cultural level, and improve the health of the people.

We can take guidance from the 43 years' experience of the Soviet Union. The fruits of its socialist construction have become the property of all. Thanks to this the people of Cuba are becoming increasingly aware of what socialism signifies and are assimilating its ideas all the more readily.

This combination of objective internal and external factors explains why the Cuban revolution is developing so rapidly and why it has entered upon the stage of building socialism.

Draft Rules of the CPSU — Document of Creative Marxism

G. Sheetarev

THE forthcoming Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU will, in addition to the draft Program, discuss the draft of the new Rules. It is only natural that in charting its grand program for building communist society in the USSR, the Party simultaneously poses and solves fundamental problems pertaining to the structure of the Party.

The drafts of the Program and the Rules lay stress on the role of the Party in building communism and its relations with the people during the transition from socialism to communism. Marxist-Leninist theory on the Party, applied to the new historical epoch, is carried further in these documents which aim at making the Party an even more important weapon in the advance to communism.

The accomplishments of the Soviet people, who in the course of a single generation have transformed their country from a backward into a highly developed one, are now generally acknowledged. But although forced to recognize this fact, bourgeois ideologists are as silent as the grave about this achievement having been made possible precisely because the Communist Party led the people along the right road, because the Party, guided by Marxist-Leninist theory, drew up a plan for

the socialist reconstruction of the country and won the people in support of this aim.

Lenin elaborated the principles for the structure and activity of the Communist Party as a consistently revolutionary, organized, vanguard section of the working class, the supreme form of its organization, and inseparably linked with the people. These principles remain the inviolable basis of the Party and its activity.

The Party's organizational forms and its rules are a weapon in implementing its program, policy and tactics. And inasmuch as the Party's tasks and program have changed in the course of time, it follows that the Party's organizational forms should change too. At all turning points in the country's development the Party has always proposed the organizational forms and Rules best suited to the conditions under which it works and which facilitate the accomplishment of its political tasks.

The Party in the Phase of Building Communism

The Soviet Union has entered upon a new stage in its development — the stage of building communism all along the line. New

and complex tasks confront the Party. In these new conditions the Party is introducing changes into its Rules with a view to raising the level of its organizational work to that necessitated by the task of building communism. This is further proof of the indissoluble connection between policy and organization, of the identity of the political and organizational tasks of the CPSU.

What, exactly, are the new conditions which enhance the Party's role in the life of Soviet society and which require that the Party improve its organization and methods of work? They derive, above all, from the scale and complexity of the tasks of communist construction, which, in their turn, call for a higher level of political and organizational leadership by the Party.

Parallel with the sweep of communist construction there is to be observed an unprecedented growth in the creative activity of the people, with millions participating in the administration of state, cultural and economic affairs. To promote and direct this activity skilfully, to be the recognized and authoritative leader of the people — and the relations between the Party and the people are based solely on this recognition and on mutual confidence — the Party must heighten the role and responsibility of all its organizations and members.

The phase of all-out communist construction is characterized by a further extension of socialist democracy, by an enhanced role for the Soviets, trade unions, the Youth League, cultural, scientific, sports and the various other public organizations. The Party, as the highest form of the socio-political organization of the working people, channels the activity of the mass organizations towards the main goal — into the building of communism.

Moreover, the theory of scientific communism and its creative development and popularization acquire even greater importance. Another task is to improve the education of the working people in the spirit of communism and to eliminate the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people. All this makes new demands on the Party in the sphere of developing revolutionary theory and its dissemination among the people.

These, then, are the factors which explain the growing role and importance of the Party as the leading and guiding force of Soviet society.

Bourgeois propagandists, who have become expert in fabrications about the "un-

democratic" character of the CPSU, are showing a particular aversion for the point in the draft Program that "the period of all-out communist construction is characterized by the further enhancement of the role and importance of the Communist Party as the leading and guiding force of Soviet society." They raised a regular din around this thesis, and we find them making great play with words such as "freedom" and "democracy" which, they say, cannot develop if society is led by the Communist Party. They willingly recognize the leading role of, say, the Tories or of the Labor Party in Britain, the Republicans or Democrats in the USA, or the Christian Democrats in Italy or West Germany as being perfectly "democratic," but refuse to recognize the role played by the Communists as being such.

This point is also incorrectly interpreted by some progressive leaders in the West. Thus Pietro Nenni, leader of the Italian Socialist Party, although he correctly evaluates the draft Program as "one of the most important documents in socialist literature and doctrine," claims that the point about the greater role of the CPSU allegedly signifies intensified "domination of the part over the whole"; and he goes on to express his doubts as to the possibility of resolving "the basic socialist problem of the day — to combine the maximum economic and social efficacy, arising from the socialization of the means of production, with the maximum extension of freedom and democracy."

The Party's leading role in Soviet society, incorporating as it does ideological, political and organizational guidance, can in no way be likened to domination of the part over the whole. This is not domination and subjection, but rather relations based on the profound and mutual confidence that characterizes the position of the Party in Soviet society, its ties with the workers, peasants and intelligentsia. It follows, therefore, that enhancing the role of the Party does not signify greater domination, which in any case does not exist in a socialist society, but a deepening of mutual confidence, extending and consolidating the Party's ties with the people, a greater absorbing by the Party of the sentiment, feelings and aspirations of the people and, consequently, the pursuance by the Party of a policy expressing the people's interests.

"The people," states the draft Program, "are the decisive force in building communism. *The Party exists for the people, and*

in serving the people it sees the purpose of its activity." The entire history of the CPSU is irrefutable evidence of devoted service to the people, of its work in delivering the people from exploitation and securing their well-being.

To identify Party leadership with domination over the people is absurd. As every sincere person is aware, the Party leads the people by persuasion, not compulsion; there can be no guidance if the people have no confidence in their leaders. The relations between the Communist Party and the people, too, are based upon mutual confidence, on the people's conviction that the Party's policy is correct.

The Party regards its enhanced leading role in communist construction as a heightening of its responsibility to the people; it sees as one of the chief tasks of its leadership *the drawing of the masses of working people into the administration of all spheres of public life.* The better and more skilful the Party guidance, it can be said, the more will the working people participate in the political life of the country, and the broader will be Soviet democracy. In fact the steady rise in the standard of living, in the cultural level and in socialist consciousness — the fruit of the Party's activity — provides the working people with the opportunity to participate still more actively in running the country and in building the new life.

Concerning the methods of its leadership and of organizing its internal affairs, the Party, in the drafts of its Program and Rules, gives an example of public communist self-government. The election of leading Party bodies from the lowest to the highest, their accountability, the renewal of the composition of these bodies, the policy of enlisting an extensive number of non-salaried activists into the work of the Party bodies and of cutting down the number of paid personnel, extending the rights of members, resolute condemnation of the personality cult — all attests to the consistency of the CPSU's line of extending democracy inside the Party.

The Party of the Entire People

One of the main ideas determining the spirit, direction and content of the draft Rules finds expression in the proposition that the CPSU is *the Party of the entire people.* This proposition, fully in keeping with the draft Program, is important from the stand- of both theory and practice. It reflects the achievements and the victories of socialism

in the Soviet Union and the far-reaching socio-economic transformations which have ensured the solid political and ideological unity of Soviet society. It is an earnest of the further expansion and strengthening of the social base of the CPSU, of its ties with the masses.

The CPSU arose as the militant revolutionary Party of the working class. Under its leadership the working class carried out the revolutionary reconstruction of society. Right from its inception the Party expressed the interests of all the working people of Russia. Its political aims — overthrow of the tsarist autocracy and then of the bourgeois-landlord system, and the establishment of the rule of the working people under the leadership of the working class — and its ultimate aim — communism — accorded with the fundamental interests not only of the working class, but of all the people oppressed by the tsar, by the capitalists and the landowners.

There were many bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties in Russia after the February 1917 Revolution which sought to deceive and win over the people by false promises. In practice, however, these parties betrayed the interests of the working people, who in the long run refused to trust them. That is why these parties departed from the scene of history. The working people discovered for themselves that only one political party in Russia represented their interests, the Party headed by Lenin, and they followed it.

When antagonistic classes still existed, the Communist Party, as the Party of the working class, could not unite and express the interests and aspirations of all the classes; it expressed, defended and upheld the interests of certain classes only, that is, of the industrial workers and the working peasants.

To be the exponent of the interests of all the classes in society, it is essential above all to remove from that society the exploiting and non-working classes whose interests the Party of the working class has not only never represented, but which it has combated and against which it organized and rallied the working classes.

The triumph of socialism in the USSR fundamentally changed not only the country's economy, but also the social structure of society and the position of the classes in society.

Exploiting classes were abolished, while the Soviet working class and peasantry

changed fundamentally in the course of the socialist construction and their joint struggle for socialism, and the common nature of the two forms of socialist property — public and cooperative — strengthened the alliance between these two friendly classes and made their friendship indestructible. A new intelligentsia has emerged, an intelligentsia deriving from the people and devoted to the cause of the Party, the cause of communist construction. An ideological and political unity of society has taken shape in the Soviet Union and has gained in strength.

Born as the party of the working class, the Communist Party extended its influence to ever broader masses of the working people who, as they witnessed the achievements of socialist construction, became increasingly convinced that in the Communist Party they had a reliable helmsman. Marxist-Leninist ideology, of which the working class has always been the vehicle, is now the national ideology. With the victory of socialism and the entering of the Soviet Union into the period of all-out construction of communism, the process of the Party's transformation into a party of the entire Soviet people has been completed. This important point is inscribed in the draft Rules.

"The Communist Party, the party of the working class, has become the party of the Soviet people as a whole."

But no matter how extensive and strong the ties between the Party and the people are, the Party, true to Lenin's counsel — always to work among the masses — is ever seeking for and finding more effective ways of strengthening these bonds. The Party and its Central Committee constantly consult its members on the spot and the rank and file on whose collective experience they draw in elaborating their measures.

In recent years the Party has held nationwide discussions on a number of pressing problems of communist construction. Over a million meetings, for instance, were held on two problems alone — reorganizing management of industry and building, abolishing machine and tractor stations and transferring the machines to the collective farms. More than 90 million people, of whom over five million submitted suggestions and proposals, participated in these meetings.

Workers, peasants and intellectuals participate extensively in the work of plenary meetings of the C.C. of the CPSU, at which important problems of economic and cultural

upbuilding are discussed. Non-members, too, take part in these meetings. This remarkable fact is further proof of the unity of the Party and the people, of the ties which bind the people to their tried and tested vanguard, the Communist Party.

The new Rules, in which the organizational principles and standards of Party life are further developed, will reinforce the unity of the Party and the people, affirming the CPSU as a genuinely people's party.

All-Around Development of Democracy

One of the most important ideas in the draft Rules is *the extension of inner-Party democracy, which will ensure still greater activity and initiative by the Party members in implementing the Program of communist construction*. This idea, which derives from the fact that our country is irresistibly moving towards communism is linked directly with the perspective of Socialist statehood growing into public communist self-government. The point is set forth in the draft as follows:

"Being the vanguard of the people building communist society, the Party must also be in the van in organizing the internal life of the Party and serve as an example and model in developing the most advanced forms of public communist self-government."

Every section and paragraph of the Rules reflects the Party's Leninist line in organizing its internal life in a way fully in accord with the new phase in the country's life — the phase of all-out communist construction.

What are the main directions, charted in the draft Rules, in which inner-Party democracy will develop?

Firstly, consistent implementation of the Leninist counsel on the election, accountability, and renewal of the Party bodies and leading officials.

Election of the leading bodies from top to bottom is the sure sign of democracy in a Party. The more consistently and widely the elective principle is applied, the broader the democracy. Lenin drew attention to this more than once. The democratic character of the Party meant, he emphasized, that "Party affairs are conducted, directly or through representatives, by all members, on an equal footing and without exception, with all functionaries, leading committees, and bodies of the Party being elective, accountable, renewable."*

*V. I. Lenin, *Social-Democracy and Elections to the Duma*.

In re-establishing and extending the Leninist standards of Party life, which were violated at the time of the cult of the individual, the Central Committee paid special attention to strict observance of the Rules pertaining to election and reporting back by Party committees. Elections and reporting back began to take place according to a strict time schedule in the branches; and district, city, regional and territorial Party conferences and congresses of the Communist parties of the Union Republics began to be held regularly. The draft Rules extend the elective principle at all levels.

Fully in accord with the draft Program, the draft Rules contain a point concerning systematic renewal of the composition of all elective Party bodies — from the branch to the Central Committee — continuity of leadership being observed. At each regular election, not less than one-quarter of the composition of the Central Committee of the CPSU and its Presidium shall be renewed; not less than one-third of the composition of Central Committees of the parties in the Union Republics and of territorial and regional committees; and one-half of the composition of area, town and district Party committees and of committees or bureaus of the local Party organizations.

Members of the Presidium of the C.C. of the CPSU shall, as a rule, be elected for not more than three successive terms; members of the Central Committees of the Communist parties of Union Republics, of territorial and regional committees and other leading Party organizations, can be elected consecutively for not more than three terms. At the same time the drafts of the Program and Rules envisage that, by virtue of their generally recognized prestige, political ability and other qualities, Party officials and functionaries may be re-elected to leading bodies for a longer period. In this case, the draft Rules say that the candidate in question must poll not less than three-quarters of the votes.

A Party which is the leading force of a society building communism for the first time in history and an organization with millions of members should have a certain number of cadres constantly employed in Party work. But, in the first place, this number will be reduced to the essential number (hence the Party line of cutting down Party staffs) and, second, there will be a more active, lively and systematic process of renewal of these cadres. The principle of continuity of leadership, as

stipulated in the draft Rules, will be fully observed.

The point concerning systematic renewal of the composition of Party bodies, a major organizational measure, will ensure an influx of fresh forces into the leading organs, a proper combination of old and new cadres, rule out the possibility of excessive concentration of power in the hands of individual officials and prevent their getting beyond the control of the collective.

This point deals a crushing blow at the ideologists of imperialism, who continually harp about the absence of democracy in the CPSU, and at their stooges — the reformists and revisionists — who echo the bourgeois propaganda.

Bourgeois ideologists and stooges are infuriated by the indestructible unity and cohesion characteristic of the Communists after they have discussed and taken a decision on a particular matter.

In view of this bourgeois propaganda talks a lot about the lack of democracy in the CPSU, about the "discipline born of orders," of the "discipline by compulsion," which, they claim, is inherent in Marxist parties.

There are no grounds for this claim. There is not, nor can there be, discipline born of orders or compulsion in the CPSU, for people are not forced to join the Party, they do so voluntarily. And every new member, fully aware of what he is doing, undertakes to accept the decisions of the Party and to fulfil them. In a revolutionary Party discipline signifies the conscious acceptance by each member of an undertaking to march in step, to place the interests of the Party first. Discipline of this kind can be developed and strengthened only in conditions of broad inner-Party democracy. Hence there is nothing surprising in the fact that the Marxist-Leninist parties are not only the most democratic but also the most disciplined of all parties.

Development of inner-Party democracy is ensured, in the second place, by strengthening collective leadership, by the large-scale enlistment of activists in the work of Party bodies.

In re-establishing the Leninist standards of Party life, the Central Committee of the CPSU paid special attention to developing and extending *collectivism* as the supreme principle of Party leadership. The draft Rules contain a special paragraph on collective leadership, which reads: "The highest principle of Party leadership is *collectivism*, which

is an absolute requisite for the normal functioning of the Party organizations, the proper education of personnel, and for the promotion of the activity and initiative of Communists. A personality cult and the violations of inner-Party democracy resulting therefrom cannot be tolerated in the Party; they are incompatible with the Leninist principles of Party life.

"Collective leadership does not exempt persons holding office from responsibility for the work entrusted to them."

The Party's policy that the work not only in the local organizations but also in leading bodies should, on an increasing scale, be conducted on a social basis (i.e., as a form of social work), will help strengthen collective leadership. This line is written into the draft Rules which emphasize that a basic duty of the local Party organizations is "large-scale enlistment of members to conduct Party activity as non-paid workers, as a form of social work."

Organizational forms have taken shape in the course of Party work making it possible to implement this point on a large scale. They include: non-paid instructors, commissions handling applications for membership and dealing with personal and housing matters, and other commissions set up by district, city and regional Party committees. The draft Rules state that "the area, city and district committees have non-paid instructors, set up standing or ad hoc commissions for various aspects of Party work and use other ways of drawing members into the activity of the Party Committee on social lines."

This means that more members will combine Party activity with their main job.

An example from the experience of the Moscow City organization will show the extent to which non-staff members are participating in Party work. Nearly 1,500 non-staff instructors, i.e., considerably more than the number of paid instructors, are working in the city, district and sub-district committees (sub-district committees were recently established in view of the enlargement of the capital's districts). Some Party bodies have departments manned entirely by non-staff workers. Numerous commissions, councils and groups numbering tens of thousands of activists have been set up in district committees and local organizations on social lines.

In the third place, Party democracy is furthered by enhancing the role of the members as masters in their Party organizations, by creating the conditions for promoting their activity and initiative.

Democracy in the CPSU is indeed the power of the Party members, who are the masters in their organizations.

The new Rules elevate still higher the name of a Party member, and the role of each member as the master in his Party organization. In formulating the rights of a member, the draft Rules proceed from the Leninist premise that each member is responsible for the Party and the Party is responsible for each member.

A Party member has the right to elect and to be elected to Party bodies; to criticize any member, irrespective of the position he holds, at Party meetings, conferences and congresses, and at the plenary meetings of the committees; those who commit the offence of suppressing criticism or victimizing anyone for criticism shall be held responsible to, and will be penalized by, the Party to the point of expulsion. A member has the right to attend in person all Party meetings, and all bureau and committee meetings at which his activity or conduct is discussed; to address any question, statement or proposal to any Party body, up to and including the C.C., and to demand an answer on the substance of the address.

The draft of the new Rules not only extends the rights of the member, it envisages guarantees ensuring that each can exercise these rights.

Members have the right to discuss freely questions of Party policy and practical activities at Party meetings, conferences, congresses, Party committees and in the Party press. The draft Rules also provide for discussion of controversial or insufficiently clear issues within the framework of the individual organizations or the Party as a whole.

The draft Rules dispense with the practice of regulating the number of members of bureaus and committees, as stipulated in the old Rules. Party meetings and committee meetings will decide for themselves how many members shall sit on their bureaus. This will enable the branches and Party committees to form their bodies with due regard to the specific conditions of their work.

As we see, the draft Rules contain substantial guarantees of the rights of members, thereby ensuring the further extension of Party democracy.

Simultaneously the duties of members will increase. The Rules require every member to work to create the material and technical base of communism, to serve as an example

of the communist attitude towards labor; to support all that is new and progressive, to add to the publicly-owned, socialist property; firmly and steadfastly to carry out Party decisions, to explain Party policy to the people, to be considerate and attentive to people, to the needs of the working people; to take an active part in the political life of the country, in state administration and in economic and cultural matters, to set an example in carrying out his public duty; to raise his ideological level, and to contribute to the education of the man of communist society, to combat all manifestations of bourgeois ideology, to observe the rules of communist morality, and to give public interests precedence over his own.

The CPSU is one of the contingents of the world Communist movement. True to the principles of proletarian internationalism, the Party requires every member to be an active propagandist of the ideas of socialist internationalism and Soviet patriotism, to combat survivals of nationalism and chauvinism, to contribute by word and deed to the consolidation of the friendship of the peoples of the USSR and the fraternal bonds with the peoples of the socialist countries, with the proletarians and other working people of all countries.

The Rules oblige members vigorously to protect the ideological and organizational unity of the Party, to be truthful and honest with the Party, to display vigilance; develop criticism and self-criticism, boldly to lay bare shortcomings and to strive for their removal, to rebuff all attempts to suppress criticism, steadfastly to implement the Party's policy of selecting personnel according to their political and professional qualifications; to observe Party and state discipline, which is equally binding on all Party members.

The draft Rules show how Party work should be conducted so that it should contribute to the activity and initiative of the Communists and create the necessary conditions for this.

Promoting inner-Party democracy should, and without doubt will, further enhance the role of the Party as the leader and organizer of communist construction; its ideological and organizational influence on the people will grow, and the Party itself will become stronger, more united and even more efficient.

Democracy and Centralism

The question of the correlation between democracy and centralism in a Marxist-Lenin-

ist Party is one of those fundamental issues on the correct solution of which depends the unity and cohesion of the Party, its ability to direct the grand undertaking of building communism.

Proclaiming democratic centralism the guiding principle of the organizational structure of the Party, the draft Rules explain that this signifies election of all leading organs from the lowest to the highest; regular reporting back by Party committees to their organization and to the higher bodies; strict discipline and the subordination of the minority to the majority; that decisions taken by the higher bodies are absolutely binding on the lower.

Thus democratic centralism gives scope for the activity and initiative of all Party members, makes them the masters in their organizations, ensures the accountability of the bodies elected by them. On the other hand, by establishing firm discipline among its members, and the obligatory fulfilment of decisions, democratic centralism ensures the unity of the Party, the purposeful activity of all its organizations and enables all the forces and means of the Party and the weight of its prestige among the masses to be utilized for the achievement of definite aims.

A Marxist-Leninist Party can neither develop normally nor be a strong, cohesive, really mass party without broad, inner-Party democracy. On the other hand democracy cannot exist in the Party without centralism, i.e., without a system of single, strong, cohesive leadership; without strict discipline, envisaging unswerving subordination to the will of the majority and the decisions of higher bodies. The experience of the CPSU and of the other Marxist-Leninist parties shows that without centralism there can be no militant, revolutionary, active party. But neither democracy nor centralism in the Party remain unmodified.

As the conditions change, inner-Party democracy is further developed. Centralism, too, develops, is perfected and modified. It rests increasingly on the conscious appreciation and the voluntary observance by the members of Party discipline, of the demands in the Rules concerning the subordination of the minority to the will of the majority and the carrying out of decisions of the higher bodies.

Centralism, affirmed by the draft Rules, gives expression, on the one hand, to the

Party's policy of deepening the consciousness and raising the ideological level of the member as the surest guarantee that he will be active in the Party's cause, and on the other hand enhances the role of the guiding principle in the Party, the importance and authority of the Party bodies.

The draft Rules fully retain the measures worked out by Lenin and tested throughout the years, measures which protect the Party from factionalism and anti-Party actions capable of violating the unity of its ranks. To protect the unity and purity of the Party is one of the primary duties of the member, an important task of each Party body. A big role in reinforcing the unity and the cohesion of the Party devolves on its Central Committee.

The role of the Central Committee of the CPSU, as the most authoritative and fully-empowered collective leader of the Party in the intervals between congresses, is reflected fully in the draft Rules.

Thus, while further extending democracy in the Party, the draft Rules emphasize throughout the importance, prestige and strength of a single leadership, of firm discipline and of subordination of the minority to the majority, of the lower organizations to the higher, that is, of all the basic principles and standards of centralism.

And at this new stage in the life of the country democratic centralism will continue to be the guiding principle in the life and organizational structure of the CPSU.

* * *

The draft Rules constitute a remarkable document of creative Marxism-Leninism. In the new conditions it develops the Marxist-Leninist theory of the Party, raises to a higher level the organizational science of Bolshevism enriching thereby the theoretical treasure-house of the CPSU and of the international Communist movement.

Some Questions of Peaceful Coexistence and Class Struggle

G. Kallai

The development of international relations in our times is determined by the struggle of the two social systems—the struggle of the forces of socialism, peace and democracy against the forces of imperialism, reaction and aggression—a struggle in which the superiority of the forces of socialism, peace and democracy is becoming increasingly obvious.

(Statement of the Meeting of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties)

THE tension in world affairs over the German question poses more sharply and in a new way the issue the solution of which will decide the destiny of man: is peaceful coexistence between countries with differing socio-economic systems possible in the future as well? Some people, those who have been made panicky by the recent events, think that there can be no more peaceful coexistence, that the worsening of the international climate is proof that the policy of peaceful coexistence has not justified the hopes placed in it, and that war is inevitable. Underlying this pessimism is a superficial assessment of events of recent weeks and lack of clarity

with regard to the policy of peaceful coexistence. But if we take the broader view, look at things from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, we can affirm that the experience of life, notwithstanding all its contradictions, makes us more and more convinced of the soundness of this policy.

Many people who see the objective reality of peaceful coexistence think that it has come about of its own volition without any effort on the part of anyone. And believing this, they often regard the peace movement and the struggle for peaceful coexistence as a formality. But the lesson of the recent events is that peaceful coexistence is maintained

only by waging constant struggle against the imperialist warmongers and by laying bare their designs.

The ruling circles in the imperialist countries agreed to peaceful coexistence only when they realized that the balance of world forces had tipped in favor of socialism. But they are continually trying to tip the scales in their own favor both by building up armaments and by massive anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda with a view to winning, at least temporarily, the support of the people. Hence in the present critical situation explanatory work should be stepped up everywhere in order to draw the people into greater activity against the aggressive designs of the imperialists. At the same time everything must be done to reinforce the defense power of the socialist countries so that no aggressor shall have military superiority even for a moment. The sole purpose of the recent defense measures forced upon the socialist countries by the imperialist threat is to avert a third world war, to ensure the peoples peace in the future and impose on the imperialists a correlation of forces which will make them agree to continuing peaceful coexistence between the two systems.

In this grave situation the socialist countries have no intention whatever of relinquishing the struggle for peaceful coexistence in the broad sense of the word. Even at this moment the extension of trade and cultural exchanges is not a matter of secondary importance to them. Nor can it be otherwise. Because for the socialist countries peaceful coexistence is not a transient tactical move, it is the fundamental principle of their foreign policy.

I

Peaceful coexistence is a specific and, in a way, a new form of class struggle which came into being with the emergence of the socialist system onto the world arena. It is the struggle between the capitalist and the socialist systems by means and methods other than war.

The laws of the class struggle are manifest in everyday life in the capitalist countries, in everyday life in the socialist countries, true, in a modified form and, lastly, in the relations between the capitalist and socialist countries. The forms of the class struggle are not isolated from each other but interact. Formerly, before the rise of socialism in one country, the entire international working class had been oppressed and exploited. The work-

ers in every capitalist country fought against the ruling capitalists and this determined the forms and methods of the class struggle in those days. The rise of the socialist world has laid its imprint on the class struggle waged by the working class in the capitalist countries. New *international* factors in the struggle against capitalist exploitation have appeared. (At world forums, for example the United Nations, the spokesmen of the socialist countries speak in defense of the interests of the working people, peaceful coexistence, etc.)

The politicians of imperialism claim that peaceful coexistence and class struggle are mutually exclusive. They want to make peaceful coexistence conditional on the Communists abandoning the fight for socialism. (George Kennan's article in *Foreign Affairs*, etc.) Their contention is that inasmuch as the socialist countries regard peaceful coexistence as a definite form of class struggle, they are not sincere when they speak about peace and judge the relations between the nations from a class standpoint in order to justify interference in the internal affairs of the capitalist countries from without.

This is a plain distortion of our views and is aimed at worsening international relations by spreading the myth about a communist danger and a threat of aggression on the part of the socialist countries.

Peaceful coexistence is incompatible with any kind of interference in the internal affairs of another country. But it cannot and should not exclude the struggle between the two systems and ideologies — socialist and capitalist — nor does it remove the class antagonisms inherent in capitalist society. Class struggle is an inevitable concomitant of social development, an objective law of that development so long as exploiting classes exist.

Wrong views on peaceful coexistence are also being spread by the revisionists. According to the revisionists, peaceful coexistence signifies not class struggle but the gradual elimination of distinctions between the two opposed camps. From this it follows that the international working class should relinquish its struggle against imperialism since ultimately the contradictions between the socialist and the capitalist system are bound to disappear. According to this reasoning the working people in the capitalist countries should fold their arms and wait until capitalism changes its skin and emerges as socialism. This, it goes without saying is a distor-

tion of the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle.

Incorrect, too, is the "Left" view which counterposes peaceful coexistence to the class struggle on the assumption that peaceful coexistence signifies slackening or even ending the struggle against imperialism and renouncing socialist revolution. This contradicts an obvious fact: we, in pursuing our policy of peaceful coexistence, are combating imperialism, but in the interests of socialism and humanity we are working to prevent the imperialists from plunging mankind into another world war; we are directing the struggle between the two systems into the channels of peaceful competition between the two systems in the spheres of politics, economics and culture.

II

There is a close connection between the fight for peace and the fight for socialism. Imperialist monopoly capital, which is ready to embroil the peoples in an atomic holocaust for the sake of preserving and extending its power, is man's worst enemy. That is why the most diverse classes and strata of society, including some of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie, can join forces under the leadership of the working class to defend peace.

Neither in its class essence nor in its objectives is the peace movement a socialist movement; yet the struggle for peace and the struggle for socialism are intertwined. The people generally, including those who do not support socialism, are working for peace. And in doing so they are coming to realize that the capitalist system is the source of wars, and that socialism is the most reliable bulwark of peace. The active foreign policy of the socialist countries is winning more and more people everywhere for socialism.

The fight against war adds to the effectiveness of the working-class struggle for emancipation. The militarist aspirations of the monopoly bourgeoisie are in no small measure directed against its own working class. A primary object of those preparing for war is to paralyze the progressive forces, the working class and the Communist Party. The war preparations of the imperialist governments are, as a rule, accompanied by restrictions on democratic rights, by resort to terror, by blows against the working class and by a decline in the economic position of the working people. This clamping down and the war preparations are felt more and more, and this makes it possible and essen-

tial to rouse the people against the policy of the imperialists. The struggle against war is simultaneously the struggle for a legal working-class movement, for democratic rights, against the fascist armed terror organizations and militarism. West Germany is a striking example of this.

The socialist countries and the peace-loving forces everywhere continue to regard general and complete disarmament as a task of paramount importance, since it would put an end to the tension and exclude any repetition of it. Thus the fight against war is the fight of the people under working-class leadership against the main barrier to progress, against the reactionary monopolies.

III

Peaceful coexistence by itself does not define the ways of the transition from capitalism to socialism nor does it exclude any of the forms of socialist revolution. Nevertheless it is closely linked in some countries with the possibility of passing from capitalism to socialism without insurrection or civil war, with the possibility of a peaceful development of the socialist revolution.

True, the Communist parties are obliged to take into account, both in theory and in practice, the two ways of this transition—peaceful and non-peaceful. In our times these forms are perfectly conceivable and realistic. The working class, naturally, will do everything it can to come to power by peaceful means, while at the same time being ready to use violence should this be necessary. The conditions of the day will be the determining factor. These conditions constantly change, often quickly, with the result that in some countries a peaceful transition may be feasible today but not so tomorrow, and vice versa. The Communist parties consider it essential to master all forms of struggle and, whenever necessary, be able quickly to change them. For instance, if the bourgeoisie resorts to arms, the working class will have no choice but to resist with arms. Hence the Communists do not maintain that one or another form of winning power will be the only form under all circumstances.

In considering this question we should take due account of the steadily growing might and influence of the socialist world system which provides more favorable conditions for the peaceful transition. This factor, however, makes itself felt not automatically and immediately, but as a tendency. So that even today the chances of a peaceful transition

may diminish for a time or even disappear in some countries. But as the forces of socialism grow, the possibility of a peaceful transition will, in all probability, extend to more countries; in the future it will be used on a wider scale. This would mean a new stage in the class struggle.

Before the rise of the socialist world system the possibility of a non-peaceful revolution hardly existed, the working-class road to power lay mainly through armed struggle, for the bourgeoisie could rely on its apparatus of coercion and on direct military assistance from foreign imperialist forces and, with their aid, try to prevent the working class from taking power. So that in those days — before the people's democratic revolutions in a number of European and Asian countries — the change-over from capitalism to socialism could be effected chiefly by insurrection, and the possibility of a bloodless socialist revolution was "in history an *extremely* rare and *extremely* valuable" exception (Lenin).

Today, the chances of a bloodless transition from capitalism to socialism are greater, because the opportunities for exporting counter-revolution are declining. We reject the idea of exporting revolution. We are fully convinced that our social system is better than the capitalist system, that sooner or later all peoples will come to realize this and will choose socialism. At the same time we are well aware that this is the sovereign right of every nation.

World imperialism, and particularly its leading center — the United States monopolies — have tried hard to export counter-revolution. Everybody knows that they spend vast sums annually on subversive activities against the socialist countries. An example of the imperialist export of counter-revolution was the putsch in Hungary in 1956, which was instigated by world reaction. Another example was the invasion of Cuba this spring. And what is Adenauer's policy in relation to the German Democratic Republic if not an attempt to export counter-revolution by force of arms and destroy the first worker-peasant state in German history.

These examples likewise show that the forces of socialism are now superior to the forces of imperialism and are capable of thwarting the imperialist export of counter-revolution.

Peaceful coexistence means not only that we want to prevent war between the capitalist and socialist countries. We understand

it in a broader sense: we are wholly opposed to any imperialist war aimed at suppressing other nations. The Soviet Union, supported by the other socialist countries, has repeatedly defended non-socialist nations whose independence had been threatened by the imperialists, thus saving the people from the horrors of a new war and imperialist export of counter-revolution. Recall, for example, the events that took place in Egypt, Syria and Iraq. As the chances of exporting counter-revolution diminish in many countries the positions of imperialism weaken, while those of the forces of socialism and progress gain in strength, and in some countries the possibility of a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism becomes greater.

Peaceful transition can be realized if the peasants, the intellectuals, all patriotic, democratic and revolutionary forces join with the working class and, under its leadership, combat monopoly capital; if the combined revolutionary forces isolate the opportunists; if the struggle in parliament and elsewhere is accompanied by a powerful mass movement, if the struggle at the "bottom" and the "top" is closely interlinked, with the mass struggle as the chief factor. The revolutionary forces may use, for example, parliament and other forms of political power traditional in the respective country, turning them into genuine instruments of the people's will.

Peaceful development of the revolution has nothing in common with reformist Bernstein's theory of "peaceful evolution," nor with the theory of class peace proclaimed by the latter-day revisionists and the Right-wing Social Democrats. *The peaceful transition to the new social system is a period of intense class struggle, of socialist revolution, but without armed struggle and civil war.*

The experience of the revolutionary working-class movement in Hungary is proof of the possibility of a peaceful victory of the socialist revolution. A feature of our experience is that we twice effected a socialist revolution by peaceful means: in 1919, when a non-violent revolution was still the "rare" exception, and in 1945-1948, when the relatively peaceful path had become possible on a much broader scale.

In 1919 a united front of the main working classes was formed under the leadership of the working class, headed by the young Communist Party. The Hungarian bourgeoisie, under the impact of the mighty revolutionary upsurge and the pressure exerted on it, was powerless to rule the country and, un-

able to retain power, was forced to turn it over to the working class without a struggle.

Subsequently, the Hungarian Soviet Republic was crushed, because the bourgeoisie and landlords betrayed their country and invoked the armed support of the Western imperialists, that is, the export of imperialist counter-revolution. The young Soviet state in Russia and the international working class helped the Hungarian Soviet Republic, but at that time they were not in a position to ward off the armed intervention against it. The Hungarian Soviet Republic was destroyed by the numerical superiority of the foreign imperialist forces. The Hungarian revolution, taking into account its potential and notwithstanding certain mistakes, could have won in a peaceful way 40 years ago had not this been prevented by the export of imperialist counter-revolution.

During the Second World War the Communists established a united national front against fascism in a number of capitalist countries. In our country the first political manifestations of this front were the Memorable Dates Committee formed in 1942 and, later, in 1944, the Hungarian Front. There were some in our own ranks who did not understand the policy of national unity, of a democratic united national front, regarding it as renunciation of class struggle and of the fight for socialism. The Party patiently explained the tie-up between democracy and socialism, pointing out that by fighting for democracy and national independence the Communists were hastening the victory of socialism.

In 1945-48 the anti-fascist front, established under the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party during the war, developed into an anti-capitalist united front directed against the bourgeoisie and the landowners. This happened at a time when the decisive part of the capitalist state machine, its army and other instruments of coercion, had been smashed by the Soviet army. In 1944-1945 the working class and its allies participated in the government. A democratic dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry was established.

