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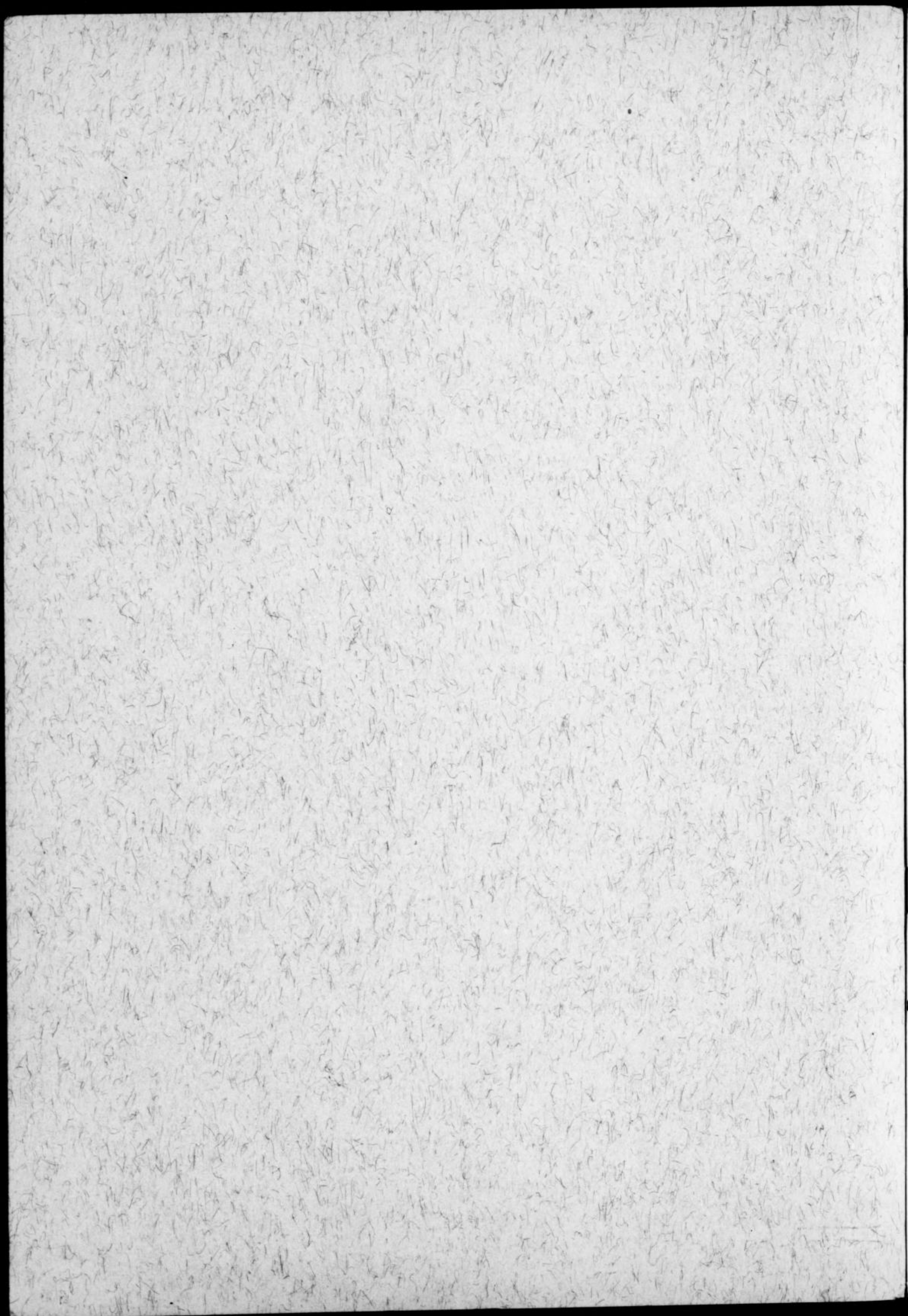
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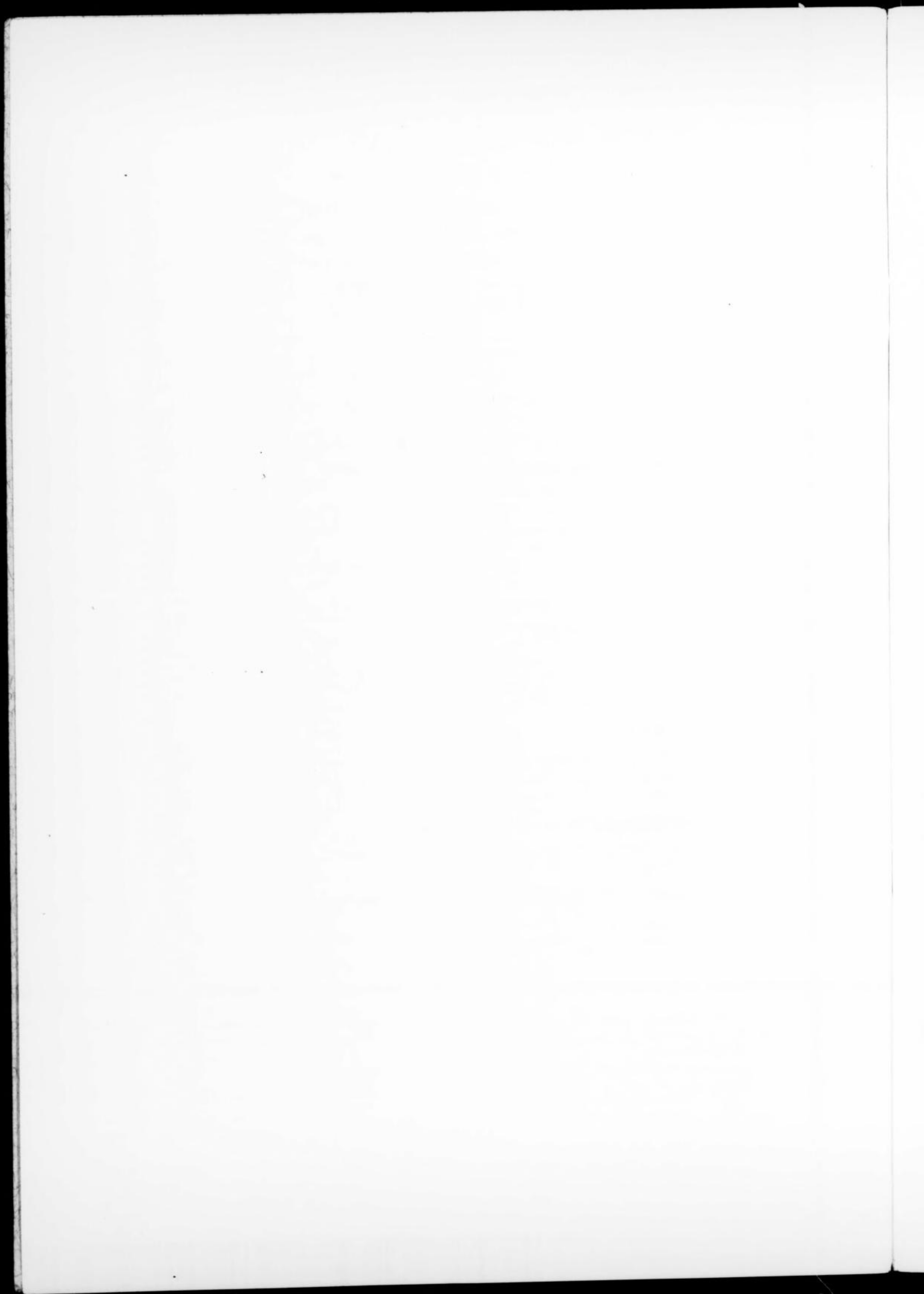
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Communist Construction in the USSR and the Aggravation of the Crisis of Capitalism

Maurice Thorez

THE attention of progressives throughout the world is focussed these days on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Twenty-Second Congress, convened to endorse the CPSU's new and impressive Program, a program based upon the scientifically substantiated prediction that "*The present generation of Soviet people will live under communism.*"

The age-old dream of the best minds of humanity, of what generations of working people in their misery vaguely longed for—a classless society founded on genuine brotherhood, a society in which there will be no social inequality—is becoming a reality. The era of Peace, Labor, Freedom and Happiness, no longer a utopia, has dawned.

The contours of the new society, as Marx and Engels pointed out, are not figments of the imagination. The reasons which have made possible the magnificent achievements of our times should be sought not in the minds of people, not in their exalted romanticism, nor in their profound sense of truth and eternal justice, but in the aggravation of capitalist contradictions, in the struggle waged by the productive forces against an outlived social system, a struggle that inevitably leads to socialism, the first phase of communism. The road of objective development now being followed by the Soviet Union will eventually be taken by all other countries.

The first thing that had to be done in order to advance was to destroy the old society, to sweep away the political power of the bourgeoisie. This task was accomplished by the Leninist Party which led the working class and all the people of Russia to the victory of the October Revolution. Lenin drew up a comprehensive plan of socialist construction.

Treading on unexplored ground, the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the Communist Party, overcame all the difficulties. The exploitation of man by man was abolished; social ownership of the means of production was established in the form of public owner-

ship in industry and collective farm, cooperative ownership in the countryside. For the first time in history the national economy began to develop on a planned basis. The socialist industrialization laid the material base for a modern large-scale industry. The prime objective of production is no longer the pursuit of profit but to satisfy the needs of the working people. Distribution is effected according to the work done by each member of society, whereas formerly, under the capitalist system, more was received by those who worked less and who performed less useful work. Society has become a community of two fraternal classes which is constantly extending political and social rights and has given the people access to the treasure house of culture.

The building and consolidation of the socialist society was an epoch-making event, the significance of which extends far beyond the borders of the Soviet Union. The entire trend of human development was changed. The road to socialism was paved and many peoples have since taken it. The cause of peace acquired a firm foundation and it is now much more difficult for the imperialist aggressors to start another war.

The building of socialism is only the first stage on the road taken by the Soviet people in October 1917. They are now passing on to the next stage, to the stage of the all-out construction of communist society.

Building the Base of Communism

What is communism? Communism is a classless social system with a single form of public ownership of the means of production and full social equality of all members of society. It is a society in which the all-round development of people will be accompanied by the growth of the productive forces through continuous progress in science and technology; a society in which all the sources of public wealth will be in full flood and the noble principle of "From each according to

his ability, to each according to his needs" will be implemented. Communism is a society of free, socially conscious working people, a society in which labor will become a prime vital requirement of everyone, a necessity recognized by one and all.

The main economic task of the Soviet Union in the next 20 years (1961-1980) is to build the material and technical base of communism. Its creation will mean the complete electrification of the country, comprehensive mechanization of production processes, automation on an increasing scale, widespread use of chemistry and fusion of science and industry, etc. Labor productivity will be considerably higher than in the most advanced capitalist countries.

The Soviet Union will possess productive forces of unprecedented might. By 1970, if not before, it will occupy first place in the world for per capita production, and surpass the United States, the most advanced capitalist country.

Only the socialist system, having accomplished a technical revolution, can utilize the gains of this revolution in the interests of society. It is beyond the power of capitalism, founded as it is on the exploitation of man by man and the greed for profits and ravaged by anarchy of production, to carry out a scientific and technical revolution. It is only under a planned socialist system of economy that up-to-date machinery, new sources of power and automation can be used, and are being used, to raise living standards, improve working conditions radically and reduce the working day. That is the realistic and practical path which leads to communism.

Lenin said at the beginning of the new era: "Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country." The Party is putting this formula into practice. In 1980 the annual output of electric power in the USSR will reach the figure of 2,700,000-3,000,000 million kwh., a 9- to 10-fold increase compared with 1960, and will surpass the present U.S. level by about three and a half times.

Lenin said that heavy industry was the basis for the country's economic might. A heavy industry was built up during the construction of socialism. Efforts will continue during the communist construction to expand the capacity of heavy industry, which will make it possible to equip agriculture, the consumer-goods industry, the building industry and transport with the most up-to-date machinery. The annual steel output, which

was 65.3 million tons in 1960, is expected to rise to 250 million tons by 1980, while total industrial output will by that time increase not less than sixfold. Labor productivity will increase from four to 4.5 times within 20 years, and will be about twice as high as the present level of labor productivity in the USA (considerably higher if the shorter working day in the USSR is taken into account). In the coming 20 years the Communist Party will adhere firmly to the principle of material incentives. It will combine this with strengthening moral incentives, which in communist society will be the only incentives. The principle of strict distribution of the fruits of labor according to the amount of work performed by each individual will remain the basic rule throughout the present phase. Hence money and its circulation retain their importance.

It is worth noting that, with the growth of the productive forces and lower production costs, wages will rise steadily, prices will fall and taxes will be abolished. The Soviet people will have the highest standard of living in the world. Real income per head of population will increase more than 3.5 times by 1980. And this despite the fact that already in the coming ten years the working day will be reduced to six hours (five hours where conditions are onerous) and subsequently reduced still more.

Maintenance of children, including boarding-schools, will be free of charge. Housing, communal services, public transport, medicines (as well as the health service which is already free) and the treatment of the sick at sanatoria will be gratuitous; free meals at the place of work will gradually be introduced.

In 1980 the people of the Soviet Union will enjoy an abundance of material and cultural benefits. The country will be close to practical application of the principle of distribution according to need.

But in order to achieve this and to build communism, it is necessary to have, along with a powerful industry, a modern, highly productive agriculture. Only with comprehensive mechanization of agriculture which will approach the level of industry in technical equipment and the organization of production, and only if farm labor becomes a variety of industrial labor, will it be possible to ensure abundance and the gradual transition of social relations in the countryside to communist relations and to abolish, in the main, the distinctions between town and country.

The task is to increase the aggregate volume of agricultural production 3.5 times within 20 years. By 1980 labor productivity in agriculture will have risen five- or sixfold.

These objectives are realistic, for they are based on a collective-farm system. The collective farms, that is, the producer cooperatives, are the road—and they have stood the test of history—along which the peasants are advancing to communism. In a socialist state cooperation is a school of communism for the tillers of the soil.

The men of the monopolies and the big landed estates claim that the socialist revolution, far from benefiting the peasants in any way, goes against their interests. The experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries gives the lie to this. In Russia, on the day after the revolution, that is, on November 8, 1917, the Second Congress of the Soviets gave the land to the peasants. In all the People's Democracies workers' power has given the land to those who till it.

But the transfer of land to the peasants does not completely solve the agrarian problem. It does not abolish economic backwardness, the low productivity of small plots, or the hard conditions of the peasants. Only cooperation can open the gate to a happy life, improve the lot of the peasants and enable them to go over to the widespread use of scientific and technological achievements and thereby make labor easier, more profitable and productive.

The peasants can be united in cooperatives only on a voluntary basis. Lenin utilized and developed Engels' emphatic statement in this connection. The Communists rely on the common sense of the peasants and have confidence in their creative ability.

Working class rule assists the peasants generously. The producer cooperatives are becoming stronger thanks to the fact that the socialist state supplies the peasants with first-class machinery and immense quantities of chemical fertilizers on favorable terms and trains tens of thousands of agricultural experts. Under socialism the disparity between the prices paid for the manufactured goods needed by the peasants and the procurement price paid for farm produce disappears. In the course of communist construction all the advantages enjoyed by the factory and office workers (paid holidays and pensions) and all the amenities of urban life (public catering, laundries, libraries, schools of various grades, etc.) will gradually be extended to the countryside.

In conducting its work in the rural areas working-class rule proceeds from the premise that definite stages should not be skipped. The thing desired should not be taken for reality, the principle of evolution should not be violated, nor should the cooperative phase of socialist development in the countryside be by-passed with the idea of establishing complete communist relations there in one go.

In the course of collectivization in the Soviet Union attempts were made to set up here and there agricultural communes instead of cooperatives; everything in these communes—to the smallest agricultural implement and the domestic poultry—was collectivized. But no good came of this experiment, for the communes had no firm economic base. Violation of historical laws can only do harm.

"From capitalism," Lenin wrote, "mankind can pass directly only to socialism. . . . Socialism is bound to develop gradually into communism."*

The reconstruction of agriculture, the Program tells us, i.e., the gradual elevation of cooperative property to the level of the property of the whole people, will become possible because of the steady growth and better organization of collective farm production. Inter-collective farm production relations will develop; the practice of jointly organizing a variety of enterprises will be extended, as for example, in generating electric power, processing farm produce, transportation and the building of public, cultural and other establishments.

The Program opens up inspiring vistas to the working peasants in all countries. It shows them how, living in the countryside, they can enjoy the same amenities as do people in the towns. It shows them that there is only one way to improve the life of the peasants and that is the way of the collective farm, the way of cooperation and socialism, a way that is diametrically opposed to the capitalist path of want, expropriation, ruin and impoverishment.

A Realistic and Concrete Plan

Under communism every peasant will rise to the level of an agricultural expert. Every worker will have the knowledge of an engineer or technician. The labor of each will be a source of satisfaction; after the working day is over, the worker will have more and more time for intellectual pursuits, for sports,

*V. I. Lenin. *The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution*.

scientific work, public life and all-round development.

In 20 years this wonderful prospect will be the reality! Everything in the Program has been weighed and calculated with scientific precision, there are no flights of fancy in it. In less than 65 years after the establishment of Soviet power in the USSR a communist society will, in the main, have been built and abundance will be *the reality*.

Over 200 years have passed since Britain, the United States, France and other countries began their industrialization. And yet the working class in these countries still has no security; the worker receives low wages and is often unemployed. The conditions of the peasants too are bad, while intellectuals work in a climate of constraint and subordination. Only the war industry is flourishing.

Communism, declare the ruling classes in the capitalist countries, is a utopia. But how can one talk of a utopia when the facts show that a socialist country which inherited an extremely backward economy is, in a matter of 50 years, overtaking the industrially more advanced capitalist countries, while its economy is expanding at a rate four or even five times faster than that of the United States; when at one pole people are building a happy life and at the other they find comfort in building castles in the air.

In 1928, at the time of the Soviet Union's First Five-Year Plan, economists, sociologists and statesmen all over the world claimed that the Soviet Union could never, in so little time, train the millions of skilled workers it needed from the masses of "ignorant" and "backward" peasants. But what happened? The millions who left a backward agriculture for industry have mastered its technique. In the country that is run by the working people, popular initiative and vigor have triumphed over the difficulties. Socialism has been built, and the Soviet Union is now passing to the higher phase. There will no longer be unskilled laborers in the factories, no more arduous physical work, for mechanization and automation will ease labor.

Communism does not take a low level as the basis and equate everybody, as the spokesmen of capitalist privileges affirm. On the contrary, it raises people to an unprecedentedly high level of well-being, professional skill and flowering of the personality.

A new man will come into being, the man who will not know poverty and want or what it means to curtail his requirements. He will have maximum freedom in a society of peace

and abundance, a society in which universal rivalry will be replaced by universal solidarity. Never will man have lived such a rich many-sided and happy life as he will under communism.

The claims of our enemies that socialism is incompatible with freedom and preservation of spiritual values are ridiculous. The Program knocks the bottom out of these fabrications. Truly breath-taking is the grandeur of what in such restrained terms is contained in the Program, the prospects which not only Marxists, but bourgeois politicians still able to think soberly, do not doubt will materialize.

The march of history leads mankind to communism. But how soon the people will achieve it depends entirely on them. The prospects before the French people and those of other advanced capitalist countries are indeed magnificent, but they will become a reality only if the people join forces and sweep away the obstacle to prosperity and freedom — the outlived bourgeois system! Science, technology and the powerful productive forces in these countries are bound, Prometheus-like. The possibilities for progress and happiness are hamstrung by the social conditions. But workers, peasants, technicians and scientists are now beginning to see more clearly that the way to free Prometheus is the way that has been blazed by the working people of the Soviet Union.

From a State of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat to a State of the Entire People

The Program not only sets forth a grand clear-cut plan for economic construction, it defines the tasks of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the spheres of state development and the all-round promotion of socialist democracy.

Marxism teaches that we cannot arrive at socialism without the dictatorship of the proletariat, irrespective of whether the socialist revolution takes place in a peaceful or non-peaceful way. In a letter to the French Socialist Paul Lafargue (March 6, 1894), Engels said apropos of the bourgeois French republic: "We can wrest concessions from it but we can never entrust it with the fulfillment of our tasks." The Marxists have always adhered to this line.

The main efforts of the opportunists and revisionists are directed at throwing overboard the thesis about the conquest of political power by the working class. They interpret the multiplicity of the transitional forms from

capitalism to socialism as the possibility of carrying or not carrying through the revolution, of establishing or not establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In point of fact the dictatorship of the proletariat is absolutely essential for overcoming the resistance of the former oppressors and of those who would like to re-establish the old exploiting system the day after the overthrow of capitalism. Lenin teaches: "Only he is a Marxist who *extends* the acceptance of the class struggle to the acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat."*

In speaking of the need and the indispensability of the dictatorship of the proletariat, two ideas, familiar to all Marxists, should be emphasized. First, that the dictatorship of the proletariat does not imply only coercion; second, that it is a temporary necessity.

The dictatorship of the proletariat presupposes democracy for all working people. Under it the majority of the people take part in running the community instead of being subordinated to a minority. The dictatorship of the proletariat not only guarantees all working people formal rights, it creates the conditions for exercising these rights. The emancipation of man from all exploitation enables him to use his freedom effectively, while the free development of the creative initiative of the masses is the sole motive force of socialist society and the indispensable condition for its advance.

Even vis-à-vis the former exploiters, the dictatorship of the proletariat is not guided by the urge for vengeance. It has noble, constructive aims, its objective is to build socialism, to organize the economy, education and culture. Lenin wrote: "Violence is alien to our ideals."**

The Communists are also familiar with the thesis in Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Program* that the dictatorship of the proletariat goes for the transitional period only. In the Soviet Union it has played the historic role foreseen by Lenin. It has been the instrument of the deep-going reconstruction of society, and in the course of this reconstruction has undergone great changes itself. Proletarian democracy evolved increasingly into socialist democracy for the whole people. The socialist state entered on a new phase of development when it became the political organization of all the members of society.