To ensure the triumph of the socialist revolution we combined participation in the government with rallying the people in a broad mass struggle. The activities of the revolutionary forces both at the "top" and the "bottom" were coordinated and directed toward a common goal. We were thus able

to utilize the traditional parliamentary form for ensuring the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat without violence. In the course of the political struggle fought during 1945-58 the reactionaries were gradually isolated and soon became unable to turn their weapons against the people.

We forced the ruling classes to take the path of political struggle without civil war and, step by step, ousted them from the government bodies.

Hungary's experience proves that the democratic united front, being a broad class alliance formed prior to the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, facilitates the peaceful conquest of power and accelerates the establishment of a socialist national unity.

IV

In view of the new balance of forces that has taken shape on the world arena, the socialist countries are concentrating on excluding war from the struggle between the two opposing world systems. But while we exclude some means, others of necessity come to the fore. Hence the struggle in other spheres — economic competition, ideology and culture — will naturally be intensified.

There is nothing bad about this. What is wrong about wishing to decide the outcome of the struggle between socialism and capitalism in a competition which aims at satisfying man's needs to the maximum, at providing food, clothes, better houses, culture and happiness? *Peaceful competition is the best of all possible forms of struggle between the two systems.*

Socialism exerts its greatest influence on life in the capitalist countries and on the development of revolutionary movements through its economic achievements. Economic competition is a vital sector of the class struggle between the two world systems. Lenin's thesis that the ultimate victory will be won by the system which ensures higher productivity of labor and best satisfies the growing needs of the people is fully applicable to the struggle between the two world systems. The imperialists are beginning to realize that they will fail in the economic competition with the socialist world system, that the socialist system is gradually gaining superiority in the economic sphere. They understand that time is on our side, and this explains why they cannot abandon the policy of war provocations.

For historical reasons the socialist system—and this applies to most of the socialist countries—triumphed first in the less developed countries. But it has rapidly made up for lost time and will soon surpass capitalism in the decisive field of human endeavor—the production of material wealth. The draft Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a blueprint of the future communist society, is at the same time a concrete economic program. It gives the precise dates when the Soviet Union will overtake and surpass the United States of America. By 1980 Soviet industrial production will have risen six-fold. Before this date the Soviet people will have the shortest working day and the highest standard of living. These developments will have a powerful revolutionizing effect on the capitalist world.

The economic development of the socialist world system, peaceful economic competition and the class struggle are interlinked in a variety of ways:

1) Closer economic relations between the two world systems would help to ease world tension and preserve peace.

2) Normalization and growth of trade with the socialist countries would signify expanded peacetime production in the capitalist countries. This would benefit both the people and those capitalists who derive their profit not so much from the arms drive as from the production and sale of consumer goods.

Peaceful coexistence provides greater opportunities for expanding trade with the capitalist countries on the basis of complete equality.

3) Extension of economic relations would enable the socialist countries to concentrate more on their main task, namely, expanding their economy, and to proceed with a more rapid building of socialist and communist society.

4) The economic strengthening of the socialist countries is an important moral factor in the class struggle of the working people of the world. By demonstrating the advantages of the society of the future, the socialist countries facilitate the struggle which is being waged for that society in the countries still under capitalism.

Trade relations between the two systems would help to increase employment in the capitalist countries and create more favorable conditions for the struggle of the working class for its rights.

5) The stronger the economic might of the socialist countries the greater will be the opportunities for extending aid to the peoples that have taken the way of independent development.

In connection with the extension of trade relations between the two world systems the question arises: will not the increased trade help to stabilize the shaky capitalist economy and thus bolster up the world capitalist system? Of course, this factor may in some cases alleviate capitalism's economic difficulties and influence the degree of employment of its productive forces. But no amount of trade between the two systems, however extensive, can alter the fundamental laws of capitalist society, or the cyclical nature of capitalist production. Nor can it end the periodic depressions and crises of production. Hence, the trade relations between the two systems cannot stabilize capitalism.

It follows, then, that the economic struggle between the two world systems and the development of economic relations between them is inextricably linked with the struggle of the working people of the world for their interests, and this is the most important aspect of the international class struggle.

V

According to the ideologists of imperialism peaceful coexistence is incompatible with ideological struggle; there can be no peace, they say, when ideological struggle is waged. They want the forces of socialism to abandon their ideological positions. Yet they themselves take advantage of every opportunity afforded by the policy of peaceful coexistence to propagate their ideas. In their view peaceful coexistence implies freedom to propagate capitalist ideology in the socialist countries.

The revisionists take a similar line. They claim that ideological struggle precludes the possibility of good relations between countries. The experience of recent years has refuted this assertion. Good relations have been established between many socialist and capitalist countries, although the struggle between their ideologies has not ceased for a moment. And this is understandable, for the development of inter-state relations cannot be made conditional on terminating ideological struggle.

The ideological struggle directly concerns the relations between the two systems. Of paramount significance in this respect is the question of war and peace. The socialist

countries have affirmed that they will never be the first to attack, and the people should know where the danger of war comes from. This is the task today.

To counteract the popularity of socialist ideas, the vast imperialist propaganda machine is brought into play in an endeavor to embellish capitalism. The main weapon in this is anti-communism. Imperialist propaganda does its best to prevent the working people from obtaining the truth about the socialist countries; the foreign policy of the socialist countries is distorted with a view to fanning up war hysteria. And when this fails to yield the desired results, the imperialists victimize those who popularize socialist ideas. But the Communists are not afraid of waging a struggle, for they are fully confident of the final outcome.

The living reality makes things difficult for the anti-communists. For instance, Western newspapermen who visit our country — those, of course, who do not shut their eyes to what they see in our towns and villages — cannot but recognize our achievements, thereby often refuting their own previous allegations. It is interesting to note that some Western correspondents are violently attacked in their own countries for truthfully reporting the things they saw in Hungary. For example, when a British journalist named Fletcher wrote a series of articles about Hungary in the weekly *Tribune* (May 26, June 2 and 9, and August 18, 1961) he was belabored in the bourgeois press. And all because he objectively reported about life in Hungary!

We are wholeheartedly for expanding also cultural and scientific contacts. Hungary, for instance, has long-term cultural agreements not only with the socialist countries but also with Indonesia, the UAR and Italy. Scientific and cultural contacts can be of benefit to all countries. In this way we learn more about one another and benefit by each other's experience.

Far be it from us to deny that capitalism has achieved outstanding successes in science

and technology. But scientific and cultural progress in the socialist countries, primarily in the Soviet Union, has been incomparably more rapid and in recent times has made stupendous advances. In the training of specialists, for example, the Soviet Union has outstripped the most highly developed capitalist countries, including the United States.

Cultural exchanges between the socialist and capitalist countries enable the public on both sides to learn more about each other's science and culture. Peaceful coexistence makes it incumbent upon us to raise the struggle against bourgeois ideology to a higher plane. The past practice of giving a one-sided picture of capitalism is no longer applicable. The growing contacts between the two systems—the exchange of tourists, exhibitions, cultural exchanges and similar measures—make bigger demands on our propaganda. It is essential to make a thorough study of the diverse aspects of the capitalist way of life in order to explain them. There is no need to shut our eyes to the positive achievements in capitalist industry, science and technology. The general picture of life in the capitalist countries, no matter in what light it is presented, shows that capitalism is declining, that the working people are exploited and are losing their rights. The socialist countries have now reached such a level of development that any objective comparison of the two systems reveals the undoubted superiority of socialism.

* * *

The policy of peaceful coexistence was thoroughly elaborated at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The five years that have passed since the Congress have confirmed the soundness of this policy. The forces of socialism and the socialist world system are steadily growing. Today it is possible, through persistent struggle, to compel the moribund forces of capitalism to retreat, to curb the warmongers and to ensure a life of freedom, peace and happiness for all.

Efforts of the GDR for a Peace Treaty

Otto Winzer

THE main feature of the present situation in Germany is that aligned against each other on the territory of this country are a socialist state standing for peace—the Democratic Republic—and an aggressive imperialist militarist state — the Federal Republic. The boundary between socialism and imperialism passes through the heart of Germany, and this is a sign of the change that has taken place in the world balance of forces since the end of the Second World War.

Winfried Martini, a spokesman of Adenauer's clerical militarist party, frankly declared that "red unity" of Germany was the greatest danger in 1945. In the effort to maintain at least partial domination the German imperialists have divided the country and integrated West Germany into the aggressive NATO military bloc. Once again the national interests of the German people have been sacrificed to the class interests of monopoly capital.

With the assistance of the NATO powers, German imperialism has established a base in West Germany from which to conduct its aggressive policy of restoring its domination first throughout Germany and, eventually, of extending its hegemony to other parts of Europe. The Federal Republic is the chief adversary of peaceful coexistence and the relaxation of tension in Europe.

The essence of the German question today boils down to this: the military threat emanating from West German militarism must be eradicated, and peace in Germany and Europe safeguarded. A paramount role in solving this task is played by the efforts for a German peace treaty.

The meeting of the First Secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' parties of the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty, held in Moscow over August 3-5, proclaimed the determination to reach a peaceful settlement with Germany this year and, with this end in view, to prepare the necessary political and economic measures. Thus the long struggle for the signing of a German peace treaty is at last entering upon its final and decisive phase.

Why Is the West Opposed to a Peace Treaty?

Peace treaties with the other European nations which fought on Hitler's side during the Second World War were signed as early as 1947. Since then these countries have been participating fully in international life. The German people alone have not had the benefit of a peace treaty for the simple reason that the Western powers and the Bonn government have blocked its conclusion. Why have they acted in this way?

The Western powers' refusal to conclude a German peace treaty is part of their policy of re-establishing militarism and reaction in West Germany. A peace treaty based on the Potsdam Agreement would have ruled out the possibility of converting the Western part of Germany into NATO's main bridgehead in Europe.

A peace treaty which would forestall atomic armament and Bonn's revanchist policy would enable the first steps to be taken towards the rapprochement of the two Germans. Contrary to what they say, the Western powers are opposed to a peace treaty because their purpose is to perpetuate the division of Germany. They fear that a united, democratic and peace-loving Germany would alter the balance of forces in Europe to the detriment of imperialism. A united militarist Germany could also be a danger to them, because no one can guarantee that she would not direct her aggression against them as she did during the first and the Second World wars.

The Western powers want to remain in West Germany with their occupation troops up to the year 2005 at least.* This, they believe, will guarantee that next time the aggression of the German militarists will be spearheaded against the East, against the socialist countries.

The Bonn government, too, has turned down the proposal for a peace treaty between the two German states, thereby committing a

*The term envisaged by the Paris agreements.

crime against the national interests of the German people.

Bonn's refusal derives from the fact that the West German militarists are reluctant to become reconciled with the outcome of the Second World War and the postwar development. This is what the Bonn Defense Minister Strauss meant when on July 25, 1961, he began his speech in Santa Rosa, California, with the words: "The Second World War has not yet ended." "The time of the small and medium-sized sovereign national state," he went on, "has passed forever in Europe." The Bonn government thereby lays claim to rule the peoples of Europe.

Once again histrionic speeches on a "European policy," a "European goal," and even the "new order in Europe" are heard in West Germany, where they are plotting to press revanchist demands on the other European countries. It is becoming clear to most people that those who are impeding the conclusion of a peace treaty are heading for war.

A Remarkable Coincidence

Anyone glancing through the publications put out by the German militarists at the time of the Weimar Republic or during Hitler will be struck by the similarity between their arguments and those used by Adenauer's ministers. We shall cite just one example.

A conference of the "League for the Protection of Germans Residing on the Frontier and Abroad" was held in Berlin in March 1928, at which representatives of the Reich ministries and the Social Democratic government of Prussia, and Germans from Danzig, Austria, Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Lebanon were present. Paragraph 3 of the conference resolution reads: "To impose a new order in Europe is an all-German duty." The German people, of course, as the "master nation," should draw up and uphold the "principles of the new order in Europe," and also "the pattern of the order for the nations of Europe." And wholly in keeping with the spirit of Hitler and the present rulers in Bonn, it was proclaimed that the German people "have been ordained by nature to play the leading role in Europe."

The 1928 resolution set forth as an "economic and political task" the achievement of "close economic integration of the central European countries, including all the areas of German settlement from the North and Baltic seas to the Adriatic and Black seas."

This phraseology of the Weimar days was designed as an "ideological" basis for revanchist demands. As we see, it coincides in every detail with the terminology of Hitler's program of conquest and the present claims of the Bonn government. There is nothing surprising in this. For the revenge-seekers of yesterday were backed by the self-same forces that are backing the revanchists today, that is, by the powerful Ruhr monopolies. It is understandable for another reason too: Franz Thedieck, Secretary of State at the so-called Ministry of All-German Affairs — in fact, the revanchist ministry — Max Hilbert Boehm, director of the so-called East German Academy in Lueneburg, and Axel de Vrees, director of the so-called Latvian *Landsmannschaft* in West Germany, were all active in the above-mentioned revanchists' conference back in 1928.

We recall these historical facts because there are credulous people in the West who believe that the clamor raised at revanchist meetings in West Germany and West Berlin

WEST BERLIN

Official imperialist propaganda claims that West Berlin is "a bastion of freedom and democracy" which the Communists are "menacing." Responsible statesmen in the West, primarily in the USA and the Federal Republic of Germany, have repeated this in hundreds of speeches.

These pronouncements, however, are at variance with the statements made by the self-same statesmen over the past ten years. Here are some of them.

Former Burgomeister of West Berlin Reuther: "Berlin is the latch which can open the door to the East," "Berlin is the cheapest A-bomb."

U.S. High Commissioner in West Germany, Conant, declared in 1953 that West Berlin was a spearhead which penetrated to the very heart of the GDR.

Herr Brandt, West Berlin's present mayor, stated in 1958 that West Berlin's job was to hamper and retard consolidation and stabilization in the Soviet zone as much as possible.

Kahn-Ackermann, SDPG deputy to the Bundestag, supplemented this cynical statement by saying in December 1958: "The Western powers must not leave West Berlin, for how otherwise can we unleash a revolt in the German Democratic Republic?"

These statements reflect the true substance of the imperialist policy in West Berlin.

cannot do much harm for, they say, the Federal Republic is not the Hitler dictatorship. Compared with the Adenauer dictatorship the Weimar Republic was undoubtedly a democratic state, and yet even in those days the way was being paved with the aid of revanchist propaganda, for Hitler's war crimes. And the things that are being done in this respect in West Germany today are infinitely worse and much more dangerous.

Bonn's aggression is spearheaded first and foremost against the German Democratic Republic. But annexation of the GDR is only the first step. The official *Bulletin of the Press and Information Department of the Government of the FRG* wrote early in April: "It is not merely a question of a divided Germany. It is a question of the whole of central and Eastern Europe, of all the peoples on whom the status of satellite has been imposed, of nearly 100 million people. . . ." And Herr von Hassel, Prime Minister in Schleswig-Holstein, is on record as saying at a revanchist meeting: "Our territorial demands go far beyond the Oder-Neisse line; we want back the areas which were formerly under German rule."

In other words we once again have to do with the notorious "Drang nach Osten" program, the program which brought the German and other peoples of Europe incalculable suffering.

The danger of aggression by the revenge-seeking forces in the Federal Republic must be averted before they provoke a war in Europe. That is why the urgent task of the day is the conclusion with Germany of a peace treaty which would curb the West German militarists, put a straight jacket on the revenge-seekers and help relax tension in Germany.

The Way to Self-Determination Lies Through a Peace Treaty

To the proposal for a peace treaty the imperialists have counterposed their slogan of "self-determination for all Germans." They resort to foul methods in an effort to show that the right to self-determination and the conclusion of a peace treaty with both German states are incompatible.

How do they interpret self-determination? The Western and above all the Bonn politicians make no secret of the fact that they understand "self-determination" to mean the destruction of the socialist system in the German Democratic Republic and the annexa-

tion by imperialist Germany of Polish, Czechoslovak and Soviet lands. Thus they are following in the footsteps of Hitler who also attacked Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland behind the screen of "self-determination."

A peace treaty is certainly incompatible with "self-determination" of this kind. The genuine right of the German people to self-determination is indissolubly linked with respect for the self-determination and sovereign rights of other peoples.

The point in the Paris agreements envisaging the occupation of West Germany by troops of the Western powers for a period of 50 years is incompatible with self-determination. In the struggle against this imperialist occupation the German Democratic Republic is in step with all the peoples fighting for national emancipation and independence. Bonn, in contrast, has agreed to the presence of foreign troops in West Germany, has recognized their right to interfere at will in public life, and has refused to permit a referendum on vitally important national questions, i.e., the creation of an atom-free zone in Germany and the conclusion of a peace treaty. Hence it has forfeited every right to come forward as the champion of self-determination. It has lost this right, too, in view of its close association with the NATO colonial powers who are trampling underfoot the right to self-determination of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Self-determination for the German people signifies above all their right and duty to safeguard peace in Germany by curbing militarism and revanchism.

The conclusion of a peace treaty with both German states would annul the humiliating points in the Paris agreements which now forbid the West German people to have their say on the peace treaty and to decide for themselves the question of German reunification.

Realizing the importance of a peace treaty, the government of the German Democratic Republic advanced a German Peace Plan which would facilitate the reaching of understanding between the two German states on matters pertaining to the preparation of a peace treaty and improving relations between them. A peace treaty would impose equal international obligations on both German states and would be a sound basis for their rapprochement and the establishment of mutual understanding. The parties to the peace

treaty in both German states would recognize the right of the German people to peaceful reunification and would undertake to support them in achieving it.

A peace treaty with the two Germanys presupposes, then, that the German people as a whole will be granted *unrestricted sovereignty and, hence, full right to self-determination*.

A Source of Provocations

U.S. President Kennedy and his advisers have arrived at the altogether remarkable though not quite correct conclusion that a "balance of forces" has now been struck between the socialist and the imperialist camps. They realize, too, that the balance is likely to tip still more in favor of socialism. Hence they are feverishly seeking for ways to retard the march of events, to reverse the wheel of history. These aims of the imperialist politicians bear a direct relationship to their opposition to a peace treaty. These aims, too, greatly influence their attitude in the matter of West Berlin. Herr von Kassel, diplomatic commentator of the Hamburg newspaper *Die Welt* (an Adenauer mouth-piece), quoted Hans Morgenthau, a Chicago professor of political sciences, as saying in this connection that Khrushchov wants to change the status quo in Berlin because of his desire to consolidate the status quo in Europe. And the Western powers want to maintain the status quo in Berlin because they have no desire to recognize the status quo in Europe as final.

This American-West German statement contains an acknowledgement of the fact that the Western powers and the Bonn government are least of all concerned about freedom for the people of West Berlin, which, it is alleged, the GDR and the socialist camp are threatening. Ever since the Soviet government and the government of the GDR suggested that West Berlin should be a neutral, demilitarized and free city, ever since they declared their readiness to sign an agreement containing guarantees against any interference in the affairs of West Berlin, and ever since the GDR government declared its willingness to guarantee the unhindered operation of the communication routes of West Berlin in all directions on the basis of agreements which would respect the sovereignty of the GDR, all the talk about a threat to the freedom of the people of West Berlin is nothing more nor less than foul cold-war propaganda. Morgenthau's words show that

the Western powers want to maintain in West Berlin the occupation regime which has outlived itself and which is contrary to international law, with a view to changing the status quo in Europe. In other words they need West Berlin as a NATO bridgehead for their aggressive policy vis-à-vis the German Democratic Republic and the socialist countries.

It was with the object of changing the status quo in Europe that the imperialist circles converted West Berlin into a center for espionage and subversive activities against the German Democratic Republic and the other socialist countries. It is from West Berlin that unbridled slander is launched against the socialist countries, with RIAS, the American radio station, playing the main part. West Berlin was turned into the main transit center for a criminal traffic in people, the main base for decoying workers, technicians and scientists from the German Democratic Republic. West Berlin has turned into a permanent source of provocations endangering peace in Germany and Europe as a whole.

Last summer this danger became acute. The West German militarists and revanchists, with a view to ruling out any possibility of

WEST BERLIN IS A CENTER OF ESPIONAGE

There are 83 organizations engaged in espionage and subversion in West Berlin — branches of the United States' CIA, army, air force, navy and special intelligence and counter-espionage services, and of the British and French intelligence services. Bonn ruling circles maintain branches of the Federal Intelligence Service and of the so-called Office for the Protection of the Constitution.

All these espionage centers have at their disposal a vast network of secret and overt spying organizations, among which are the "Eastern Offices" of the CDU and the SDPG, "The Investigation Committee of Free Lawyers," the "Struggle Against Inhumanity Group," "The West Information Bureau," "Association of Political Refugees from the East," "Association of the Victims of Stalinism," "German Students' Union," "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia." A particularly vile role is played by numerous organizations uniting emigré riff-raff, among whom ZOPE ("Central Association of Postwar Emigrants") and NTS ("National-Labor Union") are most prominent.

a peace treaty, intended to attack the Democratic Republic after the West German elections. The West German press confirms this. On September 11, the Hamburg journal *Spiegel*, for example, reported that high-ranking Bundeswehr officers had drawn up a secret military plan for a putsch in the GDR. Had this putsch taken place, the journal continues, "Bundeswehr units" would have "forced the zonal border at a definite sector."

In view of this dangerous development the Warsaw Treaty member states recommended to the German Democratic Republic to take a number of security measures vis-à-vis West Berlin—measures which are customary on the frontiers of every sovereign state. On August 13, the Democratic Republic put these measures into effect. This was a big contribution to safeguarding peace and strengthening the worker-peasant state. The GDR's protective measures are in keeping with the national interests of the German people as a whole, and with the vital interests of the nations of Europe.

August 13 signified a defeat for the militarists and the revanchist policy, for on that day a vital channel of imperialist subversive activity against the GDR, and the other socialist countries was sealed off. Small wonder, therefore, that the imperialists are enraged, for the trump in their dangerous playing with fire has been beaten.

How Should the West Berlin Problem Be Solved?

However, the abnormal situation in West Berlin has not yet been eliminated. Not the least among the reasons for this is that at present West Berlin has no status in law — neither in international law nor in state law.

The former Four Power Status for Berlin no longer exists. The Western powers crudely violated the principles for the postwar organization of Germany, agreed upon in Yalta and Potsdam, which envisaged the extirpation of Nazism and fascism, and the demilitarization of Germany. They spurned these principles when they began to arm West Germany and when they brought her into NATO.

By acting in this way the Western powers destroyed the basis for the Four Power Agreement on Germany. With the introduction of a separate currency in West Berlin, the setting up of a separate city administration there, the abolition of the Allied Control Council, the publication of a special Three-Power Statute for West Berlin, the Four-

Power Status for Berlin was abolished, both in practice and from the standpoint of law.

Walter Ulbricht has declared in this connection: "The Three Power Occupation Statute for West Berlin was not agreed upon either with the Soviet Union — one of the major powers in the anti-Hitler coalition— or with the German Democratic Republic, on whose territory West Berlin is situated. True, it is a signboard for the rule of the occupationists, but from the standpoint of international law it is not binding on any other nation—either for the Soviet Union or the German Democratic Republic."

The occupation regime in West Berlin is based solely on military force; it has no basis in law. This is confirmed by the fact that the U.S. government, acting on its own, has moved a battle group to West Berlin, although it has had to admit that U.S. interests were in no way affected by the GDR's protective measures.

From the standpoint of state law West Berlin is not now a part of the German Democratic Republic, although located on its territory. And it certainly does not belong to the separate West German state, as the Western powers have repeatedly and officially admitted.

The absence of a definite status in law is highly detrimental to the population of West Berlin. The city is in a precarious position, having become a front-line in the cold war, a source of danger to peace in Europe.

In these circumstances the most expedient thing is to make West Berlin a demilitarized, neutral and free city, whose status in international law and in state law would be embodied in a peace treaty or in a special agreement between the Four Powers of the anti-Hitler coalition and the German Democratic Republic on whose territory West Berlin is located. The GDR for its part is prepared to reach a settlement whereby West Berlin would receive an independent and neutral status. If the three Western powers were half as ready as the GDR is to resolve the issues peacefully, the West Berlin question could be settled in a matter of hours. If the Western powers were really concerned only with the freedom and independence of West Berlin (and not with maintaining a cold-war front-line city to be used as a base against the socialist countries) they would readily admit that the proposal for a demilitarized, neutral and free city is a manifestation of the German Democratic Republic's extreme readiness to meet the West on this question.

The GDR government has declared that it will guarantee the inviolability of West Berlin as a free city.

The GDR will not stand in the way of West Berlin's extending its economic, cultural and other ties with other countries. But, as will be appreciated by any reasonable person, all matters pertinent to these ties should be covered by agreements to be concluded between the GDR government and the West Berlin Senate. In view of its insular position West Berlin would but benefit from normal relations with the GDR, from a calm and business-like discussion and clarification of the problems.

The social and political system in West Berlin is different from that in the German Democratic Republic. But this does not mean that the two cannot live together peacefully. The GDR is prepared to apply the principles of peaceful coexistence in its relations with the free city of West Berlin.

No one, however, can expect the GDR to grant freedom of action to disturbers of the peace. Whoever wants to negotiate from cold-war positions, as provocateurs and violators of peace, will not meet with any success. Negotiations of this kind would be incomprehensible both to the people of the GDR and to those of the other socialist countries. But the GDR is always ready to extend a hand to those who will negotiate sincerely and who are prepared to reach agreement.

What Is To Be Gained from a Peace Treaty?

It is the desire of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to conclude, together with the Western powers, a peace treaty with the two German states. But if the Western powers persist in their refusal to do this, a peace treaty will be signed between the German Democratic Republic and the anti-Hitler coalition countries willing to do so. The significance of a peace treaty, the GDR believes, can be summed up as follows:

A peace treaty with the GDR will give recognition by international law to the present frontiers between the German Democratic Republic and the Polish People's Republic, and between the German Democratic Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. This act will deprive the West German revenge-seekers of their only argument, an argument which still evokes a measure of response from certain circles,

namely, that according to the Potsdam Agreement Germany's frontiers should be finally confirmed by a peace treaty. The frontier between the German Democratic Republic and West Germany will, likewise, find recognition in international law. The peace treaty will block the expansionist designs of the West German militarists who would like to swallow the GDR. A peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic will, therefore, greatly reduce the danger of war in Central Europe.

The GDR will, after the signing of a peace treaty, fully exercise all the rights deriving from inter-state relations, including those which were provisionally assigned to the Soviet Union in 1955. We have in mind control of the movement of persons and freight on the territory of the GDR for the purpose of supplying the Western powers' garrisons in West Berlin. In other words, the treaty will eliminate all the survivals of the Second World War on GDR territory, including the survivals of the occupation regime.

On the basis of the peace treaty we can begin to regulate the West Berlin question in a new way. Since the peace treaty will establish the complete and unrestricted sovereignty of the GDR on the whole of its

WEST BERLIN — COCKPIT OF REVANCHISM

Over 120 branches of the "traditional" militarist associations of the Federal Republic function openly in West Berlin. They include: the "Union of German Soldiers," the Stahlhelm and HIAG (association of S.S. unions). Many of them provide regular military training for their members. In March 1959 the Stahlhelm undertook to set up a so-called Burgerswehr (civil volunteer corps) within the framework of the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Westberliner Soldaten Verbaende.

During the past year alone there have been held in West Berlin: a rally of the revanchist "League of Expatriates," and demonstrations by the "Association of Repatriates" and various *Landsmannschaften*. All call for the annexation of cities and regions on the territory of Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. Members of these organizations were transported from the Federal Republic to West Berlin on U.S., British and French aircraft.

On West Berlin's administrative staff, furthermore, are 23,060 former Nazi officials. Over one-third of the West Berlin police force were members of the Nazi party, and worked in the Gestapo or belonged to the SS troops.

territory, it follows that the occupation claims and illusory rights to which, by virtue of the presence of their garrisons in West Berlin the Western powers refer, cannot be maintained.

The peace treaty will consolidate the international law status of the GDR, and thereby facilitate the establishment of normal diplomatic relations between the GDR and those countries with whom as yet it has only cultural, economic or consular contacts. It will deal a blow at the Hallstein Doctrine, according to which only the Federal Republic has the right to represent the German nation as a whole in the sphere of international relations.

A peace treaty with the GDR will be of great political and educational significance for all Germans, including the population of West Germany. Adenauer has rejected all the proposals to become stronger militarily and fully integrated into NATO. A peace treaty with the GDR will make all Germans realize that Adenauer's policy of strength is a bankrupt policy. And this, too, will help to safeguard and guarantee peace in Europe.

The preventive measures taken by the GDR on August 13 struck hard at the policy

of plundering the GDR, which policy was imposed by the GDR, including a proposal to hold all-German elections, on the grounds that the Federal Republic must first be implemented through West Berlin. A peace treaty with the GDR will put an end to this policy and make it impossible for the West German militarists to use West Berlin as a front-line city in the cold war.

As pointed out above, the peace treaty will help to normalize relations between the two German states. The articles of the peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic will be valid for all Germany, and West Germany can, whenever she wishes, align herself with it.

It is not excluded that the Bonn government and the Western powers will try to make the conclusion of a peace treaty with the GDR a pretext for aggravating the international tension. But there is no doubt that the tension will be of a transient nature, and that the peace treaty will for a long time to come exert a beneficial influence on relations between the two German states, promote the relaxation of tension in Europe, and contribute to safeguarding and guaranteeing peace throughout the world.

Anti-Communism — a Crime Against the Peoples

G. Cogniot

A FEATURE of the times in which we live is the growing superiority of the forces of socialism. Two basic lines of development can be discerned in the world of today — lines of ascent and descent.

The descending line is personified by capitalism, which 50 years ago held sway throughout the world. Today, however, we see an entirely different picture. "For the past 40 years," writes the bourgeois Professor Morazé, "the abyss between our aspirations and reality has been widening." This view is shared also by the British reactionary historian, Arnold Toynbee. For the past 40 years, says Toynbee, the might of the West has been on the wane and confidence in its way of life has declined. The remainder of the world, he goes on, has no doubts about this.

But why "40 years"? Because in 1917 socialism became a reality in one of the biggest countries in the world, and ever since then it has been developing along an ascending line. After the Second World War socialism grew into a system of countries accounting for one-third of the world population and which is going from success to success. This example acts as a stimulus to the working-class and democratic movement in the capitalist countries. At the same time, the colonial system is disintegrating. Imperialism has lost political and, partly, economic control over hundreds of millions of people, and its sphere of activity is steadily shrinking.

In his message to Congress on March 14 President Kennedy requested an appropriation of \$600 million for "aid" to Latin America. Kennedy pointed to the "imminent danger

that desperate peoples will turn to communism." But why are the Asian, African and Latin American peoples becoming desperate? The explanation lies in the imperialist system. What is the sense and purpose of their struggle? To end the colonial and semi-colonial oppression. These people realize, said Khrushchov, and "history is the proof, that without socialism establishing itself in at least part of the world there could be no talk of destroying colonialism."

No matter what the approach to the issue it will be seen that the working class is the decisive factor of the day. The steering wheel of history is in its hands. "Today it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for the socialist reconstruction of society, that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society," says the Statement adopted by the Meeting of the 81 Parties in Moscow.

Marxism-Leninism is now seen not only as a theory but as living reality. And the time is not far off when it will be taken up by the vast majority of the people of the world. And this explains why the enemies of the working class are becoming alarmed, why anti-communism is on the rampage.

The Roots of Anti-Communism

The struggle against communism on a worldwide scale occupied a prominent place at the recent NATO session in Oslo, which was attended by U.S. State Secretary Dean Rusk. It was reported that special commissions had been set up within NATO to study the methods of this struggle.

In the leading capitalist countries anti-communism is organized along "scientific" lines. It has research institutes lavishly financed by the monopolies, and libraries run by Jesuits and their lay brothers. The money, vast sums of it, comes from the national budgets. Anti-communist propaganda centers and numerous subversive organizations work hand in hand with the imperialist state machine. They have at their disposal radio station and television centers, the cinema, publishing houses, and big segments of the press in the imperialist countries. Pulpits and even schools are used for their insidious purposes.

Anti-communism is assiduously implanted in all spheres of intellectual and scientific life—in teaching, history, political economy, philosophy, law and linguistics. Both "Left" existentialists and medieval reactionaries

such as the neo-Thomists have rallied beneath its black banner. In a word, it has become the rallying point for the motley world of private property, from the Church to all kinds of "friends of the Left" and pseudo-revolutionaries. On occasions it dons even a "socialist" mask. But this does not change its substance, for by its very nature anti-communism expresses the vested interests of capitalism and is designed to safeguard capitalist privilege. This merely shows that socialism enjoys such prestige among the people that it is necessary to put on its mask in order to get a hearing. In point of fact the anti-communist "socialism" has nothing to offer except the program of class collaboration and, consequently, of subordinating the working people to the capitalists. "It is not anti-communism which explains class collaboration but the class collaboration which explains anti-communism" (*Cahiers du Communisme*, June 1959, p. 697).

The Arguments of Anti-Communism

Anti-communism seeks, by dividing and confusing the democratic forces, to maintain the rule of an oligarchy whose interests are increasingly conflicting with the interests of the people. Internationally, it is opposed to a détente and peaceful coexistence and in this way it is poisoning the political climate throughout the world.

Anti-communism is the ideological and political product of moribund imperialism. This reaction to the triumphant march of socialism is typical of the most aggressive and ultra-reactionary forces of monopoly capital now that they find themselves in a political blind alley. These forces are resisting the basic law of our epoch — the transition from capitalism to socialism. At the same time anti-communism reflects the aggressiveness and the danger of imperialism and, on the other hand, the lack of any perspective and an animal fear at the way things are going.

The aim of the anti-communist propagandists is to undermine the faith of the workers in their struggle, to persuade them that the Marxist thesis concerning the historical mission of the working class and the necessity of the socialist revolution is an "archaism." This idea is advanced by the Social Democrat André Philip who says the time has come "to finish with the revolutionary dream" (*La Nef*, May 1959).

For this purpose anti-communism, keeping up with the times and arraying itself in the

garb of official bourgeois science, resorts to the most absurd nonsense. For example, Monseigneur Théas, Bishop of Tarbes and Lourdes, parroting the calumny ridiculed long ago by Marx and Engels in *The Communist Manifesto* and other works, wrote recently in a diocesan bulletin that the Communists stand for . . . sharing wives. In anti-communist zeal the Catholic hierarchy depicts Communists as antichrists and communism as a hell upon earth. This aspect of anti-communist propaganda should not be belittled, though it should be said that fewer people fall for it nowadays. The people now know the Communists not from hearsay or from what the reactionaries say, as was the case in the 19th century. They daily meet Communists in the factory, in the village, on their doorstep, and see that they are people like themselves, that they are not amoral people. What is more, they display the noblest human qualities both in family life and in social behavior.

With its narrow outlook, anti-communism does not scruple to claim, contrary to the facts, that socialism, in the words of Robert Ingram, a West German anti-communist, is "an unnatural and ineffective economic system," or that Soviet institutions are, as the French anti-communist Raymond Aaron maintains, "associated with poverty." Clearly, "arguments" of this kind will do little to convince people who know about the achievements of the socialist countries. And they become the less effective the more the achievements of socialism stand out, and the more the people, as Khrushchov said, can judge about the advantages of socialism by their stomachs.

Hence anti-communism is forced to look for more refined ideological devices. And so it poses as the champion of the "genuine values" of civilization. Although the real basis of anti-communism are the greed and vested interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie, the dread occasioned by the achievements of socialism compels anti-communism to invoke "freedom," the "individual," the "conscience" and "morals." By counterposing to the communist "barbarians" the values of "Western" civilization, the anti-communist crusaders all too obviously abuse the concept of humanism.

Contrasting "eternal morals" and "spiritual freedom" to the materialism of the Communists is the alpha and omega of the ideological arsenal of anti-communism. This condemnation of communism in the name of

"morals" and the "spirit" has the sole aim of upholding interests that are utterly unethical and base. These gentlemen confound moral laws with the capitalist order which oppresses man, while their effusions about spiritual values are quite compatible with their enslavement of people.

The less sure the position of the bourgeoisie becomes, the more it falls back on talk about "moral" and "ideals." This is its opium for the people in its death-hour. Jean Lacroix, the French Catholic philosopher, contends that "Marxism studied the economy but forgot all about man." Maurice Thorez answered this at the Fifteenth Congress and pointed out that communism is the sole real humanism. "The fight for communism," he said, "is not only the fight for a higher standard of living for society, for its happiness. It is also the fight for a higher spiritual development for man, for brotherhood among people and all-round development of the personality." "The new man, the man of the future," he added, "is taking shape before our eyes, in the conditions of the socialist system which does away with the contradictions between ethics and reality, between the public and private interests."

Anti-Communism and Freedom

The ideological arguments of anti-communism boil down to this: communism is the personification of all that is evil, while capitalism personifies all that is good. Thus the division of the world into two socio-economic systems is described as the contrast between "totalitarianism" and "freedom."

This is what Karl Jaspers, the West German philosopher, maintains in a recent pamphlet *Freedom and Reunification*, not to mention other reactionary theorists. President Kennedy's disquisitions on "defense of democracy" are another sample. This is interesting because it is precisely from the camp of the "iron heel" that we hear curses hurled against "totalitarianism." The word "totalitarianism" is taken from the vocabulary of psychological warfare. Anti-communism, which proclaims that "Moscow signifies anarchy" also suggests that "Moscow signifies despotism." This crude contradiction is indicative of the weakness of the anti-communist arguments.

The idea behind this is to lump socialism and fascism together. This was done by Radio Vatican on June 28 when it denounced the "totalitarian system" which, according to the Vatican, includes the socialist countries as

well. The facts refute this slander. The history of the past 40 years has demonstrated in unmistakable fashion that the Communists are the irreconcilable opponents of fascism, that the contradiction between them is a fundamental contradiction, that their struggle is a relentless struggle, and that the fascists are the hatchetmen of the most reactionary monopoly bourgeoisie, whereas the Communists represent the working class, all the forces of progress, democracy and socialism. To charge the Communists with "totalitarianism" is the height of absurdity.

One could dare to identify "totalitarianism" with socialism only by approaching the matter unscientifically without asking: *what classes does political power represent? What are the economic foundations of the system? Who owns the means of production in society?* Since the means of production and power in the socialist countries belong to the working class in alliance with the working peasantry, their social and political system, as distinct from the situation in the most "democratic" bourgeois countries, expresses the profound interests of the people.

"Socialist democracy, unlike bourgeois democracy, does not merely proclaim the rights of the people, but makes it really possible for the people to exercise them," says the draft Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The sympathies of all democrats are, naturally, with the Communists who, marching under the banner of socialist revolution, are working to make their countries a genuine democracy, to transform democracy for the minority into democracy for the people, and formal freedoms into real, guaranteed freedoms. It is precisely because of this that people all over the world are ready to support the Communists and follow them.

Anti-communism seeks to obscure and distort the idea of democracy. Raymond Aron, one of the apostles of the cold war, declares in all seriousness that "the American working class exert a greater influence on the decisions made by the White House than the Russian working class on the decisions made in the Kremlin."* This is echoed by the revisionist Lucien Goldman who says that the victory of the proletarian revolution does not guarantee the freedom and dignity of the workers because of the influence exerted by the state, as if this is not the state of the workers which guides the building of the new society and is vitally interested in re-

leasing initiative and in maximum freedom for every worker.

If this ideological falsification is so urgently needed by anti-communism this is because the genuine people's democracy personified in the socialist countries is for the working people in the capitalist countries an inspiring perspective which greatly enhances their militancy; the falsification is needed also because the aim of the monopoly bourgeoisie is to abolish democracy in any form. Ideological falsification is a cover for political maneuvers to distract the attention of the public from the real danger to democracy emanating from the monopoly bourgeoisie.

Anti-Communism Is the Grave-Digger of Democracy

Just as 25 years ago the Anti-Comintern Pact, spearheaded externally only against the Soviet Union, served as a screen for aggressive designs in relation to Britain, France and other countries, so today anti-communism, by claiming that it is spearheaded solely against the socialist countries and the Marxist parties is, in effect, a weapon levelled against the working people in all countries, against the anti-imperialist liberation movement, against all the forces of progress, peace and democracy.

This is clearly seen in France in connection with the struggle waged by the monopoly bourgeoisie against the Communist Party. Outwardly, everything is directed only against our Party: it is the only party discriminated against by the authorities, it was the only party that was not allowed to appear before the electorate on television during the cantonal elections in June 1961; its press is constantly being persecuted. But soon the reactionaries will reveal their cards. They will denounce *all* the traditional political parties. Even today they are saying that the political parties have had their day, that their role of "intermediaries" between the people and government has been played out, and that the Gaullist plebiscite is preferable to the "old" system of "discredited" parties. "The playing with syndicalism, representation and Parliament has ended," said de Gaulle. Thus the war declared against the Communist Party is being waged against all the democratic organizations. On the pretext of safeguarding democracy "against communism" the attempt is being made to strangle democracy.

This is so evident that the government's demagoguery has given rise to anxiety among

*Figaro, February 11, 1960.

the public. Last May the Socialist Party's newspaper denounced this campaign and upheld the existence of the parties which, "representing deep-going trends in French life, have taken firm root in the country and have many sympathizers and devoted activists." "It would be ridiculous and futile," it continued, "to negate these parties" for they express the profound aspirations of millions of people of different classes. Responding to this stand, Maurice Thorez noted at the Sixteenth Party Congress that here was a point on which the Socialists and Communists agree, and he called on the Socialist Party for joint action on this issue, action in defense of the right of the democratic parties freely to engage in their activities.

The monopoly bourgeoisie goes to all lengths in supporting the "Liberal anti-communism," and the "Social Democratic anti-communism"; the idea behind this is to ensure support for its frantic anti-communism and create a wide anti-communist opinion. At the same time, it is unable to conceal its opposition to every form of democratic political life. Imperialism, as Lenin said, signifies reaction *all along the line*, and these mouthpieces of anti-communism, screaming about the violation of democracy by the Communists, are like the thief who shouts "stop thief" in order to confuse the people.

It is important to realize that *anti-Marxist slogans are always a screen for anti-democratic attacks*. Any manifestation of free thinking or of human dignity immediately aroused the suspicions of the McCarthyites and were condemned by them in advance. To Hitler all who rejected Nazi barbarism were Communists; he persecuted not only Communists but also the Social Democrats, Liberals and clergy and ruthlessly suppressed free thought. In the occupied countries Hitler's hatchetmen denounced all patriots as Communists. And today, too, the reactionaries, invoking the bogey of communism, are trying hard to undermine faith in democratic symbols. For example, Thomas Mann and Charlie Chaplin were described by the West German McCarthyite Robert Ingram as pro-Communists

But even this is not enough. Anti-communism is invoked to suppress democratic and patriotic activity. A recent example of this is the outrageous U.S. Supreme Court ruling obliging the Communist Party to register as "the agent of a foreign power." Long years ago the charge of being "a foreign agent," was brought against men like Thomas Jeffer-

son, whom the reactionaries of the day dubbed a Jacobin and an agent of the French revolution. Today, with the same aim of barring the way to progressive ideas and people, anti-communism has resurrected this canard, and the Communist parties are labeled "foreign nationalist parties." The Jesuit Fessard, the spokesman of clerical reaction in France, screams that the Communist activist "has chosen between his party and France," and this is "the path of desertion and treachery." The whole of history is in revolt against this slander. The facts show that the policy of the Communist parties has always corresponded to the vital interests of the nation and that during the anti-Hitler war, for example, the Communists were in the van of the Resistance. The facts also show that nowhere are the strength and greatness of nations guaranteed in the way they are in the socialist countries, and that in the capitalist countries the anti-communist leaders, hiding behind the screen of the "Western community," have sacrificed the national interests to the powerful U.S. imperialism. Behind the screen of hysterical nationalist phraseology, imperialism takes the way of cosmopolitanism. And the Communists, in combating cosmopolitanism, act as genuine patriots.

The fact that the anti-communists are appealing to the "national" interests is today being put to good use by all governments—the enemies of freedom and peace; this is the case, for instance, with the Adenauer government which, a fitting successor to Hitler, banned the Communist Party, with Franco and Salazar and with the Karamanlis government in Greece. "There is no doubt," wrote Maurice Thorez in a message to the U.S. Communist Party leaders, "that by striking at our fraternal party, the leaders of the strongest capitalist power are also very much interested in setting the pace for the governments of other capitalist countries, particularly in Western Europe." It should not be forgotten that the American Communist Party is not the only organization under McCarthyite attack. It may well be that tomorrow the trade unions, pacifist and Negro organizations will be requested to register as "organizations dependent on foreign countries." Once the gates to arbitrary action have been opened, the reactionary rulers will soon have the feeling that they can do as they please. The danger, then, hangs over all democrats. And the warding off of this danger depends on their unity. The way to this lies through genuine democracy.

Anti-Communism Is an Instrument of War

Anti-communism is not only a threat to the freedom of the people in those countries where it rages, it is also a systematic policy of violence in international relations, a policy of precipitating another world war, an atomic holocaust. This is an ideology and a policy inimical not only to the socialist countries, but to all countries and consequently, inimical to people holding different views.

Anti-communism is indispensable to the preparation of a new war. To conceal and justify their aggressive designs, the international anti-communist reactionaries hypocritically pose as champions of peace, against the aggressive communist "imperialism." Capitalist and reformist anti-communist literature is filled with charges against the Soviet Union of "red imperialism." But to speak about communist "imperialism" is tantamount to deliberately depriving the concept "imperialism" of any scientific meaning.

Lenin defined imperialism as monopoly capitalism. By virtue of the law of uneven development of the capitalist countries in the epoch of imperialism acute antagonisms arise between them; these antagonisms derive from the redivision of the colonies and spheres of economic influence. The imperialists, who usually resort to arms when their profits are threatened, start wars — global or local, cold or hot. Wars are engendered by imperialism. The socialist camp led by the Soviet Union is fighting for peace, peaceful coexistence and general disarmament. Socialism does not need wars. In socialist society there are no classes or social groups interested in starting a war. Socialism is synonymous with peace. *"To abolish war and establish lasting peace on earth is the historic mission of communism,"* says the draft Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Inasmuch as the people everywhere are becoming increasingly conscious of this, they approve the policy of the socialist countries which are guided by the sole concern of establishing lasting peace based on coexistence and competition. But the anti-communists resort to another maneuver: they insist that the socialist countries prove their non-aggressiveness by extending to the ideological sphere the policy they advance in interstate relations. They make coexistence conditional on reconciling ideologies and even on renouncing . . . socialism. Raymond Aron, for example, wants the Communists to abandon the "ideological struggle" in the name of coexistence. He describes the competition

of the two world systems as the era of organic rapprochement between them, of toning down the differences in their socio-economic systems and in their class nature. Developing the idea that the capitalist and socialist countries will grow into "a uniform type of industrial society," Aron asks: What can the West do in order to facilitate most effectively the "evolution" of the Soviet system towards the "Western way of life?"

But peaceful coexistence and competition do not signify renouncing the socialist ideology or any watering of it. Nor do they presuppose any retreat from the economic positions of socialism. On the contrary, they signify the continuation and intensification of the struggle between the socialist and bourgeois ideologies in the new conditions and in new forms which rule out any resort to war. To demand that the socialist world system should renounce its positions for the sake of making coexistence "possible" and to advance "preliminary conditions" for coexistence bespeaks reluctance to understand that two social systems actually exist. This would be tantamount to giving the semblance of law to a capitalist crusade for the "liberation" of the socialist nations, to rejecting any realistic assessment of the international problems in order to please the anti-communists. This is a dangerous policy and, with regard to the peoples, it is a criminal policy.

It should be stressed, moreover, that anti-communism directs its blows not only against the socialist countries but also against the countries which have recently won liberation from imperialist rule, and, together with the socialist countries, are working for peace. The anti-communism preached by Social Democratic leaders such as Suzanne Labin in France or Robert Ingrim in West Germany, is against all those who refuse to align themselves with the ultra-aggressive elements of monopoly capitalism led by the United States; it is also opposed to those countries which, refusing to commit themselves to this group, stand for a détente. "Neutrality is doubtless the best weapon of communism," wrote Ingrim in the clerical magazine *Neues Abendland*, "and upon meeting people who stand for neutrality, you can be sure that provided they are not completely mad, they are in the service of the Soviets. (December 1953, p. 756.) In an article in *Combat* on June 14, Suzanne Labin violently attacked Indonesia, Iraq, Egypt, Guinea and other countries for their neutrality. Just as Ingrim speaks about "the curse of conferences," so Suzanne Labin is angry with the United Nations which, in

her opinion, is "a popular front at the level of the nations." A reactionary such as General de Gaulle never misses an opportunity to ridicule and vilify the U.N. Thus anti-communism endeavors to sabotage all the instruments of peaceful coexistence, everything that promotes peace.

It is clear that judged from the standpoint of foreign policy, anti-communism is a method of struggle waged by the imperialist monopolies and states not only against the socialist countries but also against the anti-imperialist liberation movement and the peace movement. It is the main weapon of the cold war, of brainwashing in preparation for a hot war. As an instrument of war preparation anti-communism is a trend wholly opposed to the interests of man.

Anti-Communism Is a Lost Cause

In these conditions one can easily understand why anti-communism is becoming discredited. As the journal *Revue Militaire d'Information* (February 1960) admitted, the principles, in whose defense the anti-communists have rallied, are for the imperialist reactionaries "a weak position" both "at national and international levels"; the "unity (of anti-communism) is based more on the negative aspect than on the positive." And the journal deplores that the anti-communists are unable to "express their doctrine as vigorously" as do the Communists. . . . Why is this so? Because communism, as Khrushchov said, "appears as a force capable of saving mankind from the horrors of a missile-nuclear war, whereas imperialism is, increasingly, associated with war. . . . That is why the slogan of the fight for peace is a concomitant of the slogan of the fight for communism."

The anti-communism of the ultra-reactionaries is giving rise to an utterly groundless but growing anxiety and recklessness. But it has had to abandon all hope of realizing the insane dream which it has nurtured for more than 40 years—namely, export of coun-

ter-revolution. The socialist world system, the anti-imperialist countries, the international working class and the peace movement are now capable of preventing this. By way of proof we can cite the example of Cuba. The peace-loving forces are capable of striking a crushing and final retaliatory blow to anti-communism should it venture on a world war against the socialist countries.

This explains why aggressive anti-communism is meeting with opposition from those forces, even among the bourgeoisie, which are conscious of the peril war entails for capitalism itself; these forces are beginning to ask: Why not agree in one way or another to the idea of peaceful coexistence?

Anti-communism is doomed to failure because it is directed against peace and the vital interests of man. It is a crime against the peoples and the national interests of the countries. The steady growth of the socialist world system, the success of its grand program of economic development, the peace policy of the socialist countries and the growing attraction which socialism has for people in the imperialist countries, on the one hand, and the exposure of the false imperialist propaganda, the growth of socialist consciousness among the people in the capitalist countries and the education of the working people in the revolutionary spirit, on the other, all render anti-communism less and less effective. Anti-communism is bound to fail because it runs counter to the basic law of our epoch — the transition from capitalism to socialism.

To the decay communism counterposes progress, to the lies it counterposes truth. It stands for protecting life from death. That is why the world communist movement has become the most influential political force of the day. It is confidently marching forward in the struggle against the anti-communist attacks, a struggle which must not slacken for a single moment.

Three Years After the Iraqi Revolution

M. Salim

THREE years have passed since the national-democratic revolution of July 1958 in Iraq, a revolution carried out by the people. The progressive forces in the country — the working class led by the Communist Party, the petty bourgeoisie and, primarily, the peasantry who comprise the bulk of the population, and the national anti-imperialist bourgeoisie — joined in the struggle against imperialism and the rotten pro-imperialist feudal regime headed by the monarchy. The king was deposed and executed, and power passed into the hands of the national anti-imperialist bourgeoisie.

1. The Revolution of 1958

Before the revolution the national bourgeoisie was weak both economically and politically, for the imperialists retarded the development of the national industry, especially heavy industry. The Iraqi bourgeoisie is still largely a merchant class, although it is connected with the big landowners who use feudal methods of rural exploitation. The industrial group of the national bourgeoisie is only a small segment of this class, while industrialists not connected with the big landowners, are fewer still. Prior to the revolution, the growth of the working class was more rapid than that of the national bourgeoisie and its influence on the national-liberation movement increased from year to year.

Before 1934, i.e., before the Communist Party was founded, the national-liberation struggle was headed exclusively by the national bourgeoisie, and the weakness and vacillations typical of the latter left their impact on the revolutionary movement. It was only with the formation of the Communist Party that the movement against imperialism, for independence and democracy began to acquire a mass character; the working class and peasantry were drawn into the movement on a large scale, and the national bourgeoisie, too, was galvanized into action. The national movement reached a peak after

the Second World War, when the fascist forces in Europe suffered defeat and the colonial powers, primarily Britain, lost much of their might. By that time the national movement had struck firm roots in the army, so that conditions were now ripe for a national democratic revolution. An armed uprising against the monarchy was started by a group of army officers representing the national bourgeoisie. The people throughout the country rose in support of the uprising and the forces of counter-revolution were routed. The working class and the peasants, led by the Communist Party, played the cardinal role in the revolution.

The revolutionary initiative of the military wing of the national bourgeoisie, the resolution displayed by the officers in overthrowing the monarchy and proclaiming a national republic won popularity for their leaders. The national bourgeoisie took advantage of this to seize political power and form a government headed by Major General Kassem, leader of the army revolt. By capturing power the national bourgeoisie were able to consolidate their political influence throughout the country. As the dominant force they have more political, economic and ideological freedom than any other class. At the same time, the influence of the working class has also substantially increased, a fact with which the government had to reckon.

At first the Kassem government was obliged to rely on the support of the masses who had carried out the revolution. This was the period when the republic was in mortal danger from the pro-imperialist reactionaries who repeatedly plotted conspiracies and staged provocations. Iraq's international position, too, was precarious at that time, with the hostile imperialist states and their military bloc partners (chiefly the CENTO bloc) threatening her with armed attack. Under these circumstances the Communist Party and all progressives gave solid support to the Kassem government, which in its turn, pursued a policy of co-operation with the progressive

elements and relied on the masses. The slogan of the Communist Party at this time was "Safeguard the Republic!" for it regarded this as the main task of the moment and one to which all the national forces of the country should rally.

Thanks to the support of the socialist countries, primarily the USSR, the people of Iraq were able to ward off imperialist assaults. The internal reactionaries, too, were crushed. In the first year of the republic the people won a number of victories. An agrarian reform law was adopted and its implementation started. The working people, chiefly those employed by the foreign oil concessions, were able to uphold their interests. The right to organize was officially recognized and wages were increased. The population was granted political rights: the right to hold meetings and demonstrations, to form political parties and establish political organizations, publish newspapers, etc. The more reactionary servants of the old regime were removed from the administration. The feudal landowners were deprived of some of their privileges and the influence in government which they had enjoyed under the monarchy. Diplomatic and economic relations were established with the socialist countries. These successes were achieved as a result of the active struggle waged by the masses when the national forces were united and when the people enjoyed democratic rights and freedoms. Another contributing factor was that the progressives supported the government and the army leaders. Nevertheless the revolution did not effect any far-reaching changes in social and production relations generally, although it did introduce substantial reforms in favor of national capital and, to some extent, in favor of the peasants, at the expense of foreign capital and the semi-feudal survivals in the countryside.

2. The Ruling Circles Embark on a Dangerous Path

After the first year things began to change. The government embarked on a dangerous path, placing the national independence of the republic in jeopardy. The growth of the mass movement and the increasing influence of the progressive forces, especially in the rural localities, aroused the apprehensions of the national bourgeoisie. Its Right wing became more active. Imperialist pressure and intrigue were largely responsible for this change of front.

The bourgeoisie began to lay emphasis on the contradictions existing between it and the revolutionary classes and the democratic forces, while the basic contradiction, namely, that between the bourgeoisie and the imperialists and its lackeys at home, was relegated to the background.

The authorities brought the full weight of the so-called "hegemony of law" policy against the Communists and other democrats, despite the fact that these forces have always acted in defense of national independence, democracy and the republic. Hundreds of Communists and democrats were arrested. Many of them were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, others were executed. Membership in popular resistance organizations (official military organizations—M.S.) or of committees for the defense of the republic and other democratic bodies are now regarded as sufficient grounds for persecution and arrest.

On the pretext of the need to "restore equilibrium" in the political situation and to combat "anarchy and the anarchists," the government, one year after the revolution, gave a free hand to the reactionaries and incited them against the democratic forces. Animosity was whipped up between the different nationalities, religious and political groups with the result that a number of bloody clashes took place in which many Communists and other progressives lost their lives.

The fact that the real Iraqi Communist Party has been refused legal status and that a dummy party consisting of police agents and shady adventurers is officially listed as the "Communist Party" indicates the desire of the bourgeoisie to disrupt the Party and the unity of the working class. Attempts are also being made to split the trade unions, peasant and other democratic organizations. The authorities are removing democrats loyal to the revolution from the leadership of these organizations, endeavoring to subordinate them to the bourgeoisie and its agents.

The arbitrary actions of the military grouping, its unwillingness to heed the voice of the people and the submission to the economic and political pressure of the imperialists are signs that the revolution is being steered farther and farther away from its original course.

Fear of the growth of the revolutionary movement impels the ruling grouping to compromise with the imperialists. At home it has begun to look for support among the reac-

tionaries and monarchists. It should be noted that similar fears are entertained by various sections of the national bourgeoisie. The upsurge of the peasant movement has alarmed the sections of the bourgeoisie connected with the land. The development of the trade union, working-class and revolutionary movement generally is causing apprehension in industrial and commercial quarters as well. The Right-wing nationalists and some of the political leaders of the national bourgeoisie have gone farther — turning for help to the Egyptian bourgeoisie, and calling for a "stronger" government and an end to democratic development.

This attitude, however, has alerted all the national forces and scared that section of the bourgeoisie which stands for independent national development. The tendency manifested by the Right wing of the bourgeoisie to fall in with the long-standing desire of the UAR leaders to seize Iraq has caused sharp disagreements among the various sections, parties and leaders of the national bourgeoisie. Without ceasing their attacks on the democratic forces, the authorities were obliged to rebuke the Rights, among whom were many supporters of Nasser.

With the national forces split, the government intensified the repressions, prolonged the state of emergency and is now trying to consolidate the one-man military regime. In recent months, on the pretext of "increasing stability," it dissolved the Democratic Youth Federation, arrested its leaders, closed all local organizations of the League of Iraqi Women, falsified the elections to the leading bodies of the General Federation of Trade Unions and arrested its chairman and other leaders.

But this policy, which has opened the eyes of the majority of the people, has been condemned by the progressive national forces. The ruling group of military brass is becoming increasingly isolated and a significant part of the bourgeoisie is joining the opposition, moving closer to the working class and the democratic forces. Demands for the abolition of the one-man military regime and the state of emergency, the granting of democratic freedoms and the establishment of a democratic system are gaining more and more support among all sections of the population.

The people see from their own experience that the fight against communism is a fight against all the forces opposed to imperialism and the remnants of feudalism. Indicative in this respect is the fact that the repressions

have affected many bourgeois parties as well. Some patriotic ministers, officials and members of non-party organizations have felt the effects of persecution. The imperialists, relying on their remaining bases and oil monopolies, the pro-imperialist compradore bourgeoisie (which still holds important posts in the economy and in trade) and the feudal elements have exerted strong pressure on the government to adopt an anti-democratic policy, and let it be said, not without success. The government has negotiated with the CENTO countries and neighboring reactionary governments; it has eased the control exercised over the oil companies, has opened the home market to foreign goods, permitted some foreign companies to return to Iraq, and has taken a number of steps in the interests of the big landowners, the compradore bourgeoisie and supporters of the monarchy.

Propaganda against the socialist countries is being waged without let-up. The reactionary bourgeoisie is bent on disrupting fulfillment of the Soviet-Iraqi agreement on technical and economic aid which is of first-rate importance for the industrialization of the country.

Nevertheless, in spite of these machinations, the people are displaying an increasing readiness to combat the terror and to uphold their gains.

3. Some Questions of Communist Party Tactics

A government of the national bourgeoisie is a new experience for the people of Iraq. The dual nature of the national bourgeoisie — especially its anti-democratic aspect — was not properly understood by the public and even by many revolutionaries, long accustomed to concentrate attention mainly on the positive aspects of the bourgeoisie which were typical for the pre-revolutionary period.

In the second year of the revolution, when the bourgeoisie began to renege on their promises of freedom and democracy, the masses had to retreat, and the Communist Party re-examined its tactics accordingly. The people could now see for themselves the true class essence of the bourgeoisie, and in this situation, the Party indicated the forms and methods of struggle conforming to their level of political consciousness and organization. The Party carried on its work patiently, helping the people to understand its tactics with regard to the national bourgeoisie, giving the masses a deeper insight into the character and perspectives of the revolution, the nature

of the bourgeoisie and the other political forces.

The revolution gave the country political independence. Iraq became an independent bourgeois republic. But it does not have a parliamentary system. The national bourgeoisie has failed to satisfy any of the demands — political, social or economic — advanced by the democratic forces. That is why the revolution has not fulfilled its purpose; on the contrary, it has retreated from its original positions owing to the anti-democratic policy of the bourgeoisie. This does not mean, however, that the national bourgeoisie has betrayed the revolution and sold out to the imperialists, or that it has renounced the basic task of the revolution. What it does signify is that the bourgeoisie is inconsistent, hesitant and prone to compromise.

The experience of the Iraqi revolution demonstrates the correctness of the conclusion set forth in the draft Program of the CPSU, that the national bourgeoisie "not connected with imperialist circles is objectively interested in carrying out the basic tasks of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution." In this sense it is progressive. However, it is inconsistent and tends toward conciliation with imperialism and feudalism. Its future behavior will depend in large measure on the degree of organization of the working class, on the firmness of its alliance with the peasantry, on the resolution with which the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle is waged by the masses.

The policy of the working class in relation to the national bourgeoisie is of a dual nature; on the one hand, it supports all the anti-imperialist and other progressive undertakings of the bourgeoisie and, on the other, it combats all reactionary tendencies. This attitude derives from the duality inherent in the national bourgeoisie, and the important thing is to know which of the two aspects is the most vital at the given moment.

Tactic of "Alliance and Struggle" with the Bourgeoisie

Our Party's task is to combat, together with the democratic forces, any attempt on the part of the bourgeoisie to compromise with imperialism at the expense of the national interests and democratic rights of the people.

The struggle against the reactionary aspects of the national bourgeoisie differs from the struggle against the pro-imperialist bour-

geoisie. Though it condemns the irresolution of the national bourgeoisie and its efforts to strike a bargain with the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie, the working class has no desire to oust the national bourgeoisie from the camp of revolution. While combating the anti-democratic measures and discouraging the tendency toward compromise in the national movement, the working class at the same time tries to strengthen the united front with the national bourgeoisie.

The Communist Party does not regard the bourgeois class and its parties as a single entity. Noting the absence of unity between the various bourgeois groups and the contradictions in their ranks, the Party determines its own approach to each group depending on the latter's attitude to imperialism and feudalism. "The contradictions between the different groups of the anti-imperialist bourgeoisie, i.e., the contradictions between its industrial, commercial and rural groups arising from the varying amount of capital owned, stake in the national economy, dependence on government policy — this has an immediate effect on their political leanings," states the resolution adopted by the enlarged session of the Central Committee of the Party last year.

The industrial group is more consistently anti-imperialist in its policy. The big trading bourgeoisie — and it is mainly their interests that shape the foreign policy of the Kassem government — lean to the right, since their profits depend on trade with the imperialist countries. The middle strata of the trading bourgeoisie, which are under pressure from the big business firms, seek a solution in economic agreements with the socialist countries. These contradictions have led to a split in the bourgeois National Democratic Party.

The tactic of "alliance and struggle" presupposes strict adherence to principle and vigilance in dealing with the various sections of the bourgeoisie. An alliance unrelated to the attitude of the bourgeoisie with regard to imperialism and feudalism leads to the right, to defeatism and to infringement of the people's rights and weakening of national independence. Struggle without taking into account the attitude of the different groups of the national bourgeoisie leads to sectarianism and Left tendencies, which weaken the anti-imperialist front and can force the bourgeoisie to look for allies in the enemy's camp. It was these tactics that some Communists, and some of our organizations failed to understand. Some lumped all the bourgeoisie toge-

ther and hence advanced the wrong slogans, calling for intensified struggle against the bourgeoisie in general, as reactionary and pro-imperialist, without taking into account the contradictions within the bourgeoisie. This attitude, in effect, ignored the united front policy. Others did not want to combat the reactionary measures of the government on the grounds that these measures were adopted by an anti-imperialist government. In other words, they proposed giving up the struggle against the national bourgeoisie's reactionary aspects for the sake of preserving the alliance with it. This was a defeatist and opportunist position. The Party took a firm stand against both tendencies.

An example of how the Party carries out its tactics is its attitude to the oil question.

Oil is the main source of Iraq's national wealth. But this wealth is in the hands of imperialist oil companies which have been plundering it ever since 1927. Today the state revenue from oil is nominally 100 million dinars annually (one-third of the national income), in reality it is less.

After the revolution, the Kassem government negotiated with the oil companies for an increase in Iraq's oil royalties. However the companies began to stall, claiming that the "situation was not favorable for mutual understanding owing to the danger of communism in Iraq." By the "communist danger" they meant the democratic way taken by our revolution in the first year. The oil companies resorted to all kinds of pressure and manipulation. They were involved in the Mosul uprising in March 1959; they engineered the plot in Kirkuk in July of the same year; they succeeded in getting the Kassem government to transfer patriotic officers from the oil districts and ban a number of progressive newspapers, including the *Ittihad al-Shaab*, organ of the Communist Party; under pressure from the oil companies a number of ministers were removed from the cabinet.

In 1960 Kassem was about to sign an agreement with the imperialists that would have been disadvantageous for Iraq, but the mass protest movement prevented this and forced the government to display some measure of firmness with regard to the companies' claims in the negotiations held the following year.

The Party's immediate demands were as follows:

a) Iraq's share in the oil profits to be raised (at present it is officially 50 per cent, in reality it is less);

b) Iraq's participation in the fixed capital of the companies to be not less than 20 per cent (at present Iraq has no share at all in the fixed capital of the companies);

c) annulment of the right of the companies to areas not exploited by them, which comprise a large part of Iraq's territory;

d) the companies to be placed under Iraqi jurisdiction.

The Party cautioned against advancing secondary and partial demands on a par with basic demands in order to ensure satisfaction of the vital items.

This program met with wide support in the country.

The concessions made by the Iraqi government to the imperialists and internal reactionaries are being severely criticized by the Communist Party and by other democrats. But it stands to reason that the struggle cannot be limited to this criticism. It must take different forms, changing to meet the concrete conditions. It must serve the cause of the national front, strengthen the leading role of our Party in the national democratic movement and impel the bourgeoisie in the right direction—towards national, democratic development.

Cementing the Alliance of Workers and Peasants, and Agrarian Reform

Cooperation with the national bourgeoisie is a highly important aspect of the national front tactics. But consolidation of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry is still basic to successful struggle for far-reaching democratic reforms, and for economic and social progress. Upon the strength of this alliance depends in no small measure the participation of the national bourgeoisie in the struggle against imperialism and feudalism.

The political and moral prestige of our Party among the peasants has always been higher than that of any party of the national bourgeoisie. For many years the working class supported the basic demands and actions of the peasants and helped them to become organized. The Party was thus able to build up strong support among the peasantry, something which the national bourgeoisie prior to the revolution had been unable to do.

The national bourgeoisie hoped that the government's agrarian reform law would serve as the gateway to their penetration into the countryside. They tried to win the support of the peasants by impressing on

them that they were indebted to the bourgeoisie for the land law. Although the law does not end large-scale ownership of land and semi-feudal exploitation, our Party supported it inasmuch as it strikes at the feudal survivals in the villages. It has also had the salutary effect of rousing the peasants to fight for its implementation.

The national bourgeoisie, most of whom are connected with landownership and hence dread the peasant revolutionary movement, did their best to prevent the law from being carried out. One concession after another was made to the big landowners who were again given the opportunity to rob and punish the peasants, to employ with impunity brutal methods of coercion, all the way to the murder of peasant activists. At first the policy of the national bourgeoisie split and weakened the peasant movement, but only for a time. The peasants have learned from bitter experience. Their disillusionment with the bourgeois government and the bourgeois parties is growing.

The Communist Party and the other progressives, by advancing and fighting for their demands, show the peasants that they alone stand for a radical agrarian reform that would turn the land over to those who till it. Our Party stands for implementation of the agrarian reform in the interests of the peasants; it demands that the repressions against the peasant movement be stopped and that the peasantry be granted the right to organize in associations.*

Fight for Democracy

Three years have passed and Iraq still has no permanent Constitution or Parliament. The one-man military dictatorship is being consolidated. The old administration, which was only partly purged, is becoming increasingly anti-democratic, according as the dismissed officials are reinstated. In the present situation the urgent issue is summed up in our Party's slogan: "Build a national administration on democratic foundations." This means, put an end to the state of emergency, grant freedom to political parties, release and return from exile all patriots, draw up a permanent Constitution (instead of the existing provisional one), hold free elections to a National Constituent Assembly which would endorse the Constitution, form a national Parliament and a democratic government on the basis of the Constitution.

*For more details on this question see *World Marxist Review*, No. 3, 1961.

At the present time ours is not the only party that is calling for political freedom and a democratic administration. Faced with the growing dissatisfaction of the masses, even the National Progressive Party, which firmly supports Kassem, has had to advance some democratic slogans.

The Kurd Question

The country is governed by the Arab bourgeoisie although there are a few Kurd ministers in the government. The government does not recognize the right of the Kurds to self-determination and, in fact, foments national strife. Our Party, which stands for complete equality of all national minorities, is demanding self-government for the Kurds and the right to supervise their own national culture and education within the Iraqi republic.

In principle the Party upholds the right of self-determination for the Kurd nation (now divided between Iraq, Iran and Turkey); at the same time, however, it emphasizes the need for a common struggle of the Arabs and Kurds in order to win the essential rights attainable at the present time for the Kurds living in Iraq. Directing its criticism against Arab chauvinism, the Party at the same time combats the nationalist-extremist tendencies among the Kurds.

The Problem of Kuwait

Ever since the Kuwait crisis the Party has endeavored to see the matter in the proper light. It believes that the main thing is the liberation of Kuwait from imperialist domination and plunder. Although this is primarily the task of the Kuwaits themselves, it is also part of the general struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialism and reaction.

"As regards the relations between Iraq and Kuwait," says the Party's statement of June 28, "these will be settled by future developments in keeping with the freely expressed will of the two peoples, expressed in conditions free from imperialism and coercive government, in conditions of democratic freedom and on the basis of the national and the historical relationship and the fraternal interests of both peoples."

Solidarity with the Socialist Camp—an Earnest of National Independence

The people of Iraq know that the July revolution was able to withstand the imperialists only thanks to the resolute support which the Iraqi republic received from the

Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Immediately after the revolution the British and American imperialists sent troops to the Lebanon and Jordania in preparation for an invasion of Iraq. But the firm stand taken by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries nipped the venture in the bud. The Soviet Union and the socialist countries were the first to recognize the Iraqi republic. The economic, technological and cultural agreements concluded with the socialist countries in the first year of the revolution demonstrated the desire of these countries to facilitate Iraq's development, to protect its national independence and to raise the economic and cultural standards of the population.

Our Party ceaselessly exposes the imperialist intrigues and provocations against the socialist countries. The people and the majority of the national forces are convinced that solidarity and cooperation with the countries of the socialist community are the best guarantee of consolidating Iraq's independence and of its development.

* * *

Things in Iraq are creating conditions for establishing a united national front.

As noted in the resolutions of our Central Committee (December 1960), the national front policy is the only salvation for Iraq. An alliance of all the national forces interested in strengthening national independence, in getting rid of the remnants of imperialism and feudalism, in establishing democracy, an independent foreign policy and greater cooper-

ation with the socialist camp — this is the only road in the present world situation that can lead to a state of national democracy the tasks and perspectives of which are outlined in the documents of the Moscow meeting of the 81 parties.