Having brought about the complete and final victory of socialism in the Soviet Union,

the dictatorship of the proletariat has fulfilled its historic mission and has ceased to be necessary from the point of view of the tasks of internal development. The Soviet state, which arose as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has become a state of the entire people, an organ expressing the interests and the will of all members of society.

The Program, a work of creative Marxism, advances the proposition that after the dictatorship of the proletariat has disappeared the state will continue to exist as the organization of the working people of socialist society. The state, as an organization of the entire people, will survive until the complete victory of communism. It will evolve mainly in the direction of further promoting the all-round development of socialist democracy, of drawing all citizens into active participation in state administration, improving the work of the state bodies and intensifying public control over them.

The increasingly greater participation of the masses in running the state will make it possible to reduce salaried personnel in state bodies to the extent that administrative work will, eventually, cease to be a profession. Reducing the number of civil servants will make it possible, as the example of the Paris Commune showed, to cut administrative costs. The Soviet government apparatus must be simple, inexpensive and efficient, and free from bureaucracy. Lenin wrote in 1918: "We must work tirelessly to develop the organization of the Soviets and of the Soviet government. . . . Our aim is to ensure that every worker, after having finished his eight hours 'lesson' in productive labor, shall perform state duties *gratis*."* The Program envisages implementation of these injunctions, and this is all the more feasible now that the working day is becoming shorter.

In order to ensure a steady influx of young forces and to enable millions of working people to go through the school of state administration, the Program recommends that not less than one-third of the deputies to the Soviets should be renewed at each election. Members of leading bodies cannot be re-elected for longer than three successive terms; the sole exception is in the case of gifted people, who are really indispensable in the leading organs. Thus the political qualifications of the masses will be raised.

The profoundly democratic character of Soviet society is manifest in the obligation

*V. I. Lenin, *The State and Revolution*.
**V. I. Lenin, *A Caricature of Marxism*.

*V. I. Lenin, *Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government*.

of deputies to report back to their electors, in the fact that the deputy can be recalled, in that the functions of ministries are controlled by permanent commissions of the Supreme Soviets, in extending the rights of the local elected bodies, in the public discussion of the drafts of laws and other important decisions, in electing all leading officials, in extending the rights and liberties of citizens, etc.

This is in striking contrast to the stepping up of authoritarian measures in many bourgeois democracies, to say nothing of countries with fascist dictatorships.

Ever wider vistas are opening up in the Soviet Union for the trade unions, the Communist Youth League, cooperatives and other public organizations. The initiative of the masses is in some instances already replacing government bodies through the direct participation of the public; examples of this are the volunteers who help to maintain public order and the comradely courts, whose activities will be extended.

The further development of the socialist state will lead to its gradually becoming a system of communist self-government, while the bodies in charge of economic management and cultural advancement will lose their political character. Universally recognized rules of the communist way of life will be established whose observance will become an organic need and habit with all members of society. Having created the necessary internal conditions therefore, the state can wither away provided the external conditions also obtain, that is to say, when the international contradictions between capitalism and communism have been solved in favor of the latter.

Culture of the Builders of Socialism

The deep-going changes in the economic base of society will evoke changes not only in the political but also in the ideological superstructure.

A cultural revolution was carried out in the Soviet Union during the building of socialism. In the first place culture, formerly accessible only to the privileged few, has become the property of all. And whereas capitalism gave the worker not a whit more than the minimum of knowledge needed for the production process, socialism opened wide the gates of knowledge to the working man.

Second, the culture itself has changed; many bourgeois values have been replaced

by others—values born of the people and corresponding to the new ideals. It goes without saying that socialism values highly the scientific and technological achievements and the art and literature of the past, but it utilizes them in the service of the people, in the interests of progress.

Ideological work, being a powerful instrument for shaping a lofty morality, the morality of the builders of a new society, acquires increasing importance in the era of communist construction.

This morality is distinguished by features such as conscientious labor for the good of society and application of the principle of "He who does not work, neither shall he eat"; concern on the part of all for the preservation and growth of public wealth; a high sense of public duty; fraternal relations with all other members of society, as should be the case in a community where man has ceased to be a wolf unto man, and where the motto "each for all and all for each" has for the first time acquired real meaning. Altruism has been the dream of generations, but society has engendered wars by all against all. Only the socialist remaking of society creates the conditions for the application of lofty, humanistic principles.

The image is delineated of the new man "who will harmoniously combine spiritual wealth, moral purity and a perfect physique." The socialist revolution, having destroyed class antagonisms, has created the conditions for establishing a society of educated people, a society in which the contradiction between mental and physical labor will be eliminated. In the course of building communism, the distinction between these two kinds of labor will be gradually abolished. Towards the end of this process the old division of labor as we know it will no longer obtain; labor in all its manifestations will be creative; "the mere fragment of a man" will be replaced, as Marx said, "by the fully developed individual . . . to whom the different social functions he performs are but so many modes of giving free scope to his own natural and acquired powers."*

Public education, with its polytechnical instruction for all young people, will train the man of the future. This combination of education and work in industry and the active participation of young people in building communism is the best school that youth can attend. The Program charts a great ex-

*Karl Marx. *Capital*.

pansion in education. Universal complete secondary education will be introduced in the second decade. Extension of the network of pre-school institutions will ensure the public upbringing of young children. All schools will be housed in roomy, convenient buildings.

Higher education, which even now evokes worldwide admiration, will be extended. In an article in the April 1961 number of *Expansion de la Recherche Scientifique*, Mendès-France acknowledges that "with a population five times as big as ours, the Soviet Union graduates 20 times as many engineers" as France, and that "it will soon have more engineers than all the Western countries taken together."

Scientific progress is of special concern to the society building communism and its vanguard, the Communist Party. The exploits of Gagarin and Titov, who blazed the trail to outer space, are proof of the opportunities offered to science *under socialism*. As Henri Laugier, former U.N. assistant secretary-general, recently wrote: "It is mainly to its ideology and social structure that the Soviet Union's scientific victories are due."

And indeed no society has ever before opened up such vistas for scientific activity as has socialist society. Never in human history has the need for scientific advance been so acute as in the period of communist construction. Without the intensive development of physics, chemistry, mathematics, biology, all the natural sciences, it would have been impossible to build up the powerful productive forces needed to produce abundance—the prerequisite for communism.

Under socialism science is regarded as the bedrock of development. Whereas the capitalist monopolies and their governments refuse credits for research which does not promise immediate returns, socialism subsidizes research generously. And the number of able research workers will grow in socialist society as a result of the flowering of the peoples' talents.

As is only natural in a society in which advancement is universally planned, scientific progress, too, is planned. This is an objective law: the collective character of research in socialist society calls for planned research.

The intelligentsia, born of the people and working for scientific advancement, and the people's government have confidence in each other, whereas under capitalism the ruling classes hold the intellectuals suspect. The connection between theory and practice—a

requirement of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook—also promotes scientific advance, while the overall impact of this profoundly optimistic and stimulating outlook gives the scientist confidence in the infinite possibilities of the human mind.

"... Socialism," said Lenin, "will liberate science from its bourgeois fetters, from its enslavement to capitalism, from its slavery to the interests of frightful capitalist greed."* The Soviet Union has realized this prediction and, by liberating science, has enabled scientists to achieve unparalleled results.

Simultaneously the Marxist-Leninist world outlook is finding its way to all people. Whereas the bourgeois states increasingly resort to obscurantism, the builders of communism, heirs to the progressive experience of mankind, extol rational thinking.

The working people also receive an aesthetic education. The arts will glorify labor still more, beautify everyday life, and ennoble the personality. Communist culture, which has assimilated and developed the best of world culture, is the highest stage of man's cultural development.

Enhancing the Role and Importance of the Communist Party

What is the CPSU's role in the period of full-scale communist construction?

The Communist Party too has undergone changes. As a result of the victory of socialism and the consolidation of the unity of Soviet society, the Communist Party of the working class has become the vanguard of the Soviet people, the Party of the entire people—the working class, collective-farm peasantry and the intelligentsia.

The period of all-out communist construction is characterized by a further enhancement of the role and importance of the Party as the leading and guiding force of Soviet society. Communist society is not formed spontaneously, but as the result of the conscious and purposeful activity of the masses led by the Marxist-Leninist Party. As Comrade Khrushchov said, "just as an advanced group of mountain-climbers intrepidly goes forward to conquer new, seemingly inaccessible summits . . . so our Party . . . leads the Soviet people to the dazzling peaks of communism."

The Party should serve as a model of the human relations inherent in a communist society, as a model of the supreme forms of

*V. I. Lenin. *Speech Delivered at the First Congress of Councils of National Economy*, May 26, 1918.

communist self-government; to this end it assures close contacts with the people, still greater responsibility of the elective Party bodies before the membership, promotes the activity and initiative of all Communists, develops criticism and self-criticism and observes the principles of collective leadership which are incompatible with the personality cult.

With a view to ensuring a greater influx of fresh forces into the leading Party committees, the Program envisages regular renewal, in certain proportions, of the members of all elected Party bodies—from the branches to the Central Committee, at the same time preserving continuity of leadership.

The unshakeable ideological and organizational unity of the Party is the source of its invincibility, the guarantee of the successful solution of the grand tasks of communist construction.

The Party, which unites the foremost representatives of the working people and is closely connected with the masses, which enjoys unbounded authority among the people, directs the communist construction scientifically. Its leading role is as necessary in this period as it was at the preceding stages of development of Soviet society. Embodying the collective opinion and will of socialist society, the Party is—as in the past when it was the vanguard of the working class—the leading force of progress, an earnest that the grand revolutionary tasks will be carried out.

New Stage in the General Crisis of Capitalism

When the Soviet people enjoy the blessings of communism and when these benefits are felt by all, increasing numbers of people all over the world will begin to say that they are for communism. The socialist world is destined to expand, the capitalist world to shrink. Socialism will inevitably replace capitalism everywhere—such is the objective law of social development.

The First World War and the October Revolution ushered in the general crisis of capitalism. The second stage of this crisis developed at the time of the Second World War and the socialist revolutions in a number of European and Asian countries. The crisis has now entered on its third stage.

The principle feature of this new stage is that its onset was not due to a world war. It is characterized by the weakening of the capitalist positions in the economic competition with socialism, by the breaking away

from capitalism of more countries and by the disintegration of the colonial system. At the same time, with the development of state-monopoly capitalism, there is to be observed an intensification of the internal contradictions of imperialism, the decline of the capitalist economy, the growing inability of capitalism fully to utilize the productive forces, the mounting struggle between labor and capital, by the spread of reaction and by many other factors.

The fact that the socialist world system is establishing its superiority in the international arena has been a major element in the deepening of this crisis. The socialist world system is marching confidently towards decisive victory in the economic competition with capitalism. The average annual rates of growth of industrial production in the socialist countries as a whole for the period 1956-1960 were nearly 3.5 times as high as the rates in the capitalist world. In the not so distant future the socialist camp will overtake the capitalist world system for total volume of industrial and agricultural output. Capitalism will definitely be relegated to second place. The majestic edifice of the new world, erected by the heroic labor of the socialist peoples, will dominate in the decisive sphere of human activity—the production of material wealth.

The world is experiencing a period of stormy national-liberation revolutions. Young sovereign states are arising from the one-time colonies and semi-colonies. But the struggle is not yet over. People are still cruelly oppressed in South Africa and in other parts of the world. In Algeria and Angola they are fighting for liberation.

The desire of the de Gaulle government to dismember Algeria and to deprive it of the Sahara has so far impeded negotiations between the French government and the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, prevented the ending of hostilities and the granting of self-determination. The working people and other democrats in France should, therefore, redouble their efforts to end the Algerian war and to force the government to evacuate the troops from the Bizerte base immediately.

The Communist parties are waging a vigorous struggle for the establishment of national democracies in the liberated countries, relying on a bloc of all the progressive and patriotic forces fighting to win genuine independence and broad democracy and to con-

summate the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution.

The development of the countries which have won their freedom is likely to be a complex and multi-stage process. But sooner or later the peoples will be faced with the choice of taking either the capitalist road—the road of suffering, the road which will not ensure them rapid economic progress or abolish poverty—or the socialist road, the road to freedom and happiness, the road that will transform a backward country into a modern industrial nation.

The time is past when imperialism could freely use the manpower and material resources of the colonial countries. The national states are becoming an increasingly independent factor on the world scene; objectively they are a progressive and anti-imperialist force. Solidarity is growing between the socialist countries and the peoples fighting for their national independence. The disintegration of the colonial system is one of the principal features of the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism.

State-Monopoly Capitalism Signifies Aggravation of Contradictions

Class relations are becoming increasingly aggravated in the imperialist countries. "Capitalism," states the Program, "by concentrating millions of workers in its factories and socializing the process of labor, imparts a social character to production; nevertheless it is the capitalists who appropriate the fruits of labor. This fundamental contradiction of capitalism—the contradiction between the social character of production and the private-capitalist form of appropriation—is manifest in the anarchy in production and in the fact that the purchasing power of society falls short of the expansion of production and leads periodically to destructive economic crises. Crises, and periods of industrial stagnation, in turn, are still more ruinous to the small producers, increase the dependence of wage-labor on capital and lead more rapidly to a relative, and sometimes an absolute, worsening of the condition of the working class."

This theoretical conclusion corresponds to the capitalist reality of yesterday and today. Seeking to refute it, bourgeois ideologists and opportunists invoke the new phenomena in modern capitalist development. They try to depict state-monopoly capitalism as a kind of socialism, claiming that, with the bourgeois state playing a bigger role in the econ-

omy, capitalism is now a "planned," "crisis-free," "progressive" capitalism.

This calls for some comment. In the first place monopoly capitalism is incapable of overcoming the contradictions between the expanding productive forces and their circumscribed social boundaries. It will continue, as heretofore, to turn technological advance against mankind—the wholesale dismissals resulting from automation in the capitalist countries are evidence of this.

Growing unemployment is a grim indictment of capitalism. In a world where a low level of consumption is the rule, capitalism cannot find a market for the surplus produced by automation. It is therefore most reluctant to introduce automation; the brake is put on and technical progress is hampered. The capitalist system gives birth to such absurd pronouncements as those enunciated at the May 1961 session of the "Association for the Study of European Problems" in Turin, at which the experts could think of no better remedy against the effects of automation than to recommend: let the factories work one day in two!

One can understand why, in the article already mentioned, Mendès France writes: "Soon the West will let the Soviet Union win the battle of automation." By 1965, he estimates, "a large number of European and even American enterprises will, unless the West makes an unprecedented effort, run the risk of being surpassed by the planned reorganized industry of the USSR."

In his report for 1960 to the finance commission of the French Senate, Marcel Pellenc complained bitterly that he had vainly begged the Minister of Economics to build one, only one, fully automated plant, at a time, he said, when the Soviet Union is building fifty.

Capitalism, increasingly, is impeding the development of the productive forces. The relations of production under this system are too narrow for any great scientific and technological revolution.

Second, the apologists of state-monopoly capitalism can be told that state-monopoly property continues to remain the property of the exploiters.

If the growth of the monopolies leads to direct state intervention in the economy, this is done in the interests of the oligarchy. State-monopoly capitalism combines the strength of the monopolists and that of the state into a single mechanism whose purpose is to serve finance capital, which it liberally

subsidizes from the budget, and to which it grants tax privileges and other benefits. From the spiritual and material standpoint the state, as the French politician Armengaud put it, is becoming the bourgeoisie's last Maginot line.

State-monopoly capitalism is incapable of changing the nature of the capitalist system, it cannot abolish the anarchy of the capitalist economy nor can it create a "crisis-free," "planned" system. Planning presupposes public ownership of the means of production, the abolition of the system of profit and competition. In the face of the obvious failure of attempts to regulate the economy, the French leaders have taken to saying that their "planning" is not of "an obligatory character." This is an indirect admission that under capitalism the most that can be done is to risk making a few suggestions, which are often refuted by the facts, but that targets cannot be set.

In vain do the Right-wing Socialists, revisionists and opportunists affirm that nationalization changes the nature of the economy. Nationalization of some branches under a system in which private ownership predominates is not socialism. It can, of course, be useful as a measure of democratic reform, and can help curb the power of the monopolies provided the working class exerts an influence on public affairs and the government.

But state-monopoly capitalism is still capitalism. Far from bringing the principal classes of society closer together, it widens the rift between capital and labor, and sharpens this fundamental contradiction by another profound antagonism, that between the rapacious handful of monopoly oppressors and the other classes and sections of the people—the peasants, small producers, intellectuals, the middle class and the small and middle bourgeoisie.

The big French monopolies are doing their utmost to utilize the "European unions," primarily the Common Market, to reinforce their positions at the expense of small and medium-sized enterprises. On the pretext of creating favorable conditions in the competition with their foreign partners in the Common Market, and to consolidate the competitive strength of industry and trade, the monopolies, several years ago, embarked on a cartelization campaign of which the weaker enterprises are the victims. The number of new firms resulting from mergers and absorption was 40 per annum between 1946 and 1954, 60 a year between 1954 and 1957, 541 in

1958, 931 in 1959 and 666 in the first eight months of 1960.

In France eight financial groups control the whole economy. Never has the contradiction between the oligarchy and the nation been so pronounced. And this is because all the measures taken by the government and the oligarchy are aimed at increasing monopoly profits at the expense of the workers. Despite the concessions which the bourgeoisie is compelled to make here and there out of fear of the revolution and because of the successes of the socialist countries and the working-class movement, the position of the proletarians in the capitalist world is on the whole deteriorating. Wages do not cover the material and cultural needs of the worker and his family. Bourgeois economists consider that even in the United States 20 per cent of the families are close to poverty level, while another 20 per cent have a lower than subsistence income. According to data published by the Institute of Statistics on the 1960 wage bill, the guaranteed minimum wage of low-paid workers in France rose only 2.3 per cent, whereas prices went up by more than this. The big family of a semi-skilled worker has a considerably lower income (36 per cent less in the provinces and 28 per cent in Paris) than the minimum envisaged by law. A recent report of the Finance Ministry states that there are 713,000 families whose incomes do not rise beyond 12,500 francs a month—a level of absolute poverty; among these are families with only 6,000 a month. At the same time a few hundred families have incomes of six million francs a month; the ratio of low to high incomes is, thus, 1: 1,000! To this we should add the large number of unemployed in many countries. In the conditions of modern capitalism the worker, more than ever, has no confidence in the morrow. "Full employment" is a dismal farce. The existence of a huge reserve industrial army in Italy is having a disastrous effect on the worker's living standards. The official number of unemployed in the United States was 5,140,000 in July 1961 as against 4,017,000 in July 1960, which is about seven per cent of the total labor force. To this we should add millions of part-time workers. That is how things stand, despite the relative increase in economic activity which began in March. The unemployment is of a structural and chronic character.

There is a housing crisis in most capitalist countries. The latest figures show that some 22 per cent of the French people live in bad

conditions. There are 120,000 slum dwellings in Paris and its suburbs. Figures for 1957 give the average age of the houses in the Third Arrondissement of Paris as 143 years.

In West Berlin, which the capitalists laud as a model of prosperity, workers' housing conditions are so bad that in the Kreuzberg District one school pupil in three has nowhere to do his homework; one in eight has no bed of his own; 40 per cent of the children live in flats without toilets; 25 per cent sleep in one room with three other people; and 15 per cent with four, five and even more people.

The passage of time has fully confirmed the Marxist thesis on the proletarianization of the masses under capitalism. The small peasant economy is becoming increasingly unstable. The French capitalist press speaks openly of the impoverishment and pauperization of the peasants. Under the Gaullist government plan 800,000 small peasants are to be squeezed out of agriculture. While millions of people are going short of necessities, the capitalist state pays the farmers to destroy their vineyards and orchards, forces fishermen to throw their catches back into the sea, and uses bread for other than food purposes.

Handicrafts, too, are declining. The big wholesalers are preparing special laws that will strangle small business. State-monopoly capitalism's measures to "regulate" the economy are aggravating, not eliminating, the contradictions.

The capitalist countries are constantly jolted by the telling blows of the class struggle. The powerful actions of the working people in Belgium at the end of 1960 and at the beginning of this year were striking evidence of the growing activity of the masses. The strike of the General Motors workers in the USA was a reminder that sharp class struggle breaks out even in the "paradise" of capitalism. In France official statistics record what they call the "deterioration of the social climate." The number of work-days lost through strikes, not counting the numerous actions by civil servants, rose to 1,230,000 during the first six months of this year, nearly 200,000 more than in 1960. The peasants too fought big actions—initiated by the small farmers and tenants in Brittany and the Central West — for their right to an existence. They blocked the roads, held up trains and stormed the sub-prefectures.

In a number of cases peasants have held joint meetings with industrial trade unions and adopted common resolutions. These mani-

festations of rapprochement between the working class and the peasantry show that in the anti-monopoly struggle it is possible to build a broad alliance of the working class and other social sections and their organizations.

Militarism and Reaction

Another product of state-monopoly capitalism is intensified militarization. The imperialist countries maintain large armed forces even in peacetime. Military expenditure devours the major part of the budget, while the war industry nets huge profits. The big companies and banks, which in France, the USA and other countries have penetrated into the political administration of the state, install high-ranking military representatives in power. Militarization pervades the whole life of society, and the imperialist countries are turning into militarist, police states. Fascist regimes still exist in some countries and are re-emerging in others. In some, West Germany for example, the Communist Party has been banned.

France, the land of classical bourgeois democracy, is an eloquent example. The oligarchy could not suffer the idea of the working people electing to the legislative organs any considerable number of deputies who would champion their interests, or of the executive power being responsible to a democratic parliament. Seizing on the difficulties created by the prolonged war in Algeria, it established, in concert with the ruling military bureaucracy, a system of authoritarian rule, aggravated still further by the application of Article 16 of the Constitution which grants unlimited powers to the head of state.

Parliament is simply a fiction. The electoral law has been so manipulated that the Communist Party has a mere 10 deputies in Parliament, although it polled several hundred thousand more votes than the ruling Party which, nevertheless, is represented in Parliament by 210 deputies. The workers' press is systematically confiscated, while fascist elements, protected by the authorities, are given a free hand to perpetrate crimes and launch armed attacks. At the time of the Liberation the program of the National Council of the Resistance envisaged the abolition of prefects in the departments and the transfer of administrative functions to elected local authorities, but the Gaullist government is suppressing the autonomy and freedom of the bodies and is devising, for instance, an administrative structure for the Paris district

designed to keep the working population under its thumb. The police have a widely ramified network; and 40 per cent of the budget of the city of Paris goes to the upkeep of the police. A series of decrees has changed existing legislation and given military tribunals the right to hear many political cases. Military courts are usurping the role of the ordinary courts. Defense rights, too, have been curtailed considerably.

Many sincere people, deceived in 1958, are alarmed at this trend. Much was said in those days about the efficiency of a "strong state." That things are in a muddle is now obvious to everyone. The fact is, a state divorced from the people, which conceals the real problems and always seeks to solve them at the expense of the masses, can never be a strong state.

Personal rule has not settled anything. Quite the contrary, it has aggravated matters: the fascist threat is growing; rebel organizations are multiplying and gaining strength and, under the wing of the Gaullist government, are extending their activities; everybody is talking nowadays about the plots of reactionary generals; the Algerian war is still going on, although in 1958 the Gaullist government undertook to end it within three months; the cost of living and hardships are mounting in town and countryside; the youth and its vital problems are neglected. Order was promised, but actually everything is at sixes and sevens. And the inevitable conclusion is: the strength of the masses and their intervention are absolutely necessary if the grand tasks of national regeneration are to be accomplished.

The authoritarian regime has vainly endeavored to extirpate the living idea of democracy from peoples' minds. Growing numbers are becoming conscious of the need for a return to a truly democratic regime. Under popular pressure even the majority of the deputies elected during the manipulated poll of 1958, when the people were urged to vote "yes" in the referendum, demonstratively left the hall of the National Assembly in protest against the abuse of government power and the arbitrary methods employed by the head of state. Discontent and protests, caused especially by arbitrary rule—find expression also in the Socialist Party. Guy Mollet, its general secretary, who last spring approved the enforcement of Article 16, is now demanding that its application cease "as soon as possible." No matter what the Communists' attitude towards the Socialist Party leadership

and its policy may be, they welcome this new stand and suggest to the members of the Socialist Party and its organizations that, since there is accord on this question, joint action should be taken against the unlimited powers. They address a similar proposal to all democratic groupings and parties. In the struggle for freedom we should discard all that divides and pay regard only to what unites us.

Unity of all the forces opposed to the personal dictatorship, which is fraught with the danger of fascism, is essential. This is our national duty. Only in unity can the democrats find a way out of the difficult situation. And united, they will tomorrow have to implement a program for the regeneration of republican institutions and national life.

The proletariat, together with other sections of the people, demands broad democracy, re-establishment and extension of popular rights and liberties and effective power for the representatives of the people elected by universal suffrage.

The working class and its Communist Party advanced an economic program advocating nationalization of the monopolies, democratic management of the nationalized enterprises and control over these by parliament, the trade unions and other democratic organizations, satisfaction of the demands of the working people, a radical agrarian reform under the slogan of "Land to the tiller!" and defense of the interests of the middle sections.

This general democratic struggle against the monopolies does not hold up the socialist revolution but brings it nearer. The more intensive the democratic movement, the higher the level of the political consciousness and the greater the activity of the masses, the more clearly will they see that socialism alone can finally solve these problems. The struggle for democracy is an integral part of the struggle for socialism.

The Crisis of Bourgeois Ideology and Social Democracy

One of the major factors sapping the foundations of capitalism is the profound crisis of bourgeois ideology. No longer is it able to put forward ideas which can win the masses. Its doctrines and schools of thought have failed in the test of history; they have been unable to furnish a scientifically substantiated answer to the questions posed by

life. They have nothing convincing to tell the world. Marxism-Leninism, now in the forefront of progressive thinking, is a factor which even those who disagree with it have to take into account. All intellectual trends are defined and ranked according to their attitude to Marxism-Leninism.

Anti-communism relies only on slander levelled against the socialist system, on distorting the ideas and policy of the Marxist-Leninist parties, on inventions designed to embellish capitalism. The Soviet people were in a bad way, John Foster Dulles told the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee six months before the launching of the first sputnik! And de Gaulle placed himself in a ludicrous position when at a press conference on September 5 he spoke of "domestic failures" in the Soviet Union. These cock-and-bull stories, which in the long run testify solely to the weakness of anti-communism, are an expression of the extreme decline of bourgeois ideology.

Under cover of anti-communism the reactionaries persecute and hound all champions of freedom. Rallied under its banner are the enemies of social progress: the finance oligarchy, and the militarists, the fascists and reactionary clericals, the colonialists and big landowners. Every consistent democrat considers it his duty to combat anti-communism.

Clericalism is acquiring a growing importance in the political and ideological arsenal of imperialism, especially in Western Europe. What a difference and what degeneration in comparison with the classical bourgeois epoch which attached such importance to the dissemination of humanistic ideas! It is noteworthy, however, that clericalism's offensive is meeting with the resistance and counter-offensive of the secular forces of society. As the example of France shows, the secular movement is an important component of the democratic movement.

Right-wing social democracy continues to be the principal ideological and political prop of the bourgeoisie within the working-class movement. It constantly supports imperialism.

The Social Democrats supply bourgeois propaganda with all kinds of sophisms to justify the capitalist system. They have picked up the watchword of "people's capitalism" in an attempt to embellish modern capitalism which today, more than ever before, works against the interests of the people. They have told the workers that the key to prosperity is "productivity," which under capitalism can

but lead to exhaustion, super-exploitation, lower wages and unemployment.

The French Socialist Party leadership was for a long time the directing force in the colonial war in Algeria. It advanced chauvinistic and even racist "arguments" designed to "legitimize" it. Without the good offices of Guy Mollet, who disrupted the working-class unity emerging at that time, de Gaulle could never have come to power.

In the international arena the Social Democratic leaders are the shock force of the imperialist policy of aggression and rearmament. Recall, for example, the role Willy Brandt took upon himself. No one waves the torch of war so ardently as he, and no one is more eager than he to countenance the plots of the revanchists and provocateurs in West Berlin.

During the past few years social democracy in a number of countries has revised its official program and shorn it of all that remained of the Marxist outlook. It is openly renouncing socialism.

The policy is leading social reformism into an ideological and political impasse, to a certain swing to the left in the ranks of the Socialist parties and even to a split. There are now better opportunities than ever for establishing effective contact with the Socialist workers with a view to informing them of the impressive achievements of socialism and the grand perspective of building communist society.

The Socialist workers in France, Britain, West Germany and elsewhere can now compare and judge for themselves on the basis of the facts: they can see the concrete results to which the Marxist-Leninist road leads and the defeats and weakness to which the reformist path leads.

The Socialist workers are beginning to think things out. Communist criticism of the political and ideological positions of the reformist leaders should be accompanied by patient efforts to convince these workers of the need to form a united front in the fight for peace, economic demands, freedom, and socialism. Of decisive importance is the fact that the Socialist workers and the Communists are equally interested in safeguarding their interests against monopoly capital, reaction and aggressive imperialism. And if Herr Brandt acts as the torchbearer of war, Socialist leaders in other countries are openly in favor of negotiations on the German question; their attitude reflects the insistent de-

mand for peace by the rank and file Socialist workers.

The Communist workers have confidence in their Socialist fellow-workers whom they regard as their class brothers. Why should not the Marxist-Leninists go boldly and resolutely among the masses—even in countries where the work is extremely difficult—especially as their world outlook is winning round after round?

Marxism-Leninism is winning the minds of people all over the world because it expresses the vital interests of the working class, of the vast majority of mankind. Growing numbers of people are refusing to link their destiny with that of the old capitalist world now in the throes of a mortal crisis.

Communism Is Peace

The decline of imperialism and the undoubted superiority of the socialist world system in the international arena, and the rising tide of the working-class and democratic movement in all countries have led to an immense growth of forces which have made it their mission to preserve and consolidate world peace, to deliver mankind from the threat of a thermonuclear war.

During the undivided rule of imperialism the issue of war or peace was settled by the will of the finance oligarchy. In those days it could be said it was not war that interrupted peace, but rather, that peace was an unwelcome interval between wars. But those times have passed. War can now be averted by the combined efforts of the mighty socialist camp, the peace-loving non-socialist countries, the international working class and the peace forces. This possibility exists now, even though socialism has not yet triumphed all over the world.

Only the world victory of socialism will completely abolish the social and national causes of war. It is the historic mission of communism to establish peace on earth. But imperialism's hands can be bound right now.

A society that is building socialism and especially communism does not need war. There are no classes or social groups in this society that are interested in plundering other countries; peace is of the very nature of socialism. Whereas capitalism established its rule with fire and sword, socialism does not need war to spread its ideals. Its weapon is its all-round superiority over the old capitalist system. Peace is vital to a society building a new way of life. And a program of full-scale communist construction such as that charted

by the Soviet Union needs world peace. Any complication in the international situation and the consequent necessity to increase defense allocations could retard fulfilment of the plan and the raising of the standard of living. On the other hand, normalcy in international relations, reduced military spending and, above all, universal and complete disarmament, would accelerate the forward movement considerably. Thus the interests of communist construction and the interests of peace are inseparable.

One can appreciate, therefore, why socialism has proposed the only reasonable principle on which international relations in our time should be based — the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The competition between socialism and capitalism in the economic, cultural and political spheres should develop in conditions of peaceful coexistence.

In this competition the revolutionary countries are striving to strengthen the positions of the socialist world system by peaceful means, relying only on their economic, social and scientific achievements. They have advanced a proposal for universal and complete disarmament under strict international control as a radical means of guaranteeing a durable peace.

Disarmament would free the economy of the difficulties engendered by the war preparations. The people are weary of the burden imposed on them by the arms race; they would like to end this senseless squandering of the national wealth.

Only by active and determined struggle, however, can the people force the imperialists to disarm and make the possibility of averting war a reality. Only by keeping a vigilant eye on the aggressive circles, by exposing in good time the initiators of military gambles and by taking the necessary steps to rally and unite all the friends of peace and all the organizations determined to avert war, can the imperialists be prevented from aggravating international relations and carrying out their sinister plan.

The time has come for a settlement of the German question. The situation in Central Europe should have been normalized long ago (the war ended 16 years ago), and it must be made more stable by signing a peace treaty with Germany; since there are now two German states, a peace treaty should be concluded with both of them. If the imperialist powers reject the proposal for peace it is because they support the Bonn monopolists

who want the frontiers revised, and, for a start, to swallow the German Democratic Republic, to force socialism to retreat and to deprive the working people of the GDR of the fruits of their long and courageous struggle. But no democrat can permit this to happen. The strengthening of the GDR is in the interests of political and social progress, in the interests of peace throughout the world.

The time has come to wipe out the nest of espionage and provocations against the GDR and all the socialist countries that has been built in West Berlin. For this reason the Soviet Union has proposed that West Berlin should be given the status of a free city which would establish its own institutions and enjoy freedom of movement. The GDR, as a sovereign state, would naturally exercise control over the communications passing through its territory. Just as there is nothing strange in the Germans in West Germany examining the passports of passengers in the sleeping cars of the Paris-Moscow trains, so there will be nothing strange about the Germans in the GDR controlling, say, French and U.S. traffic from Hanover to West Berlin.

The imperialists' reply so far to the Soviet Union's reasonable and constructive proposals has been refusal to negotiate, stepping up the arms race and partial mobilization. German bases in Britain and France are being enlarged, the whole of Western Europe is becoming a vast hinterland for Bonn's revanchist army. German militarism has re-established its might; its weapons now include missiles capable of delivering nuclear warheads. Once again it is a grave threat not only to the Soviet Union and the neighboring socialist countries, but also to all the surrounding countries, first and foremost France.

The head of the French state has taken upon himself a role fraught with the most dangerous consequences. On the pretext of being "an opponent of any precipitate action," he is against any negotiations on the German question, and does not want to see the slightest improvement in the relations between the NATO member states and the USSR. He calls openly for the use of force in Berlin. Having created the Paris-Bonn axis, he is resurrecting the anti-Communist pact, the fatal effects of which are still fresh in the memory.

In view of this the French peace fighters must be even more active in explaining the policy and intentions of both sides to the people, give a true picture of the interna-

tional situation and expose the intrigues of the aggressors. France's continued atom-bomb tests in the Sahara, the revival of militarism in West Germany and the sabotage of the Geneva negotiations by the United States and Britain, forced the Soviet Union to renew nuclear tests, although it had been the first to suggest that the tests should cease and called for general disarmament. Actually it was the first to stop the tests. Confronted with the necessity of protecting its people and all mankind from a repetition of the tragedy of 1941, the Soviet Union was left with no other choice. Those who are playing with fire should be made to see that there is a force capable of stopping any encroachment on the independence and security of the peace-loving peoples.

The Soviet government, which has solemnly proclaimed its intention never to be the first to resort to arms, would like nothing better than to see the arms race ended and the need for the tests to disappear forever. It has reaffirmed its readiness to sign an agreement on general and complete disarmament at any time.

The Communist parties in all countries and the working people all over the world will do their utmost to deliver mankind from the horrors of war. Given international peace the Soviet people's valiant labor, energy and genius will yield impressive results; communism in the Soviet Union will be built in accordance with the plan. And all will benefit from the building of communism in the Soviet Union, for social progress will everywhere be greatly facilitated. But the clock announcing this event will strike more quickly, if all make determined efforts to impose peaceful coexistence on the imperialists.

That is why the Marxist-Leninist parties in the capitalist countries are rallying the masses to demand a foreign policy orientated towards healthy international relations, towards ending the cold war, first and foremost in the area of Germany, the heartland of Europe, dissolving the opposing military blocs, abolishing the rocket-launching pads and all air, naval and land bases on the territory of other nations, towards universal and complete disarmament.

* * *

There is a striking contrast between the capitalist world rent by contradictions and weakened by the shrinking of its sphere of

influence, yet as aggressive as ever and eager as formerly to make people work for the war they are preparing, and the socialist world with the Soviet Union at its head, directing all its efforts to the production of material wealth and to securing happiness for all in conditions of peace and freedom.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the brain, the honor and the conscience of the people, is leading Soviet society to the

dazzling uplands of communism. Progressive people all over the world regard the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, convened to determine the Party's policy and the means of implementing it, as an event of tremendous significance, for, having endorsed a clear-cut realistic program for communist construction in the USSR, the Congress will give mankind a glimpse into its future.

September 18, 1961

The Program of Communism and the National-Liberation Movement

Rodney Arismendi

THE Program of the CPSU undoubtedly owes much of its impact to the fact that it is a grand theoretical summing up of the creative trend in all spheres of Marxist-Leninist thinking since the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU. The profound, vital program-documents of the international Communist movement were landmarks of this creative path. We merely wish in this connection to touch upon a few ideas arising from important generalizations of the Program on the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism and the growth of the national-liberation movement. The latter, moreover, is examined in the light of its present and its future, taking into account that the next 20 years will see the final settlement of the historical contest between capitalism and socialism.

I

It is not hard to foresee the growing influence which the building of communism in the Soviet Union and the socialist world system as a whole will exert on the events engendered by the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism.

"... *The rise of socialism*," states the Program, "*marks the advent of the era of emancipation of the oppressed peoples.*"

Time has fully confirmed Lenin's theory of socialist revolution, understood not only as the struggle of the proletariat of the metropolitan countries against their own bourgeoisie but also as the merging with the proletarian struggle of the democratic and national

revolutions of the oppressed peoples in a single stream.

"A powerful wave of national-liberation revolutions is sweeping away the colonial system and undermining the foundations of imperialism," the Program stresses. "Young sovereign states have arisen, or are arising, in one-time colonies or semi-colonies. Their peoples have entered a new period of development. They have emerged as makers of the new life and as active participants in world politics, as a revolutionary force destroying imperialism."

The program for building communism, the fight for peace and the struggle for the final destruction of colonialism — these are the three pillars on which the future rests for hundreds of millions of men and women on all continents. These are objectives of varying significance, yet one may say that they form a united front platform for the international working class — the decisive force of our times, which has triumphed over one fourth of the globe — and for the millions in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In this sense the plan for building communism is a contribution to peace, to the consolidation and expansion of the "peace zone" which is an important deterrent to the war designs harbored by imperialism, especially its North American variety.

The Program of the CPSU envisages the possibility of more aid by the socialist system to the newly-emerging nations to help to preserve their political independence, pro-

mote their social and economic development. The vast growth of the productive forces which will be occasioned by the creation of the material and technical base of communism will, in turn, lead to greater co-operation between the Soviet Union and the Asian, African and Latin American countries in the sense of mutually advantageous trade, and contribute effectively to their industrial development, agricultural mechanization and general material and cultural progress. The aid extended to Cuba by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, mentioned by Major Guevara at the Punta del Este* conference, is a harbinger of the aid, multiplied many times over, which in the near future will be available to the peoples embarking on the path of independence, when the building of communism will be accomplished.

The plan for building communism at the same time gives the entire national-liberation movement a still more reliable political guarantee against imperialist encroachment, a greater opportunity to paralyze the "export of counter-revolution," as the example of Cuba has illustrated. This is of particular significance for the peoples of Latin America.

Who can deny that every figure contained in the Program stands for a nail which, in the not distant future, when communism wins the final victory in the economic competition with capitalism, will be driven into the coffin bearing the remains of the colonial system?

Hence the importance of this for the Latin Americans who, inspired by Cuba, have already joined in the anti-imperialist front—the revolution of the colonial and dependent peoples which is sweeping everything before it.

Our peoples have entered the lists at a decisive moment in history. The dawn of their liberation is rising against the background of the crisis of the entire latifundia structure, caught in the toils of its own contradictions and faced with growing pressure from the masses who have awakened to a struggle which nothing can halt. Today when Cuba is defending herself against imperialist attacks and continuing to build the new life, when the people of British Guiana are gaining positions in the government, when the people of Brazil are thwarting military coups engineered at Washington's orders after the

fiasco at Punta del Este, when the Front of National Action in Chile, the Popular Unity Alliance in Venezuela, and workers and students in Uruguay, Argentina and other countries are pouring out onto the streets, we feel that our continent is straining at its fetters and that revolutionary convulsions are rocking the Andes. This is sensed by Washington too, which in the guise of palaver about "the revolution of hopes" is at the same time trying to spark off another chain of coups and acts of aggression in an effort to stave off the inevitable popular uprising. But we Latin Americans feel that this is our decade. With ten years of peace and the program of communism, who can doubt it?

II

One of the merits of the Program, as we have said, is its generalization of the basic issues of our time from the standpoint of the working class, Marxism-Leninism and Marxist dialectics. The struggle of the working class is national in form and international in content. The feature of the present period is that the working class, having taken over power in the socialist countries, is in the vanguard of historical progress, that it is moving forward to its ultimate goal — communism. At the same time, in the countries where it has not yet "stormed the heavens," the working class is taking part in the national actions of each people. It is in the front ranks of the fighters for the liberation of the colonial and dependent nations. At the helm in the socialist countries, the working class extends a helping hand to the national-liberation movement regardless of whether that movement is headed by a bourgeois nationalist, an Arab king or a tribal chief. The national-liberation struggle of these forces ("which are objectively revolutionary") serves to foil the designs of imperialism and accelerates the worldwide victory of the socialist revolution.

Within the framework of the movement as a whole, the working class, being in the front ranks, wages an active struggle for national liberation and in this way cooperates with all nations. But the road its country will take or the degree of its independence is by no means a matter of indifference to the working class. Of all the patriotic forces it is the only consistently revolutionary force both from the national and the social standpoint. And if, adhering to its principles, the working class of the socialist countries declares that the "path of development is

*Punta del Este, Uruguay, was the venue in August 1961 of the Inter-American Economic Conference. At the conference the USA failed to win the support of the Latin American countries in its efforts to isolate Cuba politically and economically. — Ed.

the internal affair of each nation," the working class in the other countries, as the vanguard of the working masses, of all fighters for independence, democracy and well-being, voices its determination to achieve full political and economic independence, to fight for the path that will inevitably lead to the establishment of states of national democracy and to socialism.

Revolutionary action against the imperialist monopolies, and the attainment of economic independence are the most effective basis for consolidating political independence and avoiding semi-colonial subordination. This is the historic objective for both the new sovereign states of Asia and Africa, and for the Latin American countries which won their formal independence at the beginning of the 19th century, but which with the advent of the colonial system of imperialism were placed in economic subjugation and are today the principal object of exploitation by the North American imperialists. That is why we Latin Americans say that Cuba initiated the "second war of independence"!

The struggle for complete economic independence presupposes a number of fundamental measures to solve the basic problems of "national renaissance": a radical agrarian reform, the abolition of pre-capitalist social relations and deep-going democratic reforms to ensure the rapid development of the productive forces. This requires the active participation of the people, the masses of workers and peasants, the middle sections and the patriotic intellectuals in the political leadership and government.

The character and comprehensiveness of the democratic reforms are undoubtedly in direct proportion to the role of the masses, the degree of participation of the working class and the whole people in all undertakings. The national bourgeoisie tends to limit the role of the masses in the government of the country and in the shaping of foreign and domestic policy and, if possible, to exclude them completely from all such activity. Hence the scope of democratic measures, the firmness of both internal and external policy against imperialism, the declining classes and the old social-economic structure depend directly on the role of the masses, on swift action by the working class, or by the progressive social forces where the working class does not yet exist. Thus, these things are contingent on the role and influence of the proletariat in two respects: on its ability to lead the struggle and on its political initiative in uniting other pro-

gressive social strata, primarily the peasantry.

From this it follows that we have two methods to choose from, two ways of approaching the problems of the national-democratic revolution: the revolutionary method which leads to the speedy settlement of such problems as national independence and the implementation of democratic reforms, and the method which might roughly be described as the method of reform, which leads to the preservation of backwardness, to slow evolution in the interests of the bourgeoisie and the landlords, restricts the role of the working class, and leaves loopholes for the return of imperialism or for preserving the roots of its economic domination. From the social standpoint this second path is the path of suffering and prolonged exploitation for the masses.

For us, Latin Americans, Cuba is a living and symbolic example of the first method, although it has its own features which we need not go into here.