The alignment of forces in Iraq and the objective conditions both internal and external, are shaping in favor of Iraq becoming a state of this kind. And the brunt of the struggle for this goal will be borne by the working class.

The efforts of the national bourgeoisie, and especially its Right wing, to halt the revolution and reverse it have opened the eyes of the masses to the policy of the bourgeoisie.

In these three years the people have learned that the policy of the working class is the only policy that accords with the interests and aspirations of the nation. More and more workers, peasants, artisans and intellectuals, and even some national bourgeois circles, are beginning to realize that, with the present policy of the Iraqi bourgeoisie, they can never win freedom, land and bread, that the ruling circles are not really interested in carrying out land reform, and that they are not leading the country toward industrialization and economic independence. Under these circumstances the people are compelled to fight and look for genuine revolutionary leadership. Whereas the prestige of the national bourgeoisie is rapidly declining, the people are beginning to appreciate the correctness of its political leadership.

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

The Soviet People Are Discussing the Program and the Rules of Their Party

TWO important documents — the draft Program and Rules of the Communist Party — are being widely discussed in the Soviet Union. These documents, when finally adopted by the forthcoming Twenty-Second Congress, will become the Party's long-term program and the law of its inner life.

The following example attests to the scope of the discussion; over 6,673,000 Party members had by the beginning of September participated in discussing the draft Program of the CPSU at Party meetings and conferences, and over 882,000 of them tabled amendments. By that time too some 13,500,000 had discussed the draft at general meetings of the working people; 622,000 people came forward with suggestions.

The fact that the draft documents for the Party Congress are being discussed not only at Party meetings but by the public generally is highly significant. It reflects the trust which the people repose in the Party, and the Party in the people, a trust based on the common goal and on unanimity in home and foreign policy. The people are fully confident that the Party will take the country to communism, while the Party likewise has the confidence that the people will always support it in every initiative which brings it nearer to the goal.

Certainly, no bourgeois political party can boast that it submits its program and rules for discussion by the people as a whole. Bourgeois parties formulate policy in secrecy from the public; their documents, the result of back-stage collusion and intrigue, are designed not to elucidate but rather to conceal the true physiognomy of these parties, their aims and the character of their activity . . .

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has no secrets to hide from the people. Being the Party of the people, all its activity is designed to further their well-being. And this is clearly expressed in the drafts of the Program and the Rules.

* * *

The working people speak of the pride they feel upon reading this grand program for building communism, of their readiness to dedicate

all their energies and knowledge to its implementation.

That is what I. Illarionov, Party member since 1918, who lives in Ulyanovsk, Lenin's birthplace, said:

"I, an old Bolshevik-Leninist, rejoice at seeing Lenin's dream come true. The Soviet people led by our Party have built socialism and are now building communism.

"Our people follow the Party because its policy is in keeping with their interests. The Party and the people are one. The path of the Party is the path of the people.

"The Program strikes the imagination by the grandeur of the tasks set. It really takes away one's breath when visualizing the heights our country will reach in 20 years. How delighted Lenin would be with our plans!"

A. Kovryakov, fitter in the Cherepovets iron and steel works, writes: "I am not a Party member but I have faith in the communist cause and am devoted to the Party. The Party decided and here, in our far-away Cherepovets, a huge plant has sprung up. Much good has been done in our country, and all under the leadership of the Party.

"The draft Program outlines really great undertakings and no doubt all of them will materialize."

P. Gontaryov, who served 17 years in the army and now works as a welder in Kuibyshev, had this to say:

"Reading the draft of the new Program you cannot but feel that communism is feasible, that it is near. And you get the impression of climbing a mountain from which distances that the eye cannot measure open before you. What should we, the workers, do to bring nearer this glorious tomorrow? We should achieve outstanding results in our work and steadily raise the productivity of our labor."

Expressing the views of his colleagues — cattle-breeders in the Stalin collective farm in Lithuania—F. Kareiva, Hero of Socialist Labor, says:

"The draft Program is a milestone on the way to our great goal. Like a beacon, it lights up man's path to the future. There is nothing more

noble than working to build communism. And that is what the millions of Soviet people are doing. We, cattle breeders, will spare no efforts to fulfil ahead of time the tasks set by the Party. So far this year we have produced 23 tons of milk and 3.6 tons of meat per hundred hectares of pasture land. In future, too, we shall continue to increase our output."

There are plenty of statements like these. They show that people, while reading the Program, are asking themselves whether they are doing everything they can for society, and are voicing the determination to work still better in the name of communism.

* * *

Now that the idea of building communist society has acquired visible features in the draft Program of the Party, when it has been placed on the agenda as a realistic practical task for the near future, millions of people are studying the Program point by point, making suggestions and submitting amendments — guided by the desire to accelerate the rate of advance to communism.

The chief economic task which the draft Program places before the Party and people, is to build in the span of 20 years the material and technical base of communism. This point is taken up by many of those taking part in the discussion.

Academician Trofimuk and Corresponding Member of the Academy Fotiadi have suggested that research into the earth's crust be organized, which, they believe, "will open up unprecedented possibilities for supplying our country, which is advancing towards communism, with valuable mineral raw materials the existence of which we at present, quite possibly, do not even suspect. Besides, it should be possible to put to use the new boundless resources of inner-terrestrial energy which could replace the power resources used today — coal, oil and gas — and greatly exceed them in efficacy."

Academician Engelhardt raises the question of the speediest development of molecular biology — the youngest branch of biological science — which would enable man to change certain properties of the living organism, in fact make it possible for him to change the nature of the organic world.

Academician Shevyakov and Corresponding Member of the Academy Mankovsky pose the important question of making the most rational use of the iron ore deposits in order to ensure a tremendous growth of steel output during the next 20 years. The authors suggest that more rotary excavators, self-tippers and other machines should be supplied for iron ore mining.

Many participants in the discussion make practical suggestions with a view to ensuring further

growth of the productive forces in agriculture and increasing the output of foodstuffs as the essential condition for abundance. V. Tur, collective farm chairman from the Ukraine, writes of the need for greater specialization on a scientific basis. "We believe," he writes, "that it is imperative to resolve the question of what each farm, district, region and territory should grow. This will make it possible fully and profitably to utilize the reserves latent in socialist agriculture." The same idea is expressed by Ts. Tovmasyan, collective farm chairman from Armenia, and by many other agriculturists.

* * *

Not only the creation of the material and technical base is important for the building of communism but also the education of the people who will build the new society and live in it. Hence, the attention in the discussion to inculcating lofty moral principles and fidelity to communism and fostering a communist attitude to work and public property.

Stronskaya, an Honored schoolteacher in Tomsk, writes:

"One should not forget that the process of creating new material values is inseparable from that of moulding the new man. And this process is accompanied by a ceaseless struggle against shortcomings.

"That is why I, a teacher on pension, address myself to those who will play an important part in implementing the Program — to my fellow teachers. The sound education of children, of the youth, is our paramount duty, and, together with the parents, the school and the teachers, should develop in the children the best qualities of the people of communist society."

The family's role in bringing up children is noted by Solovyov, tutor at Vilnius University. In his view the draft Program should emphasize that "the family is a vital form of organizing the communist way of life, that together with the school the parents are responsible for educating the younger generation, and therefore the Program should set forth the general duties of parents with regard to the education of their children."

"The man of the future should be developed in every way," says Surkanova, a technician in a Moscow factory. "The crusade for knowledge is a sign of the times. Fifty per cent of the workers at our plant are studying. And this is understandable — the people who will live under communism are keen on acquiring an all-round education.

"I think that the following point should be written into the Program: all people under 35 years of age who have not had a secondary education,

should study for a certificate of general or special secondary education."

Kantenik, rector of the USSR Polytechnical Institute which specializes in correspondence courses, says that higher education through correspondence courses or during evening hours is, because of the shorter working day and rising standards of living, acquiring a nationwide character. For this reason he suggests that the following point be added to the draft: "Extra-mural education will enable each man and woman to acquire higher education without interrupting their work. The extra-mural higher educational establishments shall enrol all those who have been sent to study by their enterprises and who have passed their entrance exams."

Many call for more stringent measures against parasites, idlers, profiteers and other anti-social elements who are retarding the building of communism. V. Karasyov, Leningrad turner, writes:

"People in Leningrad have rolled up their sleeves in order to reach the targets of the seven-year plan. . . .

"I shall not mention the names of the heroes of the seven-year plan — there are tens of thousands of them in our city alone. And how it hurts to see that hiding behind these diligent workers are the petty few who hope to arrive at communism without making the slightest effort. . . .

"I maintain that the Program of our Party should state this more categorically. It should be made clear that these parasites and idlers are not going our way."

Karasyov's proposal is supported by Serov, a Minsk fitter; by workers in the Kharkov Transport Machinery Plant — Lavrentyev, Paramonova, Hero of Socialist Labor, Poddubny, Pankratov, Zolochovsky and others.

* * *

The draft Program envisages the further extension of socialist democracy to ensure the active participation of all citizens in running the country. With the development of socialist democracy the government bodies will gradually turn into bodies of public self-government.

This trend is warmly approved by the people. Participants in the discussion cite many facts testifying to the growth of Soviet democracy. In the Ukraine for example, nearly 400,000 people, of whom 64,185 are industrial workers and 193,497 collective farmers, have been elected to the local Soviets. Of this number 148,795 are women. Last year the executive committees of nearly all the Soviets (99.6 per cent) gave an account of their work to plenary meetings of their respective Soviets held strictly within the time fixed by the constitution of the Republic.

Over 60,000 standing commissions in which 330,000 deputies participate, help the Soviets in their administrative work. To these should be added over three million citizens who help these commissions and the other autonomous bodies which function under the Soviets (street committees, volunteer brigades for maintaining public order, parents' committees in schools, women's councils, etc.).

In Byelorussia over 78,000 deputies have been elected to the Soviets, of whom 60 per cent are industrial workers and collective farmers. Along with the above-mentioned commissions we find in this republic other ways in which citizens take part in the administrative work of the Soviets. Some departments of the executive committees of the Soviets are manned solely by volunteer workers; there are voluntary instructors, voluntary production-technical councils, etc. These workers help the regular departments and boards of the executive committees and even replace some of them — a sign that some administrative functions are passing into the hands of the public.

In the course of the discussion suggestions are being made for extending this public initiative, enhancing the role of the trade unions, the Communist Youth League and other public organizations in running the affairs of the country.

The draft Program says that it is desirable that at least one-third of the members of the Soviet should be renewed during the local elections. But, V. Kozlov, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Byelorussia, thinks that this is not enough. In Byelorussia, he writes, out of a total of 77,944 deputies elected during the last but one elections 36,108 were elected for the first time, i.e., nearly a half, and at the last elections the figure exceeded 50 per cent.

"This experience," says Kozlov, "indicates the desirability of renewing at least half the deputies."

Yastremsky, chairman of one of the standing commissions in the Voznesensk district, Odessa region, thinks that they should have wider powers. "It would be good," he writes, "if more matters pertaining to local economic and cultural questions, to observance of the law, were placed under the jurisdiction of the standing commissions."

* * *

With the building of communism under way all along the line the role of the Communist Party as the leading and guiding force of society and the responsibility of each member for attaining the goals it has set, are being further enhanced.

This explains the attention in the discussion to such questions as further perfecting Party leadership in the communist construction, the standards

of Party life, the moulding of high moral qualities in the members, enhancing their role as organizers of the masses in the building of communism.

A group of old Bolsheviks, founding members of the Party, wrote as follows to *Pravda*:

"We, old Bolsheviks-Leninists, wholeheartedly approve the draft of the new Program. The section headed 'The Party in the Period of All-out Communist Construction' correctly stresses that undeviating observance of the Leninist standards of Party life and collective leadership is a law for the Party.

"Observance of the Leninist standards of Party life and the principle of collective leadership and selection of cadres shall be the strict demand made on every Party member, from rank and file to Central Committee members. Bureaucratic methods in the work of the Party bodies and their functionaries must be mercilessly stamped out and their responsibility enhanced. A Communist should always be attentive and comradely to other people. All members should be active and should display initiative, take part in elaborating and carrying out the policy of the Party, in developing effective criticism and self-criticism."

Ozerov, Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Turkmenistan, calls for the all-round development of democracy inside the Party. It is essential, he points out, to make the Party meetings, conferences, congresses and meetings of Party committees and other collective bodies more effective, to make sure that there is free and full discussion inside the Party of all matters pertaining to its policy and practical work. Ozerov says he agrees with the suggestion in the draft Program and the Rules steadily to steer a course for cutting down the paid staffs in the Party, enlist more members for non-paid work on a social basis.

Rakhuba, secretary of the Party committee in a Khabarovsk factory, while approving of the proposition for renewal of the leading Party organs, suggests that more workers be elected to the regional, city and district committees. "It is imperative," he writes, "to bring fresh blood into the Party committees by electing more workers, collective farmers, engineers, technicians, agricultural specialists and others who know their jobs and who work among the people, who ensure the success of our plans. The new Rules should stress that at least half the territorial, regional, area, city, district and local committees and bureaus of the branches at the point of production should consist of persons directly engaged in production."

Party member Lebedev, engine driver at the Voronezh tire factory, suggests that in order to eliminate shortcomings in good time, the Party

committee should report to the members not once but twice a year — in the middle of the year and before the elections.

Interesting suggestions were made by Voronov, secretary of the Party committee at the Uralmash heavy engineering plant. In large factories and offices where there are more than two thousand members, the Party committee, he says, should be elected not for a term of one year but for two years. Stressing the role played by the Party commissions that check up on the work of the management, he thinks that this new form of Party control should be reflected also in the Party rules.

Printsev, chairman of the commission on organizational matters in one of the district committees in Novosibirsk, points out that some leading comrades are simultaneously members of district, city and regional committees and deputies to the Soviets, and says that this, obviously, makes it impossible for them to work fruitfully in all these bodies. Printsev wants the Rules to specify that a member should be elected to only one Party body.

With a view to enhancing the responsibility of the committees and their members he suggests that §51 of the Rules be supplemented with the following proposition:

"The bureau of the area, city and district committee should regularly report to the plenary meeting."

Some of the proposals are being argued out, and in the course of the debate measures are being worked out more in line with the tasks of building communism.

Numerous objections were raised against the proposal submitted by Ivanyuk, grinder in the Krasnoyarsk harvester combine plant, to the effect that the secretary of the Party bureau should be elected not by the bureau meeting but by the branch meeting. A veteran member from Kiev, Seryachkov, rejoined by saying — "Election of the secretary by the branch meeting would sap the foundation of collective leadership, and would place the secretary in an exceptional position with regard to the other bureau members."

Considerable discussion centers round the question of the candidate members. In contrast to the present Rules, the new draft says nothing about prolonging the term of probation, and if during the year the candidate should be found unworthy of membership, he is denied admittance and is no longer regarded as a candidate member.

Some comrades do not agree with this and suggest that the branches should have the right to prolong the term of probation, particularly in the case of a candidate transferred to work in another place. This proposal is supported by Party

members Bezus (Azerbaijan), Parashkov (Suzdal), Shlifer (Sovetsk) and others.

Party member Vedenyakin (Ashkhabad) objects to retaining the point in the draft Rules which stipulates that a Party member against whom sanctions are taken may be reduced to the status of candidate member. "We admit as candidates those who have proved worthy of this and have positively recommended themselves," he writes. "Probation is a stage on the way to full membership. But when a member of the CPSU is reduced to candidate status, this term becomes something of a reformatory nature and its significance is lowered."

Engineer Povileyko, Youth League member, suggests that the point in the draft Program to the effect that "at least one-third of the total membership of a Soviet should be renewed" should be supplemented with the words "particularly from

among the educated and vigorous young members, those with initiative." Engineer Berdin from Stalingrad objects to this. Of course, he writes, young men and women should be elected to the Soviets, but the right proportion should be observed. In the main the Soviets should be renewed from among experienced people, the proportion between the young and old members being maintained.

If one follows today the exchange of views, criticisms and proposals made at meetings, in the press and over the radio, he will not fail to sense the desire of the working people to take an active part in the great nationwide referendum which will determine the future of every Soviet man and woman and of the country as a whole.

K. Morozov,
I. Mikhailov.

The Mexican Communist Party Is Growing Stronger

IN the year that has passed since the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Mexico*, developments have fully confirmed the soundness of the Congress decisions, a point stressed at the recent 4th enlarged meeting of the Central Committee.

The advances made by the forces of socialism, democracy and national liberation are of great help to the working class and people of Mexico in their struggle against imperialism. The Cuban revolution has stimulated anti-imperialist popular action and revolutionary reconstruction which will rid the working class and the people as a whole from oppression, exploitation and poverty. A feature of the present political situation in the country is the growing struggle for better conditions, for democracy and against imperialist oppression. Discontent, caused by the fall in the standard of living and by the government repressions, is growing. Class antagonisms are becoming more pronounced; the working class is stepping up its struggle against the capitalists, while the peasants are fighting with renewed vigor against the landowners. The progressive, anti-imperialist forces are uniting in the struggle for national liberation.

The powerful support to the Cuban revolution through the action of one million Mexicans against the U.S. mercenaries' intervention in Cuba forced the Lopez Mateos government to proclaim the

principle of non-interference, which corresponds to the feelings of the Mexican people. But at the same time the government, fearing the masses and cringing before the imperialists, has taken action against the movement of solidarity with Cuba.

One of the immediate aims pursued by the counteroffensive launched by the clerical, bourgeois and landowning reactionaries — agents of U.S. imperialism — is to make it easier for the government to repudiate its previous statements in relation to Cuba and to follow imperialism all along the line.

The government is now pursuing a policy of compromise and concessions to the reactionaries and to U.S. imperialism; it is giving assurances that it will intensify the reprisals against the popular actions and against the independent trade union and anti-imperialist movement.

The Communist Party envisages a further leftward swing of the masses, intensified struggle in town and countryside, a narrowing of the government's social base, polarization of the political forces and the emergence of a nationwide political crisis, with conditions becoming more favorable for the democratic national-liberation revolution.

A basic condition, without which the working class and the people will not be able to achieve victory, is the ideological, political and organizational growth of the Communist Party. Should the

*See *World Marxist Review*, No. 9, 1960.

Party fail to take advantage of the situation to win more members, enhance its role in the democratic movement and consolidate the united front, then the mass struggle, the united action by the democratic forces, and working-class organizations, the peasants and the people, may fall under the influence of the conciliatory sections who will try to come to terms with the enemies of the Mexican people.

In order to build a bigger Communist Party the chief thing is to cement its unity on the basis of the political line endorsed by the Thirteenth Congress and developed by the subsequent meetings of the Central Committee. Unity will be upheld by uncompromising struggle against opportunist deviations, both Left and Right.

The Party insists on strict observance of the Leninist standards of Party life; its aim is to become an instrument capable of reacting quickly to events and of organizing the mass struggle and united action with the democratic forces. "The Party," reads the resolution of the 4th Central Committee meeting, "must rid itself of the sectarianism which isolates it from the masses, from the bureaucratic habits which hamper its activity, and from the liberalism which exposes it to the blows of reaction and facilitates penetration into its ranks of bourgeois and imperialist influences. The branches and higher level committees should function as autonomous organizations, capable of reacting quickly to any political development and of taking correct steps in all circumstances."

The Party is working to extend its influence in the labor and peasant movements, and especially among those sections of the working class where its influence at the moment is weak.

The national sovereignty and economic liberation movement to which the Communists are paying close attention with a view to rallying its forces, can be a basis for the unity of the democratic forces. The Party regards this movement as an embryonic form of the democratic front for national liberation, which will be able to have the decisive say in the country's policy.

At present the task of the Communists is to work harder for an independent trade union movement; for ridding the unions of government tutelage which makes it difficult for the working class to assume the leading role in the anti-imperialist and democratic movement and to put forward its class demands on a large scale; and for abolishing the domination of those union chiefs who have sold themselves to the government and the employers.

In order to live up to their role as the vanguard of the mass movement, the Communists must not only take part in the independent ac-

tions of the working people but also direct these actions, no matter where they take place, see to it that they become bigger in scale, draw up demands for these actions, choose the opportune moment for action, and coordinate them with other movements.

It is highly important in this respect to study the urgent demands of the working people and to explain to them that only as a result of the radical political changes which the Communist Party proposes, and the struggle for them, can the basic problems be solved.

The Party gives its wholehearted support to the creation of a peasant organization that will be independent of the government and landowners. Many peasants (both those with land and those who are landless) have decided to withdraw from the National Peasant Confederation, having learned from experience that it serves only the interests of the big bourgeoisie and is an instrument in their hands for holding back the movement for a democratic land reform. None of the existing associations ensures effective protection of the peasant interests, or aims at ending the oppression of the peasantry by the big bourgeoisie. The independent movement which originated in Zamora (Michoacan) and now unites more than a hundred thousand peasants, has infused fresh blood into the age-old struggle for land and freedom.

The Communist Party is working to establish a united democratic women's organization; it plans to hold a special conference of its women members.

Much remains to be done in the matter of uniting the youth. In recent years young people have been taking an active part in the democratic struggles. They organized a number of big demonstrations in solidarity with Cuba. The students, who are particularly active, are ousting from their organizations the political adventurers and gangsters. Conditions are ripe for building a national united student organization to which the Communists attach great significance. Close attention should be paid to the Communist Youth League in order to make it a mass organization.

The 4th Central Committee meeting approved the steps taken by its Political Commission to combat the anti-Communist campaign launched by the leadership of the Socialist Popular Party (SPP). It pointed to the need to explain the ideological and political differences between the Communist Party and the SPP which is necessary in order to prevent confusion in the ranks of the working class and the distortion of Marxism-Leninism in ideology and politics. *La Voz de Mexico*, the Party paper, published a series of articles on the SPP. These articles, which were approved by the Political Commission, criticized the

revisionist concepts of Lombardo Toledano, SPP leader. At the same time the Communist Party declares that the ideological and political differences should not be an obstacle to joint action on the specific issues on which views coincide, provided the anti-communist sallies are discontinued.

The meeting approved the leadership's attitude to the small anti-party groups of opportunists — the so-called Worker-Peasant Party, the Workers' Front and the revisionist, liquidator group headed by Revueltas — who are sowing confusion and continuing their disruptive activities. Struggle against the Communist Party has become the whole meaning of their existence.

At one time when the Worker-Peasant Party had genuine revolutionaries in its ranks, the correct policy was to work to enlist them into the Communist Party. But this is no longer the case. After the Central Committee meeting in July-August 1959 and after the Thirteenth Congress, the sound elements in the Worker-Peasant Party joined the Communist Party. The Political Commission arranged a discussion with the leadership of the Worker-Peasant Party the moment Revueltas' liquidator faction withdrew from it. The discussions revealed, however, that the last thing these leaders wanted was unity with the Communist Party; they were ready to talk about it for demagogic purposes, while adhering to the same opportunist and reformist attitude as the SPP on the internal political issues. The Worker-Peasant Party has degenerated into a splinter group isolated from the masses and seeking to divide the working class.

The Central Committee pointed out that the primary task of the Party was to educate the members in the spirit of discipline and observance of Party decisions.

Membership is rising. After the Thirteenth Congress hundreds of workers, peasants, students and intellectuals joined the Party. Attention is now being paid to winning new members, particularly from among the workers in big enterprises, poor peasants and agricultural laborers.

Efforts are now being made to re-establish contact with members who are out of touch with their organizations. Better educational work and verification of dues payment will help to activate the members. The Party organizations are working today to win more sympathisers.

Marxist-Leninist education of the members, raising their theoretical and political level and a thorough study of the conditions in the country are of decisive significance. The Central Committee plans to open a national school for cadres and to arrange a wide network of classes at various levels, and also to print aids for those studying individually.

Steps have been taken to strengthen the local organizations. Branch work in the enterprises and among peasant communities must be improved so that these organizations live up to their role, and the incorrect practice of substituting groups of activists for the branches must be discontinued.

The decisions of the 4th Central Committee meeting will be instrumental in implementing the line charted by the Thirteenth Congress. In this it will be helped by the documents of the meeting of the 81 parties and the valuable experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is embodied in its draft Program and which doubtlessly is applicable also to Mexican conditions.

The work of the Party will be stimulated by the forthcoming national conference which is to endorse the Party's political platform and program declaration.

Consistent implementation of the line laid down by the Thirteenth Congress has enhanced the Party's prestige among all forward-looking people in the country, while the anti-party petty-bourgeois groups have demonstrated the complete failure of their policy. The Party, entering upon a decisive stage in its political life, is profoundly aware of its responsibility for the future of the country. The signs are that a mass Communist Party will be built up in Mexico.

Camilo CHAVEZ,

Member of the Political Commission of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Mexico.

Great Britain: New Possibilities Are Opening in the Work Among Intellectuals and Professional Workers

THE Twenty-Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain defined the tasks of uniting all sections of the working class and its allies among the middle sections and the professional workers, and all supporters of peace and charted the way "to carry the struggle forward to a still higher stage, and to win decisive changes in policy." The development of monopoly capitalism, which attacks all other sections of the population, has made this alliance a possibility, and indeed a necessity.

The building up of a broad alliance among wide sections of the people, based on a united working class, has a decisive significance not only for the immediate struggle against monopoly capitalism, but finally also for the successful outcome of the struggle for socialism in Britain. In the development of this alliance, intellectuals and professional workers have an important part to play.

What is the position today among this section? What political trends are becoming apparent? What are the possibilities of winning wider sections among them to struggle actively for socialism, and to join the political activity of the Communist Party? In order to give a correct answer, it is above all necessary to perceive the changes that have taken place in the thinking of these social groups. In short, these changes indicate a pronounced swing to the left and the growth of progressive and democratic tendencies among the intellectuals. Recent developments supply a cogent proof to this conclusion.

First, increasing militancy is being shown on the economic front. A highly organized mass strike of teachers in all types of schools has taken place in Scotland on the issues of dilution and salaries. The undervaluing of the teacher's profession is crying indeed. Suffice it to say that a recruit policeman is paid more than a recruit teacher. In England, too, a militant movement is developing among teachers. This is particularly symptomatic if we bear in mind that no such movement has taken place among teachers in Britain for very many decades. Local government officers and civil servants have won salary increases as a direct result of their strong organization and determined action. A considerable proportion of the National Association of Local Government Officers wishes to affiliate to the Trades Union Congress.

Second, in a whole number of ways, professional workers and intellectuals are beginning to direct

the sharpest criticism against the most negative features of modern capitalism, such as the growing commercialization and debasement of culture, a tendency inseparably connected with the growing monopolization of the press, radio, films, etc. This movement takes a great variety of forms. It expresses itself in the widespread concern about the morality put across in television — the emphasis on crime, violence and salacity — even in the "anti-ugly" campaign led by art students. It is shown also in the growth of a new literature of social criticism — in the novels, for instance, of Alan Sillitoe and the plays of Arnold Wesker.

Third, there is a growing disillusionment among some sections of intellectuals with the social policies of the so-called "welfare state" — an increasing understanding that, under cover of this slogan, the ruling class has been strengthening its position, gaining all kinds of privileges, and is now seeking to erode the system of benefits (for instance, in the health service and in national insurance), while millions of people exist in conditions of poverty. In this respect there is a growing recognition that the Labor Party policy of "welfare" and "equality" are not enough; the beginnings, therefore, of a more profound political analysis.

Finally, and most important, there is the broad movement focussed around the struggle for peace, against the H-bomb and the Polaris base, against American and West German bases in general and against NATO. It is in this mass movement for peace that intellectuals and professional workers are playing an important part. The intellectuals, and especially students and young people, have also played a big part in the anti-colonial movement and in the movement against apartheid.

These developments indicate the growth of progressive tendencies among intellectuals and professional workers. But a sober analysis of these tendencies suggests that while there are many among this section who are increasingly critical of various aspects of capitalist society, there is as yet no clear and widespread understanding that there is an alternative to capitalism, and that this alternative is socialism. Today the battle is being carried on against the outlying symptoms of capitalism — it is not yet a battle against capitalism itself. The Communist Party has therefore set the task of developing this movement so that it becomes more and more a conscious alliance

with the working-class movement in the struggle against the monopolies.

This raises a number of practical problems. How can we win intellectuals and professional workers more decisively to the side of the working class? And how can we win them to see the need for socialism?

In the first place, the Communist Party must strengthen its leadership among these sections on both the economic and political issues confronting them, bringing them into active struggle on an increasing scale. Experience shows that in many respects the interests of intellectuals coincide with those of the working class. And this can be the basis for developing a closer alliance between this section and the working-class movement through united action on political and economic issues.

The successful development of this common struggle will itself make possible the further aim of winning broad sections of intellectuals and professional workers to a clear understanding of the necessity for socialism. To win this understanding should be easier than it was, say 20 years ago. The great advances in economic development, and particularly in science and technology in the socialist countries, have had a profound impact on the public — an impact that is bound to become of even greater significance in the next few years. But while explaining the achievements of the socialist countries, British Communists have the special job of showing what socialism could mean in Britain — not only in the sphere of science and technology but also in the field of education, culture and human welfare generally. The socialist solution must be posed in such a way that a much larger proportion of intellectuals and professional workers begin to see it as a real — and an achievable — alternative to capitalism.

But the main thing for us is to win intellectuals and professional workers not only to an understanding of what socialism could mean, but also to participate actively in the struggle for socialism, to help them to understand the nature of the class struggle and the necessity for the Communist Party.

We realize that this is a complex and difficult task. From the nature of its economic position and social ties, this section often has the greatest

difficulty in understanding the issue of class and class struggle, and tends to be isolated from it, or to adopt a neutral attitude. A doctor, a teacher working in a school, or a university lecturer, has no "boss" in the sense of the factory worker. Exploitation does not take the same, direct form.

It is sometimes suggested that the Communist Party has too rigid an organization, is too rigid in outlook, to attract intellectuals; that it stresses too much issues such as the class struggle; that the Communist Party would be more successful if it toned down its policy and outlook, and so on.

Our answer is that there is no escape from the contradictions of capitalist society, that the policy of the Communist Party corresponds to the vital interests of the working people and that we cannot adapt ourselves to the needs and requirements of any individuals. To do otherwise would be fatal for the Marxist-Leninist Party. Intellectuals and professional workers can only be won for active support to the working class and to see the necessity for the Communist Party if political understanding among them is carried to the point where they realize that the decisive issue is the winning of political power by the working class, to the point where they see that this is the prerequisite for the introduction of socialism. And the intellectuals will, in time, come to this understanding. There is a growing interest in the ideas of Marxism-Leninism among them. This is seen, for example, from the fact that the textbook *Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism*, written under the editorship of O. V. Kuusinen, has had a very large sale. We are working to provide more Marxist literature on current political, social and cultural issues, greatly to extend the sale of our theoretical journal, *Marxism Today*, among intellectuals and to enrich it with contributions covering a wider range. We intend to organize Open Forums for discussions between Marxists and non-Marxists in all the great cities. These steps will help in developing further the growing movement among intellectuals and professional workers — in developing it from an individual, largely spontaneous protest into an organized social protest.

To increase the influence of the Communist Party among this section is a job not only for intellectuals but for the Party as a whole.

Brian SIMON.

Factory Papers in Austria

FOR a long time the trade union movement in Austria had been disunited. Each political party had its trade unions which were often engaged in bitter strife. The Communist Party alone stood for trade union unity, and after the war this line found strong support among the working class. Under rank-and-file pressure the leaders of the Socialist and Christian unions agreed to negotiate with the Communists. As a result, a single Trade Union Center was founded. And despite provocations and splitting activity, this unity, a vital gain of the Austrian working class, has been preserved.

But organizational unity does not exclude a clash of views and opinions on one or another aspect of the working-class movement. The Communists are working to make the Trade Union Center an instrument of class struggle, a real champion of the workers and an organization independent of the government. The Communists, who stand for broad trade union democracy, hold that the unions should have a say in political matters. The leaders of the Socialist and Catholic People's parties, however, would like to turn the unions into appendages to the government, to extend the influence of the ruling coalition to trade union policy.

While the Christian union leaders are siding more and more openly with the employers, the Socialists who dominate in the trade union offices and press, are opposed to the idea of workers making decisions and are inculcating the notion of "social partnership." This state of affairs, contrary to the will of the Communists, has resulted in the appearance of factional groups both in the Trade Union Center and in the unions.

The Socialist and Christian factions have a well-organized machine at their disposal and are lavishly financed, whereas the Communist-supported Trade Union Unity group has a modest apparatus in the Center and practically no opportunity to express its views in the trade union press.

Ten years ago the unity group decided to put out a number of factory papers for the purpose of making its attitude known to the workers. The publication of these papers was greatly facilitated by the action of the Communist Party which instructed factory branches to transfer their papers to the Unity group.

Today, there are approximately 200 of these factory papers. True, only a few of them appear regularly. On the average, about 80 factory papers in a total edition of from 50,000 to 80,000 copies appear every month. As a rule, the circulation

ranges from 15 to 75 per cent of the workers in the factory.

Most of the factory bulletins are financed by sales and donations. Still, they have insufficient funds and are often hectographed. But even this has its advantages for it is a cheap and quick method. The hectographed bulletins come out with hand-written headings, simple pictures and cartoons. The readers get the impression that those who write for the paper are actually talking to them.

The strength of the factory paper is its ability to orientate itself on a readership who in most cases are known to the editors personally. The more so because there is a considerable number of small or medium-sized enterprises employing less than 1,000 workers. But this possibility was not always made use of. Earlier, there was a tendency to write editorials on political issues and to regard production and trade union problems as "not very important."

The Central Committee of our Party has set up a committee to help the factory papers to appear regularly and to improve their content and layout. For this purpose a special 20-25 page monthly *Press Bulletin* gives the factory papers advice concerning their content, carries articles on trade union, economic and political subjects and materials which help the editors to prepare their own articles on these subjects. This *Press Bulletin* also carries feuilletons, verses, pictures and cartoons on current events and popularizes the experience of the factory papers.

To draw attention to the factory press and to arouse interest in it, we arrange competitions for the best factory paper. Here regularity, content and layout are taken into account.

We also hold meetings with the editors at which the factory papers are thoroughly analyzed. It is emphasized that in addition to featuring production and trade union matters, the papers should not ignore such general problems as the achievements of the socialist countries, the fight for peace, etc.

The usefulness of the *Press Bulletin* as an aid is widely recognized. The initial apprehensions that use of its materials would lead to uniformity have proved groundless, for as the *Bulletin* is fairly voluminous each paper can select from it the materials best suited to its needs.

Many speakers at the Eighteenth Party Congress in April 1961 pointed out that the Party organizations were alive to the importance of factory papers though this, of course, did not

mean that there were no difficulties and shortcomings in producing them. The Congress stressed that every opportunity should be used for starting new factory papers.

Our experience has once more confirmed that the factory papers are not only a good medium for propaganda but are useful also as organizers. Regular publication makes it possible to discuss production matters and politics in the factory, to handle pressing problems and the work of the Trade Union Unity production councils. The papers are indispensable for organizing trade union action.

Most of the papers work under great handicaps — the employers do not allow them to be sold in their factories; they keep an eye on those who buy them, victimize the editors and sellers and sometimes the readers. But these measures can prevent publication only for a while. Ways and means are found of overcoming the difficulties and of bringing the paper to its readers.

Factory papers are valuable weapons in the day-to-day class struggle; they inform and educate the workers and rouse them to action for their vital interests.

Fred MARGULIS.

Successes and Tasks of the Mongolian Communists

THE Fourteenth Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party met in July on the eve of the national holiday — the 40th anniversary of the revolution — in an atmosphere of labor enthusiasm and political activity. The Congress reviewed the work of the Party and noted with satisfaction the successes won by the people in socialist construction under Party leadership.

The formerly feudal and backward Mongolia has developed into an agrarian industrial country. It has power, coal, oil, mining, metal and building industries, a light industry, food and other industries. By 1960, compared with 1940, industrial output had risen more than sevenfold, with the state sector showing an 8.7-fold increase. In the past three years the average annual rate of industrial growth has been 17.9 per cent.

Big changes have taken place in the countryside. Today agricultural associations unite 99.3 per cent of the arat households. With the completion of cooperation in agriculture, socialist production relations have triumphed in all branches of the national economy. Mongolia, as Y. Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the Party, reported to the Congress, "... has entered upon a new period of her development, a period in which the construction of socialist society will be accomplished. The basic content of this period is the all-round development and completion of the material and technical base of socialism, the main link of which is industrialization of the country and the mechanization of agriculture."

The Party and the people are confronted with the important task of accelerating economic and cultural development and of catching up with the advanced countries; in this they are being aided by the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union and are benefiting from their experience.

The Congress approved the third five-year economic plan (1961-65), which envisages further all-

out development of agriculture. Sixty-four per cent of the population is engaged in stock-breeding — the principal branch of agriculture. The task is quickly to overcome the lag in stock-breeding and to make it highly profitable.

In addition to stock-raising Mongolia has taken to crop-growing. In 1959 and 1960 some 260,000 hectares of virgin land were brought under the plough with the aid of the Soviet Union. It is planned to develop an additional 625,000 hectares of virgin land and to bring the total crop area to 753,000 hectares. The idea is that the country should grow all its grain and fodder requirements.

The five-year plan has set big tasks before industry. By 1965 the volume of industrial output will rise 2.1-fold. The average annual rate of growth of the gross national product will be approximately 16 per cent. Compared with 1960, coal output is expected to increase 2.2-fold. It is planned, in particular, to sink a mine with a capacity of one million tons a year. Generation of power will grow 3.6-fold. Mining and metal-working will be expanded, and the output of the light industry will be trebled.

The plan foresees a growth of the national income by more than 60 per cent. The average wage of industrial workers is expected to increase by 15 to 20 per cent while the incomes of the agricultural cooperative members will be increased by 50 per cent. Housing with a total dwelling space of over a million square meters will be built.

Striking progress has been made in education and culture. Illiteracy has been abolished; universal elementary (four-year) education now extends to all rural areas and seven-year education to towns and district centers. In higher education there are 73 students for every ten thousand of

the population, which is higher than in Italy, Japan, Federal Germany and other capitalist countries. Another recent development was the opening of an Academy of Sciences.

During the third five-year plan period seven-year education will be made universal and compulsory. Enrolment in the higher schools is scheduled to increase by 43 per cent, and in the secondary technical schools by 50 per cent. A medical college, polytechnical institute and a number of secondary technical schools will be opened.

Short Notices

CONFERENCE OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTRIES

A CONFERENCE of the Communist and Workers' parties of Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica was held in July in one of the Central American countries.

The statement adopted by the conference dwells on the economic situation in the Central American countries and points to the rise in unemployment, in the incidence of disease, in the mortality rate and in general impoverishment. These, the statement continues, are the consequence of the general crisis of capitalism, and in particular, of the economic crisis in the United States. This means greater dependence on U.S. imperialism, continued plunder of the national wealth by it and exploitation of the people in this area.

The intensified political and economic penetration of U.S. imperialism in these countries and its insistence on the formation of a "Central American Common Market" are contrary to the national interests of these countries. Their real unity can be achieved only after complete liberation from the imperialist oppression of the U.S. monopolies. The statement then outlines ways and means of common struggle by these countries for national independence and sovereignty.

It points to the reactionary and anti-democratic methods used by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in these countries. The abolition of democratic institutions; the banning of opposition political parties, trade union, youth, students and other mass organizations; the arrests, exile, executions and anti-communist hysteria; ruin of the national culture; withdrawal of democratic rights; the resort to McCarthyism and other instruments of oppression — these, the statement says, lead to a

The Congress noted that in the past few years the Party has grown stronger; its social composition has substantially improved, its leading role has been enhanced and its prestige is high.

The membership stands at 43,902. The proportion of workers in it has risen to 26.2 per cent. Cooperative members make up 24.7 per cent; 18.1 per cent of the members are women.

The Congress demonstrated the unity and cohesion of the Party on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

fascist-like state apparatus and a fascist type of political life in Central America.

But despite the reactionary onslaught the national-liberation movement in these countries is growing, the patriotic forces are gaining in strength, membership of the Communist and Workers' parties and their ideological level are on the upgrade, the unity of the working people in town and countryside in the fight for bread, work, national independence and peace is making headway.

In its second resolution the conference expressed solidarity with the Cuban revolution:

"Defense of the Cuban revolution," it said, "signifies safeguarding our own national independence and democratic rights; it signifies safeguarding the right of our peoples to self-determination and upholding the principle of non-interference in our internal affairs. Defense of the Cuban revolution signifies defense of our own revolution, of the right of our peoples to a better life, to genuine freedom and well-being. Defense of the Cuban revolution is a valuable contribution to strengthening world peace, for direct U.S. aggression against Cuba could spark off a third world war.

Algeria

FOR AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST FRONT OF THE MAGHREB COUNTRIES

IN connection with the French aggression in Bizerte the Central Committee of the Algerian Communist Party issued a call which says:

The events in Bizerte show once more that the liberation struggle of the three Maghreb countries is a common struggle. So long as Algeria is occupied in the south and in the north, neither Tunisia nor Morocco can be genuinely free and secure. Paratroopers — the butchers of our peo-

ple — the shells, the guns, and the planes which bombarded Bizerte were sent from Algeria.

The Communist Party calls on the Maghreb countries to join in a united front against the common danger and against the common enemy and for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from North Africa. It hails the decision of the Algerian Provisional Government to give moral and material aid to Tunisia.

The events in Bizerte enable the people of Tunisia to distinguish their real friends — the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the Arab East and those Asian and African countries which support the Tunisian government. They see now that Kennedy's "anti-colonialism" is simply a cloak for the imperialist support of the French colonialists, as is evident from the attitude of the U.S. delegate to the Security Council who made no distinction between the French aggressors and the people of Tunisia. These events enable them to see that the imperialist West — France's co-partner in NATO — considers her aggressive designs and the retention of military bases in North Africa more important than the freedom and the lives of the people.

The Communist Party declares: *our duty today is to help Tunisia in her struggle for Bizerte*. The Party urges the Algerians *actively, immediately and with every means possible* to display their solidarity with the Tunisian people, with their national organizations and government which are fighting for Bizerte. Now that the French imperialists are encountering growing difficulties and are exposing their front in Algeria, we must extend and develop in every way the national battle for the integrity of our country, for Algerian Sahara, for independence, peace and genuine guarantees of self-determination.

Guadeloupe

HOW TO SOLVE THE AGRARIAN PROBLEM

THE Communist Party has addressed a letter to the peasants setting forth its views on the agrarian question.

In recent years, the letter says, the state of agriculture has worsened considerably. The small and medium farmers are experiencing greater difficulties in disposing of their produce. Agricultural development is subordinated to the interests of the colonialists and the drive for profit. The single-crop farming system has resulted in a one-sided development of the economy, in growing unemployment and greater dependence on the foreign market. Every year Guadeloupe is forced to import onions, potatoes, rice, beans and coffee

to the value of 4,000 to 5,000 million francs. And this despite the fact that it has enough land and labor to grow these crops in sufficient quantities.

The Communist Party stands for an immediate agrarian reform which should not be confined to a mere re-distribution of land in favor of the small and middle farmers. This reform should be a complex of technical, financial, educational and psychological measures designed to modernize agriculture, change the trend of development and make it more productive. In addition to sugar cane and bananas, other crops should be cultivated, mainly those which will increase the output of foodstuffs. The reform should provide for technical and financial aid to the peasants for without it they will not be able to grow cheap produce.

Canada

FOR A PEACE TREATY WITH GERMANY

THE Communist Party of Canada, in a call to public opinion for a peaceful solution of the West Berlin question, issued a statement which was printed as a paid advertisement in a number of daily papers, urging that Prime Minister Diefenbaker "should publicly call for the commencement of a round-table conference to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Berlin crisis."

"A peace treaty must be signed with both German states," says the advertisement, and Germany "must never again become a hotbed for war."

Pointing out that the "West German leaders clamor for the restoration of the borders of the Nazi Reich, for the destruction of the German Democratic Republic," the Communist Party warns the people that unless there is a peace treaty, West Germany will acquire nuclear arms with which to threaten all humanity.

On August 22, the Metro Toronto Committee of the Communist Party held a mass picket demonstration outside the United States Consulate calling for immediate negotiations for a peaceful solution of the Berlin question.

In British Columbia the Communist Party was particularly active. Comrade McEwen, editor of the *Pacific Tribune*, addressed an audience of 2,000 on this subject at the annual Labor-Farmer picnic on August 6. Nigel Morgan, provincial leader of the Party, and Charles Caron, provincial organizer, spoke on the same subject at the University of British Columbia. Harold Pritchett, Vancouver city organizer, addressed a public gathering at False Creek Park.

In all the activity of the Party throughout the country, PEACE remains the central theme.

In Memory of William Z. Foster

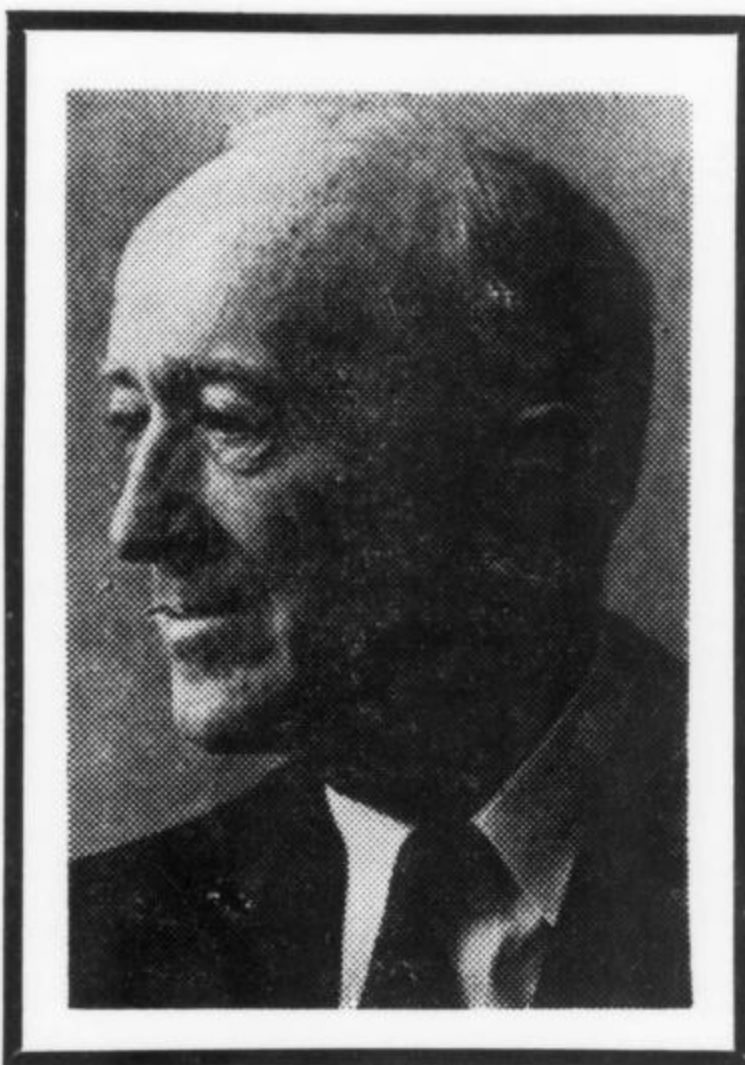
COMRADE William Z. Foster, honorary chairman of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States and outstanding figure of the American and international Communist and workers' movement, died on September 1.

For more than 65 of his 80 years Comrade Foster championed the cause of the working people. He joined the American Socialist Party 60 years ago. In the fight to unite the Left in the trade unions he developed into a talented organizer and leader of the masses.

William Foster became a member of the U.S. Communist Party in 1921 and in four decades of hard but glorious struggle he worked to build it up. He was elected chairman of the Party in 1929, and, later, honorary chairman. With dauntless courage he countered the attacks of reaction against the Party and with genuine Leninist irreconcilability combated the opportunists and sectarians of different kinds. In 1944-45 Foster fought against the anti-Party liquidation policy of Browder and played an important part in combating the attacks of the revisionists on the Party in 1956. The staunchness displayed by Comrade Foster in upholding the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism is a model for all Communists.

Foster was a prominent figure also in the international Communist movement. He was present at the third, fifth, sixth and seventh congresses of the Communist International. In 1924 he became a member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, in 1928 an alternate member of its Presidium and in 1935 he was elected a member of the Presidium.

In addition to sterling qualities as a practical worker for the cause of communism, Foster was an



outstanding Marxist theorist. During the past decade there came from his pen *The Twilight of World Capitalism*, *Outline Political History of the Americas*, *History of the Communist Party of the United States*, *The Negro People in American History*, *History of the Three Internationals*, *Outline History of the International Trade Union Movement*. Foster's last work, *The Historical Advance of World Socialism*, came off the press a short while ago.

An ardent fighter for peace, Foster ceaselessly exposed the warmongers — the American imperialists—and called for an end to the cold war.

Comrade Foster was held in the highest esteem by all progressives in the United States, and by Communists in all countries. By the same token he was hated by all reactionaries. In 1948 Comrade Foster, together with other leaders of the American Communist Party, was charged by the U.S. authorities. Hesitating to jail Foster (he was seriously ill) as they did the other Party leaders, the authorities kept him under strict police surveillance for over ten years.

In one of his last articles, which was printed in our journal, Comrade Foster wrote: "The successful struggles of the peoples against American reaction is the main condition for the growth of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism."

Foster's unshakable faith in the triumph of peace and socialism and his splendid life serve as an example in the struggle for the victory of the progressive forces.

William Z. Foster will live in the memory of all Communists and of the working people of all countries as a splendid son of America, a staunch revolutionary and dauntless fighter for communism.

Meetings of Central Committees

COMMUNIST PARTY OF HOLLAND

A MEETING of the Central Committee of the Communist Party held in August adopted a resolution on the war danger in Europe. "During the tension that developed on the issue of West Berlin," the resolution says, "it became clear that there was a strong feeling among our people in favor of a neutral policy for Holland.

"The whipping up of war hysteria by the government press and radio is far less effective than it was during the Hungarian events. The warmongers are intimidating the people again, claiming that the sealing off of the Berlin sector boundary and the forthcoming conclusion by the Soviet Union and other countries of a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic are the 'prelude' to a military attack on the Western powers and West Berlin. This lie must be exposed."

Our people do not want to be embroiled in another world war because of West Berlin, the resolution says, and therefore a resolute struggle should be developed to free Holland from the government commitments with respect to the NATO supreme command.

The grave danger of war should impel the people to sink political differences and subordinate all efforts to the slogan of the day — everything for peace.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF DENMARK

At the August meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party Knud Espersen, Party chairman, made a report on the international situation. Referring to the danger inherent in the NATO policy, he said: "Under NATO pressure Denmark is embarking on a dangerous undertaking which is likely to lead to national disaster and suicide. A plan has been worked out for establishing a unified command of the Danish-West German armed forces. This means that our young people would be sent to the German front on the very first day in the event of war breaking out. Through the Common Market, Catholic reaction and big capital in Europe, under the leadership of West Germany, aim at turning Denmark into a province of West Germany."

The meeting put the following demands before the government:

—resist the military, political and propaganda pressure of the NATO aggressive circles;

—abandon the plans for a Danish-West German military command and close NATO's German military depots on Danish soil;

—display initiative at all world forums, aimed at negotiations for a peace treaty with the two Germanys;

—recognize the German Democratic Republic;

—tell the public the truth about the German question.

The meeting called all supporters of peace and independence for Denmark to unite in order to achieve these aims.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE

The Central Committee of the Communist Party met over August 27-29, at a time when the working people were fighting for their rights. The strike at the iron and steel plant in Huachipato lasted more than 40 days. Some 15,000 workers employed at the U.S.-owned copper mines, 30,000 locomotive drivers and other railway workers, 35,000 school-teachers, medical workers, pupils and many others — in all, more than 150,000 people — took part in the strikes at this time.

In his report at the first meeting which was attended by 6,000 people, Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Party, refuted the Chilean President's claim that the living standards were improving and described the plight of the working people, who, he said, insisted on a radical change in economic policy and far-reaching reforms in the social structure.

The consolidation of the socialist revolution in Cuba, he continued, shows Latin America that the relationship of forces on the world arena is changing in favor of socialism and the liberation movement.

The meeting pointed to the gains made by the Party in the rural areas, namely, the holding of the first congress of peasants and Indians, attended by 800 delegates, and the founding of the Federation of Peasants and Indians—the first united organization of the rural working people.

Conditions in Chile are ripe for forming a government of the Popular Action Front with the participation of all parties affiliated to it and other forces supporting its program. In this connection the meeting stressed the need to strengthen Socialist-Communist unity and set forth the conditions needed for founding a united party of the working class.

It was decided to convene the Twelfth National Congress of the Party in March 1962.

The meeting noted the successful campaign for new members which led to a 50 per cent increase in the membership of the Party. It is hoped to double the membership by the time of the Twelfth Congress.

J.C.

Exchange of Views

I. Man and His Future

(International Seminar in Royaumont)

AN international seminar on the subject of social progress was held on May 17-20 in Royaumont near Paris and on May 21 in Sorbonne. Sponsored by the editorial board of *Problems of Peace and Socialism* and by the Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Marxistes in Paris, the Royaumont meeting attracted many scholars in different branches of science, from both the socialist and the capitalist countries, Marxists and non-Marxists.

The following basic points were debated at the conference: 1) *the march of history and the transition from one social system to another*; 2) *socio-economic problems in the underdeveloped countries*; 3) *the new breakthrough in science and technology and its social consequences*; 4) *criteria and ideals of social progress*.

As can be seen from the ideological struggle in which the two social systems are engaged today, the outstanding issues of our times, those associated with the prospects of the social development of humanity, are centered around the question of progress.

The frank discussion of these issues refuted the "industrial society" concept preached by men like Walter Rostow and Raymond Aron, the technocrat theory of Fourastié, the Toynbee theory of cycles in history, and the fashionable existential-

ist views on the senselessness of history. In the polemic with ideological opponents, Marxist theorists produced weighty arguments in favor of the materialist conception of history and the theory of scientific communism. They pointed to the perspectives opened up by socialism and noted the ideals and aims for which all forward-looking men and women should fight. To the basic question posed by the conference — "What is man's future?" — the Marxists gave a well-grounded and unequivocal answer — *socialism and communism!*

The exchange of views was most useful. It enabled the Marxists to get a better idea of the problems agitating many intellectuals in the West, enabled them to sharpen their arguments and verify their soundness. They found allies among progressive scientists, writers and others who are equally inspired by the desire for peace, social justice and progress.

The seminar reaffirmed that the ideas of Marxism and scientific communism are the dominant force in the social thinking of the times. It confirmed also the ideological poverty of anti-communism. And it showed that he who in our days chooses to close his eyes to Marxism, to its usefulness in his professional and public work, consigns himself to the solitude of the ideological "ghetto" of the bourgeoisie.

TWO WORLD OUTLOOKS CLASH

(Diary of a Seminar)

Royaumont, May 17

THE old abbey of Royaumont which housed the seminar is about 20 miles or so north of Paris. The traditional meeting place for international gatherings of scientists nowadays, the abbey has had a chequered history. Once upon a time it was the habitat of monks and the ruins of the church in the outer court recall the stormy times of the 1789 revolution.

Scientists' Duel

Gathered in the small hall in which our ideological duel took place were some 50 sociologists, philosophers, historians, economists, scientists and

writers, men of widely varying political views; logical argument and statistics were our principal weapons. The presence of newspapermen from *l'Humanite*, *France Nouvelle*, *Express*, *Le Monde*, *Figaro* and others, showed that the subject, man's future, was of interest not only to the scientists but also to the layman.

In his opening address Henri Laugier expressed the hope that participation of experts in the various branches of science, men from a wide range of countries and of different outlooks, would impart to the meeting a profound significance and at the same time further international understanding and cooperation among scientists. Never before,

he said, was this cooperation so essential as it is now. The days when society could sit back and wait for individual discoveries and invention to take place had gone forever. Today social progress depended not so much on scientific discovery as on its rational, organized application for the benefit of man.

The advances made in biological science, Laugier said, foreshadow that in the not-too-distant future, say, after several generations, parents will be able to predetermine the sex of their children. Another realistic perspective is that of imparting to man desired physical and spiritual qualities. It is as yet difficult to foresee the possible social consequences of these discoveries. It is quite in the cards that they will explode the traditional family and other relations and social institutions in exactly the same way as the nuclear bomb threatens to incinerate our cities. And in order to avoid social calamities of this kind man must be the conscious creator of his own future.

I. PROGRESS PRESUPPOSES A CHANGE OF FORMATION

According to schedule, the first day of our work was to be historical, for on the agenda were *problems associated with the transition from one social system to another*. The subject was introduced by the French historian Pierre Vilar (see pp. 65-67).

The Ariadne Thread of the Historian

Is there a place for the historian among the philosophers, sociologists and economists who have come together to study the criteria and conditions for human progress? asked Vilar. That school of thinkers which grew up on the soil of 19th century German sociology would have said "No." But in the mid-20th century it would be hard to substantiate this attitude. At a time when the socialist world is switching over to long-range planning, when intellectuals in the West see before them "a perspective," and when politicians who can hardly be suspected of sympathizing with Marxism speak about the "winds of change," it is no longer possible to describe as "obsolete concepts" the efforts of those who in the 19th century pointed to the possibility of cognizing history and who actually made it cognizable. Today, on the contrary, it is the economics of the instantaneous equilibriums and the sociology of eternal and immutable forms that comes in for condemnation. The moment the static makes way for the dynamic, and the restricted observation for the broad comparison, social science as a whole becomes historical in principle.

Making a detailed analysis of the theory of "stages of economic growth" advanced by the

American writer Rostow, a theory now fashionable in the West, Vilar demonstrated its scientific poverty. The Rostow concept, he said, vulgar economically and naive historically, boils down to an idealization of the capitalists and of capitalist enterprise. Neither in explaining the past nor in attempting to look into the future can this concept, no matter how gently we let it down, stand comparison with Marxism.

Vilar's conclusion, which showed that it was wrong to laud the "industrial" society of today at the expense of the "traditional" society, was backed by his fellow historian Ernest Labrousse who pointed to the growth of exploitation of the working people from the 18th century to the present day.

The Future Belongs to Communism!

Whereas Vilar's paper traced the transition from feudalism to capitalism, the contribution made by Alexander Sobolev complemented and developed it as a theoretical substantiation of the historical necessity of the further development of society from capitalism to communism. Imbued with a life-affirming optimism, Sobolev's paper concentrated on the vital problems of social progress in our times.

Particular problems in various spheres of man's material and intellectual development and also in different countries, Sobolev emphasized, derive from the general question — whither humanity as a whole? — from the necessity of replacing the obsolescent social formations by the new, advanced formations — socialism and communism. At the same time technical, economic and cultural progress, and social progress generally, can be assured only in a world at peace, since modern war might result in the wiping out of our civilization. The breath-taking tasks posed by modern science can be resolved only by the combined efforts of all humanity unfettered by the chains of private property, exploitation and national oppression. Everything that man is doing today must have as its purpose the happiness of all, the freedom of all peoples without distinction. And this is possible only in a society which no longer knows oppression of man by man. The signs of this progress are plainly to be seen in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries which are paving mankind's way to the future.

Peace and Progress Are Indivisible

Eugene Kamenov, a Bulgarian economist, spoke of peaceful coexistence as the decisive condition of social advance in our time. Peaceful coexistence, said Kamenov, is conducive to world progress both because it is the alternative to anni-

hilating nuclear war, clears the way to mutually advantageous economic and cultural exchange and because it enables the peoples to choose the system which best meets their aspirations and ideals.

By holding up visas for Soviet scholars, whose number included the historians Zhukov and Porshnev, the Quai d'Orsay introduced its own amendments to the agenda of our seminar. And so to fill the gap, it was decided to hear the views of those who had been listed to speak later.

So what kind of future did the gathering foresee? Each had his own views on that score, at times excluding but more often complementing that of the other man. According to Alfred Sauvy, for instance, the share of the over-60 age group in the population of the economically developed countries, as a result of the demographic tendency for "the population to grow older," will have risen to 20-25 per cent by the year 2000. And this change will make imperative a corresponding change in the use of the labor force, a redistribution of the national income and a reorganization, or, as he described it, a "rejuvenation" of the social institutions; but, he went on, this is impossible under private property which counterposes to one another not only the classes but also the different generations.

The Cromagnon Puts the Racists to Shame

Sauvy was followed by Professor Chauchard.

The vehicle of progress, in Prof. Chauchard's view, was the brain, or to be more precise, its frontal lobes. As for technological advance and social conditions, these were but the more or less favorable media that enabled the brain to develop its inherent creative qualities. If by some miracle, he went on, an infant of the Cromagnons who peopled Europe some 40,000 years ago were to be found among us and brought up with our children, nothing could prevent him from entering the Sorbonne.

Whether Chauchard wished this or not, his views on man's biological immutability down the millennia, views shared, incidentally, by all anthropologists, are a reaffirmation that the decisive role in progress is played by the economic and social factors. His symbolic example of the Cromagnon infant was an excellent refutation of racialism and social Darwinism. If from the standpoint of anatomy and physiology man is much the same as he was in paleolithic times, then the reason for one group of countries lagging behind others should be sought in the economic and social sources. From this it follows that there are no biological reasons why the most backward of tribes should not exchange wooden implements for the tractor, the canoe for a diesel ship, the spade for the excavator; why all children on earth should not receive an education, in short, why

social progress should not at long last become universal.

Royaumont, May 18

The first day of the debate dispelled the apprehensions of those who thought that the disputants might get embroiled in a wrangle over particular points remote from the realities of the day. On the contrary, conscious of the realities, the scholars dispensed with the academic impartiality and diplomatic caution which are perfectly understandable during the opening of a debate.

The words of the Dominican priest Planty-Bonjour who, timidly but trenchantly, spoke about the incompatibility of peaceful coexistence with the ideological struggle, set the ball rolling. Father Planty-Bonjour expressed the view, in the form of a rhetorical question, that, the losing side, bent on upholding the purpose of its existence, would bring the atom bomb into play as the ultimate ideological argument. The Father's gloomy pessimism was not shared by the overwhelming majority of the speakers. And an eloquent rejoinder was immediately forthcoming from Abbe Boulrier.

Against the Crusade Ideology

The only alternative to the peaceful coexistence of nations, said the Abbe, is a crusade against the heterodox. But all history is a monument to the absurdity of such an alternative. The failure of the crusades of the Christian West against the Moslem East during the Middle Ages is proof of the fallacy of the use of force to impose one's ideas and way of life on other peoples. So that ever since the Renaissance the predominant principle in international relations has been the doctrine that it is wrong to deny countries the right to coexistence on the pretext of differences in religious convictions or in social and political systems. It is true, of course, that at no time has this principle been universally accepted, but it is equally true that it has greatly facilitated social progress, and now more than at any time before it harmonizes with the vital interests of the peoples who can and must impose it on their governments. Public opinion throughout the world, and this goes for the Christian mind too, cannot entertain the thought of replacing ideological controversy with armed conflict.

Abbe Boulrier's instructive digression into the past sounded as a timely warning to the advocates of an anti-communist crusade. His appeal for cooperation between believers and non-believers, Marxists and non-Marxists, in the struggle against the nuclear danger, for progress and social justice, was supported and developed by subsequent speakers. Peaceful coexistence, said Srovnal, does not depend on differences in the ideological inter-

pretation of the social processes taking place in the world and, consequently, the ideological struggle, contrary to what Planty-Bonjour has said, cannot be either the cause or justification for an armed conflict. On the contrary, rejection of the ideological struggle and closing the eyes to the real causes of war, which have their sources in the internal contradictions of an antagonistic society, would add to the danger of a world conflict. The atomic blackmail to which the adversaries of social progress resort in the capitalist countries is, said Pierre Hentgés, a reflection of their disbelief in the economic potentialities of their social system, in the power of attraction of their ideas. Peaceful coexistence of the two systems, said Roger Garaudy, by no means presupposes the ideological surrender of one of the sides. Either an anti-communist crusade leading to an atom war, a perspective which no one can think of in cold blood, or economic competition and ideological polemics — this is the dilemma with which we are confronted, he concluded. But can anyone in his right mind have the slightest hesitation in choosing between the two!

In sowing doubts concerning the possibility of peaceful coexistence Father Planty-Bonjour could not but know that his arguments would not be left unanswered. But he evidently counted on getting at least a modicum of support. Then, when he saw the unanimous opposition, he tacked about. Upon coming to the rostrum for a second time, he switched the discussion to a different plane. Declaring, amid sceptical smiles in the audience, that he intended to remain above the ideological struggle between the two systems, Father Planty-Bonjour rebuked the Marxists, saying they were narrow-minded and one-sided in their views. It is this, he went on, that has impelled the West to resist. As to the views of the Catholic Church, he went on, they derive not from any economic roots but from God alone. Both public ownership of wealth and historical materialism are acceptable to the Catholic Church, but not Marxist atheism.

This appeal to God dampened all desire to continue the argument, and as no one felt inclined to waste time wandering in the maze of Catholic theology the steadfast Dominican was left to his views. In the meantime, the conference with Josué de Castro in the chair, turned to the next item on the agenda — *the perspective of social and economic progress in the under-developed countries.*

II. ABOLITION OF COLONIALISM— PROGRESS FOR ALL

In conditions of an antagonistic social system development was achieved by merciless exploitation of the working people at home and abroad.

As a result the disproportions in the economic, social, political and cultural levels of the different parts of the world increased, so much so that they are now glaringly obvious. The socio-economic gap which in the 20th century separates the highly developed countries from the backward peoples and tribes is a thousand years wide. And as Professor Chesneaux justly emphasized, any discussion concerning the advance and future of our world "will have little to do with real life if it passes over in silence the destiny of the two-thirds of mankind living in Asia, Africa and Latin America." Unless their social and economic backwardness is ended, the progress achieved in the advanced countries will neither be complete nor stable.

Colonialism Is a Barrier to Progress

Recalling what Marx said about the effects of British rule in India, Chesneaux went on to say:

Nobody denies that within the framework of colonialism there has been a certain evolution from the feudal and tribal society which was its dominant feature: railways were laid, mines were sunk and modern towns built; money taxes were substituted for taxes in kind. But these "novelties," introduced with the object of plunder, deformed the development of the colonial countries and fostered among the oppressed peoples a negative attitude to technological achievement which in their eyes was the personification of colonialism and, in the final analysis, retarded the general advance. Genuine progress and economic independence are impossible without political independence and national regeneration. Only a politically independent government (and not the puppets of the former rulers) can formulate a consistent and all-around policy of national progress; only such a government can enjoy the active support of the people which is essential if the plans are to be carried out. And if I may strike a personal note, said Prof. Chesneaux, I have had more than one opportunity to satisfy myself of the impact, ideological and political, of the October Revolution and the subsequent development of Russia and Eastern Europe on the peoples held in colonial bondage; and this proves that the backward countries can in a historically brief space of time catch up with the advanced Western countries without falling into dependence on the latter.

Progress Materializes

The participants listened closely to the paper read by Vietnamese Professor Nguyen Khac Vien. This young scientist won his audience with his concrete and highly symbolic examples which demonstrated how his country, by-passing the capitalist stage, was stepping out with sure strides along the highway of social progress. By means

of facts he illustrated the revolution in the standard of living and in the thinking of the working people in Democratic Vietnam after it achieved freedom and independence; the comparisons of things today with the colonial past showed the far-reaching nature of the social reforms and of the cultural revolution now underway . . . Perhaps the most interesting thing about his paper was that it disclosed the secret why not a single colonial official (whether teacher, doctor or engineer), even though his intentions were of the best, could even dream of obtaining the results which come the way of the people's teacher, the people's doctor or the people's engineer in a country which has got rid of the exploiters. This secret is the trust reposed by the people in their government and in its representatives without which swift economic and cultural progress is impossible.

In the colonies the efforts of individuals to do something for the population through educational work are bound to fail by virtue of the objective logic of colonialism. That is why there can be no question of achieving even "partial" progress without abolishing colonialism. For instance, at the time the independence of the Congo was proclaimed the country could muster only 21 Congolese who had had a higher education; just imagine, 21 persons out of a population of 14 million, and the 21 were either lawyers or theologians. This fact alone, said the Belgian lawyer Claessens, refutes all the nonsense uttered by the colonialists about their "civilizing mission" in the backward countries; and by the same token it gives the lie to their claim that the colonial period was "a necessary stage of social progress" in these countries.

A highly interesting contribution was made by Josué de Castro, the Brazilian scholar.

I would like, he said, to set forth my views on that which is a kind of symbol of the economic imbalance that we observe in our world and of that backwardness which is still the lot of two-thirds of mankind today. I have in mind hunger. This is a real tragedy! In the underdeveloped countries hunger is at once the cause and the consequence of backwardness. It is the consequence because it is the result of the widespread misery, low purchasing power, etc. And simultaneously it is the cause since it presupposes low labor productivity and deprives the people of the means with which to break out of the vicious circle of poverty.

One by one de Castro proved the falsity of the arguments used by the colonialists and their yes-men in an attempt to justify hunger by invoking the geographical conditions in the tropical parts of the world, the alleged laziness of the people, limited resources, etc. He cited figures concerning natural resources and the possibilities of modern

techniques, and laid responsibility for the widespread hunger and malnutrition on the imperialist powers.

Today we know, he continued, that nothing can justify hunger in the world. I insist that hunger continues to exist solely because of colonialism. The West is rent with contradictions. Pious ideas about Christian morality, slogans of equality and fraternity go together with deeds of utter inhumanity. In the 16th century when the priest Las-Casas came accompanied by the Spanish conquistadors to what is now Latin America, he witnessed their crimes against the Indians. Shocked by the cruelty of the conquerors who held the sword in one hand and the cross in the other, he asked them: Are you not waving the cross of the two robbers, instead of the cross of Christ? The same question is being asked today by the peoples who are rising against colonialism.

There Is No Justification for Colonialism

De Castro's indictment of the United States and the other colonial powers provoked sharp controversy. The French sociologists Fourastié and Monestier and the American Johnson tried to disprove the points made by the Brazilian scholar. Monestier, for example, assuming the role of what he himself described as "devil's lawyer," rebuked de Castro for failing to see "shades" in the characterization of colonialism. Johnson, lauding U.S. economic aid to the Latin American countries, claimed that since these countries lacked capital and needed U.S. investments, the latter helped the advancement of the underdeveloped areas of the world. Fourastié, on his part, maintained that the Malthusian laws had retained their validity all the way to the scientific and technological revolution of the 20th century.

These objections were given a swift answer. De Castro, instead of following Monestier in the role of "devil's lawyer," stuck to his guns as the devil's public prosecutor. The Malthusian doctrine, he said, was false, regardless of time, because the demographic processes depend on the social system. As for the paucity of capital in the underdeveloped countries, he observed, this assertion does not correspond with the fact that in the past few years the United States has pumped out of Brazil profits \$200 million in excess of its investments. Paradoxical though it may seem, the exporters of capital today are not the highly developed countries of the West but the poor countries which are dependent on them economically.

De Castro was supported by Barbé who spoke about the significance of the aid given by the socialist countries in accelerating economic and technological progress in the backward countries, by Luporini who pointed to the existence of backward regions even in highly developed

capitalist countries such as Italy, and by Ryerson who pointed to the harmful nature of the U.S. penetration into the Canadian economy.

Later in the day the Soviet scholars at last arrived in Royaumont, and with them came the British scientist J. D. Bernal. This augurs well for tomorrow's debate.

Royaumont, May 19

The third day of the seminar could be rightly called doomsday for the idealist concepts and illusions concerning man's future now fashionable in the West.

III. SCIENCE AND THE FUTURE OF MAN

Whether it was because some of the participants were eager to enter the ideological lists against their Soviet colleagues or simply because the conference was nearing the end, I cannot say, but the fact remains that the spokesmen of bourgeois sociology tried hard to seize the initiative. The keenness of this debate was due, perhaps, to the subject — *the social consequences of scientific and technological progress*. Be that as it may, many questions of vital concern to intellectual circles in the West were hammered out.