For Latin America Cuba offers a striking contrast to the situation in some of the Asian and African countries where the national bourgeoisie crushes popular actions, persecutes the working class and outlaws the Communist parties. Such a policy, often associated with the reactionary stands of some of the national bourgeoisie, cannot but engender a wishy-washy foreign policy, weaken the struggle against imperialism and jeopardize political freedom.

From the standpoint of the proletariat the basic problems of the national-democratic revolution can be effectively solved only on a firm class basis, as was clearly indicated in the immortal pages of the Communist Manifesto. This method was given comprehensive expression in Lenin's theory of the world socialist revolution, of which the question of the leading role of the proletariat in the democratic revolution is a basic tenet.

When Lenin described the world socialist revolution as an alliance of the proletariat of all lands with the dependent and oppressed people he had in mind the independent role of the working class in the national democratic movement and the link between its struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism. The principle of the hegemony of the proletariat is inseparably bound up with the principle of alliance between all democratic and anti-imperialist classes and strata. The concept of the national-democratic revolution within the framework of the world socialist

revolution (in its objective, anti-imperialist sense) is in full accord with another basic thesis of Leninism, namely, that of the uninterrupted democratic revolution led by the proletariat, radically advancing and subsequently developing into the socialist revolution. Both propositions postulate the imperative need for a party of the working class, a party standing on a firm ideological foundation and proceeding from the dialectical combination of internationalism and patriotism.

In a speech at the beginning of this year N. S. Khrushchov spoke of the rich variety of forms assumed by the social struggle in the complex history of the second half of the 20th century.

"Communists are revolutionaries," he said, "and it would be a bad thing if they failed to discern the new opportunities, to find the best ways and the best means of reaching the goal. Special note should be taken of the idea set forth in the Statement about the formation of national democratic states. The Statement outlines the main characteristics of these states and their tasks. It should be stressed that in view of the great variety of conditions in those countries where the peoples, having achieved independence, are now moulding their own way of life, a variety of ways of solving the tasks of social progress is bound to emerge.

"The correct application of Marxist-Leninist theory in the newly-independent countries consists precisely in seeking the forms that take cognizance of the peculiarities of the economic, political and cultural life of the peoples to unite all the sound forces of the nation, to ensure the leading role of the working class in the national front, in the struggle completely to eradicate the roots of imperialism and the remnants of feudalism, and to clear the way for the ultimate advance towards socialism."

The social and ideological influence of the communist society — as manifested in the sphere of technical and economic progress and in the liberation of man from all prejudices — is bound to be felt with increasing force by the most oppressed section of humanity — the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This influence will help to direct us onto the road of progress.

On the other hand, the revolutionary method of tackling the national democratic tasks, a method which rests on a solid class basis, is associated with the attitude of the working class to the system of alliances, the

united front and national-democratic unity. It was not by chance that Lenin developed Marx's idea concerning the reasons for the defeat of the democratic revolutions in Central Europe in the 19th century and thoroughly elaborated all aspects of the idea of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. For Lenin the kernel of the entire system of proletarian alliances was the need for the hegemony of the proletariat and for the gradual and radical development of the democratic revolution to the point where it passes over into the socialist revolution.

The alliance of the working class and the peasantry is the crucial component of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The coalition of forces in the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution (and in the internal political life of the new national state or the state of national democracy) is far broader than in a democratic revolution such as the Russian revolution of 1905. The national factor comes into play here: some of the bourgeoisie take part or are inclined to take part in the revolution. But the strategic plans of the proletariat are always based on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. The development of the national-democratic revolution, the guarantee of its success, its continuation — objectively, including its basic tasks — are directly related to the proletarian attitude to alliances, and mainly, with regard to the national democratic front.

From this standpoint the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and the rallying of the working masses and the urban middle sections around the proletariat determine the course of the revolution and the realization of its democratic tasks. It is the pivot of the strategy and tactics of the proletariat and its party.

A merit of the Program is its elaboration of the concept of the national-democratic front not in static form in which each class operates as an isolated unit, but in a living dialectical way, when the activity of each class is determined not only by its own particular objectives, but in relation to the class struggle generally, the activity of the masses and the role played by the proletariat.

"The working class is the most consistent fighter for the consummation of this revolution, for national interests and social progress," the draft Program says. "As industry develops, its ranks will swell and its role on the socio-political scene will increase. The alliance of the working class and the peas-

antry is the fundamental condition for the success of the struggle to carry out far-reaching democratic change and achieve economic and social progress. This alliance must form the core of a broad national front. The extent to which the national bourgeoisie will take part in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle will depend in considerable measure on the solidity of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. The national front also embraces the urban petty bourgeoisie and the democratic intelligentsia."

The Program provides the proletariat of the colonial and dependent countries with a reliable safeguard against possible mistakes with regard to the role of the national bourgeoisie in the liberation struggle: against exaggerating its revolutionary militancy, which leads to underestimating the significance of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, and the importance of independent action by the proletariat and the activity of the Marxist-Leninist party; and against the extreme position, which overlooks the difference between the revolution in an oppressed country and in a highly-developed capitalist country, the oppressor of other nations. The former leads to opportunist deviations which result in "khvostism," to loss of political orientation, to restricting one's potentialities and requirements, and ideologically injects bourgeois nationalism into Marxism-Leninism. The second position plays into the hands of the Trotskyites, who deny the possibility of the national bourgeoisie taking an anti-imperialist stand, impel the working class towards isolation and radical phrase-mongering to cover up the passivity of the masses, and finally to revolutionary impotence.

III

The question of the position and the program of the various classes in the national-liberation movement brings us to the question of which path — the capitalist or socialist — the newly-independent peoples will choose in order to get rid of their backwardness and "underdevelopment."

The vast changes that have taken place in such a brief period in the socialist countries, and the advancement of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples to the forefront of international politics have turned the general discussion on the subject of unequal development into heated polemics, material for international reports and even

for the appearance of diverse economic "theories."

In a message on the occasion of the session of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council of Punta del Este, President Kennedy proposed his own "alliance for progress" as a panacea. The spectacle of the United States preparing to promote Latin American development is indeed touching! Actually, of course, this maneuver was a sop to the ruling classes, calculated to avert any protest by the Latin-American people against the social-economic crisis in their countries. This neo-colonialist plan is designed as a bribe to buy Latin American support for U.S. aggression against Cuba and to ensnare the countries south of the Rio Grande in North American world strategy again. The Punta del Este conference failed, it should be said, because it was preceded by the Playa Giron* events. Moreover, the primary condition for Latin American progress is to overthrow the yoke of the U.S. monopolies and carry out far-reaching agrarian reforms. But this can be done only through revolutionary reforms similar to those effected in Cuba.

This does not mean that the Latin American peoples cannot in one or another country achieve a more favorable alignment of forces that would enable them to pursue an independent foreign policy, a policy of peace, large-scale trade and mutually advantageous relations with the socialist system and cooperation with Cuba, and in domestic policy to carry out progressive economic measures and adopt a democratic position. In other words, it does not mean that the present situation cannot be improved.

Nevertheless the problems implied by that most unscientific term "underdeveloped" can be solved only through anti-imperialist reforms and revolutionary changes in agrarian relations which would facilitate the subsequent transition to socialism. The schemes harbored by some groups of the bourgeoisie who expect to develop our countries by the simple means of stimulating capitalist relations within the framework of the present social system founded on latifundism and U.S. domination are doomed to failure. To do so would simply aggravate all the existing contradictions, deepen the structural crisis and shift the entire burden of the much-vaunted industrialization and modernization

*Playa Giron — the place where the North American mercenaries landed in Cuba and were defeated in April, 1961. — Ed.

of agriculture onto the shoulders of the masses.

The Program of the CPSU points out that the basic issue facing the nations which have recently won political freedom from imperialism is the choice between capitalism and socialism. But to a certain extent this is our own problem too. In our countries, which are dependent on imperialism and in whose system pre-capitalist survivals have been preserved, we define our revolution as a democratic revolution coinciding in time with the world socialist revolution. Our revolution must pass through a number of stages, it must proceed from the specific situation in each country, but in the end it will lead the Latin American peoples onto the path of socialism.

Moreover, is not Bolivia with her poverty and suffering in a sense an experiment in the capitalist road for underdeveloped countries?

We do not wish to say that there is no room in Bolivia for democratic and national tasks. But the capitalist way has already demonstrated its inconsistency even with regard to its own objectives, and inasmuch as these objectives are capitalist they accentuate the polarization of wealth and poverty and intensify the exploitation of the people in the most brutal forms.

The Bolivian people might well envy the Bashkirs and Tajiks to whom the revolution has brought happiness and socialist culture. Some years ago Rodolfo Ghioldi took the trouble to compare the progress of Uzbekistan with the hopeless tragedy of the poverty-stricken Argentinian provinces. The comparison could give food for thought to the people of Uruguay who for nearly a century have experienced the dubious pleasure of slow capitalist development, bourgeois evolution of the latifundia and the development of light industry, with the structural crisis of the economy deepening and the exploitation of the masses being intensified.

"Capitalism is the road of suffering for the people," says the Program, *"Socialism is the road to freedom and happiness for the peoples . . . The non-capitalist road of development is ensured by the struggle of the working class and the masses of the people, by the general democratic movement, and meets the interests of the absolute majority of the nation."*

Cuba has chosen the socialist road. Her example shifts this subject to Latin American soil. The Communists of Uruguay, who

advance a democratic program of national liberation, hold that this is precisely the road which Uruguay can subsequently take to socialism. We are fighting for the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution led by the working class.

IV

If we turn for a moment from our immediate problems to cast a glimpse into the future, we see that the struggle between the two principal conflicting ideologies — capitalism and socialism — is reaching the intensity of a final and decisive combat. The more clearly the contours of the communist society stand out, the more hysterical anti-communism becomes and the more obvious its bankruptcy. All the newspaper myths about communism and freedom being incompatible, all the nonsense about individual freedom, democracy and patriotism with which the high priests of moribund capitalism seek to disguise its decline and the inevitable decay of any social system founded on national and social oppression will be dispelled by the radiant sun and refreshing breeze of the new society which, to quote Marx, will humanize social relations.

This fate awaits not only the official ideology of finance capital but bourgeois ideology as a whole.

Marxism-Leninism, the socialist ideology, will hew a path for itself through the jungle of the unscientific ideologies that reflect the thinking and social philosophy of the non-proletarian classes, even of those which participate together with the proletariat in the national and social struggle against imperialism, but which, due to their class limitations have a distorted concept of history and society, a narrow and erroneous outlook.

Some of these trends, under the impact of the times and the advance of the proletarian ideology, are assuming the guise of socialism.* This is typical for many of the African, Asian and Latin American countries.

The Program is an invaluable contribution to the clarification of certain hotly-disputed ideological problems in the national-liberation movement, among others, the problems relating to the bourgeois nationalist trends in the colonies and dependent countries and in the new national states.

The position and character of the different classes in the revolution are most sharply manifested in the sphere of ideology. This

*Nehru uses the word "socialism" to describe some of the ideological concepts of the Indian nationalist bourgeoisie. Nasser speaks of "cooperative socialism." — R.A.

is a part of the major question which must be decided within the national-liberation movement, namely, who will lead the revolution, what direction will it take and what will be the path of development—capitalist or socialist—after winning political emancipation.

For the proletariat the ideological struggle does not begin and end with the task of exposing its enemies—imperialism and the ruling classes which serve it, important and necessary though it be. Of course, the proletariat directs its main fire against them in advancing any slogan, backing this up with explanatory work which helps to cement the anti-imperialist and democratic forces. Nevertheless, this ideological struggle must also be carried on within the camp of the allies themselves, inasmuch as the united front presupposes a coalition of different classes and social strata with as many different ideologies. In this case the ideological struggle is determined by the strategic needs of the revolution, the necessity of building up a national-democratic front, and is conducted accordingly. This is the most direct expression of the principle of unity and struggle underlying our strategy and hence derives from the theory of the vanguard role of the party and the hegemony of the proletariat.

Within the middle sections, the petty bourgeoisie and even the peasantry the ideological struggle takes a variety of complex forms. Some of these are a reflection of the new tendencies that have emerged in the light of recent events. Others are the result of old traditions, when the past weighs like a nightmare upon the minds of modern generations, to use Marx's famous expression.

Nationalism was undoubtedly one of the most notable trends in the anti-colonial liberation movement. But the nationalism of the colonial and dependent peoples is not the same as the nationalism of the imperialist states. The Program elucidates this point.

"In many countries, the liberation movement of the peoples that have awakened proceeds under the flag of nationalism. Marxist-Leninists draw a distinction between the nationalism of the oppressed nations and that of the oppressor nations. The nationalism of an oppressed nation contains a *general democratic element* directed against oppression, and the Communists support it because they consider it historically justified at a given stage. That element finds expression in the striving of the oppressed peoples to free themselves from imperialist oppres-

sion, to gain national independence and bring about a national renaissance. But the nationalism of an oppressed nation has yet another aspect, one expressing the ideology and interest of the reactionary exploiting top stratum."

The nationalist ideology in some Latin American countries has not acquired the character of a doctrine or theory, as is the case in some continents where nationalism played a prominent role. This is not the place to analyze the possible historico-economic and socio-political and intellectual reasons for these differences. Suffice it to say that in some Latin American countries the nationalist ideology shielded the retreating landowner classes from the pressure of the bourgeoisie. However, in Brazil and Bolivia, to some extent, it found expression as a more clearly-defined nationalist ideology with an anti-imperialist slant. This does not mean that the present upsurge of patriotic resistance to U.S. imperialism, which is upsetting all dogmas, bears no relation to the ideas of a nationalistic type contained in the social thought, the literature and soul-searchings of the middle classes. However, these ideas are not always manifested in the form of nationalistic ideology or in nationalistic movements. We are witnessing an upsurge of national sentiment and national consciousness which is accentuated and borne forward by the revolution. In this surge of feeling there are some nationalistic undercurrents, but the flood of popular sentiment in Latin America is more national and patriotic than nationalistic.

The nationalist ideology in the colonies and dependent countries is the general expression of the views held by the national bourgeoisie and sometimes reflects the confused patriotic sentiments of the petty bourgeoisie. The growing contradictions with U.S. imperialism and the process of capitalist development are the soil in which these ideological trends grow. The anti-colonialist revolution, which is remaking the map of the world, inspires and stimulates these trends.

All the big national movements and major rebellious actions of the youth in the history of the Latin American countries—such as the university reform,* the activities of the APRA in the initial period of its existence or the "tenentism"*** in Brazil—were tainted

*The movement for university reform which arose in the Argentine in 1918 and spread to other Latin American countries.

***A petty bourgeois trend in Brazil in the 20's and 30's, especially influential in the army. — Ed.

with nationalistic ideas. But none of these patriotic movements can be called nationalistic.

The most typical manifestation of bourgeois thought in Latin America was national reformism, which, while it had positive features showed a marked tendency toward conciliation with imperialism.

In many Latin American countries the appearance of nationalistic ideas was associated with the strong middle class movement which at the height of the cold war hid under the slogan of the "third way." In the working-class movement this term smacks of revisionism and recalls the erroneous position of the Yugoslav theoreticians. But in the social and political struggle of many South American countries it signified the formation of a mixed social movement (while relying on the petty bourgeoisie, it included such forces as Peronism or the present-day Uruguayan rulers who serve the International Monetary Fund) which claimed to be combating "two imperialisms," thus placing the USSR in the same category as the North American oppressors.

After the events in Guatemala a positive feature of this movement began to come to the fore: the anti-imperialist sentiment of the middle strata, chiefly the students, which merged with the flood of the Latin American revolution. In this respect Cuba marked a new phase in our continental revolution. It served to bring out the anti-imperialist content of the mass movement and helped to defeat the sham ideologies. Then came the collapse of the first incorrect impression that Cuba was the embodiment of the "third way." From Fidel Castro's just statement that the revolution in Cuba was as "national and Cuban as the palms of Cuba," some people jumped to the conclusion that it was an **anti-communist** revolution set in opposition to the socialist world system. Cuba deserves credit for having demonstrated to the whole continent the historical compatibility of the national democratic revolution with a victorious socialist revolution.

Speaking of the Cuban revolution at Punta del Este, Ernesto Guevara said:

"It is a revolution which pursues an independent foreign policy, which comes to this conference of American states as another Latin American state, which sends one of its distinguished members to a conference of the non-aligned countries and sits down at the conference table with socialist countries

—and the latter regard our state as a fraternal country."

Thus, Cuba's path has nothing in common with the "third way."

At times one finds nationalistic tendencies cropping up in the ranks of the "Left-wing" anti-imperialist movement in the form of a curious interpretation of our historical epoch, according to which the chief contradiction of our time is not the contradiction between the socialist and capitalist systems, but the contradiction between the "underdeveloped" and "highly developed" countries. In this case the theory of class struggle yields place to a quantitative appraisal of economic development. If one were to take this view, the determining feature of our epoch would be not the social revolution, but the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism. This is a completely nationalistic approach to the question.

The Russian revolution—a proletarian and socialist revolution—acted as the harbinger of the revolutions of the colonial and oppressed peoples. Firstly, because the proletariat, on coming to power, became, thanks to its internationalism, the standard bearer of all oppressed peoples. Secondly, because in view of its geographic position on the frontiers of Europe and Asia the Russian Revolution opened the prospect of revolution to the East. Thirdly, because it extended a hand to the millions of oppressed, and fourthly, because it *verified in practice the proletarian socialist, internationalist method of solving the national-colonial question and eliminating backwardness and "underdevelopment."*

The dawn of October met with a response in the East which is clearly evident from the example of two countries. I refer to India and China. In the one country the nationalist-minded bourgeoisie regard the October revolution as their ally and support for their liberation; the other country stands for the realization by the colonial and dependent nations of the fact that the best way to liberation lies through the proletarian ideology, Marxist-Leninist and internationalist. On the ideological plane the question stands thus: which is it to be, the bourgeois way or the proletarian, nationalism or socialism?

In the Socialist parties of Latin America, which have advanced considerably toward active anti-imperialist struggle and revolutionary positions, opinions are sometimes expressed indicating a tendency to confuse

the nationalism of the oppressed colonial nations with socialism. I am not referring of course either to the invoking of national traditions or to patriotic appeals. I shall cite a few examples taken from the works of two prominent Colombian ideologists. One of them, L. A. Garcia, says this:

"The Socialist People's Party of Colombia defines itself as an organization of a democratic nature, a popular, revolutionary autonomous national organization, built on the principle of complete independence from capitalism and communism, inasmuch as it understands socialism as the revolutionary third position which *dialectically overcomes the historic conflict* between the two extremes." (My italics.—R.A.)

Needless to say no such *synthesis* is possible. At most it may be an attempt at an artificial utopian combination of incompatible elements.

Luis E. Valencia quite unequivocally proposes the slippery nationalist path for socialism.*

"It is necessary to carry out a genuinely *national revolution outside the classical orthodox schemes*. . . . It presupposes using the social forces united by a sound, constructive *people's nationalism*, which is associated with a problem common to Latin America. . . . Treacherous bourgeois nationalism tied up with colonialism, or class struggle and the struggle between the states in the service of any power cannot qualify for the task, being invariably dependent on interests and strategy alien to the common historical destiny" (Luis E. Valencia. *The Latin American Common Market*).

As we see, putting forward the thesis of "no classical orthodox schemes," which is tantamount to rejecting the class struggle, is simply a manifestation of bourgeois nationalism in the socialist movement.

This dispute on a cardinal ideological point cannot, however, obscure the highly positive

fact that the alignment of many socialist parties in Latin America with the active anti-imperialist front, their firm support for Cuba, and their common stand with the Communists on these issues are evidence of a desire to proclaim that a new revolutionary hour has struck in Latin America.

The same cannot be said of some groups in the Argentine, which are trying to combine bourgeois nationalism (there it is associated with the Right-wing circles and the Peronist groups) with Trotskyism. At the same time they claim to have founded a "national Marxism" directed against the Communists, who they aver, "do not belong to the Left forces" but constitute a "factor of Moscow policy."

In practice all these groups are at one on the concept of opposing internationalism to patriotism. This is sheer metaphysics.

I believe that we must differentiate nationalism as an ideology of the national bourgeoisie from the brand of nationalism which attempts to smuggle "Trotskyite nationalism" into the ranks of the proletariat. In the latter case we must expose it and reject it with all vigor. In the first case the working class should grasp the dual character of bourgeois nationalism of the oppressed peoples and see it in relation to the ideological struggle proceeding from the need to form a national-democratic front. In other words, in the first case one must proceed from the principle of unity and struggle.

As for the socialist parties together with whom we have embarked on the path of unity, the task of ideological clarification should be handled carefully, at a high level and in a comradely spirit.

The proletariat and its party must be brought up on the socialist ideology, the ideas of proletarian revolution, the philosophy and program of the epoch of change in which we live today.

The Program of the CPSU is a document which gives inspiration to the working-class movement of the entire world.

*The author refers here to the Socialist parties. — Ed.

This Generation Will Witness the Building of Communism

Tim Buck

THE immediate impact of the new Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is unquestionably greater than has been the case of any other document ever published. Its full impact will unfold and its richness and wide applicability will be grasped by mankind only as we advance to the bright future that it illuminates. Unwitting acknowledgement of this is revealed in the reaction to the Program of all the apologists of imperialism.

Leading newspapers in the United States and Canada published the complete text of the Program of the planned transition from socialism to communism of which the keynote will be "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need." This, itself, is an implicit acknowledgement that the vital message of the Program cannot be concealed from the people; hence the apologists for imperialism are compelled to fall back on misrepresentation of its vital meaning.

The plan for the transition to the society of abundance is the program of the Soviet people as a whole as well as of their glorious Communist Party. The imperialists and their apologists dare not discuss the reason why the Soviet people have made and continue to make such phenomenal advances while the crisis of imperialism deepens. It is the program for the continued advance, from socialism to communism, of all the nations who before the October Revolution were the benighted lands of the tsarist empire. In the early 1920's the spokesmen for capitalism ridiculed the idea that such "backward, uneducated" people could run a country. In their violent hatred of Lenin and the grandiose future that he personified they comforted themselves by calling him "an impractical dreamer." It is worthwhile reminding all who are attracted to the ideal of socialism that in those days, too, there were servants of imperialism who paraded as socialists. In Canada, for example, the right wing which refused to carry out the will of the majority of the members of the Socialist Party, expressed in a referendum, to affiliate to the

Communist International, sought to justify their opposition to Lenin by saying casuistically that he was misleading the workers and peasants of Russia by "trying to anticipate the historical time clock."