Automation — Janus-Faced

Can the scientific and technological revolution of the 20th century, as Fourastié claimed, automatically resolve the social contradictions of today? Will not this revolution depreciate human ideals and deepen the tragic gulf between possibility and reality for our generation and the generations to come, asked Jean Wahl not without alarm. Which social system can make the best use of the scientific and technological achievements for the good of man? The debate centered round these and similar questions. Some of the answers, however, caused undisguised disappointment, others made one eager to join in the debate, and with still others one could not but agree.

The contribution made by J. Fourastié who confined himself to setting out his views on the production tendencies of the future and predicted the age of affluence by the year 2100, caused dissatisfaction even among his own supporters. This was because Fourastié evaded any discussion of the social consequences of the "second industrial revolution." Wahl's concern lest man should be crushed by technology, although we, as Marxists, did not share it, was nevertheless understandable as an expression of the anxiety felt by wide sections of the population arising from the misuse of science and technology under capitalism. While one could argue against the view advanced by Lavergne, who said that man's freedom as the consumer of values had grown, insofar as it could be measured up by the bulkiness of his pocket-

book and influenced by advertising, his analysis of man's subordination to the mechanism of production under capitalism was extremely interesting and thoroughly substantiated. Nor could one deny the soundness of the view expressed by the Catholic sociologist Chombart de Louwe on the direct dependence of technological progress on the social system. The genuine advance of society, he said, presupposed satisfaction of man's spiritual needs as well as his material needs, his desire to see social justice and the development of the creativeness of the individual.

Whereas Fourastié contested the Marxist views on man's future without mentioning "Marxism," his colleague Georges Gurvitch addressed himself directly to disproving the theory of scientific communism.

The Technocracy Myth

Capitalism, he argued, will not be succeeded by socialism; in making this statement he failed to offer any proof, apart from saying that "time was short." The succeeding system, he claimed, would be a technocratic society which is inherent in equal measure both to the United States and to the Soviet Union. In our century, he went on, the relationships between technology and the social structure have been turned inside out; technology determines the social system nowadays and not vice versa as was the case in Marx's time. Technological expediency shapes the relations between people and the aims of development; it restricts the freedom of the masses and brings them under the control of the expert managers who are in command of production and determine policy accordingly. Then from these somewhat arbitrary and airy suppositions, Gurvitch drew a fantastic picture of a socialist society in which, he believed factory managers, military specialists and Party functionaries competed with one another for power and planned the economy of their own free will.

Those who were acquainted with life in the Soviet Union were shocked by the astonishing ignorance and anti-communist bias displayed by Gurvitch. At the same time it should be borne in mind that many people in the West are still influenced by these absurd concepts of socialism, which, of course, are peddled both in the capitalist press and by bourgeois professors.

"When were you last in the Soviet Union?" asked Professor Frantsev, chairman of the session.

"Forty years ago," replied Gurvitch.

"In that case," said the chairman, "I had better give the floor to Professor Arzumanyan who left Moscow only 40 hours ago."

Professor Arzumanyan and then Alexander Sobolev thoroughly disproved Gurvitch's claims.

They showed the opposite nature of the socio-economic systems in the USSR and in the USA, proving their case with statistical data concerning distribution of the national income in the two countries, the difference in rates of growth, and how technological progress benefited the Soviet working man. The administration of society under socialism, emphasized Arzumanyan, is exercised by the working people themselves through the government and Party apparatus which knows no "autonomy for technocrats."

In the Soviet Union, Sobolev continued, planning has never been nor can it be a privilege of the experts standing above the people, as the theorists of the "technocratic" society would have us believe. First, the material basis of planning is public ownership of the means of production. All the means of production are in the hands of the people and the people exercise management over them through their elected representatives as embodied in the Soviets. Second, the planning reflects the requirements of the objective economic laws of socialism in the economic activity of people. The task of the planners is to reveal the trends of the economic development of society and to determine the correct economic proportions. In its essence, this is research combined with operative economic management. Third, socialist planning organically combines the activity of the people with their united will in the matter of planning,

a will which is expressed not by mythical "technocrats," as Gurvitch contends, but by representative bodies of the people. The plans of the collective farms are approved by the general meeting of the farmers, their decision being final. The plans of the factories and mines are discussed at meetings of their workers, at production conferences. The economic plans for the country as a whole are discussed and endorsed by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, composed of representatives of the workers, collective farmers and intellectuals. All the talk about "technocracy" in socialist society is either empty speculation or deliberate distortion.

Gurvitch's technocracy, said Luporini, is nonexistent not only in the USSR but also in the USA, because in capitalist society, too, the technical experts cannot be independent of the social classes. But whereas in the socialist countries they function on behalf of the people, under capitalism they function on behalf of the bourgeoisie.

The Marxist theorists who took part in the debate did not confine themselves to criticizing the technocratic concept, they counterposed to it, as was the case in the papers read by N. Semyonov, E. Kolman and J.D. Bernal, the real perspective of a 20th century scientific and technological revolution and demonstrated its opposite social effects in socialist society and in capitalist society.

PIERRE VILAR:

THE MISADVENTURES OF PROF. ROSTOW

In recent years sociologists and economists (sometimes taking swipes at Marx) have acquired the habit of using the *level* of production and the *key* branch of the economy as yardsticks in distinguishing between different countries. On one side they group "industrial countries" irrespective of whether they are socialist or capitalist and, on the other, "underdeveloped countries" regardless of the social set-up. The basic criterion is "per capita production."

The American Professor Rostow has recently advanced — this time as a direct "alternative to Marx" — a scheme of stages of development based on dividing societies into "industrial" and "traditional." The first of Rostow's five "stages" is the "traditional" society, dating from prehistoric times up to the year 1780, and which to this day prevails in a large part of the world. The two subsequent stages which precede the industrial society — the "preconditions" and the "take-off" are, according to Rostow, similar to what the Marxists have in mind when they talk about the transition from feudalism to capitalism. Then comes the "maturing" phase and the "high mass

consumption phase," which the author perceives already in industrial society.

Let us say at once that we regard the Rostow concept and the terminology which he introduces into sociological analysis as being extremely feeble both from the standpoint of the wealth of modern historical analysis and from the standpoint of the vitality of Marxist principles.

The first point I should like to make concerns the extreme simplification of the "traditional society" concept. Even those who, like Raymond Aron, find the phases discovered by Rostow in the "industrial society" of the past two centuries as being "classical," rebuke him for "fitting the still underdeveloped types of society into a single category."

The "traditional society" is defined as one with a low level of production, a subordinate industry and no scientific research. We are told what it is not, but not what it is. And, consequently, we do not know what will come out of it. History prior to 1780 is taken in parentheses. Thus the finding of the economist who ventured into the realm

of historical analysis is that history begins with the rise of capitalism.

When Rostow singles out Adam Smith as the author of the program for the development of the as yet "traditional" society, he is doing nothing more than returning to the classics. Jean-Paul Sartre speaking about philosophers once made the apt remark that those of them who claimed that they had gone farther than Marx or had replaced him, more often than not had simply re-discovered him and, even more frequently, had gone back to his predecessors.

Defining the "traditional society" solely on the basis of *negative features*, and the industrial society as beginning with the "take-off" solely on the basis of *positive aspects*, Rostow loses sight of the periodic crises, stagnation tendencies and international conflicts. In order to "dramatize" the contrast he distorts the two objects which are being compared.

Nor are things any better with Rostow's analysis of the transition from one phase to the other.

Why are the conclusions drawn by Rostow about the birth of modern society so utterly unconvincing to the historian? The reason, presumably, is that the methods and experiments with which he operates are simply compared and mixed and are far from being that "chemical" combination of economy and history, induction and deduction, the concept of necessity and the concept of freedom which ensures the superiority of Marx's synthesis.

On the one hand, when Rostow turns to history and includes in his text the names of Bismarck, Nasser and Commodore Perry, it is pretty obvious that he cannot think of history except in the terms in which it is treated in the most obsolete of our textbooks. On the other hand, when he tries to bring out the "inner nature" of growth, or accumulation, he speaks in exactly the same way as "those modern economists with old-fashioned views" for whom the people, groups and classes who benefit from this accumulation have no meaning whatever, since everything is determined by the changing standards and the crossing of the curves. On the one hand, his view approximates to that of the optimistic mechanicism of the liberal apologists since the expansion of capitalist production is accompanied by "spontaneous" growth, etc. On the other, the habit of the expert defining the criteria of development introduces the "must" and the "should" into historical analysis as if the wish, the desire, was the only thing needed.

Far be it from us to reproach Rostow for not choosing between two one-sided methods — mechanistic materialism and voluntarist idealism. But, by having accepted the two simultaneously he had no choice but to combine their shortcomings too. And this being the case how could he hope to out-Marx Marx, the man who showed the age-

old process of reciprocal creation of economy and history and, consequently, of matter and mind? For Marx this creation begins with the very first implement of labor, with the first act of production, and since then every material process, and every discovery by the mind — no matter how slow or contradictory the manifestations of their consequences — has been the heritage of mankind without which the progress achieved during the past two centuries would have been unthinkable.

In declaring the transition from the "traditional" to the "industrial" society as the realization of a program of sorts for the "underdeveloped" countries, and saying that this is a "must," Rostow distorts not only the historical reality but also the psychological reality of the change-over, which was both individualist and unplanned. There is no historical justification for his general scheme.

Most of the French historians with whom we wanted to discuss Rostow's views objected, saying that the historical aspect of his theory was not worth discussing, adding that they as historians were not competent to discuss his economic criteria.

In our view these objections are groundless, first, because there can be no correct economic criterion if we have an incorrect historical criterion and, second, because the Rostow terminology is widely used both by sociologists and economists and, lastly, because Rostow with the sanction of important research centers speaks as an "economic historian."

The positivist historians refused to accept the challenge. In their view the study of the economic structure has not gone far enough to make it possible to work out schemes of growth and to establish criteria. But since there is no science without theory, the choice is between a prospectless empiricism and acceptance of "models" for analyzing reality. And the question arises: can the Rostow "stages of economic growth" be of any help to the historian?

We wanted to show that on the basis of the materials already studied (i.e., the study of ancient societies and the transition to modern society) Marx simultaneously offered more profound concepts and richer and more flexible interpretations.

Marx's merit was that *beneath the seeming economic harmony* he saw *the social contradiction and the internal contradictions* of the economy proper (the long-term and short-term contradictions, the contradiction between the expanding market and the shrinking popular consumption, between the growth of constant capital and the rate of profit).

The totality of crises, class struggle, imperialism, wars, unequal development not only of separate areas but of countries and continents forms the background to our contemporary history.

It was not utopian dreaming but the thinking of a theorist, a man who combined in his person the qualities of economist, sociologist and historian, that enabled Marx to predict the new "take off" in human history. On the one hand, he saw that the basic social contradiction, as is always the case in history, derives from the system of ownership. Could such an extremely powerful instrument as the accumulation of capital remain in the hands of a small minority of people and nations while it was being sapped by its own contradictions? On the other hand, is it possible to resolve the contradictions, which reflect the structure of reality, after they have been subjected to scientific analysis?

This explains why Marx anticipated a new "take off" in human history from one stage to another, stages which are closely interlinked, from private appropriation of capital to the utilization of the social product in rational proportion between investment, personal consumption and the creation of social values.

One part of the world has performed this leap; by virtue of the dialectics of history, the leap was

taken by less developed countries with less stable capitalist structures.

The other part, while it regards the struggle for life and individual initiative as the principles of appropriation and accumulation of capital, is also trying to practice economic calculation and drawing up long- and short-term development programs. But does it derive these programmes from a sociological and historical analysis?

Rostow remakes history in his own way. He maintains that humanity before Newton was in a quasi-biological period of development, then all of a sudden it engaged in scientific investigation and began to elaborate economic programs, and by doing so began to climb the ladder of "spontaneous growth." In our view Marx displayed a much more profound understanding of reality when he discovered the source of social progress in the historical contradictions which are resolved by the ever-growing victories of the masses, when he defined the scientifically organized society of the future as man's dominion over his own history without which his dominion over Nature remains fraught with insecurity and conflict.

JOSUE DE CASTRO:

COLONIALISM, HUNGER AND PROGRESS

HUNGER, the most tragic expression of the economic complex of backwardness, is the most terrible and the most widespread disease in our world. It takes an enormous toll of human lives. Hunger is the reason for the demographic differences between the poor and rich countries, differences so pronounced that I would describe the highly developed countries as a world in which people are born to live upon the earth, whereas the poor countries are the kingdom of starvation and misery, a world in which people are born only to ascend to the heavens like the angels. Over half the population in these countries dies in childhood. This mortality rate creates a new geography, a geography in which not the earth feeds man but man feeds the earth with his body.

Hunger Is a Product of Colonialism

Why is it that in the world of today two-thirds of mankind go hungry? And why is it that hunger reigns in those parts of the world which we refer to as underdeveloped? In my view the main reason for the hunger in the world is colonialism. Here I would like to make an explanation. Someone may say that people went hungry long before the colonialist era was opened by the voyages of Vasco da Gama in 1498. Yes, hunger has raged at all times in history. But judge for yourselves. In the past people went hungry because they didn't have the technical and scientific means with

which to combat it. In the non-colonial countries, in countries which are highly developed and where the achievements of science and technology find practical application, mass starvation has been abolished. It continues to reign in the underdeveloped countries precisely because the colonialist economic structure there has not permitted the use of scientific and technical achievements to solve the problem of hunger.

Only 20 per cent of the land which could be cultivated by man, considering the present level of technical development, is being tilled in the world today. Why is this so? Because agriculture is viewed through the prism of possible profit. Agriculture is frowned upon because its raw materials and foodstuffs are much cheaper than manufactured goods. This is the first consequence of colonialism. It was colonialism that led to the gap between industrial and agricultural prices and, consequently, dampened the interest in agricultural advancement and rational utilization of the land. Second, surely it is possible to enlarge agricultural production even if all the crop areas have already been tilled and the soil exhausted. Yes, this can be done. Provided the necessary capital, machinery and labor are concentrated on a definite area of land, yields can be increased 5-6-fold.

So it is a lie to say that the land and the resources needed to ensure the nourishment are

lacking. Given the present level of technology it would be possible to feed a population 10 times larger than that inhabiting our planet today. And with the advance of technology it will be possible to feed 100 times as many people because right now we can foresee the discovery of an artificial synthesis of organic substances. No longer shall we be bound by the biological world which makes us wait until the fruits have ripened. In the future we shall obtain them through synthesis in a brief space of time. And even without making any utopian plans, and by sticking to reality we can affirm, on the basis of the latest scientific achievements, that Malthus was wrong.

Malthusianism Is the Guilty Conscience of the Colonialists

The Malthusian doctrine appeared at the time of the industrial revolution when the British ruling class, then pursuing a brutal policy in India, badly needed a salve for its conscience, that is, if it had such a thing. Its aim was either to conquer or destroy the Indians, do away with their textile industry and, consequently, condemn them to starvation. At the same time it wanted to find justification for its actions, to demonstrate that it was not the British who were to blame but the Indians who "were multiplying at a rate beyond control." Malthus rendered a good service to the colonialists. His name was given to the pessimistic theory which has proved so useful to the rulers of this world and which is as old as social injustice. Malthus was generously rewarded for his service: he was given a professorship in the East India Company's college.

It is now customary to say that colonialism is in its death agony; but I think that as yet it would be more correct to say that it is not in its agony but that it is suffering from a grave illness. The fact that 40 countries have gained political independence does not yet signify the death agony of colonialism. Political independence has existed for over a century in Latin America, but economically these countries still are colonies. Fortunately, we are living now in the atomic age when progress in all spheres is proceeding at a rapid rate, and I hope that in Africa the agony of colonialism will be of shorter duration.

The Example of India

The colonialists have the means with which to cause a state of hunger and maintain it; they can do this by means of a mechanism which I shall try to explain by using the example of India. When the British first came to India that country was emerging from the mediaeval phase of its history. The Middle Ages in Europe also witnessed considerable outbreaks of famine because the economic life of those days was based on autarchy,

while means of communication were poorly developed. In the 18th century when India was emerging from her mediaeval stage, her handicraft industry was highly developed and attracted the rural population. What we now know as agrarian overpopulation was non-existent. The foundations of a modern economy were beginning to take shape, in which agriculture used only the labor power needed for production. But it was exactly at this moment that the British arrived and disrupted everything. They destroyed the handicraft industry, strangled industry at its birth and forced the Indian to return to his village which was now overpopulated in relation to technique and capital.

Then, as was the case in all colonies, a colonial type of agriculture was introduced in India, an agriculture based on crops for export, i.e., not the crops the country needed but crops that were profitable for the colonialists. Thus it was that production of these "colonial goods" became the occupation of the inhabitants of the tropical countries; occupation was simply the hypocritical covering for their subjugation and enslavement. The colonial peoples, forced to produce for the enrichment of the metropolitan countries, could hardly be enthusiastic. And then it began to be said of them, especially of the Indians in Latin America, that they did not like agricultural work, and that rather than engage in it they would prefer death. There is some logic in this statement. For in substance they were faced with the choice: either slow death from starvation or a quick death of their own free will. And not infrequently they chose the latter. It was more practical to do so than to die for the sake of work. Such kinds of economic activity as growing sugar, cotton, rubber and coffee for export are destructive rather than productive. And all for the sake of exporting goods at cheap prices, with the receipts going into the pockets of a tiny minority.

To this day there are tribes in Black Africa for whom agriculture is the sole occupation. And while it cannot be said that they live in affluence, they at least vary their diet. This safeguards them against a shortage of vitamins, and meager though their diet is, it keeps life going. But the moment Africans migrate to the towns and begin to work in industry, they begin to suffer from malnutrition. What is the reason for this? The reason is that in the towns they are used as machines that are given the only fuel needed to keep them going — rice and manioc. But they are denied the fresh victuals containing vitamins and proteins. And as we know, the essential thing for metabolism is that the intake of vitamins should correspond to the intake of carbo-hydrates. And the human organism quickly becomes run down, like a machine abundantly provided with fuel to make it work at high speed but never repaired. And just as the

hog is fed with corn to turn the latter into pork, the worker is fed with manioc and beans in order to turn them into sugar and coffee. The process is exactly the same as that of raising pigs: if the most profitable way of marketing corn is to sell it in a bag of pigskin, the most profitable way of marketing manioc is to sell it in the form of sugar in the skin of a Negro or, to be more precise, distilled from his sweat. This, then, was the mechanism which upset and worsened the food balance of various peoples.

Decorous Plunder

But even with this kind of agriculture things could be improved if the growers were paid more for the raw materials. But here the major powers resort to another method by means of which the nations dependent on them are kept in poverty. The prices paid for the raw materials are steadily falling. Latin America is now exporting three times as much in raw materials as it did before the war, but is getting much less money for them. In 1958, for example, Brazil exported millions of sacks of coffee more than in 1948, but received a million dollars less. So what is the use of working? The more you work the less you get. Here, then, you have the explanation for the "laziness" of the tropical peoples.

One of the profit-making mechanisms used by the Americans is payment for not producing. In an indirect way this device is used also in Latin America. The only difference is that in the United States the farmers are generously compensated for not growing crops, whereas in Latin America they are not. But in either case money is paid for not producing, and here we have a contradiction of capitalism expressed in a glaring colonialist form and providing no incentive for progress, for real economic development.

The United States concentrates in its hands 70 per cent of the raw materials of the Western world. This enables it to dictate prices for raw materials. And because of this the other countries find it impossible really to develop their economies. Long-term planning is essential if there is to be any economic and social progress; but, it may be asked, how is it possible to plan for five or 10 years when even in the course of a single year the prices of your products and your raw materials are likely to change in terms ranging between 50 and 200 per cent. Maybe it's only the top politicians who can foresee these price oscillations: when they find out that a particular country is determined to vote in the U.N. in accordance with its own interests and not at the whim of its creditors, then the prices paid for the country's products fall. See what happened to Cuba. The United States bought her sugar, "generously" paying her more than she could get on the world

market; the result was that Cuba became a country with a monoculture economy. Sugar filled everything there, just as in Venezuela where the unwholesome smell of oil has penetrated into every pore of her entire culture; one is conscious of it in the streets and even in the houses. Cuba was turned into a "sugar island" suffering from diabetes in exactly the same way as people suffer from it. The United States used to say to the Cubans: We will guarantee you a high export quota, so please be obedient and accommodating.

But there are always patriots who yearn for freedom and for its sake are prepared to sacrifice the sugar. For example, in 1932 Cuba made some efforts to free herself from foreign domination, and so the USA, which prior to this annually bought five million bags of Cuban sugar, reduced the quota for the following year to two million. As a result a crisis broke out in the country and its economy was disorganized. Sugar made up two-thirds of Cuba's exports; in Bolivia it was tin, in Venezuela oil, in Brazil coffee; this kind of economic specialization is the second melancholy consequence of colonialism. The concentration on a single product makes the country's economy unstable and dependent. And so long as this is the case, it will never get rid of the hunger.

But this state of affairs can be changed. And the example of the self-same Cuba is proof of this. In 1948 Cuba produced only sugar and imported \$140 million worth of beans and rice. One should not overlook the "noble" gesture of the United States in this respect. In 1958 it paid Cuba \$60 million more for her sugar than it would have paid had it bought the sugar at world prices. But then with the same "noble" gesture it sold Cuba \$140 million worth of beans and rice. In effect, what the Americans paid Cuba was not the price of the sugar but the price of the beans and rice paid to the American farmers. Two years later, after the revolution, Cuba grew on her own soil beans and rice to the value of \$40 million and \$50 million respectively. She is now gaining for herself economic liberation. But the land is the same land, and she has the same tropical climate. There has been no change in her natural conditions. What has changed is the economic structure, and she has liberated herself from colonialism.

Colonialism in an International Mask

A few words about the International Monetary Fund. This organization is "international" in the sense that it represents various countries, but the seats on the Board and the votes are distributed in proportion to the contribution made by each country. Each vote signifies \$100,000. But since the United States makes the biggest contribution,

the Fund, from the standpoint of its decisions, is a one hundred per cent U.S. organization. For this reason there is always a certain amount of mistrust of the reports which the Fund submits to the U.N. The United States uses it in order to get the United Nations Organization to do its bidding. So that this, too, is a form of colonial oppression. My own country has been one of the victims of this oppression. On various pretexts it has been forced to halve the prices of its products. This kind of action deprives the underdeveloped countries of the possibility of buying industrial plant. Being exporters of raw materials, these exports are the only means with which they can buy the machines and develop their industry. But while raw materials' prices have been falling steadily, prices for the equipment purchased by the Latin American countries have doubled, in the same way as the purchasing power of the dollar has doubled at the behest of the International Monetary Fund. This safeguards U.S. industry against possible competition. Money is available for expanding agriculture and the production of raw materials for export, but it is never found for industrial expansion.

An obsolete economic structure is artificially maintained in the colonial countries. Their population is denied access to education and to health services, because both education and medical services are commodities, and access to them depends wholly on purchasing power. And purchasing power is extremely low. In each of these countries there is a tiny privileged group, the *élite*; this *élite*, associated with the big international trusts and the colonialists, cares nothing for the national interests. It makes no demands, and merely bends the knee in obedience.

The economic development which one can observe in these countries is but a fig leaf. Take, for example, Latin America. The income per head of population in Venezuela is \$700, i.e., the same as in France. But can Venezuela's cultural standards and social welfare be likened to those in France? By no means, because account should be taken not of per capita income, which is an

abstraction, but the distribution of income. The \$700 per head in Venezuela, an abstract figure, is the mean obtained by adding up the \$700 million of the seven families and the poverty of the hungry masses.

Industrialization — the Key to Affluence

The major powers have never been interested in including the economy of the colonies in the world economic system on an equal footing. Yet economic integration is a necessity. All the plans worked out for the colonies will remain a fiction unless they provide for equal economic cooperation.

Industrialization is the only way to end the poverty and hunger. It is only in industrial countries that people eat well; in the purely agrarian countries the starvation is greatest. But what kind of industrialization will it be? There is a colonial type of industrialization which creates an industry, national in the geographic sense but international in the economic sense, i.e., it does not belong to the country. But there is also the genuine kind of economic development, one that unites the masses. The colonial type of industrialization enriches only the "*élite*" and makes the bulk of the population poorer than ever. In point of fact there always has been in the underdeveloped countries an insignificant segment of the population with a very high standard of living whereas the overwhelming majority live under pre-capitalist, feudal and even pre-feudal conditions. That is why the peoples of Latin America, Africa and Asia know that their hunger and poverty are not engendered by Nature but are the products of social injustice.

The hunger of the poor and the fear of the rich vis-à-vis the hungry must be abolished, and for this there is needed a revolutionary change in the existing system. Financial and technical aid alone to the countries with backward economic and social systems will be of little avail in this respect. All men of good will, all who are anxious to step out along the one road on earth that belongs to all, should ponder over the problem of hunger.

J. BERNAL:

SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE*

WE have crossed the threshold of the new scientific and technological revolution which is bound to have the most far-reaching effects on the cultural and spiritual fields of human endeavor. Our conference, which has drawn together men from the realms of culture and science, will make it possible jointly to discuss the many problems related to this.

What Is Hindering Progress?

The scientific and technological revolution of our times puts an end *in principle*, to the period of poverty in human history. *In practice*, however, it has done little as yet to change things for the majority of the people in the world. The main

*Prof. Bernal addressed the gathering in French. The text is a translation from the French. — Ed.

reason for this is that the discoveries that have led to this revolution have been made in a world two-thirds of which is still within the framework of the capitalist system based on private property and monopoly domination. This system cannot ensure the planning and the coordination for which the new forces are crying out. There is no economic balance in the capitalist world.

There is no security in our world, and year by year we see an understandable growth of fear of atomic destruction. The sums squandered for military preparations are equal to the national incomes of the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America taken together. In the capitalist countries something like half the scientific potential is used for military purposes. In the socialist countries this burden, although not as heavy as this, also impedes economic progress.

There are other obstacles standing in the way of all-round utilization of the possibilities opened up by the revolution in science and technology. In the capitalist countries these obstacles are created by the state structure itself, dominated by an élite, firmly entrenched and closely linked with the financial interests, but which more often is utterly incompetent in everything that concerns science and technology. This élite has in a large measure monopolized the educational system, confining it to definite limits. Controlling and using such powerful media of mass propaganda as the press and television, it supports ideological doctrines which have outlived their day.

In addition there are many other obstacles to the utilization of the advantages of the revolution in science and technology engendered by the rapid development of science itself and its extension to more countries. The chaos in the progress of science impedes communication between its various branches and between scientific discoveries and their application. This chaos is increased by the barriers created by differences in language and culture. And this at a time when the very nature of research is leading to a universal unity of science and to its being brought closer to agriculture, industry and medicine. *Practical utilization of the potential of the new scientific discoveries and the curbing of their destructive power — this is the task that faces mankind today.*

In the organization of labor — both in the sphere of production and in the sphere of management — science is beginning to play a tremendous role. New types of computers and control apparatus have appeared — electronic machines. Operating thousands and even millions of times faster than the human brain, these machines will profoundly affect human thinking and labor. Any rejection of them would inevitably retard growth of production. On the other hand, their utilization

will render obsolete not only the methods of production but also the administrative and ideological superstructure.

Any Death Is a Murder!

Even today, thanks to the perfected methods of farming, we could provide the food needed by the population that will inhabit the world a few centuries from now and which will be incomparably more numerous in view of the present, and an even higher, rate of demographic growth. With the opening of the era of cosmic travel, it will be possible to transplant man to other planets.

Man is faced with the job of extending research in the sphere of medicine in order to safeguard mankind against illness throughout life and in order to prolong life. We can say with every justification that in the world of today any death is a murder. Every person that dies today has been killed either by human action or inaction. For the majority of mankind, the millions who live in the colonies and underdeveloped countries, this is direct murder. People there die at the age of 30-40. Yet they could live twice as long, as we do. But they are deprived of nourishment, of medicines and medical services and, inevitably, they die. Our prime duty is to put an end to these murders! But there are other murders which are not so obvious. Death from an illness which could have been prevented is also a murder. The poor die of tuberculosis — this is a social phenomenon. But there are also the rich people who die of cardiovascular diseases. These are not murders but suicides. These people eat too much and drink too much. They live dissipated lives and kill themselves. From the point of view of religion this self-destruction cannot be condemned. But now that we know what causes this, it is no longer unconscious killing. The source of the evil is that the necessary efforts are not being made to study the causes of death and to find ways and means of preventing it. In Britain, which is regarded as a civilized country, there is not a single research group studying diseases of the heart which kill off one-third of the population. Our aim is to destroy the evil which we now know and which cannot be regarded as being inevitable merely because man has always suffered from it.

The world is in a position to abolish its poverty. But we shall remain poor so long as the world continues to go on in the old way. It is not a question of knowledge; the knowledge we have, what is needed is organization. And this brings me to the main point. It is perfectly clear that under capitalism the possibilities of which we are cognizant cannot be translated into reality. This is a fact, and we should recognize it. The question arises: what is the way out? The capitalists are ready with their answer. They seek the way

out in a world war. There are quite a few people in their midst who think that a world war would ensure victory for capitalism and end in the destruction of communism.

The first task of the people in all countries is to put an end to any distortion of science and to fight everywhere in the world for the triumph of a universal ideology of free and constructive labor, the basis of which would be knowledge of man's needs and finding the ways and means for satisfying them.

The immediate perspectives with which man is confronted are directly determined by the fact that existing in the world of today are capitalist countries, socialist countries and the underdeveloped countries. The latter, aspiring to independence, are becoming less and less dependent on the capitalist powers and linked ever more closely economically with the socialist countries. The experience of the socialist countries shows that socio-economic evolution can take place much more quickly than it did in the 19th century. An annual rate of economic growth of 10-20 per cent will enable any country, in less than the lifetime of a single generation, to surpass the highest economic level existing today, abolish poverty and misery, and then go on to usher in the golden age of abundance and happiness.

The Power of Reason Is Boundless

The most important achievement of our era is that, given a favorable social environment, the power of human reason is practically boundless. I shall give two examples, separated one from the other by a mere 15 years. In 1946 in London I attended a conference of educationalists from Asia. Addressing the conference, a representative of India said that at the present rate it would take a thousand years for his country to abolish illiteracy. In his view India was so poor that she was unable to provide education for her people, and the people, being illiterate, would always be poor. Then this year, in Ghana, I saw how that country was getting ready, beginning with September, to extend elementary education to the entire population. Any man who can read and write can teach others.

The abolition of illiteracy in the former colonial and dependent countries is proof that for centuries man's mental potential has, as a rule, been utilized only to the minimum. We now know that it is possible in the space of ten years to multiply threefold the number of persons with a university or technical education. The abolition of illiteracy in the underdeveloped countries will make this multi-

plication not three but sevenfold. As a result the intellectual capacity of the world will increase 20-fold during this time. In reality the increase will pose problems of organization and communication, but it will simultaneously furnish the means of resolving them.

The tendency towards mutual enrichment is not confined to the different branches of science; it is seen in the cultural traditions in world history that had their origins in Egypt, Greece, India and China. In this reaching out towards unity man gets to know himself. Marx dreamt of this, and now we see how this dream is being realized all over the world.

The center of gravity today is not in the sphere of producing raw materials or steel. It has switched to electronics and fine chemistry. And this means that a single brain worker is worth tens of thousands of tons of steel. It may well be that in the future a minor scientific discovery will bring with it important economic and even social changes.

The day when the greater part of mankind will be engaged in science is not far away. Right now there are factories in which there are more people in the laboratories than there are in the shops. Fifteen years ago I expressed the view that five per cent of the population might be engaged in science. Today I would not mention this figure. Is not the number of scientists doubling every year? One statistician has said that at this rate there will soon be more scientists than laymen.

Looking at the walls of this abbey in which we are gathered I say to myself that, in all probability in this same hall there were orators who in their day posed the question: why abandon the lofty morals of feudal society for the sake of the dangerous idea of bourgeois commerce? There was a time when people simply could not imagine that the bourgeoisie would ever be able to run the entire economic life. But big changes have taken place: the Cromagnon hunters made way for crop-growers, then agriculture ceded place to industry, and now industry in turn is making way for science. Science is at once voluntary and collective labor, i.e., the very thing which characterizes communism. I spoke about this in one of my books 20 years ago, and that is how things have turned out. But the important thing is to act, not just to make statements. The great Bacon said — Don't be satisfied with contemplating things, do things! True, the road has been strewn with difficulties, and more will be encountered. But man has always come up against difficulties, and it was in overcoming them that he achieved progress.

PARTICIPANTS:

Among those who attended the Royaumont meetings were: H. Laugier, Honorary Professor at the Sorbonne; A. Sauvy, Professor at the Collège de France; R. Garaudy, director of the Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Marxistes; professors at the Sorbonne J. Wahl, G. Gurvitch, E. Labrousse and P. -M. Schuhl; study directors at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes J. Chombart de Louwe, P. Chauchard, J. Chesneaux, J. Fourastié, L. Goldman and P. Vilar; P. Cot, editor of *Horizons*; candidates of science G. Besse, H. Claude, G. Mury, Ch. Parain and E. Tersen; A. Barjonnet; the writers J. Madaule, P. Hentgès and Vercors; the Abbé Boulier, Father Planty-Bonjour and others (*France*); academicians E. M. Zhukov and N. N. Semyonov, Nobel prize winner; corresponding members of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR A. A. Arzumanyan, director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations, and Y. P. Frantsev, Rector of the Academy of Social Sciences, Professor B. F. Porshnev and Assistant Professor Y. N. Semyonov (*USSR*); J. D. Bernal, Executive President of the World Peace Council and member of the Royal Society, Professor A. L. Morton and M. Cornforth (*Great Britain*); academicians L. Stoll, director of the Institute of Social Sciences, and E. Kolman, director of the Institute of Philosophy, professors M. Kadlec and J. Srovnal (*Czechoslovakia*); Professor C. Luporini (*Italy*); academicians M. Ralea and C. I. Goulian (*Rumania*); J. de Castro, President of the World Association of Struggle against Hunger (*Brazil*); S. Ryerson, director of the Marxist Study Center (*Canada*); Academician A. Schaff (*Poland*); professors E. Kamenov and J. Oshavkov (*Bulgaria*); lawyer B. Claesens (*Belgium*); Dr. Nguyen Khac Vien (*Democratic Republic of Vietnam*), and others. Our journal was represented by F. Havlicek, J. Kanapa, A. Sobolev, E. Sitkovsky and E. Arab-Ogly.

II. The Communist Movement and the Youth

Last June the editorial board of "World Marxist Review" sponsored a seminar on the subject, "The Communist Movement and the Youth." The seminar was attended by Communists from Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Britain, Canada, Chile, Denmark, Federal Germany, Finland, France, Greece, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Morocco, Norway, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Uruguay and Venezuela.

In this issue we are printing in abridged form some of the contributions. These will be continued in future issues. Readers are also invited to express their views on the subject.

THE seminar was opened on behalf of the Editorial Board by A. M. Rumyantsev, Chief Editor. He said:

The idea of this seminar was conceived a long time ago. The youth are the future of mankind. As they grow up, they shoulder a bigger responsibility for the tasks with which society is faced. For Communists it is of the utmost importance that the youth, as they take over from the older generation, should step out along the path of progress, to the realization of our great goal—communism.

The Communist parties, which personify the new world, the world of socialism, attach particular

importance to everything that has a bearing on the education of the working youth. At the dawn of the world Communist movement, Friedrich Engels, one of its inspirers, said:

"We are the party of the future, and the future belongs to the youth. We are the party of innovators, and the young people follow the innovators with greater willingness. We are the party of selfless struggle against the old rot, and the youth are always in the first ranks of selfless fighters."

Stressing the role of the youth in the working-class struggle, Lenin levelled annihilating criticism at those Party functionaries who displayed an "idiotic, philistine, Oblomov-like fear of the youth."

"We need young forces . . .," he said. "There are plenty of young people, the thing is *not to be afraid*, not to hesitate to recruit them, more of them and on a bigger scale. . . . The youth will decide the outcome of the whole struggle, the students and, still more, the working youth."

In our days the Communist parties, as the standard-bearers of the progressive ideas of the epoch, are leading forward ever greater numbers of the working youth.

As you know, the documents of the Moscow Meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties, which define the tasks of the international Communist movement, stressing the need to intensify work among the youth, also say that

"there are new opportunities now to draw the younger generation into the struggle for peace and democracy and for the great ideals of communism."

Although the objective conditions are bringing young people closer to the ideas of communism, it is, nevertheless, not easy to win them over. It is still a matter of a difficult and stubborn struggle. The imperialist bourgeoisie is doing its utmost to influence the youth and make it serve the interests of the monopolies. And it has a powerful arsenal, both material and spiritual, at its disposal. We should not close our eyes to the fact that a considerable section of the youth is still influenced by bourgeoisie propaganda. Capitalism is corrupting the youth.

It would be wrong to talk about the crisis of the youth; it would be wrong to infer this from the political passivity of some of its sections in the West and the growth of crime among young people there. There is, of course, the crisis of the social system under which these young people live, the spiritual crisis of capitalism. N. S. Khrushchov correctly pointed out that

"... bourgeois propaganda is spreading lies about the present-day youth, calling them the 'lost generation' and claiming that they are not interested in politics. But recent revolutionary actions in a number of countries show that the youth are an effective revolutionary force."

There is no lost generation. Millions of young men and women are fighting for peace, for democracy, for national independence and against the cold war; they are standing up for their rights with increasing determination.

More and more young people are becoming aware of the problems for the solution of which the Communist parties are working. Moreover, the youth are not only actively discussing the outstanding events of the day, they are going over to action.

The bourgeois leaders were caught napping by the militant actions of the students and young workers against the reactionary regimes in South Korea and Turkey, by the resolute struggle waged in Japan against the "security treaty," by the mass anti-fascist actions in Italy, and by the sweeping movement of solidarity with the young people of the Congo. Only recently we saw young people join in the demonstrations against nuclear weapons and American military bases in Western Europe, including Federal Germany.

The liberation war of the Algerian people and the struggle of the African peoples for freedom from the colonial yoke show how selflessly the youth can fight when they are inspired by a noble goal. No repressions on the part of the colonialists can crush the revolutionary spirit of the African youth. Young people played a decisive role in the victory of the Cuban revolution. The international solidarity with the Cuban revolution which spread far and wide during the U.S. intervention in that country revealed the readiness of the youth in the Latin American countries to take to arms to help Cuba uphold its freedom.

It is this growing political activity that the bourgeoisie fears above all, hence the urgent measures to halt the process, to prevent the young people from joining the struggle. The growing activity of the youth alarms also the allies of the bourgeoisie — the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders. The Bureau of the Socialist International has decided to make the work of the Socialist parties among the youth the main item on the agenda of its coming congress in Rome.

One need not be a prophet to foresee that the struggle for the youth is bound to become more acute.

Each Communist Party defines its own tasks in this struggle. The Communists attach the greatest importance to eliminating the shortcomings in their work with the youth.

Attention was devoted to this question at the congresses of the Communist parties of France, Italy (our Italian comrades discussed youth work also at a recent meeting of their Central Committee), Britain, Venezuela, and others. The Communist parties of the Scandinavian countries discussed the matter last year at a special joint conference. A number of parties have set up committees to examine problems of youth work and to chart ways and means of improving it.

The most class-conscious of the young people are joining the Communist youth leagues, which now function in 66 countries. In some countries—thanks to the efforts of the Communist parties—these leagues are the biggest and most influential youth organizations. But there are many countries

where they are numerically weak and have little influence.

The Communist parties consider the creation of a broad united front of the youth, the achievement of united action among different youth organizations, one of their *basic tasks* in winning the young people. In each country this is done in its own way, depending on the conditions. But everywhere the Communists are unanimous in saying that united action by the different organizations of young people can be achieved only on a broad basis, on the basis of the struggle for peace, for national independence, against monopoly rule and for democracy. The progressive youth organizations demand a guaranteed right to work for all young people, equal pay for equal work, the right to education and vocational training, health protection, sports and recreation facilities, free access to the treasure-house of national culture and the cultural riches of other countries, and the right to organize.

These problems affect all sections of the youth and provide a basis for united action. The task is to *unite the youth on an anti-monopoly, anti-militarist and anti-colonial platform*.

The Communist parties, anxious to improve their work in all mass organizations where there are young people, are taking steps to ensure that every young Communist is active in a youth organ-

ization, that every Party branch carries on work among the youth. Many parties are arranging for the training of their members specially for this work.

It will be useful to take note of the experience accumulated by the fraternal parties, to weigh this experience, to find ways of overcoming the difficulties encountered in winning and educating the younger generation, and to learn from those methods of youth work which have proved most effective. You will all undoubtedly be interested to know how the Communists reach out to the various groups of the youth; how they approach the specific problems of young workers, young peasants, students, young women, and young men of military age; what is being done to unite the various youth movements and to ensure joint action by youth organizations, including those under Social Democratic or church influence. It will be interesting to hear how the Communists carry on this work in the trade unions, in the sports societies and other organizations.

Ours is a journal of theory and information. This will determine also the character of our discussion. Its purpose is not to produce directives of any kind, nor need it necessarily result in unanimity on every point. Our aim is to stimulate thought and to generalize the experience so as to carry on the struggle for the youth more effectively.

P. Laurent (France)

THE French Communist Party welcomes the initiative of the Editorial Board in arranging the youth seminar since the discussion will help us to improve our work on this important sector of revolutionary struggle. I shall dwell mainly on some organizational aspects of the Communist youth movement in France and on unity among the youth.

Although the conditions, sentiment and reactions of the youth differ in the various countries, we cannot but fully agree with the Statement of the Moscow Meeting of the 81 Parties that new opportunities have now arisen for drawing the younger generation into the fight for peace, democracy and the great ideals of communism. Even in countries where the conditions are extremely difficult and our forces relatively weak, the changes in the position of the youth are essentially the same as in those countries where it is easier to work.

Above all we must correctly evaluate the new opportunities, bearing in mind that there are two aspects to the question. The youth is a tremendous force, though it should be stressed, without minimizing its revolutionary significance in the slightest, that this force can be effective only under the

leadership of the working class. In our country we specially emphasize this, inasmuch as the revisionists, in their fight against the Communists, are persistently trying to indoctrinate the youth with a view to weakening or putting an end to the influence of the working class and its Party. So that while assessing the favorable changes, we should not forget the second aspect—the need correctly to assess the revolutionary potential of the youth movement.

In France the youth problem is closely linked with the general perspectives of the struggle waged by our Party — the rallying of all those suffering from the policy of the monopolies, against the consequences of this policy, against the one-man rule of de Gaulle, for the restoration and regeneration of democracy. The war in Algeria, the armaments drive and the policy of social regression place a heavy burden on our youth generally. The more their illusions in regard to the de Gaulle regime and its policy are dispelled, the greater are the opportunities for uniting the young people around the working class in order to repel the offensive of the monopolies and to terminate their undivided domination over all spheres of life.

The growth of political interest among the youth and their participation in the struggle of the democratic and national forces depend in great measure on the guidance given by the Party and its organizations. Indeed, the importance of this phase of Party work cannot be overestimated.

Organizational Independence

In conformity with Lenin's teachings, the French Communist Party has always held that the youth should have their own organization working under the leadership of the Party.

Two factors make this organizational independence essential. First, each generation has its own features. As Lenin pointed out, the youth must necessarily "come to socialism in a different way, by other paths, in other forms, in other circumstances than their fathers." Today the youth of France are faced with new problems, though they also come up against old ones which have assumed new features. The basic and most universal feature of these problems is that they are associated with the deepening of the contradictions between the people as a whole and the big bourgeoisie; the latter has failed to solve any of the problems bearing on France's future and offers nothing but disillusionment to the young generation. The scope of the struggle waged by the youth against the war in Algeria is directly connected with the fact that we are now living in the twilight of colonialism. The struggle for the right to work and education cannot be divorced from the sharpening contradiction between the deterioration of the educational system in France and the unprecedented general advance of science and technology. Only an independent youth organization can fully respond to these new aspects and take up the fight for the pressing needs of the younger generation. Naturally, there can be no question of this organization pursuing a policy of its own as distinct from the policy of the Party. On the contrary, the Party policy allows of full use being made of the talent and militancy of young people in the interests of the working-class struggle.

Not Flattery but Confidence and Encouragement

Unlike the bourgeois parties, our Party has complete faith in the youth. Indicative in this respect is that the only major youth movement in our country which has genuine organizational independence is the Communist Youth Movement. The reason for this is clear—the Communist Party knows that its theory, its aims and its day-to-day activities fully coincide with the general interests of the youth. Hence there can be no clash of interests between the Party and the Communist youth organization.

In the case of the bourgeois parties things are different. They are haunted by the fear that their young people will see through their reactionary aims and leave them. Because of this they keep the youth organizations under their tutelage, spoon-feed them, send in their trustees, and so on. But in spite of this the Catholic and Socialist youth organizations are constantly in a state of acute crisis, necessitating interference by their respective parties.

The capitalist class tries to conceal its distrust of the youth and its hostility towards them in order to retain its influence over the youth. It goes out of its way to flatter the youth, to ascribe to them every possible virtue, claiming that it is they, and especially the students, who are the basic force of what it calls "revolutionary rebirth."

It is noteworthy that those who have attacked our Party either from within or without have always sought to ensnare the youth by lauding them to the heavens.

Our Party does not flatter the youth. It warns them that those who sing paeans of praise to them are only trying to deceive them and blunt their vigilance. Young people possess many excellent qualities: enthusiasm, militancy, a feeling for the new, an urge toward change. These qualities coincide with the struggle waged by the Communists. But these qualities alone do not guarantee deep revolutionary consciousness. Precisely because of this, as Lenin counselled, we do not flatter the youth, but on the contrary teach them to suspect flattery, urge them to turn for advice to the Communist Party so as to avoid mistakes arising from inexperience and political immaturity. Precisely because of this we regard Party leadership of the Communist Youth Movement as a guarantee that the struggle of the young people will take the right direction. Maurice Thorez has aptly said:

"The experience of our Party is an inspiration to the Communist Youth League. It derives its strength from this wellspring which combines revolutionary ardor and the wisdom of scientific thinking, creative striving toward the future and the experience of the past."

Four Communist Organizations

The Communist Youth Movement in France consists of the following organizations, each with its own press and leading bodies: the Communist Youth League, uniting young people in towns (young workers, school pupils, apprentices), the Young Women's League, also with an urban membership (female workers, school pupils, trainees in industry), the Communist Students' League, and the League of Rural Youth, which, as its name implies, consists of young men and women

in the countryside. The national bureaux of these organizations jointly form the National Council of the Movement which coordinates their activities on a national scale.

These organizations have fully proved their worth. Previously there were only two—one for young women and another for young men. Since the founding of the Students' League and the League of Rural Youth we have doubled the number of young Communists among these sections of the youth, and the circulation of our youth press has trebled and even gone up fourfold. Before the establishment of the Students' League we had a hard time circulating a few hundred copies of the newspaper *l'Avant-Garde* among students, but now 10,000 copies of the student paper *Clarte* are sold regularly.

With four different organizations, we are in a better position to adapt our work to the specific conditions in which the various sections of the youth find themselves under capitalism and to channel their activities into the mainstream of the working-class movement.

For instance, while all four organizations are working for a radical improvement of general educational and vocational training, each has its specific demands around which young people can be rallied to struggle. The Communist Youth League is fighting for the establishment of hundreds of new vocational training centres and lycées, and for modernized curricula. The Young Women's League campaigns against training girls in trades that are dying out (of 83,000 trainees in the metallurgical industry only 200 are women, whereas one out of every six workers employed in this industry is a woman). The League of Rural Youth demands the organization of agricultural training. The Students' League is fighting for greater democracy in higher education and exposes the pressure exerted by the employers on university life.

These demands and the forms of struggle corresponding to them help to strengthen the general struggle of young people for the right to education and to work.

The existence of four organizations thus makes it possible to take due account of the conditions, interests and thinking of each social group and to cement bonds with the youth generally.

Single Leadership

Differentiated work among the youth in no way detracts from the importance of a single leadership, because the political developments and the problems facing the young people generally and our international tasks signify that the viewpoint of the Communist youth as a whole be adequately voiced. While the existence of four organizations facilitates contact with the masses, each of these

organizations will be able to channel its activities in the right direction only if the position of the youth as a whole is taken into account. Joint activities and joint elaboration of programs enable the young people belonging to different sections of society better to appreciate the community of their interests and the need for a strong alliance to counter the offensive of the monopoly bourgeoisie. Unity enables the Communist Youth Movement as a whole to stand firmly on the ideological and political positions of the working class.

The Forms of Work

Although organizing the economic and political struggle is the basic activity in all four sections of the movement, mention should be made of the progress made in recent years in the educational work carried on both among the Young Communists and the youth as a whole. The following methods have proved most effective:

Lectures on topical problems, historical events and new books; films shows; sales campaigns for useful books and the establishment of libraries; organizing personal study of theory by means of correspondence courses; sales of selected records; group visits to theatres and organization of recreation camps. Very important are trips to festivals, sports competitions and rallies, especially those held in the socialist countries.

These forms greatly facilitate the spread of Communist ideas.

United Action

In organizing united action to combat the policy of the monopoly bourgeoisie, we proceed from the fact that the change in the world balance of forces in favor of socialism makes it easier to disseminate our ideas and develop our struggle. The new situation should be taken into account in all spheres of activity to build the unity of the youth movement on an international as well as a national scale. At the same time we should be on guard against a one-sided approach. Our faith in the power of our ideas and their ability to win over people should not be allowed to lead to any loss of perspective in assessing the importance and nature of our potential allies.

I would like to give one example.

At present many Social Democrats in France are talking and writing about planning as the only way out of the economic crisis. In a way this is a reflection of the impact of the achievements of the socialist countries. But the Social Democrats never point to the impossibility of planning under monopoly capitalism. To forget this helps to engender illusions that capitalism can be refurbished. In working for unity we must remember Lenin's injunction that the broader the

mass movement and the greater our influence, the more steadfast should be our adherence to principle in our ideological struggle.

Our polemics with the advocates of bourgeois and reformist views help to bring our ideas to the masses. We firmly believe that the youth generally can be united around the working class on the basis of principled ideological positions, and more than ever we are aware of the need for uncompromising criticism of reformist and revisionist ideas. But while we are winning sincere supporters of unity among the other political trends, it should be borne in mind that many of those who formerly fought against us now side with us not for the sake of unity but to try to oust us from leadership and divert the movement from the correct path. It is my view that these aspects are making themselves felt in the closer relations which we are now establishing with some Social Democratic groups. Therefore unity depends as never before on two interlinked conditions: firstly, intensified ideological struggle to consolidate Marxist influence and gradually to overcome bourgeois views and, secondly, more initiative on the part of the Communists in the struggle for unity.

Besides sports societies and cultural organizations, there are dozens of other youth organizations in our country. Some of them (the Socialist youth connected with Guy Mollet's party as well as those affiliated to the United Socialist Party) frankly admit they are political organizations, while others (organizations within the orbit of the Catholic church, Educational League, Scouts, etc.) claim to be "non-political" in order to conceal their dependence on the church and the bourgeois parties. All the non-Communist youth organizations are torn by deep-going contradictions. On the one hand, to exercise any appreciable influence on the youth they are obliged to support the fight for peace and for better conditions. On the other hand, their dependence on bourgeois political groupings, the anti-communism of their leaders and their overt or covert support of de Gaulle make them to mistrust mass movements and, consequently, to oppose any alliance with the Communist Youth Movement.

At present the proposals for united action on a national scale made by the Communist Youth Movement to other organizations are bogged down in endless negotiations with the leading bodies of the non-Communist organizations which invariably reject them in the end. Our youth organizations

however, steadfastly carry on, seeking to achieve unity of action locally—among the young people in the towns and villages, factories and schools.

The Communist Youth Movement must constantly display initiative in organizing joint action, in proposing the appropriate forms of struggle, advancing slogans reflecting the immediate demands of the youth, in approaching the youth directly and at the same time submit concrete proposals for united action to other youth organizations at all levels, while exposing all moves aimed at undermining unity.

That these tactics are correct is borne out by the growing struggle for peace in Algeria.

For years the Communist Youth Movement was the only youth organization in France to carry on this struggle. The desire for peace among the youth enabled it in the autumn of 1959 to organize thousands of meetings and demonstrations calling for negotiations with Algeria. The movement embraced about 100,000 young people. A few months later 53 youth organizations declared for self-determination for the Algerian people.

De Gaulle's announcement that the military age was to be reduced from 20 to 18 sparked off a wave of indignation among the youth; our Movement took the lead and advanced the slogans "No call-up of 18-year-olds!", "No soldiers for the army in Algeria!", "Immediate negotiations!". Hundreds of demonstrations embracing tens of thousands of young people took place in response to our call.

Since then there has been a continuous succession of youth demonstrations, a new form of joint action having crystallized since September 1960. Demonstrations are no longer called only by the Communist youth organizations. In various urban neighborhoods and factories the initiators often are young people of the most diverse views who set up committees and enlist in the struggle broader sections of the youth than those under the direct influence of the Communist Youth Movement. In these cases we wholeheartedly support the initiative of young people from other organizations.

In the popular struggles inspired by the working class and its Communist Party, the Communist youth organizations have worked tirelessly for the unity of all young people opposed to the de Gaulle government—this manifestation of monopoly rule—and have fought for the restoration and regeneration of democracy and for socialism.

J. Ratzer (Argentina)

Patriotic Youth Front

THE Communist Party is working to rally the majority of the population of Argentina in a democratic national front led by the working class. To bring the youth into the movement, we are building up a patriotic front of young people, of which the moving spirit and the main force is the Communist Youth Federation. With this aim in view, the Federation is working to bring together the most diverse kinds of organizations both in the cities and the outlying localities. The experience of recent years shows that many methods can be used for this purpose. The Communist Youth Federation stresses the need for each of its organizations—in the factories, colleges, urban neighborhoods and villages—to pay due attention to local conditions and to draw up a clear-cut program capable of uniting all young people of the area. Members of the Federation are active in clubs, youth committees of trade unions, sports and other organizations, and support initiatives in setting up all kinds of progressive associations.

In these diverse organizations representatives of different political trends and sections of society are working hand in hand. This makes it possible to build a broad front of struggle for specific demands. At the same time we are working to unite all the youth organizations around a program of a more general nature affecting the interests of all sections of the youth, including the struggle against imperialism, for the independence of Argentina's economy, for democratic rights, etc.

The forms of this activity depend on the circumstances. Last year, for instance, the Argentine University Federation initiated a campaign for national liberation. This initiative was supported by many youth organizations, including the Socialist, Communist and Progressive-Democrat associations. Another example was the campaign of solidarity with the Cuban revolution and for the establishment of brigades of young friends of Cuba and volunteers, which was supported by nearly all youth organizations. Campaigns for united action on separate issues recently resulted in the formation of a National Committee of Youth Organizations on which the Communist Youth Federation, the Socialist Youth, the Progressive-Democrat Youth, the People's Movement, the Progressive Social Movement, the University Federation, the Federation of Secondary School Students, the Youth Committee of the Trade Union United Action and Coordination Movement, the Argentine Young Women's Organization and others are represented. The Committee adopted a democratic anti-imperialist program and is now organizing

branches embracing broad sections of the youth throughout the country.

In order to achieve these results many obstacles had to be overcome, and the work has still not been completed. The leaders of some political parties are trying to prevent unity, going so far as to break with their own youth organizations if they join forces with others. Nor is it easy to overcome differences of views and lack of understanding of the need for unity in some of the youth organizations. Sectarianism still makes itself felt even in the ranks of the Communist Youth Federation, largely because our Communist Party has to work underground. At the same time comrades working in the joint youth movements tend to be passive when it comes to ideological struggle.

The Party is helping the Federation to intensify its ideological work among the youth in general. The emphasis is laid on combating those with conservative views who seek to perpetuate the backward structure of the country and its subordination to monopoly capital. Here our main opponents are the clericals who rely on anti-communism and use every opportunity, from class hours in schools to religious holidays, to propagate their views. Other reactionary forces are rallied around the clericals.

Generally speaking the youth is ideologically to the Left of the leaders of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties. This makes it easier to achieve unity, although sectarian sentiment can place obstacles in the way. The Communist Youth Federation vigorously criticizes all manifestations of "leftism" in its ranks and stresses the possibility of building a broad patriotic front. It is of the utmost importance, however, that ideological discussions should be conducted calmly, especially when it is a question of differences between groups united in one movement.

Work Among the Rural Youth

Sparsity of the rural population and migration from one locality to another affect the work among the rural youth.

But militant action and organization are a tradition in the countryside. Today, however, the Agrarian Federation, born 50 years ago in the militant struggles of the peasantry, is under the leadership of the rural bourgeoisie, who tend to compromise with the reactionaries. The Federation controls the young people's vocational training centers which are attended by some of the village youth. Still others belong to the Young Cooperators' Association, connected with the Agricultural Co-operative Movement which has become quite a widespread one. There are also other youth organ-

izations, but the majority of the young people in the countryside are unorganized. As for the young farm laborers they belong to the organizations of the Federation of Agrarian Unions headed by Right-wing Peronists who are determined to prevent any militant action.

U.S. imperialists, too, have youth organizations under their control, the most widespread being the so-called Four-H clubs.

Although the Communist Youth Federation has not been able as yet to build up a permanent mass movement of rural youth, we have increased our influence in the countryside. Above all we are working for active and permanent cooperation between the urban and rural organizations.

Get-Togethers

With this in view we hold what we call *town-village gatherings*. These gatherings are initiated either by an urban organization in which Young Communists are active, or by several urban organizations which join forces with a club or some other organization in the countryside for a friendly weekend together. Young people go out to the country by bus, taking with them sports equipment and invite concert performers or a puppet show to come along. The sites chosen for the social events are, as a rule, the places where young people from the surrounding countryside usually gather. The program usually consists of a friendly talk, a football match, a concert, dancing and, lastly, a barbecue.

These gatherings help to cement friendship, clear up common problems and provide an opportunity for political education.

Of late delegations of peasant youth have been invited to the towns as guests of the Communist Youth League. Also widespread is assistance by town community organizations to rural areas. The former send their members to the countryside to help the rural organizations who put them up.

The most common forms of assistance are the organization of brigades and the provision of so-called "stipends."

The *Brigades* are groups of town youth who go to the villages to help the rural youth organizations or to form new ones.

The "Stipends" involve a reverse procedure: a town organization invites two or three people from a village club to spend two or three weeks in the town. The guests take an active part in the work of the district or branch organizations of the Communist Youth League. Leaders of the rural organizations find this extremely useful and instructive.

Agrarian Year

In order to improve work among the rural youth the Communist Youth League declared 1960 an "agrarian year." The purpose was to enlist more Youth League members for work in the countryside, to strengthen the rural organizations and increase their number. The experience of previous years was taken into account and the work proceeded more fruitfully. To equip the young people from towns properly, arrangements were made for them to study the agrarian question and conditions in the villages. After the campaign the town organizations assigned members to see to it that the assistance was not discontinued.

Organization of Young Women

We believe that it is advisable for the young women's movement in our country to have a certain measure of organizational independence. This is necessitated by both social factors and family traditions in which many prejudices are still alive as to what a young woman can or cannot do.

In 1949 a mass movement of young women was initiated on a national scale. Members of the Communist Youth League also take part in this united movement.

The women members of the Youth League belong to groups subordinated to the district committees.

The women's movement is developing unevenly. Periods of mounting activity, when attention is concentrated on current events and new forms of work are sought, are followed by periods when enthusiasm for joint action wanes and the role played by the young women in the common struggle of the youth declines.

When the movement forges ahead, the political interest of its participants, especially the Young Communists, grows. There have been, however, cases when the activists have posed political tasks of far too advanced a nature, when the forms of organization have not been suitable for mass organizations and when social and family factors have been ignored. This weakens contacts with young women generally and the movement ebbs.

In recent times we have concentrated on overcoming these shortcomings. We are trying to bring the aims of the young women's organizations more into line with the level of the masses of young women, taking into account the specific features of each area.

At the same time we are searching for organizational forms flexible enough for women's associations, and are trying to weld closer bonds between the latter and the young men's organizations.

*J. Delahoy (Britain)***The Capitalist Propaganda Barrage Boomerangs**

SINCE the end of the Second World War Britain has seen no major economic upheavals of the 1929-33 type. Unemployment today stands at below 500,000 compared with the mass unemployment that was a constant feature of the prewar years.

To young people growing up in this period capitalism has appeared to be working all right. They are able to choose their jobs without fear of unemployment. This, coupled with the growing disillusionment caused by the postwar Labor government and its failure to advance a real socialist program, by its cold war and anti-Soviet policy, exposed the youth as never before to the powerful propaganda agencies of monopoly capitalism.

Young people in the postwar years have not experienced big class battles, and at the same time we have seen a sustained propaganda barrage aimed at convincing them that capitalism had changed. The Right-wing leaders and theorists of the Labor Party are trying hard to divert our Labor movement from its socialist aims.

The situation has been exploited to the full by the bourgeoisie in the battle of ideas, and this has undoubtedly left an imprint on the minds of young people. But despite the Tory propaganda about the "affluent society" and "You've never had it so good," the youth are in fact deprived of the possibility of living a full, happy and worthwhile life.

By the age of 15, 85 per cent of juveniles in Britain have finished with full-time education. At the age of 17 only 10 per cent are full-time at school.

The working class comprises four-fifths of the population, yet only a quarter of those entering University are of working-class origin.

There are over four million young people in Britain between the age of 15 and 20, in the next three years this number will grow to five million, the highest proportion since the First World War. Most of these have little or no chance of getting a job that requires skill or training. In 1960 of the 550,000 school leavers, 420,000 went into unskilled and dead-end jobs.

It is a fact that young people are living today better than their parents did. But the Tory slogan, "You've never had it so good," means little to the young people who do not wish to look back at what was, but forward to how much better things can and should be.

A new market has developed, the teenage market, within which the capitalist class is seeking to induce the youth to spend their money on inferior goods. To do this, the most unscrupulous advertis-

ing methods are used which debase the taste of young people, and make them ready to accept the shoddy, fourth-rate stuff churned out by capitalist enterprises.

Sales of popular records have reached enormous proportions. These songs, bereft of almost any musical qualities and with banal, meaningless words, are increasingly drummed into the ears of young people by music publishers and records companies via the radio and television on the pretext that they are catering for "the tastes of the youth."

The film industry increasingly relies on films with sex and violence as the main theme. Sales of cheap paper-backed novels, nearly pornography, are immense. Magazines of so-called non-political character full of pictures and strip cartoons and pandering to the worst instincts seek to divert the young people from the real class problems of life, and at the same time aim at inculcating capitalist values.

There are, of course, numerous bourgeois youth organizations (like the Young Conservatives with a membership of 125,000 and commanding considerable support).

In the last two years, however, we have seen young people move into action on a scale not witnessed in this country for many years. And even if no major economic battles are being fought today, political matters have become acute as never before. The youth in Britain realize that it is the destiny of all mankind that is at stake today. The issue of war and peace is the topic of the day. It is true to say that youth have been the shock brigade in the fight for peace. The most striking feature of almost every progressive demonstration in our country is the predominance of youth.

The Youth Are Front-Rankers in the Fight for Peace

This is most clearly seen in the development of the youth movement against Britain's position as a rocket and aircraft carrier for United States imperialism.

It is seen not only in the Aldermaston marches which, becoming traditional, have grown from strength to strength with some 150,000 participating in this year's march, but also in the numerous demonstrations up and down the country, to U.S. bomber bases and rocket sites, the London to Edinburgh and Coast to Coast marches, etc.

The feeling on the peace question runs very deep among the young people, and through these activities a strong and vocal youth peace movement is growing up. More than 40,000 signatures

were collected over a short period to the joint youth petition calling for Britain's renunciation of nuclear weapons and atomic bases initiated by the Youth Peace Campaign and, winning the support of many other national and local youth organizations, the petition was presented to Parliament by some 300 young people, representing a wide range of youth from every walk of life. A broad representative youth delegation went from Britain to Paris last year to lobby the summit talks. Indeed it is not an uncommon sight in the schools and clubs of Britain today to see thousands of young people proudly wearing the peace badges on their jackets.

In the anti-apartheid movement young workers and students have again been to the fore. All over the country youth committees have emerged to play a leading part in the South African Boycott Campaign. Demonstrations against the massacre of Africans in South Africa and in support of the people of Nyasaland demanding complete independence, the demonstrations against the reactionary policy in the Congo, and in solidarity with the people of Cuba have been organized.

These and other actions are a significant trend, indicating the possibilities that exist for the youth movement. In each of the struggles fought by the working class young people are learning political and class lessons as a result of the practical experience.

Many young people entered the peace movement as an emotional outcry against the horror of nuclear weapons. In the course of the struggle their understanding has deepened and for a great many of them the campaign for Britain's renunciation of nuclear weapons is now inseparably linked with the fight to rid Britain of foreign bases and end our subservience to the United States.

Furthermore, the realities of the struggle raise questions which can only be answered in political terms, such as "What is the cause of war," "Who is for peace," "Who are our friends and allies." This explains the ferment of political discussion going on among these young people.

Young people are looking for a cause that can bring together in a coherent way all their aspirations towards social justice and brotherhood. The new trend in youth activity has come about at the same time as socialism is making its impact on a world scale. There is growing interest in the achievements of the socialist countries, and a growing recognition among some sections of youth

that communism is the dynamic political force in the world today, and they want to find out more about it.

Make the Youth Communist League a Mass Organization

This new sentiment among the youth does not yet mean that the influence of bourgeois ideas is weak. Thanks to the scale and subtle forms of the capitalist propaganda bourgeois ideas continue to retain their grip on the minds of a considerable section of the young people. But the growing democratic movement opens up real opportunities for winning the youth for socialism. In this an important role is played by the Young Communist League which has been in the forefront of the struggles waged by youth on peace, colonialism and social progress issues.

There is a growing interest in communism among young people, in what the Communist Party and the YCL are doing and have to say.

And though the membership and influence of our League have grown (during 1960 the membership increased by some 60 per cent) it is still a long way from being a really mass youth organization, but only as such will it be able to lead and broaden the youth movement, encompass all forms of cultural, sport and social life, achieve better results in bringing to young people socialist consciousness and understanding and in winning them away from bourgeois ideology.

At the Twenty-Seventh Congress of the Communist Party this year special emphasis was placed on winning the youth and building the YCL. This is now being discussed up and down the country. We intend to double our membership by next June. To achieve this we are planning a series of measures, both nationally and locally. In October, for example, a Youth Week will be organized during which big efforts will be made to build the YCL.

The Party Congress emphasized that only the Labor movement can emerge as the champion of the youth—true fighters for peace and a better life. In its resolution on young people the Congress advanced demands around which the youth can be rallied and won for the Labor movement.

In the new mood among youth which is making itself felt on the key political issues affecting our country, there is a golden opportunity, which will surely be grasped to win Britain's youth on the side of progress, peace and socialism.

M. Ferhat (Morocco)

I WOULD like to dwell on some of the problems facing the young people of Morocco, a country which broke away from colonial rule and achieved political independence a few years ago.

Our young people played an important part in the independence struggle.

But I must make it clear that the Moroccan Communists have no separate youth organization at the present time. Let me tell you why.

The First Experience and the Initial Mistakes

Being a young party (it was founded in 1943) with many European members, the Communist Party of Morocco established a Young Communist League patterned after European Communist youth leagues.

This was a mistake, for what was the right thing at the time in Europe was not suitable for Morocco, an African country with its own conditions and traditions.

The first Young Communist activists were Europeans—French, Spanish and Portuguese.

The League members worked hard. First of all they tackled the problem of illiteracy. Numerous evening schools were opened for young people, among them bootblacks, newspaper sellers and messenger boys of whom there are so many in our towns. These schools were popular with the workers and artisans, and some housewives also attended them.

During classes League activists or lecturers would speak to the pupils about the problems confronting them, formulate their demands, show how these demands could be achieved, but they did not even touch upon the problem which was basic for every Moroccan—the problem of independence.

This omission was due to the policy of the Party. At that time, with Europeans who took a rather reserved attitude to the problem of national liberation predominating in its leadership, the Party concentrated on the economic struggle. And necessary though the economic struggle was, it nevertheless was not enough, especially in a country which for 25 out of 45 years of occupation had waged an armed struggle for independence. No wonder a young man attending one of the literacy schools once said: "One studies and fights for bread with the Communists, but with the nationalists one fights for independence."

Another sphere in which the Young Communist League was active was in organizing social evenings.

These attracted primarily the European youth, which was natural enough. But they also drew

young Moroccans who formerly, owing to the specific conditions in the country, had had no opportunity to mix with Europeans, to meet young women socially, and who had no experience of an atmosphere of genuine comradeship. To them these evenings gave a taste of another world.

The League's biggest achievements were in sport, which is very popular in our country.

This, however, exhausted the positive aspects of the League's activity. The mass of the youth in the villages remained unorganized.

Moreover, the activities of the League were of a paternalistic nature and were not linked with the desire of the people to become the masters of their own destiny. With League work taking this slant, it began to pursue a dangerous opportunist policy. It blindly followed the pattern of other countries and had no idea of the issues that moved our people, partly due to the composition of its membership. This could not but lead to its degeneration into a small isolated group divorced from the people.

The Young Communist League soon ceased to exist.

Its place was taken by a youth league which was named "Moroccan" simply because it could not be called "Republican" in a country with a monarchy. Much effort was expended on making it a truly Moroccan organization. But lack of theoretical clarity and clear-cut orientation corresponding to the aspirations of the youth and adapted to the local conditions made themselves felt.

In December 1952 the Communist Party was banned and subsequent developments prevented it from tackling the problems of the youth organization. This can only be regretted, especially since young Moroccans, like all young Africans, mature early, embark upon independent life at an early age without education or trade, forming an enormous reserve of cheap labor power which at the same time represents a vast revolutionary potential.

The Youth in the Forefront of the Popular Struggle

On August 20, 1953, the colonial authorities exiled the Sultan, who had become the spokesman of the people. Through the French Resident General the colonialists declared that the people had to be brought to heel and the political organizations of the Communists and the Istiklal Party disbanded. The men behind the conspiracy thought they could consolidate their colonial rule in this way, but actually they only hastened the end of the protectorate. The national-liberation movement gained

strength, armed struggle became interwoven with strikes, demonstrations and boycotts.

As the struggle developed whole towns were liberated from colonial rule and in the villages the crops of the French settlers and the feudal landowners were destroyed by fire. Finally, on March 2, 1956, the independence of Morocco was recognized.

In the course of the struggle the youth proclaimed their resolve to live in decent conditions or to die fighting. They demonstrated a high sense of patriotic duty.

The youth had found their path—the path of struggle, in all its forms, for national independence.

Some Conclusions From Our Experience

a) A youth organization can serve its purpose only when its character and its activities are grounded in the specific conditions of the country.

b) In the countries still under foreign rule the activities of this organization should be concentrated on the main problem — the problem of national liberation, since the specific problems of the youth are related to this issue.

c) All the young people cannot be encompassed by a single organization. Due attention should be paid to the specific problems of each section of the youth — young workers, peasant youth, students, etc.

Our Activities Today

What is the situation in Morocco today and what are the Moroccan Communists doing to extend their influence among the young people?

Morocco became a free and sovereign state more than five years ago. Nevertheless the Communist Party was declared illegal on February 9, 1960. This, however, has not interrupted our work, especially among young people. The Party itself (and it too is young) has a large percentage of young people among its members. We have our youth branches in the secondary schools in Casablanca, Rabat, Meknes, El Jadid and Fez, in the new Rabat University, and also in the older universities in Fez and Marrakesh.

The Communist branches print their own publications which are widely circulated among the youth. In the cities there are youth groups led by young members of the Communist Party. These groups organize seminars and exchanges of views as well as action in support of the demands of the young people of the given district or corporation.