The workers and peasants who in their majority were illiterate at that time, took power in their country and assumed responsibility for its destiny. Overcoming the direct imperialist opposition organized from abroad and the opposition organized from within the country by the Trotskyites and others who, objectively at least, were assisting the imperialists, they undertook to transform a land of vast, sprawling backward agriculture into a modern industrial-agricultural country of prosperous and cultured people, a socialist country. Undertaking what had never been done before, they had to advance over unexplored ground. Building socialism in the conditions imposed by the hostile capitalist encirclement, which culminated in the invasion by the Nazi barbarians who laid waste to a large part of the country, the people had to overcome difficulties which appeared insurmountable. But, today, to quote the proud words of the Program, "socialism, which Marx and Engels scientifically predicted as inevitable and the plan for the construction of which was mapped out by Lenin, has become a reality in the Soviet Union."

The path traversed by the Soviet people is, now, a proven guide for all who will avail themselves of it, and the Program shows in an inspiring way that the goal to be reached by the Soviet people within the next twenty years can be attained by all peoples who make it their objective and fight consistently to achieve it. On the other hand the deepening crisis of the imperialist system accentuates the contrast between the rapid growth of socialism and the shrinkage and decline of imperialism. Day by day the historical inevitability of the triumph of socialism as "a natural result of the development of society" becomes more evident.

What communist society will be like and how it is to be established is no longer

solely a theoretical question, the Soviet people have made it a matter of practical politics—the objective of contemporary national policy. As the Program says:

“The building of a communist society has become an immediate practical task for the Soviet people. The gradual development of socialism into communism is an objective law; it has been prepared by the development of Soviet socialist society throughout the preceding period.”

We are at the beginning of the greatest advance ever made by human society, the advance that Frederick Engels described as “humanity’s leap from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom.” This fact, which is the central theme of the new Program of the CPSU, is the reason why a new Program has become necessary. It makes the Program of crucial importance to the working people of the world, because the attitudes of governments to the decisive issues of world politics such as, for example, the peace treaty with Germany, complete and general disarmament, the structure, composition and role of the United Nations Organization, peace or war, are determined by their attitude to this advance.

The imperialists cannot prevent the Soviet people from achieving communism except, possibly, by resort to nuclear war. But, if nuclear war were unleashed it would certainly mark the end of the imperialist system. This is part of the reason for the frenzy, bordering on panic, that characterizes the actions of the imperialists today.

The Imperialists’ Panic

This element of panic was evident in the speech made by the Prime Minister of Canada in the House of Commons on September 11. The occasion for the speech was the decision of his government to align itself with the Kennedy Administration which was stirring up a violent anti-Soviet war psychosis—their response to the Soviet government’s decision to sign a German peace treaty. The main point that Prime Minister Diefenbaker sought to make in the speech however was that the new Program of the CPSU is a threat to the capitalist system as a whole.

The attitude of the Diefenbaker government was, literally, “ready aye ready!” for nuclear war if NATO, that is to say, the USA, should so decide. The government’s position was supported energetically by the leader of the Liberal “Opposition” L. B.

Pearson. So unqualified was Mr. Pearson’s support that the Prime Minister emphasized it, for the record, by offering public thanks. The only speakers who urged restraint and negotiation were representatives of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (now merged in the New Democratic Party).

Summing up the government’s position the Prime Minister utilized the war spirit of the government and the official opposition to discard the last vestige of the pretence that he holds views on international issues which are contrary to those of the United States government. This pretence was a big factor in his defeat of the Liberals in the past two general elections; the discarding of it is obviously due to United States pressure. In repudiating any such views he implicitly repudiated his Minister for External Affairs, Howard Green, who has “carried the ball” for the government until now in maintaining the pretence that it differed from the United States government in its attitude to nuclear weapons and to the necessity for complete general disarmament. “Some of us will have to go back on some of the views that we have expressed in the past,” said the Prime Minister. “. . . I speak now of a colleague, the Secretary of State for External Affairs.”

The Prime Minister did not deal with the issue of a peace treaty with Germany. Indeed, he did not even refer directly to the fact that the signing of a peace treaty will constitute recognition of the existence of two German states, recognition of their frontiers and of their sovereignty within those frontiers and, therefore, recognition of the German Democratic Republic. These are the real issues. Because of them the signing of a peace treaty by the four powers would mark the legal end of the Second World War and stymie Adenauer’s plan to re-establish the frontiers of Germany where they were in 1937.

Evading any direct reference to the issues which are the real reasons for Adenauer’s and Kennedy’s opposition to a peace treaty, the Prime Minister belabored the transparent pretence that the question over which he and President Kennedy are prepared to plunge mankind into world nuclear war is that of “access” to Berlin. Blithely ignoring the fact that the Soviet government and the government of the German Democratic Republic each emphasize that access to West Berlin from West Germany will be guaranteed, the Prime Minister assured the members that: “There is the pledged word of the Western nations that . . . the rights of access into

West Berlin shall not be discontinued." The point that all of this was preparation for acceptance of the war line was made in the following reminder to the members of the House of Commons that they have committed Canada to engage in a NATO war if one is started:

"Under the North Atlantic Treaty and subsequent declarations of the NATO Council all members have certain responsibilities in respect of Berlin."

The central and basic argument presented by the Prime Minister was not the Berlin issue but his impression of the Program.

Quoting from the Introduction to the new Program of the CPSU, which he referred to as *The Communist Manifesto* and all of which he quoted as being personal statements of Premier Khrushchov, Prime Minister Diefenbaker led up to the astounding statement that the adoption of the Program would mean renunciation of the principle of co-existence or "the acceptance by the free world of the will of the Communist world."

The vulgar inaccuracy of this statement is such that it is hard to resist the temptation to contrast it with pertinent quotations from the Program. Even more important than the inaccuracy, however, is the manner in which the statement illustrates the inability of the political representatives of imperialism objectively to discuss the Program and the future that it projects. They are afraid even to mention the reasons why the masses of the people and a great many members of the capitalist class are losing confidence in the profit system. They are even more afraid, or unable, to discuss in an objective way the reason why the advance from capitalism to socialism is a natural result of the development of society, and the gradual development of socialism into communism an objective law. Prime Minister Diefenbaker expressed, for political representatives of imperialism in general, their inability to face up to the unanswerable logic of the new Program. His key proposal was for action "showing the Kremlin that we will not sit back and allow the world in which we believe to be swept aside."

Prime Minister Diefenbaker's inability to deal objectively with the realities of the new Program mirrors his private appreciation of the course of development that it describes. But the effect of his ability is not a private matter. If he sets himself against progress this becomes the official policy of Canada. A policy in line with his attitude to the

Program would tend to accept more and more of the violent anti-communism which in the United States is used as a pretext for attacks on the democratic rights of the people. As the Program points out:

"Under cover of anti-communism, imperialist reaction persecutes and hounds all that is progressive and revolutionary; it seeks to split the ranks of the working people and to paralyze the proletarians' will to fight. Rallied to this black banner today are all the enemies of social progress: the finance oligarchy and the military, the fascists and the reactionary clericals, the colonialists and landlords and all the ideological and political vehicles of imperialist reaction. Anti-communism is a reflection of the extreme decadence of bourgeois ideology."

The Program vs. Colonialism

The fears which prevented Prime Minister Diefenbaker from discussing the new Program of the CPSU on its merits are not peculiar to Canadian capitalists and their political representatives. In the crisis in which capitalist society finds itself the imperialists in general dare not discuss the new Program frankly and objectively, why it has become necessary, and its significance for mankind.

For example, consider the potential significance of the Program to the people of Latin America. The new Program has been made necessary because the Soviet people have achieved social progress far beyond any achieved previously by any people in history. One of the conditions that they had to fulfil to make this possible was to re-establish the sovereign independence of their country—to free its industries, natural resources, and commerce, from foreign control. Sovereign control over their economy was, then, the indispensable condition for the advance made by the Soviet people. But, in the same period the majority of the countries of Central and South America have fallen under United States domination by the very process that the Great October Revolution ended in the Soviet Union.

Economic backwardness and dependence upon the export of natural products, in many countries one staple, have worsened in Latin America as United States domination has become more complete. Today U.S. domination is the barrier which stands between the Latin American people and the correction of this situation.

Since heroic Cuba showed that the people can take control of their country in spite of

United States domination, the U.S. imperialists have added another twist to their colonial policy in Latin America. Under the misleading name of Alliance for Progress, they are offering to those Latin American capitalists who will "cooperate," the use of United States capital in bigger amounts and under slightly more favorable terms than hitherto. They are not proposing an alliance for the progress of the people, of course. Their scheme is for a more tightly organized alliance between United States imperialism and those circles of the Latin American capitalists who are ready, for profit, to act as agents of United States imperialism in their own countries.

It is a striking coincidence, and not accidental, that Washington set 20 years as the period in which the program of this "alliance" should be carried through. President Kennedy and his advisers are seeking to speed up U.S. colonization of Latin America in the hope that they can reduce the main countries there to complete dependence upon the United States before their peoples recognize the tremendous advantages of the democratic alternative that is open before them.

The evil consequences for the 200 million people of Latin America inherent in this scheme are illustrated in the experience of Canada. This is the most complete example of present-day colonialism, of the method by which United States imperialism reduces developed capitalist states to colonial dependence while permitting them to retain the outward symbols of sovereignty.

The Program shows how, since 1917, the Soviet people have advanced from the condition in which the overwhelming majority of them lived in primitive backwardness to world leadership—beginning their transition from socialism to communism. During exactly the same years the Canadian people have been misguided by the political servants of imperialism into economic and political dependence on the United States. This has brought for Canada economic instability, chronic mass unemployment and a declining standard of life for the working class.

At the time of the October Revolution Canada, as yet an adjunct of British imperialism, was an emergent sovereign capitalist state. With the large-scale industrial development that followed the First World War, banking and industrial capital merged, monopolies became dominant and Canada became a monopoly-capitalist state. All through this

development the Canadian capitalists, through their government, continued to assert their national sovereignty. In 1920-1921 they disassociated Canada from the Anglo-Japanese Naval Treaty. In 1922 they refused the request of the British government for Canadian support in the Chanak crisis. Later, they insisted that the signature of the British government to the Lausanne Treaty did not commit Canada. In 1926 they won from the British government an official definition of the state relationships of members of the Commonwealth which specified that they were "not subordinate one to the other in any respect." In 1938, when the British government proposed to train airmen in Canada, the Canadian government answered that it could not permit any foreign military establishments on Canadian soil. If British air crews were to train in Canada it would have to be at Canadian air training establishments, under Canadian control. In 1947 the Canadian government ended the practice by which Canadians were British citizens, by adopting a Canadian Citizenship Act.

While the capitalist class of Canada was asserting its independence from Britain, United States influence was growing. Today the USA dominates Canada more completely than Britain ever did. The forms through which U.S. control is exercised are less obvious than were the British bonds that Canadians repudiated, but they are immeasurably worse. *They are precisely* the forms that are now being imposed upon the people of Latin America under the nice sounding "Alliance for Progress."

The new Program of the CPSU reviews the path of development taken by the Soviet people, namely, national sovereignty, freedom from foreign domination, rejection of imperialist schemes, planned development of the national economy on a strictly proportionate basis. It is significant that the path imposed upon Canadians has been exactly the opposite, namely, sell-out of national sovereignty, snowballing growth of foreign ownership, changing national policies in response to the schemes of United States imperialism, with development of only those sectors of the economy which are needed by U.S. imperialism. The contrast between the two paths is matched by the contrast between the results for the people.

The Soviet Union is a socialist state, completely sovereign. Canada is a monopoly-capitalist state in which the predominant monopoly-capitalist influence is not Canadian but U.S. The majestic economy built in

the Soviet Union belongs to the Soviet people. Not one factory or mine is owned by foreign capitalists—and there is no such thing as a Soviet capitalist. Canadian economy is a monopoly economy of which the majority of the decisive industrial and commercial enterprises are owned outright or effectively controlled by United States monopolies. Soviet economy has been and is developed harmoniously, providing rising standards of life and opportunity with security for all. Canadian economy, because the aims of its owners are incompatible with the interests of the Canadian people, has developed lopsidedly, increasingly dependent upon the export of raw materials for United States industries with an equally rapid growth of manufactured imports from the United States.

Canadian workers are the victims of chronic unemployment. In July and August, the season of the highest level of employment, seven per cent of all the workers were without employment. A large number of those who have jobs are victims of short time. The relative weight of manufacturing has declined. At the same time, in Canada as in other capitalist countries, as the Program points out, "the monopolies have seized dominant positions in agriculture," small farmers survive only at the price of appalling hardships, excessive labor and underconsumption. The crisis in agriculture is causing widespread ruin in the countryside. The proportion of all the workers employed in the actual production or transportation of goods is declining. There has not been any increase whatever in the production of goods during the past five years and the government propaganda to the contrary has been plain deception of the people. The following table shows this.

GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT

Year	GNP at Mkt. prices	GNP in 1949 dollars	Mid-year population (millions)	GNP per person	
	billions			at Mkt. prices	in 1949 dollars
1955	27.1	21.9	15.7	\$1,725	\$1,395
1956	30.6	23.8	16.1	1,900	1,479
1957	31.9	23.8	16.6	1,920	1,435
1958	32.9	24.1	17.0	1,935	1,418
1959	34.9	24.9	17.4	2,005	1,430
1960	36.0	25.4	17.8	2,100	1,425

It should be noted that even the increase in the gross national product barely kept pace with the growth of population during these years. When the declining value of the dollar is taken into account it becomes clear that the actual production of goods is

declining in relation to population. The situation in Canada corresponds exactly with the warning of the new Program of the CPSU that: "Monopoly capital has, in the final analysis, doomed bourgeois society to low rates of production growth that in some countries barely keep ahead of the growth of population. A considerable part of the production plant stands idle, while millions of unemployed wait at the factory gates. Farm production is artificially restricted, although millions are underfed in the world. People suffer want in material goods, but imperialism is squandering them on war preparations."

The president of the Canada Productivity Council announced early in September that, to keep pace with the growth of population, the number of people employed must increase by 300,000 every year through the next five years. The prospect now is rather that the main increase will be in the number of workers unemployed. This is the situation which makes it possible for the *Financial Post* to comfort its capitalist readers with the information that real wages of Canadian workers have declined by three per cent since 1956.

The New Program and the Canadian Working Class

In Canada as in all capitalist countries the working class and all democratic people have benefited tremendously from the strength of the world socialist system. The growing influence of the socialist countries in world politics, the impact of the achievements of Soviet science, the inexorable pressure of the vibrant growth of socialism, all have helped the working class economically and politically. Thus, during the decade in which the bourgeoisie has bartered control of the country to U.S. imperialism, the working class has gained in self-confidence and organized strength and, within the limits of the bourgeois reformist aims that it accepts for the present, it has made a definite advance.

The majority of Canadian workers have not yet overcome the illusion that the decisive problems of society, including the fundamental contradiction of capitalism, can be solved by reformism. Few indeed realize the indispensability of the dictatorship of the proletariat during the transition from capitalism to communism. A very substantial proportion of them have, as yet, given little if any serious thought to the question. Yet, while social reformism is dominant, the political trend in the working class is leftward.

There is a growing awakening to the fact that the socialist world system is outstripping the imperialist world system and that the Soviet Union is supplanting the United States in world leadership. This awakening is part of the powerful current of opinion in favor of withdrawing Canada from both NORAD and NATO. There is a broad democratic movement in support of complete and general disarmament, and a substantial body of opinion in favor of Canada adopting a foreign policy of neutrality. In French Canada there is a growing demand for a constitutional guarantee that its people have the right to national self-determination up to and including the right to secession if they should decide to do so. There is a very wide demand for a change of national policy to release Canada's economy from the shackles of "Canadian-United States Integration," for measures to mitigate the effects of the mass unemployment and to halt the steady increase in the cost of living. While the real wages of Canadian workers have been reduced by depreciation of the purchasing power of the Canadian dollar, this has not been because of lack of a will to fight. Solidarity in strikes is of a high order.

The Communist Party of Canada fights consistently for all these demands. Emphasizing as the new Program does also, that "democratic struggles against the monopolies do not delay the socialist revolution but bring it nearer" the Communists seek to unite all who support these demands, or even more elementary ones.

While joining energetically in the struggles for the aims of the trade unions and the broad democratic movement, however, the Communist Party seeks to win the organized labor movement for united action in defense of the supreme interests of the nation. The national interests of the people of the two nations of Canada, French- and English-speaking, require exactly the type of reforms that are described in the new Program. For example, the interests of Canada, even capitalist Canada, require the ousting of the foreign monopolies and the development of Canadian industries. For Canada to survive as a distinct political entity we need an independent foreign policy of peace, an end to the squandering of more than a third of the revenues of the Federal government on preparations for war, we need to spend the money to enrich peace instead. To save Canada from becoming a victim of the rabid reaction which is riding high in the United States, we need all-sided demo-

cratization of the political life of Canada and the assertion of its political independence.

To meet these needs the Communist Party proposes that the United States-owned monopolies be nationalized, that natural resources now in the hands of foreign owners become public property to be again the basis for new Canadian industries, that Canada withdraw from all military alliances and adopt a foreign policy of neutrality, that a constitutional convention be called to draft a new "made in Canada" democratic constitution.

The Key Issues

It should be emphasized, however, that although there is wide popular support for them, reforms of this character are not likely to be achieved without the development of a powerful national-democratic movement for Canadian independence. This is so because state-monopoly capitalism in Canada is propped up by, indeed it could be described as an extension of, United States imperialism.

Being junior partners, or plain agents, of U.S. imperialist interests gives the monopolists in Canada transient, but immediately big, advantages in dealing with demands at the level of wages, conditions, and traditional bourgeois reforms. An example of this, oversimplified but characteristic, is seen in the present struggles over wages and prices. Monopoly-capital in Canada enjoys the advantage of a wage level that is considerably lower than in the United States along with a price level that is considerably higher, despite the fact that the manufactured products which "set the pace" for prices are made up of components of which between 35 and 40 per cent are exported by parent companies in the United States to their Canadian subsidiaries. Thus, in general, the monopolists start with a lower wage level, have even more elastic conditions for granting concessions if it suits their interests and, also when it suits them, can sit back and allow the parent plant in the U.S. or its subsidiary in West Germany or Japan to supply the Canadian market. This example of the temporary advantage enjoyed by monopoly capital in Canada in its dealings with the trade union movement characterizes the advantages that it enjoys in determining the main line of national policies also.

The above is not to suggest that the advantages enjoyed by monopolists render the wage struggle futile, exactly the contrary. It illustrates the tremendous possibilities before Canadian workers if their wage struggles

are supported by still wider struggles of a higher political level. This is a problem at the moment, because the trade union movement has not yet raised its sights above the target of purely economic demands. Those of its members and unions which have entered into political activity limit themselves, in their overwhelming majority, to reforms which do not transcend the traditions of bourgeois politics in any way. In fact, there is a current of resistance to proposals such as the one for nationalization of key industries and natural resources that are owned by U.S. monopolies on the ground that "it doesn't make any difference to me whether I am exploited by a United States corporation or a Canadian corporation, what matters is that I am exploited."

A substantial proportion of the more militant workers are misled by the argument that action directed against United States domination diverts working-class interest and energy away from the struggle against the capitalist class in Canada. Arguing correctly that the fundamental contradiction in Canadian society, the solution of which will mark the transition to socialism, is that between the interests of the working class and state-monopoly capital, they mistakenly counterpose struggle against monopoly capital in Canada to struggle against United States domination.

To counterpose these two tasks is quite wrong. The struggle to develop action to regain Canadian sovereignty is not, nor can it be, a substitute for working-class struggle for wages and conditions, against capitalist exploitation and for radical reforms; but such struggles can be fully effective only if they are integral with a national democratic struggle for Canadian independence. Indeed, the seemingly impregnable position of monopoly capital in its control of Canada, including the machinery of state, will be shaken first of all by action for Canadian independence which commands support from all true patriots. To win support for such action is in the supreme interest of Canada. It is the path by which all democratic forces may be united to beat back the offensive of the fascist-minded instigators of war and get Canada on to the path of peace, national independence, extension of democratic rights and improvements in the living standards of the masses of the people. Eventually a national democratic front of all who desire the democratic solution of the acute national problems that beset Canada will be formed to achieve these aims.

The Working Class Must Lead

The task of uniting all democratic national forces to end U.S. domination and to re-establish the sovereignty of Canada devolves upon the working class and its democratic allies among the Canadian people. This is so first of all because, as the new Program emphasizes, the working class is the most consistent fighter for national interests and social progress. The new Program points out that, as a general rule, "the extent to which the national bourgeoisie will take part in the anti-imperialist struggle will depend in considerable measure on the solidity of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry." This applies fully to the prevailing conditions in Canada.

Influential circles of the capitalist class want more effective action to break the stranglehold that United States imperialism has on Canada. In local Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade meetings all across the country, they applauded James Coyne when, as Governor of the Bank of Canada, he used to remind them that "the degree of foreign domination, and especially American domination of Canadian economic life has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished . . . Unless we can solve this problem our future must be considered bleak indeed, both economically and in terms of maintaining our national sovereignty and political independence."

They applauded even more enthusiastically when Coyne developed the program of action by which Canada could be freed from U.S. domination — if it were carried through. For a while, it appeared that there were circles among the Canadian capitalists who were prepared to stand up to the United States monopolies and make a fight to re-establish Canadian sovereignty. But, as the U.S. monopolies in Canada and their government in Washington developed their counter-offensive against Coyne, the Canadian capitalists, confronted with the alternatives of principle or profit, retreated into quiescence. Coyne had "carried the ball" for the Diefenbaker government on the issue of U.S. domination just as the Minister for External Affairs did on the issue of foreign policy. But, the Diefenbaker government satisfied the United States government by summarily dismissing Coyne and not one of the local Chambers of Commerce, Boards of Trade, or Canadian Clubs, that had applauded his speeches, even protested against the cynical sacrifice. Many of them want action against U.S. domination,

some circles will support such action as it develops. The extent of their support will be determined largely by the strength of the action, they will not lead it. Canadian capitalists as a class are to some extent in the position of a man who has sold the property that he inherited and stays on as an employee of the new owner to "justify" continued use of the family name.

The Vanguard of the People

The Canadian working class will raise itself up to the leadership of the nation. Historically it is a young working class. Its militant solidarity in pursuit of elementary economic aims is bringing it already to political tasks. Very important sections of it have stepped into the arena of political action, organizing their own reform party, the New Democratic Party. While this cannot, spontaneously, generate Marxist understanding, it is beginning to fertilize the soil for its growth.

It is the task of the Communist Party of Canada to integrate the scientific world historical viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism in the daily activities of this youthful militant working class and its basic organizations. Our Party has become tempered through struggles against misleaders of labor, against opportunism, including its struggle to defeat the revisionists' attempt to destroy our Party. It is still grappling with the problem of combining correctly consistent energetic development of united front activities with the indispensable criticism of the ideological confusion and erroneous conceptions of social reformism and the opportunist practices of social democratic leaders.

In this we are assisted by the fact that, as life asserts itself, events are bringing forward issues of a higher and higher political order. The workers and farmers of Canada in their majority want People's China to be seated in the United Nations and the Security Council. They favor Canadian recognition of China. The government helps the United States to keep China out of the United Nations but takes advantage of every opportunity to sell Canadian products to China—with the result that exports of wheat to that country along with exports to other socialist countries "saved the situation" for Canadian wheat exports during the crop year which ended July 31. Canadian workers and farmers in their overwhelming majority are on the side of the Cuban people in their heroic struggle. Their pressure, combined with cer-

tain capitalist relationships that were developed before Canada became a dependency of U.S. imperialism, has been sufficient so far to counteract the tendency of the government to conform obediently to the policies pursued by the United States.

The Prime Minister, in the speech referred to earlier in this article, repudiated the pretence that his government, contrary to the attitude of the U.S. government, has a positive attitude to the necessity for complete and general disarmament. But, during the period in which his Minister for External Affairs was cultivating the idea that the Diefenbaker government was "different" from the Kennedy Administration, there sprang up a widespread organized movement in support of disarmament. This movement has wide support in the working class, among farmers and intellectuals, and it is not likely to dissolve because the Prime Minister has reneged.

Our program *The Road to Socialism in Canada*, published in July 1960, proposes to the Canadian people that the transfer of political power from the monopoly capitalists to the working class at the head of the masses of the people, be accomplished by peaceful means, without civil war. In the conditions that prevail in North America today this might appear naive. But, because of the inseparable relationship between the struggle to end United States domination and for the political leadership of Canada, there is a possibility that, given the unity of all the truly progressive, patriotic forces and unremitting ideological struggle against Right-wing social democratic efforts to compromise with monopoly, this may be accomplished. If it can be it will meet, as the new Program of the CPSU says: "... the interests of the working class and the people as a whole, it would accord with the national interests of the country."

In the conditions prevailing now, however, as noted above, it is absolutely essential to warn against any illusion that the monopoly capitalist interests and their political and military servants will accept parliamentary decisions that are not backed by power, stronger than any that they can muster. This determines also the fact that, even should the transfer of political power be accomplished peacefully and parliamentary government maintained all through the change, the decisive factor will still be the superiority of working-class power behind the government supported by the masses of the people

over the power that can be exerted by the monopolists and their supporters. Thus, as *The Road to Socialism in Canada* and the new Program of the CPSU each shows, in the transition to socialism "genuine democracy, democracy for the working people," no matter what form it is expressed in, is the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Like our great fraternal party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Canada proceeds from the Marxist-Leninist proposition:

"History is made by people, and communism is a creation of the people, of its energy and intelligence. The victory of com-

munist depends on the people, and communism is built for the people."

For the people of Canada and of the entire world the highway to socialism has been paved—by the blood and sacrifice and by the dazzling achievements of the Soviet people. They have triumphed. Inspired by their valor and their achievements and strengthened by the clarity of the path to communist society charted in the new Program, Communists throughout the world must dedicate themselves anew to the task of curbing the imperialist instigators of war so that this generation will witness the triumph of peace and the building of communism.

The Soviet Union Points the Way

Barbu Zaharescu

THE new Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is destined to play a momentous role in the fortunes of the peoples of the world. It reveals the general laws governing the transition from socialism to communism and delineates the basic features of the communist society. Hence its importance not only for the Soviet people but for all humanity.

The Program found a particularly enthusiastic response among the working people of the socialist countries, for it illumines their way forward. It strengthens the peoples' confidence that, thanks to the advantages of the socialist world system, the building of socialism can be accelerated and all socialist countries will arrive at communism within one and the same historical epoch. This inspires them to redoubled efforts to speed the pace of socialist construction and strengthen the economic might of each country and the socialist camp as a whole.

I

The Program says that "the CPSU and the Soviet people will do everything in their power to support all the peoples of the socialist community in the construction of socialism and communism."

As in the past, the Party founded and nurtured by Lenin is acting consistently in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, displaying solicitude for the fraternal peoples with whom it is marching toward communism.

The CPSU has made an inestimable contribution to the struggle of all peoples against every kind of exploitation and oppression. Under its leadership the working people of Russia carried out the October Socialist Revolution 44 years ago. This marked a radical turning point not only in the life of one country. The breaking of the chain of imperialism at its weakest link—tsarist Russia—was the beginning of the disintegration of the capitalist system as a whole. The revolution ushered in the era of socialism and communism for all mankind. However hard the world bourgeoisie tried to label the October Socialist Revolution a "specifically Russian phenomenon," the advanced workers in all countries soon realized that the Soviet Union was blazing a trail for all. Moreover, the socialist camp, which today embraces one-third of mankind, came into being and gained strength not only because the specific conditions in each of the member countries made it possible to overthrow the capitalist-landlord dictatorship, but also thanks to the inspiring example of the Soviet people, the impact of the October Revolution and the building of socialism in the USSR.

The October Revolution gave a new impetus also to the Rumanian working-class movement, imbuing it with new revolutionary spirit. In the old Social Democratic Party the opportunist "theory" of Dobrojeanu-Gherea concerning the socialist perspective in backward countries had wide currency. According to this "theory," the Ru-

Rumanian working class should do nothing until the proletariat in the leading capitalist countries had had their socialist revolution, for only after this could socialism be "introduced" into Rumania from without. This opportunist concept paralyzed the Rumanian working class and deprived it of perspective until Lenin's teachings and the experience of the Russian proletariat helped it to launch out on the revolutionary path of liberation from the yoke of the landlords and the Rumanian and foreign capitalists. The Communist Party of Rumania was founded. Having assimilated the teachings of Lenin and making use of the experience of Lenin's Party, it was able correctly to assess the motive forces and strategic stages of the revolution in Rumania and to rally the working class and all other exploited sections of society for the overthrow of the capitalist-landlord system.

The epoch-making victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism in which the Soviet Union played the decisive role, created favorable conditions for the overthrow of the rule of the exploiters and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in a number of countries of Europe and Asia. The peoples of these countries, led by their Communist parties, took power and began to build socialism.

The theory of scientific socialism showed them the way. But no theory can take the place of experience, foresee every complication and difficulty likely to be encountered. This experience was provided by the USSR, for in building socialism in their own country, the Soviet people acted as the pathfinders for all. They had verified the correctness of this path at the cost of no small sacrifices, they had overcome every obstacle in their way and found the most expedient forms and methods of building socialism.

By creatively applying the experiences of the Soviet Union and drawing on its assistance, the other countries of the socialist camp have been able to cut the time needed for passing from capitalism to socialism. For the general laws of socialist construction, revealed in the course of building socialism in the USSR, are valid for them all inasmuch as the peoples that are building socialism have common tasks.

Rumania's progress in building socialism is due precisely to the application of these basic laws to the concrete conditions of our country. "All nations," Lenin said, "will arrive at socialism — that is inevitable, but

not all will do so in exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own to a particular form of democracy, a particular variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the rate of socialist transformations in the various aspects of social life." This thesis has been fully borne out. Whereas in the USSR, after the October Revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat took the form of Soviet power, in the other socialist countries the same functions were assumed by the people's democratic state in which the forms of the alliance of the working class and the non-proletarian sections of working people differ from those in the Soviet Union and socialist democracy is implemented by other methods and in other organizational forms. The Program notes the significance of the contributions made by all the socialist countries to the forms and methods of building socialism: "The countries of the socialist system have accumulated considerable collective experience in remodelling the lives of hundreds of millions of people and have contributed many new and specific features to the forms of political and economic organization of society. This experience is a most valuable asset to the international revolutionary movement."

By creatively applying the basic laws of socialist construction, the people of Rumania have ensured the decisive victory of the socialist mode of production in all spheres of the economy. After nationalization of the basic means of production, the next tasks were socialist industrialization and winning the working peasantry for large-scale socialist farming based on up-to-date techniques. A backward capitalist economy encumbered with survivals of feudalism and dependent on Western monopoly capital had to be transformed into a developed socialist economy capable of producing an abundance of industrial and agricultural goods.

Our Party has consistently pursued a Leninist policy of industrialization, placing the emphasis on heavy industry and its leading branch — engineering. An advanced socialist industry appeared, capable of ensuring the transfer of the economy as a whole to socialist lines. Within 12 years — from 1948, when the large enterprises were nationalized, to 1960 — our industrial output increased 5.9 times. Some 150 factories were built and over 300 others were completely re-equipped and enlarged. A number of new branches of industry unknown in the old Rumania were established.

An idea of the economic progress made may be gained from the fact that in 1960 industry produced as much in 11 weeks as it did in the whole of 1938. Productivity of labor, a cardinal factor for the triumph of the new social system, more than doubled compared with 1950.

Industrialization paved the way to the socialist reorganization of agriculture, to the amalgamation of the small peasant plots in large socialist farms in line with Lenin's co-operative plan.

Our Party noted at its Third Congress in June 1960 that the economic base of socialism had been laid in the republic. The last and most numerous exploiting class — the wealthy peasants — and with it the last form of capitalist property in agriculture had been abolished. Today socialist production relations embrace the whole of industry, transport, trade and the credit and finance system, and more than 85 per cent of agriculture (for both cultivated area and number of peasant households).

Rumania has now entered on a new stage which opens up the perspective of completing the building of socialism and the gradual transition to communism. To round off the building of socialism its material and technical base must be developed further and socialist relations of production be extended to the whole of the national economy.

Accordingly, one of the basic tasks of the current six-year plan (1960-65) is continued rapid industrialization with the emphasis, as before, on heavy industry, and its backbone, the engineering industry.

The rapid pace outlined in the plan for completing socialist construction and for the transition to the full-scale building of communism can be secured only by using all the internal resources, steadily improving economic management and promoting cooperation with the other socialist countries.

II

The existence of the socialist world system is an important factor accelerating the economic development of our country as well as of all other members of the socialist camp. For the peoples of the socialist countries are building up their economy not in isolation from one another but in close cooperation. Moreover, the economic ties between them are extended as their respective national economies gain strength. And this facilitates the solution by all members of the socialist community of major economic tasks and

creates the conditions for the most effective utilization of material and manpower resources.

One of the cardinal problems facing the socialist camp is that of raising the economically less developed countries to the level of the foremost. Owing to historical circumstances the socialist countries were at anything but an equal level of economic development when they embarked on socialist reforms. As members of the socialist world system, however, thanks to cooperation and mutual aid, the lagging countries are able to overcome their backwardness and rapidly forge ahead towards the level of the more highly developed socialist countries, which too continue their steady progress. This is a law of economic development in the socialist world system.

The economic relations between the socialist countries are relations of an entirely new type. They are based on complete equality, irrespective of size or level of development of the countries concerned. Mutually advantageous trade, specialization and coordination of production, and scientific and technological cooperation are developed steadily.

In drawing up plans to meet its own requirements, each socialist country takes due account of the advantages accruing from the international socialist division of labor. The national plans are coordinated through the Economic Mutual Aid Council and bilateral agreements. Rumania, for example, gains a great deal by specializing in the production of a variety of bearings, tractors, four-ton trucks, certain types of river and sea-going vessels, oil industry equipment and other items, which are also exported to the other socialist countries. Rumania imports from the USSR certain semi-manufactures and machine parts, and exports finished products in return. Tubing is a case in point. Similarly, Soviet-made marine engines and other equipment are used in ships which Rumania builds for the Soviet Union.

Another form of cooperation is joint industrial construction. Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Poland and the German Democratic Republic are now building in the Danube delta a large cellulose mill which will use reeds as raw material. Rumania will repay the fraternal countries for this equipment with deliveries of the finished product. Rumania and Czechoslovakia are cooperating in the construction of large thermal power stations; Czechoslovakia will provide the equipment while Rumania will supply electric

power in return. We are also building plywood factories and expanding Rumanian port facilities jointly with Czechoslovakia.

Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic are cooperating with Poland in working Polish coal deposits. Czechoslovakia is providing credits for this purpose and will receive hard coal in return, first in payment for the credits and later on a barter basis. The German Democratic Republic, too, is extending credits to Poland for developing brown-coal mines in exchange for coal and electric power.

An important role in accelerating technical progress is played by scientific and technological cooperation, especially exchange of the results of research undertakings and industrial designs, including patents, licenses and projects for complete enterprises. This exchange involves no payment whatever.

By the end of 1960 the Rumanian People's Republic had received free of charge 2,272 sets of technical specifications from the other socialist countries, 1,147 of them from the USSR. On her part Rumania had supplied 1,572 sets of such specifications to the fraternal countries, 618 of them to the Soviet Union. One of these concerned a method of obtaining acetylene from methane which cuts the cost of production by one-third to one-half.

In training personnel too there is increasing cooperation. In 1951-61, 2,810 Rumanian citizens received specialized training in other socialist countries, 1,100 of them in the USSR. In the same period 1,977 specialists from the other countries came for advanced training to Rumania.

Particularly important is the economic cooperation between the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union, whose experience in building socialism and communism is a powerful beacon lighting the way for the other socialist countries.

Never before has a highly developed country enabled others to achieve its level. Under capitalism the less developed countries are fair game for the big imperialist powers, and plunder of the weak by the strong hardly helps to eliminate the disparity between them. At present the imperialists, chiefly the American imperialists, talk a great deal about aid to the underdeveloped countries. But their "aid" is simply a means of protecting profitable investments and extracting high returns. For example, the total U.S. "aid" promised to Latin America at the recent session of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council

in Punta del Este is far less than the profits annually pumped out of these countries by the U.S. monopolies.

There can be no equalization of national economic levels on the scale of the capitalist system. This is ruled out by the cutthroat rivalry between capitalist groups and the uneven, spasmodic development of capitalism at its imperialist stage. As a result the gap between the highly industrialized capitalist states and the underdeveloped countries is steadily widening.

Socialism, on the contrary, precludes both rivalry and uneven, spasmodic development. Its economic laws promote the steady progress of all the countries of the socialist system. "This is ensured," the Program points out, "by the advantages of the socialist economic system and by equality in economic relations; by mutual aid and sharing experience, specifically, by reciprocal exchanges of scientific and technological achievements and by coordinated research; by the joint construction of industrial projects and by cooperation in the development of natural resources."

The Soviet people not only readily share their experience with the fraternal countries, but allocate part of their material resources for aid through economic exchange. Of the utmost importance to the whole socialist camp is the vanguard role of the USSR in science and technology, for the latest machines and equipment supplied by the USSR and its scientific and technological aid enable the formerly backward countries to accelerate industrialization and to raise the productivity of labor. In a word, while still working to complete the building of socialism, the People's Democracies have at their disposal the technical wherewithal of a country engaged in the full-scale construction of communism. This is a new and exceedingly important factor which accelerates economic progress in all the socialist countries.

Speaking of the aid rendered by the Soviet Union, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej said: "The significance of this aid consists not only in its scope, its volume, but also in factors which cannot be measured in tons or cubic meters. There is no unit of measurement that can assess the significance of the fact that the aid is constantly aimed at promoting the building of the new system, that it helps us to solve the problems involved in creating the material and technological base of socialism, in socialist industrialization, and to raise

our country to the level of the most advanced countries."

The Program stresses that "the CPSU regards communist construction in the Soviet Union as a component of the building of communist society by the peoples of the entire socialist world system." Guided by the principle of socialist internationalism, the CPSU and the Soviet people want the full-scale construction of communism in the USSR to promote and hasten the building of socialism in the People's Democracies and to facilitate the maturing of conditions in these countries for the transition to the building of communism.

The Program says: "... the fact that the socialist countries are developing as members of a single socialist world system and utilizing the objective laws and advantages of this system *enables them to reduce the time necessary for the construction of socialism and offers them the prospect of effecting the transition to communism more or less simultaneously, within one and the same historical epoch.*" This thesis, of immense theoretical and practical significance, highlights a vital law of the development of the socialist countries united in a single world system, and inspires and mobilizes their people to all-out effort to complete the building of socialism and to pass over gradually to communism. It is based on a profound analysis of the material conditions of social progress in these countries where, parallel with the equalization of the levels of development of production relations, equalization of the levels of their productive forces is proceeding more and more intensively. This process is facilitated by the whole system of economic ties between these countries.

Rumania, too, is an impressive example of rapid economic progress. From 1951 to 1960 the average annual rate of growth of industrial output amounted to 13 per cent, as against less than five per cent in the capitalist countries. For gross industrial output Rumania in 1960 exceeded the prewar level fivefold. The pace is highest in the engineering industry, on which the technical re-equipment of the entire national economy depends. In 1960 our engineering and metal-working industry produced 10.5 times as much as it did before the war.

The far-reaching structural changes in our economy also show that the gap between Rumania and the more highly developed socialist countries is diminishing. Whereas in 1938 the share of industry and construc-

tion in our total social product amounted to 44.4 per cent, in 1960 it went up to 62.1 per cent, while the share of agriculture declined from 30.2 to 24.6 per cent.

The proportion of the means of production to the gross output of industry is an important indication of the economic level of a country. In this respect Rumania has done well. Whereas in 1938 the means of production accounted for 45.5 per cent of the gross industrial output, in 1960 the percentage had risen to 60. The corresponding pre-war percentage was 47 in Poland, 44.8 in Hungary and 22.6 in Bulgaria; in 1959-1960 the figures were 52.5, 66.3 and 47.4 per cent respectively. Here, too, we can see the formerly backward countries approximating to the USSR, the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia, where output of means of production amounted in 1959-60 to 71.8, 66.6 and 58.5 per cent respectively.

III

The building of socialism in each country is primarily the task of its own people and requires the maximum utilization of the economic potential and resources. "The development and levelling of the economy of the socialist countries must be achieved primarily by every country using its internal resources to the full by improving the forms and methods of economic guidance, steadily applying the Leninist principles and methods of socialist economic management, and making effective use of the advantages of the socialist world system," the Program points out.

The rate of economic development in any socialist country depends above all on how effectively its internal material and manpower resources are used for extended reproduction, without which it would be impossible to take full advantage of the benefits of the cooperation between socialist countries; mutual aid in that case would signify a mere transfer of means from one country to another. It is essential that all the countries help to increase the economic might and defense capacity of the socialist camp as a whole.

A basic prerequisite for successful economic development is scientific management. Although the forms of management in each given country are influenced by its specific national features and the level of its productive forces, the basic principles of socialist economic management are the same everywhere. These principles, first worked out during socialist construction in the Soviet Union, are creatively applied also in the People's

Democracies. The same economic laws of socialism prevail in all the socialist countries and their correct application is an indispensable condition for the success of the economic policy of the Communist and Workers' parties in these countries.

In rallying the working people to build and consolidate the economic base of socialism, our Party takes due note of the objective laws of economic development, basing itself on the tried and tested principles of socialist economic management, thoroughly analyzing the circumstances and advancing new tasks without undue haste while keeping abreast of the requirements of life. This was noted by Khrushchov in his speech at a Rumanian-Soviet friendship meeting in Moscow on August 11, 1961, when he paid tribute to the Rumanian Workers' Party's scientific approach in guiding the socialist economy as one of the key factors in the successful development of socialist Rumania.

Planning is another factor of exceptional importance. Planned, proportionate development precludes both anarchy of production and any serious economic disproportions and crises. It rules out the spasmodic fluctuations characteristic of capitalist economy in the epoch of imperialism which lead to disparities between different branches of production and undercapacity operation of plant and which, in the final analysis, retard the rate of development. Planning guarantees the rapid growth of the socialist world economy.

The experience of the Soviet Union and our own experience show that at present, as the Program correctly notes, "the growing scale of the national economy, the rapid development of science and technology call for an improvement of the scientific level of planning, accounting, statistics, and industrial designing."

Planning ensures a high rate of extended reproduction, priority development of production of the means of production and a simultaneous continued increase in the output of consumer goods. Productivity of labor is rising with the increasing application of the achievements of science and technology. The right balance between production and consumption has been achieved, making it possible to raise the standard of living while increasing accumulations from year to year. In the six years from 1960 to 1965 170,000-180,000 million lei are envisaged for capital investments, or roughly twice as much as during the preceding six-year span. Of this sum nearly 59 per cent will go into industry, mostly (nearly 90 per cent) into production

of the means of production. This will guarantee the continued rapid growth of labor productivity as well as of gross production.

Much attention is devoted in our country to promoting agriculture, in particular by supplying the machinery needed to complete the mechanization of farming, and also by introducing the latest in scientific methods.

With the development of industry and agriculture the material and technical groundwork will be laid for the gradual transition to communism.

Consistent observance in both industry and agriculture of the socialist principle of material incentives makes for the maximum utilization of all our potentialities and internal resources and accelerates economic development. In capitalist society, whatever the form of his wages, the worker in the final analysis receives no more than the price of his labor power, which the capitalist, moreover, constantly tries to force down as much as possible. As for moral stimuli, they are nonexistent in a society where labor power is simply a commodity to be bought and sold. Only under socialism does the working man have a genuine interest in increasing his output, for here he is the owner of the means of production and the products are justly distributed among all members of society in accordance with their labor. Moreover, material interest by no means precludes the development of moral stimuli; on the contrary the significance of the latter increases the farther we advance along the road to socialism and communism.