Young Party members are active in the youth organizations established since the achievement of independence. The most important of these is the Organization of Working Youth with men's and women's sections which is under the influence

of the Moroccan Labor Alliance. Many Communists occupy leading posts in this organization.

Young Party members also hold leading positions in student organizations both at home and abroad.

At present agricultural trade unions led by the Labor Alliance are being set up all over the country. These unions, which are receiving much help from Party members, have their own youth sections.

Younger members of the Party are also active in the Boy Scouts organization, which has borrowed only the uniform and some forms of activity from the European Scouts movement but otherwise has nothing in common with the latter. Many leaders of mass organizations have received their initial training here.

The various youth organizations are working together, carrying on a joint struggle for complete national independence, for closing the foreign bases, for a Constitution ensuring genuine popular government, in support of the Algerian people, etc.

Our youth are working to put an end to the French nuclear tests in the Sahara and the torture of patriots in Algeria, and to build up a genuinely national anti-imperialist alliance. They are eagerly reaching out to the knowledge and cultural and political progress which the feudal elements and other reactionaries in power ever since independence have not made accessible to them.

The ruling class has been either unable or unwilling to solve the basic problems facing the people. Like other underdeveloped countries searching for a way forward, we experience no dearth of advisers; of these there are plenty in the American, the Yugoslav and the United Arab Republic embassies. We are offered the American way of development, and the Yugoslav path, and the path of Mr. Nasser—and in each case efforts are made to capitalize on the keen interest displayed by our people in socialism. The youth are drawn to the idea of planning, they want to industrialize the country, abolish illiteracy and eradicate the effects of the occupation. They want to take part in grand construction undertakings like those in the socialist countries.

The Communist Party is of the opinion that we are not paying enough attention in our ideological struggle to popularizing the achievements of the socialist countries and elucidating those questions in which the people are most interested. If, thanks to us Communists, the youth learn how the problem of education, for instance, has been solved in countries that have passed from feudalism directly to socialism, if our young people learn from us that in Azerbaijan, for instance, there is one doctor for every 500 inhabitants and that in

Uzbekistan there are twice as many students per thousand of population as in France, they will undoubtedly be able to envisage the prospects opening before them, to see the path to socialism in its true light. I believe that we should re-examine our propaganda among the youth.

Some comrades feel that there is no particular need in underdeveloped countries like ours to popularize the scientific achievements of the socialist countries, such as the sputniks and the conquest of outer space, since our youth lack the education to understand them. This, however, is utterly wrong. Young people in Morocco have on innumerable occasions manifested their interest in the progress made in socialist countries and especially in the Soviet sputniks, cosmic rockets

and manned space flights. We should take due note of this in our work.

Of no small importance is the question of recreation for the youth. Considering our conditions, we cannot be indifferent to how our young people spend their free time. Foreign influences have done much harm in our country. There are U.S. bases on our territory. We are inundated with American films and magazines and many have swallowed the myth of the American way of life.

We have our own traditions to uphold in this sphere as well. And we join forces with the masses, with the peasants, the intellectuals and the bourgeoisie, in combating departures from these traditions. We want to revive our folklore, our songs, and awaken the interest of the youth in them.

F. Munos (Venezuela)

THE youth political organizations in Venezuela unite large numbers of young people and direct their struggle for economic and social demands. The main task of the Party, therefore, is to ensure joint action, and its activity in this respect is a vital part of its efforts to build a broad united democratic front.

Unity of the Youth Organizations

The Communist Party and the Communist Youth League have at different times done much to bring the youth organizations closer and to achieve unity of action and even organizational unity among them. Considerable progress has been registered and valuable experience accumulated in this field.

In almost all cases the unity was attained primarily in the struggle for common political aims. Generally speaking, this is a positive fact, but it has negative aspects. The youth political organizations, with the exception of the Communist Youth League, pay too little attention to economic matters, or what they call "minor" questions which, by the way, directly concern the people.

We can mention two important periods when the Communists' efforts aimed at achieving youth unity yielded results. The first concerns the period when a front against the Perez Jimenez dictatorship, overthrown in 1958, was formed, the other relates to the present period of struggle for a youth patriotic front against the government which is pursuing a policy of appeasing U.S. imperialism and making concessions to it.

Prior to the military coup in 1948 the youth organizations acted separately. It was only after the coup that unity between the youth under the influence of the Democratic Action Party (the most influential at that time) and the Communist

youth organization was established in the struggle against the dictatorship. The students' strikes of September 1951 and January 1952 were led by the youth organizations of all the political parties—Democratic Action, Republican-Democratic Union, Copei Social Christian and Communist. Some time later, the Social Christian youth organization whose adherence had been purely formal withdrew from the front. Despite this, the alliance of the forces affiliated to the united front was a political success, proof of which was repeatedly seen in the subsequent period. The Communist Youth League drew a lesson from this: if agreement is possible with a particular organization or group, even if it be limited and temporary and the organization concerned inconsistent, it should be concluded for the benefit of the movement as a whole.

When in 1957 the dictatorship decided to hold a plebiscite to re-elect Perez Jimenez as President, the Communist Party called for the formation of a broad front of the forces opposed to the dictator. It aimed at rallying these forces—the Communists, the Democratic Action Party, the Republican-Democratic Union, the Christian Socialists, part of the clergy and numerous military circles—around a minimum program for the restoration of democratic rights, elections with guarantees, and return to democratic rule. The task was to extend as far as possible the camp of the allied forces and weaken the enemy.

The Communist Youth League worked for the line formulated by the Party and helped it a great deal. In addition to the Patriotic Junta of four parties, a University Front uniting the student members of four youth organizations was set up. This front led the youth movement in the last days of the dictatorship. Youth unity organizations, with the Communist youth playing the decisive

role, were established in Caracas and other towns. They took an active part in the struggle that eventually led to victory: they carried through a student strike in November 1957, helped in preparing for the armed uprising of January 1958, sponsored dozens of demonstrations and meetings in Caracas and were in the van during the street fighting in the capital. True, not all the youth organizations were as active. But experience has taught the Communists not to cold-shoulder any ally, even if he tends to steer clear of actual struggle.

Built with the active participation of the Communists, the united front, after the overthrow of the dictatorship and with some changes in its composition, developed into a national front which frustrated the numerous reactionary attempts to stage a *coup d'état*. The political youth organizations acted in alliance with other youth organizations, primarily student, and preserved their unity during this period. This was true first of all of the three democratic and anti-imperialist organizations: the Communist Youth League, the youth organization of the Democratic Action Party and the Youth Vanguard of the Republican-Democratic Union.

The difficulties encountered on the way to unity were many. Opposition came from the leaders of the Democratic Action and the Copei Social Christian parties, which influenced also their youth organizations. However, we made proper use of the differences between the rank-and-file youth and their leaders and between the youth organization leaders and Party leaders in order to preserve unity. The situation often impelled the rank and file to fight jointly with the Communists. The leaders, fearing that they might be isolated, had to agree to unity, especially during the periods of acute political struggle.

Personal contacts between the Communist Youth leaders and the leaders of the other organizations played a useful part in organizing joint action. We realized that if work among the rank and file is, in the long run, the main thing for achieving solid youth unity (and not only youth), efforts at top level are also important, and this should always be borne in mind. Lack of clarity on this question is, in our view, the source of sectarian mistakes in the mass movement.

The mistakes made by the Communist Youth League were another obstacle to unity. In this respect the Youth League reflected the mistakes of the Party, which consisted chiefly in dogmatism, sectarianism and "vanguardism." For a time we proclaimed general slogans on the fight for peace, against imperialism, its agents and the latifundists and talked much about the leadership of the working class and its party in the revolution and of

the Communist youth organization in the youth movement, and at the same time we were oblivious to the burning issues agitating the minds of the young people. This militated against contact with the broad sections of the youth and allies. There was no clear-cut platform for agreement.

With the daily assistance of the Party, the Communist Youth League is making a deeper study of life in Venezuela, especially of the conditions of the younger generation. Sectarianism is still manifested in attempts to impose one's point of view on the other organizations, to secure leading positions at any price and to head the movement and the united mass organizations. The view has been that the other organizations should take for granted the role of the Communist Youth League as the leading force in the youth movement. This, it should be said, is puerile "vanguardism." The Party, which made similar mistakes in the past, helped the youth organization to overcome them. A useful contribution in this respect was made at the 13th Central Committee held in February 1957. The Youth League took this counsel to heart.

With the realization that our League was not the only progressive youth organization, that there was a difference between guiding the movement and monopolizing the leading posts, that persuasion was indispensable in the relations with our allies and that leadership is won not by declarations but by practical deeds, progress on the way to unity was accelerated.

The Patriotic Youth Front

Since the formation of a coalition government in February 1959 things in Venezuela have changed greatly. The representatives of the small bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie have been removed from practically all important posts in the administration; the big bourgeoisie, which is linked to imperialism, exerts a greater influence on the government. The latter launched an attack on the living standards and on the rights won by the people on January 23, 1958; it is harrying the democratic and revolutionary forces, and particularly the Left Revolutionary Movement and the Communist Party.

The Third Congress of the Communist Party worked out the line designed to defeat the government and replace it with a government of the democratic and patriotic forces. It called for a patriotic front of the forces fighting for democracy and for a national policy in economic matters and foreign affairs.

The Party again pointed to the vital importance of the youth movement in the patriotic front and of unity among the youth.

The new conditions pose new tasks. What the Party proposes today goes far beyond what it proposed before 1958. It cannot be expected therefore that the former relationship of forces will be repeated. This is equally true of the youth movement, though the latter has its specific features. For instance, today it is impossible to draw the Social Christian youth organization into the common front of the struggle for a democratic and patriotic government.

The Communist Youth League is working to build a youth patriotic front, which is not conceived as a front of revolutionary youth organizations alone. The aim is to include all the progressive political organizations of the youth.

The Communist Youth League urges the young workers and students, the youth organization of the Left Revolutionary Movement, the Youth Vanguard of the Republican-Democratic Union, all patriotic members of the youth organization of the Democratic Action Party and other progressive forces of the Venezuelan youth, irrespective of social status and religious beliefs—all who long to see the aspirations of our people realized—to join this youth front which is part of the national-patriotic front.

Reviews

Faithful Stewards of the Capitalists

LEON BLUM, the French Socialist leader, once said that Socialists should try to be loyal managers of the capitalists' affairs. This cynical remark is the quintessence of reformist practice and ideology.

"Practice has shown," wrote Lenin, "that leaders in the working-class movement who adhere to the opportunist trend are better advocates of the capitalists than the capitalists themselves."* However, despite the services rendered to them the capitalists are none too anxious to make the Right-wing Socialists managers of their affairs. The French Right Socialists, in particular, are still knocking at the doors of the capitalist tycoons, trying to convince them that they are perfectly harmless people.

In addition to the usual parroting of reformist bromides designed to befuddle the masses, the French Socialist leaders in their writings go out of their way to show that their brand of socialism is just the thing for the capitalists. The latter, it is

The Communist Youth League, the youth organization of the Left Revolutionary Movement and the Youth Vanguard of the Republican-Democratic Union have established firm unity, that is, they have preserved and are extending that which they achieved during the struggle against the dictatorship and in the subsequent period. They nominated a single list of candidates in the student organizations and residential associations, are developing a movement of solidarity with Cuba and are taking an active part in the numerous anti-government demonstrations and in street actions.

The Communist Youth League has proposed to the other organizations that they should combine in publishing a youth journal and in drawing up a program for work among the students, the working and peasant youth, and a program of action against the government's economic plan. This proposal is being thrashed out at joint meetings of their national leaderships. The question of forming a youth confederation is also under consideration. The leading bodies and commissions of three organizations are discussing the political issues and ways and means of coordinating their efforts.

suggested, have no choice but to rely on the Socialists. The coming to power of the Socialists is described as "an historical necessity" if the capitalism associated with the words "freedom," "democracy," etc., is to be saved.

The book, *For Humane Socialism*,* by André Philip, a French ideologist of reformism, is written precisely in this spirit. Philip considers himself a Left Socialist, but his "Left" phraseology, coined in subtle demagoguery, is simply a cloak for a reformism of the purest water. Seeking to revive the fading illusion of peace between the exploiters and the exploited, Philip also appeals to the capitalists, patiently explaining that his "humane" socialism would be ideal for them since it encroaches neither on their wealth nor on their privileges. Philip makes a complete break with Marxism, which is not even mentioned in his book. On the other hand, in order to justify what he has "lifted" from bourgeois sources he stresses that his socialism can fit in with "any ideology."

*V. I. Lenin, *Report to the Second Congress of the Communist International*.

*A. Philip, *Pour un socialisme humaniste*, Paris, Plon, 1960, 235 pp.

The "Socialist" Technique of Running Capitalist Production

Socialism, as depicted by Philip, is not a social system but a kind of socialist way of running society. His "humane socialism" (apparently because it is too "humane") makes no inroads on private ownership of the means of production which, we are told, does not contradict this "socialism" in principle. "Collective ownership of the means of production," he writes, "is not an essential element in defining socialism; the size of the nationalized sector and its structure are merely a matter of expediency" (p. 200).

Thus, under Philip's "humane socialism" the capitalists will continue to own the factories, banks, trading firms, etc. True, there will be "a nationalized sector" (based on "expediency"). But the capitalists have long known that partial nationalization can be quite "expedient." They can, and often have to, nationalize the least profitable enterprises (so as to be able to transfer their losses to the public) and the public utilities (transport, communications, banks, power plants) in order to cut production costs by fixing lower prices in the nationalized industries which in the long run reduces the incomes of the working people.

The capitalists, clearly, will have no great objections to a socialism which would leave the means of production in their hands and which would nationalize only part of the economy (within the framework of "expediency"). What is more, the scale of the nationalization, as Philip shows, will be determined by the capitalists themselves.

But what about the working people? Will they be satisfied with a socialism of this kind?

As if anticipating the question Philip argues at length, addressing himself this time mainly to the workers, that private ownership of the means of production can assume forms that are compatible with "socialism."

Private ownership, he claims, does not necessarily mean capitalism and exploitation. The latter can be abolished even if private ownership remains, provided it is placed under "control." "The main thing," he writes, "is that there should not be an absolute right of ownership and that no one could appeal to natural law or legal precedents with a view to opposing necessary economic measures" (p. 200).

Together with other reformist and bourgeois ideologists Philip maintains that the right of private ownership began to lose its significance in the capitalist countries long ago.

"Control and restriction" of private capitalist ownership are being effected, in his opinion, in two ways. First, the actual management of capitalist-owned enterprises is being transferred from owners to technicians. "The nature of the enterprises," he writes, "has changed. The shareholder no

longer commands, and real power belongs to the salaried specialists with a college education" (p. 148). Second, the private capitalist economy is being more and more controlled and run by the state which "intervenes in the economy through its socialized sector and, on the other hand, establishes general guiding rules for the private sector" (pp. 155-156).

Philip is so carried away by this that he tells us that capitalism is on the way out. "Present-day society," he writes, "is no longer capitalism. . . . Power is passing from the owners of capital to the specialists; we are advancing towards socialized society under the leadership of a handful of authoritarian specialists who scientifically decide the destiny of all" (p. 161).

What Philip is plugging here is the Burnham bourgeois concept of the technocratic society, of the new "managerial age" which is to succeed the capitalist system. The idea is to persuade the working people that the capitalists no longer play any vital role in society. This, in turn, is meant to imply that the capitalist economy functions not because the capitalists are interested in it as a means of obtaining profits but because its aim now is to create material wealth. Today the economy is not run by the profit-seeking capitalists but by the disinterested specialist-managers of private firms or government officials who "are motivated, we can say, more by the common interest or, to be more exact, by the common interest from a private and financial point of view" (p. 151).

It is easy to guess why Philip welcomes the obviously growing role of the servants of the capitalists and the government officials. He sees in this, first of all, a greater opportunity for the Socialists to become "faithful stewards of the capitalists." One or two of the servile Socialists may, of course, be lucky in this respect. But as for bourgeois society as a whole its economy does not shed its capitalist nature merely because it is run by more managers. The latter signifies the growing weight of private and state bureaucracy under capitalism. The capitalists continue to exist as a class, and bureaucracy is only an instrument in their hands.

Philip peddles the nonsense, concocted incidentally by the capitalist yesmen, about the altruism of the managers in making profit for the capitalists. It will, however, be recalled that capitalist enterprises are financed through the sale of shares on the stock exchange. When buying shares the owners of capital naturally think solely in terms of profit; they would not dream of wasting their money in helping "technocrats" to fulfil their "altruistic" purposes. When an enterprise proves unprofitable its shares fall and the influx of capital comes to an end.

Thus the very way capitalism operates clearly shows that the "altruism" of the technocrats and

their "independence" is an invention of the capitalists designed to deceive the people. For even formally the salaried managers are responsible to the supervisory councils of the capitalist owners. The technocrats use their knowhow only in one way — the way that ensures profit for their bosses.

In propagating the capitalist nonsense about the special role of the technicians, Philip, like the ideologists of capitalism, is trying to persuade the workers that their enemy now is no longer the capitalist class but the class of managers—the top room servants of the capitalists. They, he says, are the source of evil.

In an effort to be more plausible, Philip dishes up a whole system of philosophy. A man finds burdensome, he declares, not the economic exploitation of which, it would appear, he is not conscious, but the obligation to obey orders. From this it follows, in his view, that the basic contradiction nowadays is not between the capitalists and the workers but between the workers and the administrators.

"The core of the new class struggle," we are told, "is thus formed by those . . . who wield public or private power and by those . . . who have no choice but to submit to the directives issued by the management; nowadays people are divided not by a sense of exploitation stemming from private ownership of the means of production but by the sense of alienation and oppression arising from submission to a common authority" (p. 169). "In the future," Philip claims, "a new class struggle will in all likelihood flare up between the two big categories: the technicians who run things and the masses who do the work" (p. 217).

Philip blackens the working class which, he says, is "egoistic" and seeks only benefits for itself, whereas the technocrats can be guided by "rational and unselfish calculations."

In point of fact, the antagonistic contradictions between the managers and the managed arise because the managers, either directly or through the board of directors, constitute the exploiting class—the capitalists—and because management boils down to squeezing profit out of the managed. The working class is oppressed not by the need to obey orders but by the fact that the orders come from its class enemy and express the interests of the hostile capitalist class.

When a genuine socialist revolution takes place and the working class runs the economy itself, through its specialists, antagonisms between the leaders and those led will disappear, for their relations, no longer the relations of two different classes, will simply delineate the division of labor or the functions necessary at the given stage of economic development.

To speak of an eternal antagonism between the managers and the managed, in isolation from its

class nature, is tantamount to perpetuating the domination of the exploiters. Nowadays the capitalists hide not only behind the backs of cabinet ministers but also behind the backs of their managers, the scapegoats who serve as a lightning conductor diverting the popular wrath, and who at the same time can be replaced, should the workers become too resentful, without sapping the foundations of capitalist rule.

The goal of Philip's "humane socialism" is not the abolition of the capitalist class but "an adjustment of relations" between the managers and the managed, which he describes as "the realization of permanent democratic values."

Is the Working Class Mature Enough to Run the Economy?

Philip boasts that his "socialism" is conceived as a system for *all* classes, not for the workers only, hence the only question is one of "co-operation" between the workers and "other" classes. Since the "other" in the capitalist enterprises are the capitalists, the workers should co-operate with them.

Interestingly enough, Philip is worried lest workers control should go too far and threaten the interests of the employers. He hastens to make the reservation that "the point at issue is not direct workers' management . . . but a control by the workers that will enable them to be in the know, make amendments to the contemplated measures and oppose the authoritarian tendencies of the planned society" (p. 216).

Don't get the idea, however, that Philip proposes immediately to introduce at least a restricted control over the capitalists. For the control he envisages is a thing of the distant future because the workers "have not matured sufficiently mentally" to "control" their exploiters. His "socialist technique" should be initiated by improving the educational system so that there would be more educated workers. But the Philip brand of workers' control would take generations to materialize because in France only 2-3 per cent of the children of the working people find their way to the university. Philip's desire to see worker "participation" in economic management pursues the purely demagogic aim of introducing "class peace" for it is clear from what he writes that this "participation" by no means affects the capitalists; on the contrary, it tightens their grip on the working class.

Worshippers of the Capitalist Moloch

Philip's "socialist party," in the event that it comes to power, would be the instrument for implementing his "socialist technique," a technique which, far from attacking capitalism, as one would expect from a socialist government, is designed to serve it and help it cope with its increasing prob-

lems. Philip is worried lest the USSR and the other socialist countries should outstrip capitalist France. From the rate of growth in France and in the socialist countries (doctored, naturally, in favor of capitalism) Philip concludes that "unless the French economy recovers, the USSR and the East European countries will catch up and subsequently outproduce us and surpass our standard of living, which will quickly place the functioning of our institutions under threat" (p. 37). And in order to preserve "our" institutions of the capitalist system—stock exchange, joint stock companies, profits, exploitation, political and economic oppression—Philip proposes his "socialist technique."

In addition to offering his "socialist technique" as a socialist program for France, Philip holds forth on a host of current political problems.

At this stage we discern the tie-up between his "socialist" program and his attitude to Gaullism, the Common Market and the Algerian war. His views on these questions enable us to see what "socialist technique" means in practice. Philip's more or less sober reasoning about the crisis of bourgeois democracy—which the present Constitution has deepened—about the need to restore and regenerate democracy and to curb monopoly rule in France are cancelled out by the way in which he poses the question as a whole. He wants to examine the current problems of France's foreign and domestic policy "from General de Gaulle's standpoint." This approach is a rather strange one for a man who professes to be a socialist and a champion of democracy.

As can be seen from Philip's attitude to "European integration," he often criticizes de Gaulle for lack of firmness and consistency in pursuing his policy. De Gaulle is criticized for not being Gaullist enough, just as in a previous book, *Socialism Betrayed*, Guy Mollet was criticized for not being true to himself.

Philip regards the present regime of one-man rule in France not as an antipode to socialism but as an inevitable transitional stage on the way to the "socialist" system now taking shape in France as a result of the working of monopoly capital. What is this but justification of the dictatorship and one-man rule? How can one promote democ-

racy by granting the necessity of the Gaullist regime?

Philip's attitude is not a denial of Gaullism but an opportunist adaptation of the Socialists to its policy. On all the vital political issues the "socialist technique" of Philip works in the same direction as the "technique" of the Gaullist state apparatus. For instance, Philip sees the way out of the Algerian war in convening a round-table conference, that is, "negotiations" between the French government and the French colonialists of every shade to which the genuine representatives of the Algerian people would only be invited as "also present." The future status of Algeria, in his view, should be "bestowed" on it by the French monopolies but not worked out by way of honest negotiations with the Algerian Provisional Government.

One is left with the melancholy impression that the views of Philip, the "Socialist," on the Common Market, NATO, atomic integration, etc., are the same as those held by the French monopolies. How harshly this conflicts with the laudable desire of the author to "restore and regenerate" democracy in France!

What, then, is Philip's "humane socialism" in practice? It boils down to defense of the *anti-humane* system of capitalism particularly in its state-monopoly stage, and dooms the working people to perpetual capitalist slavery. The words "freedom," "democracy," "the dignity of man," etc., have, therefore, a false ring when pronounced by Philip. The first two have been mentioned by him probably hundreds of times. But no amount of repetition will change the opportunist content of Philip's doctrine which, in essence, is hostile to freedom, democracy and socialism.

The book is yet another (and equally unsuccessful) attempt to impose on the working class a bourgeois "socialism" that would perpetuate the privileges of the "haves" and mask them with "socialist" phraseology.

But Philip and other Socialists are oblivious of the main thing: will the working class and the working people generally agree to a socialism of this kind?

V. MIKHEYEV

Against the Persecution of Democrats

FASCISM SHALL NOT PASS!

THE Frondizi government in Argentina has submitted to Congress a fascist bill which, in fact, has been drafted by the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation, with Frondizi supplying only a pharisaical introduction and the title "Defense of Democracy Law."

The draft stipulates, first, that organizations seeking to introduce "communism or other totalitarian systems" shall be dissolved and outlawed. As is clear from the text, the anti-communism is only a label. It appears that "pseudo anti-imperialism and pseudo-nationalism," too, will pay the penalty. And the job of determining what is "false" and what is "true" is left, naturally, to secret police.

Second, the bill introduces a concept of *subversion with an ideological covering*. Any citizen found guilty of directly or indirectly praising, supporting, aiding and abetting communism will be liable to a term of up to three years in prison. A Marxist book found in the personal library of a citizen will, according to the authorities, be sufficient grounds for arrest. Those condemned under this law will be disfranchised and denied the right to hold a leading position in a trade union or other social or cultural organization, or to enter the civil service.

Third, the bill denies entry into the country to those who profess "punishable ideas" while living abroad. Moreover, those "criminals" naturalized as Argentine citizens are liable to loss of civic rights, up to three years' imprisonment and subsequent deportation.

Sentences passed under the "Defense of Democracy Law" will remain in force even after the law itself has expired.

The statement issued by the Executive Committee of the Communist Party points out that the Frondizi-FBI bill is the decisive element in the preparations made by the ruling circles for a fascist type of state system. The bill is one of the links in the aggressive policy of imperialism generally, and of U.S. imperialism in particular.

The U.S. ruling circles want to see an atmosphere of tension and anarchy in Argentina, an atmosphere which would facilitate enactment of the law and clear the way to fascism.

Faced with this danger the urge for democratic unity is growing. The Communist call for a vigorous fight against the bill has reached all sections

of the population. The main opposition party — the Civic Radical Union — condemning the bill, says that it is dictated by interests alien to the country and can be applied to any opposition organizations, those, for example, which are against granting oil concessions to the imperialists or to the enslaving agreements with the International Monetary Fund. Fifteen parties, including the Communist, Peronist, Christian Democratic, People's Conservative, Progressive Democratic, the two Socialist parties and the Nationalist Popular Movement, have formed a committee to organize the joint campaign against the bill. They have called on all other organizations opposed to the bill to join with them in combating it.

The leadership of the General Confederation of Labor has decided to hold a general strike against the bill and in support of the economic demands of the unions. It has called on its organizations to exert the utmost pressure on parliament.

The Council for Democracy, a broad unity movement embracing different parties and political leaders, trade unions, students' organizations and organizations of intellectuals and professional workers, is campaigning for democratic legislation and coordinating action against the bill.

Also opposed to the reactionary bill are the University Federation, the Writers' Union, the Medical Confederation, members of the Bar, and various other organizations of intellectuals and professionals. The Buenos Aires municipality and the Supreme Council of Buenos Aires University have called on Congress to reject the bill. Opposition to the bill is forthcoming from the legislatures in Mendoza and other provinces and the municipal councils in the important industrial centers of Avellaneda, Matanza and Vicente-Lopez.

Even leaders, M.P.s and provincial branches of the Frondizi party have voiced their opposition to the bill.

United action against this anti-democratic measure is growing, taking on the most diverse forms; committees to coordinate the struggle against it are being formed in working class districts.

The people are determined to safeguard their rights, to put an end to the terror and lawlessness, to frustrate the fascist moves of imperialism and the government and to clear the way to genuine democracy.

Jose RAMIREZ

THE FRAME-UP THAT BACKFIRED

FOR a year the Senegal authorities prepared for the trial of Majhemout Diop, first secretary of the Central Committee of the African Independence Party. After this dauntless patriot had spent 17 hours in the dock, the Prosecutor called for his death.

What was the charge against Diop? Why were the reactionaries so anxious to make short shrift of him?

These questions are answered by the Central Committee of the African Independence Party in a letter addressed to public opinion throughout the world. The letter, which was circulated on the eve of the Diop trial, throws light on the reactionary policy of the Senegal government, a policy spearheaded against the forces fighting for complete national independence and for the abolition of the survivals of colonialism. Diop's "crime" was that he headed a new kind of Party, the party of the working class, the party that fought for freedom and independence. The purpose of the arrest and trial of Majhemout Diop and his comrades was to behead the leadership of the Independence Party.

Ever since its formation in September 1957 the Independence Party has been subjected to persecution. In August last year the government banned the Senegalese section of this Party. Since then the repressions have been stepped up. The jails are crowded to overflowing, and the most incredible charges are levelled against the patriots, who are being held without trial or investigation.

The initial "charge" against Majhemout Diop, detained for about a year without investigation, was that he had killed a policeman. When this could not be proved, another was quickly manufactured — this time it was a charge of having violated the rules of free voting during the municipal and provincial elections in July 1960. The absurdity of these charges was so patent that the investigator thought that Diop should be temporarily released. But this didn't suit the book of the arch-reactionaries, so new charges were framed and the authorities, obeying government instructions, submitted the case to the criminal court with a view to getting a vindictive sentence.

In reply to the government terror the people have launched a vigorous campaign for democracy and for the release of all political prisoners, and above all Majhemout Diop and his comrades. During the trial hundreds of people filled the streets in the vicinity of the court calling for the release of Diop.

The Independence Party continues to head the struggle. Its slogans call for national independence

and socialism; its demands include a general election to a National Democratic Assembly composed of worker, peasant and women deputies; formation of a National Alliance Government composed of representatives of political parties and personalities known for their loyalty to the cause of independence and social progress.

The Party has appealed to the democratic and anti-imperialist forces throughout the world for their support in the campaign to secure the release of all political prisoners in Senegal. It has informed world public opinion that the terror of the reactionary clique of Senegal is directed against all democratic organizations. Many of them have been dissolved and martial law has been proclaimed.

After dissolving the Senegalese section of the General Union of the Working People of Black Africa, the authorities formed a government-controlled Union of the Working People. Resorting to the same anti-democratic methods, it has paralyzed the activities of the Youth Council and the Women's Union and has split the United Educational Workers' Union. More than once it has used force against strikers, and jointly with French employers has victimized workers who were not to their liking. Jointly with French capitalists it has drawn up a labor code far more reactionary than that which existed during the French colonial rule.

A police network covers the entire countryside with a view to keeping the rural population in check. In many places government officials use the old methods of the French colonialists. The overall effect is that practically the entire population is affected by the reactionary policy of the government.

Relying on international solidarity, and aided by the unity of the patriotic forces at home, the Independence Party and the other democratic forces recently gained a striking success in the struggle against reaction and for the release of the political prisoners. The authorities did not succeed in incarcerating Majhemout Diop and the court released him under popular pressure.

This success has been hailed by all Senegalese patriots and by progressives in other countries. But hundreds more — members of the Independence Party and other democratic organizations and trade unionists — are still in prison. These patriots must be released. This is the demand of progressive people everywhere.

Ibrahim SUMAR

WREST NEUMANN FROM THE HANGMAN

OSKAR NEUMANN, a staunch fighter for peace and democracy, one of the leaders of the Communist Party of Germany, is in prison again.

Neumann's sole "crime" is that, loving his country, he has fought for her happiness which is inseparably linked with peace. That is why he was persecuted in Hitler's time and that is why he is being victimized in Adenauer's Federal Republic. Neumann was arrested by the Gestapo in 1944 for taking part in the anti-fascist resistance movement and was confined in the Buchenwald death camp. Only the defeat of Hitler saved his life. In 1952 this valiant working-class fighter was arrested for opposing the remilitarization of West Germany. After 18 months' preliminary detention he was sentenced by the Federal Court to three years' imprisonment. The gentlemen in Bonn so feared Oskar Neumann and such was his prestige that after his release he was deprived of the right to be elected to state bodies.

And now Neumann has been arrested again, for taking part in the struggle against atomic armament; he was taken into custody by the agents of

Schroeder, former storm-troop fuehrer and now Minister of Interior of the Federal Republic. Neumann's life is in danger. As is clear from the press, the Schroeders are bent on exterminating him physically. Their aim is to accomplish under Adenauer what they failed to do under Hitler. The right man has been found for this criminal scheme. He is W. Smeet, police chief in Kleve where Comrade Neumann is held under a "special regime"; this Smeet has a plan for the gradual extinction, in the course of two years, of Neumann, a plan which "will not give the public any pretext for indignation." Nor is this executioner lacking in experience. For Smeet is a fascist of long standing. His membership of the Nazi party dates from 1926; by 1931 he had graduated to the SS, and in 1933 he became a Gestapo agent first in Cologne and later in Klagenfurt.

Oskar Neumann must be wrested from the hands of the Bonn Gestapo men; to do so is the urgent task of all forward-looking people, of all to whom progress and freedom are dear.

R. VALKE

Among Our Contributors

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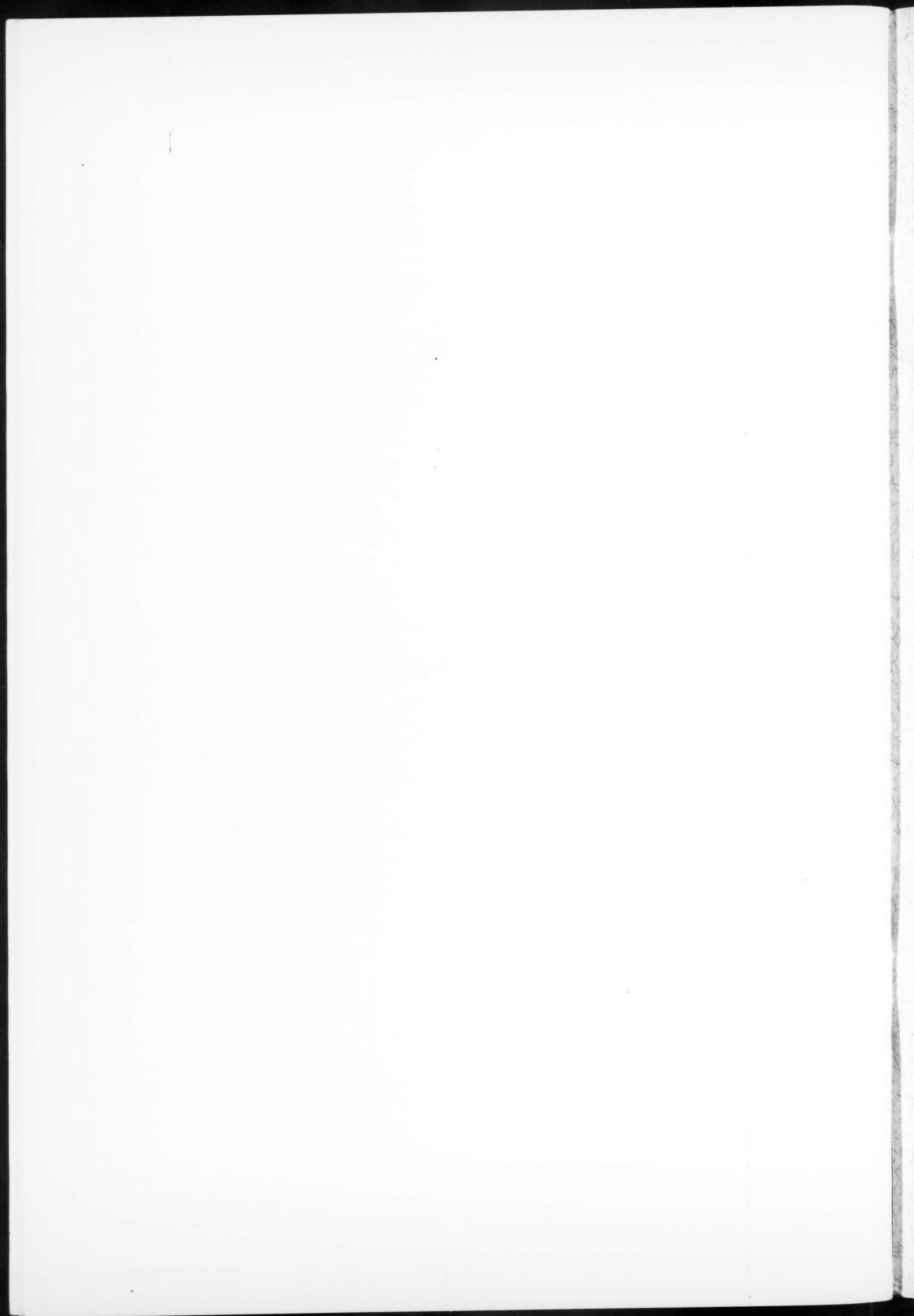
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