Our Party regards strict control over the measure of labor and the measure of consumption as being indispensable to economic progress. Under socialism such control is an objective necessity, for only in this way can uninterrupted extended reproduction and the material stimuli to increase output and the productivity of labor be ensured.

Steadily applying the scientific principles of socialist economic management, the Party is rallying the working people to make effective use of all internal resources in order to ensure a further rapid advance of the economy. Our plans envisage the fullest introduction of the latest achievements of science and technology in all spheres of the economy. Mechanization of processes involving arduous work or consuming a great deal of labor will be completed, and the accent will be on all-round mechanization and automation. This will make work easier and raise living standards.

With the realization of the long-range economic program the basic targets of which were approved by the Third Congress of our Party, Rumania will become in the next 15 years an advanced industrial country with a well-developed, highly productive agriculture. Full utilization of its riches will make it possible gradually to go over from the socialist principle of distribution according to work to the communist principle — according to needs. The people will then be ensured conditions of life worthy of the epoch of the victory of socialism and the building of communism.

Steadily developing her productive forces, advancing her economy and combining her efforts ever more closely with the other socialist countries, Rumania is making her contribution to the overall strengthening of the socialist camp.

★ ★ ★

The Soviet Union, whose people were the first to carry out a proletarian revolution, the first country of victorious socialism, and the

country that is now building communism, is marching steadfastly in the vanguard of the socialist countries. "The first country to advance to communism facilitates and accelerates the advance of the entire socialist world system to communism," the Program of the CPSU says in regard to the Soviet Union's historic mission. "In building communism, the peoples of the Soviet Union are blazing new paths for mankind, testing their correctness by their own experience, revealing the difficulties, finding ways and means of overcoming them, and selecting the best forms and methods of communist construction."

The peoples of the USSR have won the deep gratitude of the other socialist countries by their vanguard role in building communism. As they follow the trail blazed by the Soviet Union, the peoples of the other socialist countries have before them the example of the heroic Soviet people, whose rich experience facilitates their progress towards man's cherished goal. This goal, no longer far off, is communism.

Some Aspects of the National Question in Africa

Ivan Potekhin

THE majority of the peoples of Africa and Asia are at present going through the process of forming national states. The process is taking place at a time when capitalism is no longer a world system, when the world socialist system is developing alongside the moribund capitalist system. The solution of the national question in the socialist countries on the basis of Lenin's principle of self-determination of nations is strongly influencing the progress of the national question in Asia and Africa.

In this article we propose to dwell on some aspects of the national question in present-day Tropical Africa, where as distinct from North Africa in which bourgeois nations (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Egypt) have already taken shape, the national question presents certain problems of a specific nature. What are these problems?

In the struggle to carve up the African continent each imperialist power tried to

snatch the biggest and the juiciest part for itself. Africa was literally sliced up into half a hundred pieces. The natural borderlines between the ethnic groups were disregarded, with the result that the territories they inhabited were torn asunder by political frontiers marking the boundaries between the colonies seized by European powers. The situation was further complicated by the fact that parts of various nationalities were included in each colony. There was scarcely a colony in all of Tropical Africa inhabited by a single people.

Imperialist ethnographers and linguists try to justify this colonial brigandage by claiming that ethnic chaos reigned in Africa prior to the advent of colonialism and that the colonialists introduced some semblance of order in this respect. In reality, however, it was the colonialists who created ethnic chaos by arbitrarily dividing up the continent into a host of political units. One might cite any

number of examples to corroborate this, but one will suffice. The Somali people, an ethnic group which, given the opportunity for normal historical development, had all the prerequisites for taking shape as a single nation, was split up into several parts. In the struggle for an outlet from the Mediterranean and Red Seas into the Indian Ocean, Britain, France and Italy divided the territory settled by the Somali in three parts. Each of these powers established its own order in its particular colony, although the colonial policy of all three pursued a single aim, namely, the exploitation and political subjugation of the local population. Each colonial power introduced some elements of its own culture, habits and customs into the lives of the Somali. Thus the emergence of a single Somali nation was seriously hampered. Only now, after the victory of the national revolution, have the Somali people embarked on national development, but their path is still beset by many obstacles.

Survivals of Tribal Organization

The cutting up of the map of Africa, however, is not the whole story. In order to strengthen their domination over the African peoples the colonialists actively supported the disunity wherever feudal state forms prevailed (Nigeria, Uganda and elsewhere); they artificially preserved the old tribal structure and tribal organization, making the tribal chiefs the servants of the colonial administration. They went so far as to impose the institution of chiefs where these had never before existed — for example, among the Kikuyu in Kenya. They regarded tribal organizations as a reliable means of keeping the African peoples in social and political subjection. Field Marshal Smuts, one-time head of the government of the Union of South Africa, in a series of lectures delivered at Oxford, warned future colonial officials that the breakdown of the tribal system "should be prevented at all costs." "If this system breaks down, and tribal discipline disappears," he said, "native society will be resolved into its human atoms, with possibilities of universal Bolshevism and chaos. . . ." And John Gunther, the American journalist, after visiting Africa and talking with colonial officials, wrote: "So long as Africans remain tribal . . . they are not a problem except in the field of local administration."

This reactionary colonialist policy was a serious barrier to the formation of nations. The division of national groups into small

communities—tribes or sections of tribes headed by princes and chiefs who exploited peasants under the wing of the colonial authorities, using feudal or semi-feudal forms of exploitation—was artificially maintained. The tribes degenerated into something like petty feudal principalities. Through the tribal chiefs the colonialists encouraged tribal exclusiveness and stirred up antagonism and enmity between the tribes. In this they were aided by the missionaries and linguists who developed the tribal dialects into written languages, and by the ethnographers who painstakingly described the different customs and habits of the tribes while carefully ignoring whatever features they had in common. Thus the combined front of colonialists, missionaries and scholars prevented the tribes from merging into nationalities and nations.

The Problem of National Language

One of the basic attributes of a nation is a common language. The language of a people or nation is formed when one of a group of kindred tribal tongues becomes for one or another reason the language most widely used among the tribes, squeezing out other tongues and enriching itself in the process. The final victory of this language over the others is achieved when it becomes the literary language.

Long before the European colonialists arrived in the eastern part of Tropical Africa, Swahili was the language in which the tribes and peoples inhabiting that part of the continent communicated with one another; Swahili has existed as a written language for a long time, using at first Arabic and later Latin characters. In the western part of the continent the dominant language was Hausa, written in a slightly altered version of Arabic. The main language of the Congo basin was the Kikongo. In many other areas inter-tribal languages, i.e., languages used by large ethnic groups which later might have crystallized as nations, began to emerge before the colonialists arrived. The beginnings of a written language in the Nsibidi, Vai, Bamum and other tongues had appeared, but the advent of the colonial regime interrupted the process.

The language of the metropolitan state became the official language for each of the colonies. It was used for public gatherings, the press, the radio, and communication between the different tribes. An African who wished to find a place in life beyond the confines of his own tribe was obliged to learn the official language. This prevented any of

the local languages from becoming the common language of communication for the entire population of the given colony and developing into a literary language.

This lingual confusion suited the colonialists down to the ground. Only a small section of the indigenous population could speak the language of the metropolitan country. The bulk of the population, made up of different peoples and tribes, had no common language, a situation which facilitated the colonialist "divide and rule" policy and prevented the population from uniting to resist imperialist enslavement.

That explains why the colonial authorities did nothing to promote the development of the national languages in Africa.

In the French colonies of Tropical Africa the authorities made no attempt even to create alphabets for the African languages with the result that their peoples had no written language of their own when they won their national independence. In the British colonies written languages were introduced on the basis of the Latin alphabet for many dialects, but this impeded rather than promoted the formation of the national languages, inasmuch as the British colonial authorities and the missionaries created alphabets for tribal dialects thereby adding to the lingual confusion and obstructing the development of an inter-tribal language. On the Gold Coast, for example, four different written forms of a single language, that of the Akan, were created by making written languages of the Ashanti, Fanti, Akim and Akvapim dialects. This proved to be a serious obstacle to the national development of the Akan people. A government committee has now been set up in independent Ghana to work out a unified Akan alphabet.

So far the British and French languages are still the official languages in the newly independent states of Tropical Africa. And as literacy spreads more and more people will learn these languages. But this does not solve the problem of a national language. Foreign languages can hardly become the linguistic foundation of national union. This question was discussed at the Second Congress of African Writers and Cultural Workers held in Rome in 1959. In a resolution on linguistic problems the Congress recognized that Africa "should not accept any foreign language, European or any other, as the national language."

What complicates matters is that different languages are spoken in many states in Tro-

pical Africa. The degree of similarity or dissimilarity between these languages varies. In some countries these languages belong to different lingual families, in others they are languages of the same family or even dialects of the same language. Hence the task of creating a national language will have to be tackled differently in each case: in some countries a single national language can be created, in others, two or more. Some states will be mono-national, others, multi-national. These, of course, are problems which the peoples and governments of the countries concerned must solve themselves.

A mass movement to abolish illiteracy is now spreading in the African states. And here, too, the question arises: in what language to teach the people—English, French, or their native tongue. It is not a matter of eliminating the study of foreign languages altogether—that would be a step back—but of the relation between the native and foreign languages.

Most of the governments in Tropical Africa have not yet made up their minds on this question.

The question of a national language, which affects the relations between peoples whom circumstances have brought together within a single state, is one that must be approached with extreme caution. The history of multi-national states shows that every nationality cherishes the right freely to use its own language and any restriction of this right is bound to lead to national conflicts.

National Culture

Down the centuries the peoples of Africa have created a distinctive culture of their own. Their music and dances, songs and folklore, sculpture and painting, their costumes, dwellings, etc. form a cultural heritage that could have served as the foundation for the evolution of a national culture. But again colonialism stepped in and thwarted the natural process. The colonial authorities did not lift a finger to advance African culture. What is more, they labelled it the primitive culture of a "lower race," of interest only to the collector of exotic ethnographical curios. They also took administrative measures to suppress the national culture. For example, folk songs and dances were not allowed in schools, and Africans were taught to regard their own cultural heritage with contempt. In this respect the imperialists were not altogether unsuccessful, for some

African intellectuals actually did begin to despise the national culture.

At the same time the people were debarred from European culture. Between 90-95 per cent of the population remained illiterate. Up to the time of the Second World War there was not a single professional theatre in this part of the world. Nor was there any literature in the native languages. Even the most elementary European amenities of life were beyond the reach of the bulk of the population. True, the colonialists did educate a handful of "élite" to serve as colonial officials and priests. Contrary to their intentions, a number of distinguished leaders who were later to head the national-liberation movements emerged from this "élite." But it also produced some despicable lackeys of imperialism, and hence it served its purpose.

A powerful movement for the development of national culture is now sweeping Africa. African literature is rapidly advancing, a national cinema is coming into being, professional theatres are being organized, and more African scientists and scholars are appearing on the world arena. African intellectuals are engaging in lively debates concerning the ways of national cultural development.

Prevalence of Pre-Capitalist Social Relations

The economic basis for the formation of bourgeois nations was the development of the capitalist mode of production and capitalist production relations. Colonialism acted as an obstacle to the capitalist development of Africa and the emergence of the classes associated with capitalist society. The imperialist monopolies, it is true, opened capitalist enterprises in Africa, but they took steps to prevent the emergence of a working class. As one French colonial expert pointed out, the most costly item from the social standpoint was the worker. Proletarianization of the African worker, he said, would be a far greater danger than that of the European, inasmuch as the class struggle in the overseas countries is accompanied by a national struggle. Hence, to exploit the labor of the Africans in the European-owned enterprises, while preventing the African from becoming a proletarian, became the guiding principle of the colonialists in the labor question.

Since there was no manufacturing industry to speak of and capital investment was concentrated chiefly in mining, plantations and road building where mechanization could be kept at a minimum, the European companies preferred to use contracted peasant labor.

This was all the cheaper because the countryside remained the source of the reproduction of labor power.

Since the worker was paid a bare subsistence minimum for a single man, he could not bring his family with him, could not settle in the town and become a worker in the strict sense. Despite these precautions it proved impossible to prevent the rise of an African proletariat. The number of wage earners has considerably increased since the war and now stands at 15 million (including all categories of employees). However, the bulk of the workers in the principal spheres of capitalist production—mining and plantations—are still peasants whose homes are in the villages.

The colonialists also did their best to retard the growth of a national bourgeoisie. All the channels for the accumulation of capital were closed to Africans. In some countries administrative measures were taken to restrict capitalist enterprise by Africans. It was only after the Second World War, when the political domination of the colonialists was directly threatened, that they took the course of creating a "middle class" and began to support African enterprise to some extent.

Production relations in Tropical Africa are a complex interweaving of tribal relations (now dying out), patriarchal-feudal (the dominant type) and capitalist relations (which are gaining ground).

The artificial conservation of pre-capitalist social relations preserved those forms of social organization which hold back the crystallization of nations.

Such is the general picture of the many barriers raised by colonialism to the development of nations in Africa. The picture, however, would be incomplete without mentioning the political oppression of the colonial peoples. Up to 1945 representative institutions were non-existent in the African colonies; the people were ruled exclusively by governors appointed by the colonial power. But the colonial system is contradictory by its very nature. Contrary to the will of the colonialists, tribal organization gradually disintegrated, the tribes became intermingled, new social relations developed, the towns became centers of political and cultural life and a national intelligentsia came into being. Colonialism could not completely close the doors to national development; it retarded the emergence of nations, but it could not stop this natural historical process. A stimulus to na-

tional development was the anti-imperialist movement led by national organizations.

The exact degree of national consolidation of the peoples of Tropical Africa is difficult to determine. In some cases the process is approaching completion, in others it is only beginning. Most of the peoples are still at a stage somewhere between these two points. But speaking of Tropical Africa as a whole one can say that the process of the crystallization of nations has not yet ended.

Prospects

Africa is now experiencing a national anti-imperialist revolution which is destined to put an end to imperialist enslavement and pave the way for free national development. Over a large part of the continent the first stage of this revolution has ended: state power has passed from the imperialists into the hands of the local national forces, and national statehood has been established. But colonialism has not yet been abolished in these countries. They are still economically dependent on the metropolitan country, and hence their state sovereignty is limited; exploitation by foreign capital continues to the detriment of their economic development.

In all spheres of social and intellectual life substantial survivals of colonialism still remain. The existence of puppet governments must also be regarded as a survival of colonialism. President Nkrumah of Ghana has called such governments another variety of the system of indirect rule. The complete elimination of colonial domination is the task of the next stage of the national revolution.

Hitherto the national question hinged on the struggle against foreign imperialist domination, for independence. Hence the national question was one of the relations between the colony and the colonial power. That problem still remains to be solved. But now that independence and statehood have been reached, the national question acquires new significance as a problem of the relations among the peoples within the African states. And this is a ticklish problem.

Because of the discrepancy between the ethnic and state frontiers, the Ewe people live in Ghana and in Togo, the Masai live in Kenya and Tanganyika, the Wolof in Senegal and Gambia, the Malinke in Guinea, Mali, the Ivory Coast, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Gambia, etc. How to overcome this legacy of colonialism is one of the most difficult problems facing the African states today.

To revise the political map and change the state frontiers in order to bring them into accord with the ethnic boundaries is an impossible task at the present stage. One way of overcoming the difficulty would be regional federation or a union of African states.

The idea of creating a union is popular in Africa. It is supported by many progressive statesmen and has found reflection in the state laws of a number of countries. The preamble to the Constitution of the Republic of Guinea, for instance, states that Guinea "unconditionally supports any policy aimed at establishing a Union of African States."

Similar ideas are contained in the Ghana Constitution. Last April the presidents of Ghana, Guinea and Mali signed the Charter of the Union of African States.

In the first half of this year another union, the so-called Afro-Malagasy Organization for Economic Cooperation appeared. But this is a union of an entirely different kind. Not all unity is useful and progressive. The African peoples need a unity that would help them to put an end to colonialism and obtain genuine national freedom. That is not the aim of the Afro-Malagasy union. Its leaders are pro-imperialist and the union's purpose is not to unite the African people to achieve final victory over imperialism and colonialism, but to split the continent and weaken the united anti-imperialist front.

Another question associated with the emergence of nations is that of the future development of the countries of Tropical Africa. The national bourgeoisie in these countries is weak, while the working class is relatively strong numerically. The industry now being established is predominantly state-owned. If agriculture is to make headway some sort of peasant cooperatives will have to be established. In many of these countries there is communal land ownership. There is, then, a definite basis for a non-capitalist way of development.

What course these countries take will depend on who wields the state power and on the alignment of the political forces. Two general lines of development can be discerned. In Guinea, Mali and Ghana measures are being taken to restrict the growth of private national capital; in Nigeria, on the other hand, private capitalist enterprise is encouraged. Some African states are pursuing a policy patently designed to steer the country towards capitalism, which has brought so much suffering to the peoples of Africa. It

would, however, be incorrect to assume that these nations have already made their final choice in this respect. The question of the way of development depends in the final analysis on the correlation of the social forces in each country.

The African states, which have arisen as a result of the disintegration of the colonial system, are still young. Few of them have existed independently for more than five years. They have as yet no experience of statehood, and the policy of their govern-

ments on the national question has not yet taken final shape. From this standpoint everything that has been said above must be regarded merely as a modest attempt to look ahead into the future. The national question in Africa is a very delicate one. To solve it painlessly will require much wisdom and political tact on the part of the governments concerned. The final word in the settlement of this question, as of all other matters pertaining to the building of the new life, rests with the African people themselves.

Among Our Contributors

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**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

The Great Charter of Communism

(The Communist and Workers' Parties on the Draft Program of the CPSU)

THE publication of the draft Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was an outstanding event for the international Communist movement as a whole. The Communist parties regard it as an important theoretical and political document of our time, the Communist Manifesto of our day.

Jenminjhpao (China), *L'Humanite* (France), *De Waarheid* (the Netherlands), *Kansan Uutiset* (Finland), *Kol Haam* (Israel), *El Siglo* (Chile), *El Popular* (Uruguay) and other communist newspapers carried the draft Program in full. In many countries it was put out in booklet form. The Central Committees and Party leaders issued statements and the Party organs published articles highlighting the significance of the new Program of the CPSU.

Towards Communism With Ranks Closed

The communist press of the socialist countries was unanimous in saying that the first country to advance to communism facilitates and accelerates the progress of the socialist world system to communism.

The Central Committee of the *Communist Party of Czechoslovakia* declared in a special resolution on the subject:

"The Program of the CPSU will doubtless become one of the basic documents of the international working class, a milestone on its revolutionary path and in its struggle for communism. Its ideas and breath-taking prospects will appeal to hundreds of millions in the socialist countries and will influence the revolutionary maturing of the working class in the capitalist countries, the people in the colonies and the countries that have recently cast off the yoke of capitalism. It will be the source of new victories for the ideas of peace and communism all over the world."

The Communist parties noted in their resolutions that the Program of the CPSU is the result of the brilliant victories won by the Soviet people. The Central Committee of the *Bulgarian Communist Party* stated: "Our Party expresses the wholehearted gratitude and love of our people for the millions in the Soviet Union who, inspired by

the great ideas of Lenin, overcame incredible difficulties and endured numerous hardships in the name of progress and human happiness. They were the first to break the fetters of capitalism, they carried out Lenin's behests on the building of socialist society, turned the Soviet Union into an unshakeable stronghold of peace and socialism and are successfully building communism."

Scinteia, organ of the *Rumanian Workers' Party*, wrote: "The peoples of the socialist world system, who enjoy the support and fraternal international aid of the Soviet Union, are well aware that its swift movement towards communism makes possible and speeds up the advance towards communism of the socialist world system as a whole."

"The Soviet Union," stressed *Trybuna Ludu*, organ of the *Polish United Workers' Party*, "is blazing the trail for all humanity and also for us, the builders of socialist Poland. Communist construction in the Soviet Union, the growth of its economic potential and of the defense might of the socialist world system guarantee for us, too, a faster development and provide new and better opportunities for mutual cooperation."

Nodon Sinmun, the newspaper of the *Korean Party of Labor*, commented: "The Korean people draw from this historic document firm confidence in victory and see in it the contours of their happy future."

The Communists and other people in the socialist countries are conscious that what has been charted in the Program of the CPSU is a matter of the not-too-distant future for the other socialist countries. *Nepszabadsag*, the central organ of the *Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party*, stated:

"The new Program of the CPSU outlines for us Hungarians the main features of our not-too-distant future, enables us to get a better understanding of the transitional period and emphasizes that the basis of our state system — the dictatorship of the proletariat — is not an end in itself, that its task is to ensure the conditions needed for building socialism, that in a brief space of time we can build the material and social base of socialism which at the same time will serve

as the starting point for building a socialist state of the whole people."

The Power of Attraction of Communist Ideas

The Communist leaders in the capitalist countries unanimously noted the revolutionizing impact of the new Program on the working people of the world.

John Gollan, General Secretary of the *British Communist Party*, wrote:

"The new 20-year program of the Soviet Communist Party has struck the world with a greater impact than Major Titov's 25 hours in space.

"Rent-free housing, free gas, water, transport and midday meals. Real wages up by 2.5 times, and, in addition, social benefits equal to half the wages. All the necessary things of life in abundance.

"These facts of the new program are sinking in on people. Even the most hardened sceptic can hardly now question that the aims will be achieved."

Kansan Uutiset, the central organ of the *Communist Party of Finland*, stressed that the Program of the CPSU gives a real picture of communist society and by virtue of this has had an impact on the working people in the West.

"Now it is clear," the newspaper wrote, "what communism means in reality. Take, for example, capitalist Finland where work cannot be provided for all, to say nothing of ensuring a livelihood, a secure old age, a free health service or a shorter day without wage cuts. What will the people of Finland say when most of them come to see that all this is the natural privilege of the people in the neighboring socialist country whose standard of living will soon reach a level beyond the imagination of our people. A radical change in the way of thinking of the majority of people will not then be an unattainable aim."

The point that the Program of the CPSU will awaken new forces to the fight for a bright future was made by Max Reimann, First Secretary of the *Communist Party of Germany*. "This Program and its realization," he said, "will be a powerful magnet whose steadily growing power of attraction will influence the working class and all other working people in the Federal Republic, too."

"This Program," wrote *Nuestra Palabra*, organ of the *Communist Party of Argentina*, "is the victorious banner of the grand cause of national independence, peace and socialism, proof that the world of triumphant socialism is replacing the dying capitalism. It is a most powerful stimulus for the peoples fighting against oppression and imperialism."

The new Program of the CPSU is a powerful ideological weapon of the Communists in their

efforts to win the masses to their side. "With the ideas of the draft Program," declared Dolores Ibarruri, Chairman of the *Communist Party of Spain*, "we shall address the workers, peasants and intellectuals, we shall go to the Socialist and Anarchist workers, to all democrats of our country, including the Christian Democrats, and say to them: 'Is this not what you have been fighting for? Is this not what you hoped for when you proclaimed your desire to fight for a better world, for a new structure for our old and beloved Spain?'"

". . . Upon reading the Program," wrote Luiz Carlos Prestes, General Secretary of the *Communist Party of Brazil*, "one is bound to ask: 'If the Soviet people can do this, why can't we?' This simple question brings us to the conclusion: To achieve this the working people, the working-class movement, the patriotic and democratic forces of the people should be united in the struggle against the imperialist monopolies and their agents in our country."

The Communist parties are organizing the study of the Program of the CPSU by their members and are widely popularizing its ideas.

The Central Committee of the *Communist Party of the Netherlands* noted in its resolution that the Program of the CPSU "will be a powerful weapon in the struggle against reformism and Social Democratic ideology. It is therefore important that all Communists and the whole working-class movement closely study it."

The Program raises the entire Communist movement ideologically to a higher level, it will further strengthen the unity and militancy of the movement.

Sanzo Nosaka, Chairman of the *Communist Party of Japan*, declared: "Waging its struggle on the basis of its new Program approved in July this year, the Communist Party of Japan sees in the draft Program of the CPSU an inspiration and support for its activity. We Japanese Communists have a profound respect for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which, by drawing up its Program, has made another contribution to the international Communist movement."

"The Program to be approved by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at its Twenty-Second Congress," said Palmiro Togliatti, General Secretary of the *Italian Communist Party*, "is of great interest for us, too, impelling one to think and seek. The picture of socialist society, of its advance to communism, is a truly new thing, something which the old-time Socialist veteran could not even visualize . . . In this sphere and, I would say, above all in this sphere, we should draw from the Program the necessary lesson, guiding principles and help, always bearing

in mind that we should be able to apply these principles and this aid to our own social conditions."

The Communist leaders and press in the countries fighting to strengthen their national independence confirmed the correctness of the thesis in the Program that the building of communism in the USSR will further the development of the backward countries and their national independence.

Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of the *Communist Party of India*, said: "The draft Program clearly defines the role which the friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, on the one hand, and the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa, on the other, can play in strengthening the economy of these countries and world peace."

"The Program of the CPSU proclaims that communism is the bright future of all mankind . . .," said D. N. Aidit, Chairman of the *Communist Party of Indonesia*. "The building of communism in the USSR is of great significance for accelerating the building of socialism and communism in the other socialist countries, for developing the international working-class movement and the national-liberation movement against imperialism, for averting a world war and consolidating peace."

Pieter Keuneman, General Secretary of the *Communist Party of Ceylon*, noted:

"The newly independent countries of Asia and Africa have seen for themselves that the Soviet Union is a good and reliable friend. They approve the draft Program for they know that the growing might of the Soviet Union is a firm guarantee of peace and the continued free development of their countries."

Mardom, central organ of the *People's Party of Iran*, stressed that "the building of communist society and the outstripping by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries of the industrial capitalist powers will determine the path and destiny of hundreds of millions in the less developed countries, including Iran, and will direct them onto the path of socialism and communism."

The Communist parties point out that by publishing its Program the CPSU has reaffirmed its vanguard role in the world Communist movement.

"The new Program of the CPSU," reads the resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the *Communist Party of Greece*, "once again confirms the vanguard role of the CPSU in the world Communist movement, which was stressed at the meeting of the 81 Parties."

Bourgeois Propaganda Suffers Defeat

Popularizing the ideas of the Program the Communist parties are exposing the slanders of the

capitalist press which is distorting the Program, blackening the socialist system and embellishing capitalism.

They point out that the capitalist hacks are unable to counterpose anything to the Program and this attests to the ideological and political bankruptcy of the bourgeois and reformist parties.

Johann Koplenig, Chairman of the *Communist Party of Austria*, declared:

"In the light of the new Program of the CPSU and its bold prospects the decline of the entire capitalist system, the ideological poverty of the bourgeois parties and their stooges among the Right-wing Social Democrats become more evident. In the epoch of the decline of capitalism and imperialism and the disintegration of the colonial system, these parties are unable to advance a single idea showing the people the way to happiness and well-being, democracy, social progress and peace."

Answering those who say the Program is a utopia, Gilberto Vieira, General Secretary of the *Communist Party of Colombia*, wrote: "When the Program defines communist society and its basic features and sets out the time limits for building this society, it is not searching for an imaginary utopia. Every point of this grand document rests on scientific principles corroborated by the triumphant achievements of the first socialist society in history."

The capitalist and Social Democratic press make the claim that the leading capitalist countries have already achieved the things promised in the Program.

Hilding Hagberg, Chairman of the *Communist Party of Sweden*, writing in the newspaper *Ny dag*, showed that this is utter nonsense. Thanks to its stubborn struggle, he said, the Swedish working class has won certain social gains. But this in no way proves that capitalism has become a "people's capitalism." With the relatively high standard of living in Sweden the working people can only dream of what socialism has already given to the people in the Soviet Union.

Pointing out that in Sweden the prices of some manufactured goods and foodstuffs are lower than in the Soviet Union, Hagberg continued: "But the Swedish worker spends half his wages on rent and taxes, compared with the roughly 10 per cent paid by his Soviet counterpart."

"In Sweden people qualify for an old-age pension at 67; in the Soviet Union the pension age for the male worker is 60, for the female worker it is 55."

"We have a 45-hour week whereas the Soviet worker has a 40-hour week and in three years a 36-hour week will be introduced."

"A Swedish woman receives approximately 70 per cent of a man's wage for the same work, whereas a Soviet woman gets equal pay. And this equality extends to other spheres . . .

"In Sweden higher education is the privilege mainly of the well-to-do, whereas in the Soviet Union every boy or girl has access to higher learning."

Most bourgeois politicians realize that the material progress brought about by socialism can no longer be doubted. Therefore, to blacken socialism they claim that progress is achieved at the expense of individual freedom. The Communist press resolutely exposes this slander.

"Whose freedom are they talking about? What freedom do they want to defend?" asks the *Daily Worker* with regard to bourgeois advocates of freedom. "Mr. Cecil King's version of 'freedom of the Press,' which gives him the right to sit on top of a £200 million monopoly empire and say: 'There is nothing wrong with power as long as it belongs to me?'"

"'Freedom of speech' as practiced by the BBC, which virtually excludes not only Communists, but all serious critics of the Establishment? 'Free enterprise' as practised by the landlords who raise rents and evict tenants by the thousand?"

"Freedom for the surtax payers to accept a cut in their taxes, while the workers are free to accept the cut in their wages proposed by Selwyn Lloyd?"

"Freedom for the monopolists to exploit millions of colonial workers?"

"Certainly none of these 'freedoms' will exist in the Soviet Union in 1980. Nor do they exist now . . . The Soviet people were able to win freedom from unemployment, from poverty and oppression. Now they will be able to move toward freedom from paying rents and fares.

"They have built up a Socialist democracy in which millions of people take part in government."

The Way to Peace and Friendship Among Nations

The Communist leaders unanimously declare that the Program of the CPSU which shows how

a new world war can be averted, is of the utmost significance in the struggle for peaceful coexistence.

Here is what Gus Hall, General Secretary of the *Communist Party of the USA*, said: "At a moment when the monopolists and their spokesmen in the USA are building up a war scare over Berlin, increasing armaments and stepping up the cold war, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has issued a profound call for peace and peaceful coexistence with the United States and all capitalist countries in the historic draft Program . . .

"This Program will deeply serve the cause of peace, democracy and social progress throughout the world. As the Declaration of Independence in the 18th century provided a beacon light for peoples emerging from backward feudalism, so this new Program will serve as an inspiration and guidepost for mankind liberating itself from the thralldom of decaying capitalism."

Neues Deutschland, central organ of the *Socialist Unity Party of Germany*, wrote: "The Program will succeed best of all in conditions of peace. The carrying out of the Program would be delayed if war were to break out. But it will be speeded up if lasting peace is ensured. That is why the CPSU comes out so resolutely for peaceful coexistence as the only alternative."

This idea is also stressed by Luis Corvallan, General Secretary of the *Communist Party of Chile*: "The comprehensive and bold program of building communism objectively proves the Soviet Union's vital concern to preserve peace."

The Communist press stresses the point in the Program that war is not needed for the triumph of communism in all countries, that it will be established when the peoples become convinced of its advantages and superiority over capitalism.

"It is not through war with other countries," wrote the American progressive paper *The Worker*, "but by the example of a more perfect organization of society, by rapid progress in developing the productive forces, the creation of all conditions for the happiness and well-being of man, that the ideas of communism win the minds and hearts of the masses."

Luxembourg: For a Policy of Unarmed Neutrality

IN the Pentagon the Luxembourg army is often referred to as a "symbolic" force. But for a country like ours this "symbolic" army is a heavy burden. Indeed, something like 4,000 million francs have been spent on it in the past ten years. Of this sum over 800 million have been spent on building barracks and military camps, 750 million on airfields and 769 million on the purchase of heavy armaments.

True, Luxembourg is a "rich" country. As a result of the continued boom in industry the government gets considerable revenue in the shape of taxes. It also has resort to loans. Since 1952 the national debt has doubled. The annual appropriation from the state budget of some 400 million francs for military purposes is a drain on the country and, even in the opinion of many bourgeois politicians, is a heavy burden for our economy.

It should be added that the Christian Social Party, which is backed by the Socialist Party, has not succeeded in winning popular support for either the army or the war policy of the West. The country has no military traditions. For a long time Luxembourg's status was determined by the 1867 Treaty of London which put the seal on its unarmed neutrality. Up to 1944 there was only a volunteer unit of several hundred men who were trained as replacements for the gendarmerie and police. In 1920-21 the reactionaries, alleging obligations to the League of Nations, sought to introduce conscription; but this was strongly opposed by the working class. In 1942, during the Hitler occupation, the people wholeheartedly supported a general strike in protest against the compulsory call-up of young men by the Nazis.

At present the explanatory work carried out by the Communist Party has helped to rouse the people, particularly the industrial workers, against the policy of militarization pursued by the reactionaries.

The appointment of Hitler generals to the leading posts in NATO has added to the popular discontent with the military policy of the government. The attempts made by the ruling class to make the people accept friendship with Bonn have had little success. Early in this year when the Adenauer government offered Luxembourg a paltry DM 100 million as compensation for the damage caused by the Hitler occupation (the real damage is estimated at more than DM 1,000 million) this attempt at bribery was met with a

general protest. True, the government managed to get a majority in parliament for this shameful agreement. The protest march started by the men who had been called up to the Wehrmacht at the time of the occupation (of the 12,000 then conscripted more than half did not return), grew into a powerful demonstration of popular resentment against militarism and government policy.

This reactionary policy, which is most unpopular, has caused a conflict between the Christian Social and Democratic parties. A debate on army "reform" is taking place in their ranks.

The plans of the Defense Minister, which have been the subject of dispute for more than two years, envisage in addition to raising territorial units, the formation of an infantry battalion of professional soldiers to be placed under NATO control.

This innovation is resisted by those members of the Christian Social Party who do not want to give up the "traditional" army. It is also opposed by the Socialist Party. But it would be wrong to think that the leaders of this Party are criticizing the government for excessive militarism or that they are demanding abolition of the army. On the contrary, they reproach the Defense Minister who, they say, has a useless army of badly-trained soldiers, etc. In short, they call for more drill and modernization. This Party has seized on the situation in Berlin to urge the inclusion of the army in NATO and its rapid extension. In fact, our Right-wing Socialists are more militarist and more loyal to NATO than the militarists in the Clerical and Liberal parties.

The government, incidentally, is planning to extend the term of service to 12 months as its contribution to "the defense of the freedom of Berlin."

The Communist Party has consistently fought against the war policy of the ruling class which is trailing in the wake of NATO for the liberation of Luxembourg from the fetters of this aggressive bloc, and for peaceful coexistence.

The Party Congress, held at the end of 1960, formulated the aims of the struggle for a policy of peace, against the war preparations and militarism.

Our country, the Congress stated, is economically, politically and militarily part of the aggressive bloc of the American and West European imperialists. Luxembourg is a member of the

European Coal and Steel Community, the Brussels Pact, the Common Market and NATO. Our soldiers are integrated into the NATO framework. This means that they are subordinate to foreign generals, including one-time Hitler generals, war criminals like Speidel and Heusinger for whom the spokesmen of Luxembourg also voted in NATO. The North Atlantic Pact is giving more and more support to the West German militarists and revenge-seekers. Our politicians are treading in the footsteps of the Bonn militarists who are heading for all sorts of gambles and a war of revenge.

To loosen and then break the tie-up with NATO is a matter of decisive significance for the future of our country. The dangerous policy of militarism, so ridiculous for a country like ours, which is pursued by the Socialist Party jointly with the reactionary forces, should be abandoned.

In the present conditions Luxembourg can, if the people demand this, be given a status which would provide for its withdrawal from all military blocs and, in view of our particular position as a small country, for the guarantee of its neutrality by the Great Powers and by the U.N. A similar decision was taken once before in the history of our country. This was in 1867 when the then Great Powers declared Luxembourg a neutral, independent and unarmed state and undertook to guarantee this status under which the country remained till 1940.

Our neutrality has been twice violated by the German imperialists: first by the Kaiser and then by Hitler. And we know that those who are in power on the other side of our border along the Moselle will not scruple to do the same again. But the situation has changed. Our neutrality and

independence would be guaranteed this time by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. We know that they would keep their word and that they are able to make other countries respect it. Then we would no longer have to fear the West German militarists.

In any case, a guaranteed unarmed neutrality honestly observed by all sides would considerably lessen the danger of Luxembourg being embroiled in war. It would enable us to save annually the hundreds of millions of francs now being squandered for military purposes; with this money we could raise pensions, build schools and hospitals, invest more in the economy and make grants available to the peasants and other working people.

Neutrality would undoubtedly remove the danger of West German expansion and further the cause of peace in Europe. It would also facilitate the struggle of the working people against monopoly capital and for their vital interests.

Guided by the decisions of its Congress, the Communist Party is fighting against the reactionary army reform and the military plans of the Right-wing Socialists. The Communists have conducted broad explanatory work among the people. Leaflets and the speeches of the Communist M.P.s meet with the warm approval of the working people. The Statement of the meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties and the new Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are being popularized. We are linking this work with the daily struggle of our Party for the immediate interests of the working people.

Dominique URBANI,
General Secretary,

Communist Party of Luxembourg.

Public Initiative in the Polish Countryside

THE Lublin region is both agricultural and industrial; 75 per cent of the population engage in farming. It ranks third in the country for output of staple grain crops and head of livestock, and, in addition, cultivates industrial crops.

Since the liberation industrial development has helped the region to overcome its former economic backwardness as compared with other, more industrialized areas. In the current five-year plan period (1961-65) investments in industry, transport, trade and other spheres will total 7,500 million zloty.

Still, success in the efforts to raise the standard of living depends largely on progress in agriculture. For this reason the regional Party organization is concentrating on raising agricultural output by an average of five per cent a year as

against four per cent planned for the country as a whole. The state has set aside considerable funds for mechanization and electrification of farm production and land improvement work. Supplies of mineral fertilizers have also been increased.

Remaking the Countryside

In order to accelerate the building of socialism it is necessary to stimulate the initiative of the working people and to keep close contact with them. But in the countryside the conditions for this have appeared only in recent years. We had first to get rid of the sectarianism in the Party's policy and to wage a fight against the method of issuing orders and against bureaucracy in the practical activity of the Party organizations.

The re-vitalization of Party life after the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and the 8th meeting of our Central Committee (1956) changed Party policy very much for the better. A new political and social climate set in, a climate conducive to independent action and initiative by the masses. We encourage initiative and use it for the purpose of speeding up the cultural and economic advance of our region, primarily the countryside.

More and more peasants come to appreciate the usefulness of joint cultivation. In many rural districts there are what we call "water companies" engaged in irrigation work. The numerous co-operatives marketing milk and dairy products have a total of 60,000 members. The joint cultivation groups number 1,500 with a total membership of 70,000. These groups set examples of collective work. Their members run joint seed-growing and livestock farms. Many of the groups specialize in bringing state-owned land under the plough and buy machines for common use. The groups have bought about 1,000 tractors in this way.

This joint work is helpful also in releasing initiative as the following examples show.

The bad condition of the roads is felt particularly in the Lublin region. The road network, although it was extended after the war, is still unsatisfactory. The want is being met by the peasants taking an active part in road building and maintenance.

All in all, 135 kilometers of roads were built in the region between 1958 and 1960 with funds raised by the peasants.

Another widespread form of public work is the participation of the rural population in building schools. In the postwar years over 2,500 classrooms have been built in the region. But this is far from being enough — over 60 per cent of the classrooms are used for two shifts. The villagers responded enthusiastically to Comrade Gomulka's appeal to complete the building of 1,000 schools by the thousandth anniversary of the Polish state.

We planned to collect about 200 million zloty for this purpose between 1959 and 1965. But in 1959 and 1960 we collected 130 million, and during the eight months of this year another 130 million. We have now raised the target to 600 million. Schools are also being built by voluntary effort. Altogether, 80 schools were commissioned in the region in 1960.

A third form of socially useful activity in our villages is the building of club premises and recreation halls. In the 3,500 villages in our region there are only 400 clubs. This year work was begun on the building of 94 club premises.

Local public organizations are forming teams for the manufacture of bricks and tiles with a

view to changing the villages from wood to brick. Small brick kilns, it should be said, are a comparatively new development in our region and were first set up in 1957. Today their output is roughly the same as that of the state-owned brickworks, having trebled in the past three years.

Over 100 cooperative shops, five surgeries, nine sports grounds and other projects are being built by public effort.

Particularly successful is the movement aimed at brightening life in the smaller towns and factory settlements. We are striving to make these places centers for spreading culture to the outlying villages. There are 76 of these small towns in our region, and the activity of their residents is growing year by year. Take Stoczek for example. The inhabitants of this town are building a school by their own efforts, for which purpose they collected 400,000 zloty. A water main has been installed almost wholly on funds raised by the townspeople. Just now they are erecting a surgery. And Stoczek is but one of many towns doing things like this.

There are also other forms of community activity in our villages. For instance, the young people have undertaken to plant trees on all the land available for this purpose. Afforestation plans for the next ten years envisage the planting of eight million saplings and 5.5 million shrubs.

Initiative is often displayed by the womenfolk with a view to facilitating household work. Thanks to their efforts some village shops hire out refrigerators, washing and sewing machines and other domestic items. On the initiative of women, milk collecting points, creameries, and shops are being opened in the villages.

These, then, are some of the forms of community life in our villages. In the course of this coming together people begin to appreciate the usefulness of joint labor, of doing things together, and this is most important for moulding the new outlook of the people building socialism.

Concentrating on the Key Points

Our success in developing socially useful activity in the villages did not come of itself. We owe it to the reorganization of Party work in the countryside. The Party committees and branches have become a force stimulating the peasants and inspiring them to social work.

Formerly, many rural Party organizations were not sufficiently active and their work was done in a superficial way. Their members were at times out of touch with the people. But in recent years big changes have taken place in our methods of work. The branches take the initiative in suggesting the setting up of a committee to handle the construction of a school, a fire-brigade depot,

European Coal and Steel Community, the Brussels Pact, the Common Market and NATO. Our soldiers are integrated into the NATO framework. This means that they are subordinate to foreign generals, including one-time Hitler generals, war criminals like Speidel and Heusinger for whom the spokesmen of Luxembourg also voted in NATO. The North Atlantic Pact is giving more and more support to the West German militarists and revenge-seekers. Our politicians are treading in the footsteps of the Bonn militarists who are heading for all sorts of gambles and a war of revenge.

To loosen and then break the tie-up with NATO is a matter of decisive significance for the future of our country. The dangerous policy of militarism, so ridiculous for a country like ours, which is pursued by the Socialist Party jointly with the reactionary forces, should be abandoned.

In the present conditions Luxembourg can, if the people demand this, be given a status which would provide for its withdrawal from all military blocs and, in view of our particular position as a small country, for the guarantee of its neutrality by the Great Powers and by the U.N. A similar decision was taken once before in the history of our country. This was in 1867 when the then Great Powers declared Luxembourg a neutral, independent and unarmed state and undertook to guarantee this status under which the country remained till 1940.

Our neutrality has been twice violated by the German imperialists: first by the Kaiser and then by Hitler. And we know that those who are in power on the other side of our border along the Moselle will not scruple to do the same again. But the situation has changed. Our neutrality and

independence would be guaranteed this time by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. We know that they would keep their word and that they are able to make other countries respect it. Then we would no longer have to fear the West German militarists.

In any case, a guaranteed unarmed neutrality honestly observed by all sides would considerably lessen the danger of Luxembourg being embroiled in war. It would enable us to save annually the hundreds of millions of francs now being squandered for military purposes; with this money we could raise pensions, build schools and hospitals, invest more in the economy and make grants available to the peasants and other working people.

Neutrality would undoubtedly remove the danger of West German expansion and further the cause of peace in Europe. It would also facilitate the struggle of the working people against monopoly capital and for their vital interests.

Guided by the decisions of its Congress, the Communist Party is fighting against the reactionary army reform and the military plans of the Right-wing Socialists. The Communists have conducted broad explanatory work among the people. Leaflets and the speeches of the Communist M.P.s meet with the warm approval of the working people. The Statement of the meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' parties and the new Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are being popularized. We are linking this work with the daily struggle of our Party for the immediate interests of the working people.

Dominique URBANI,
General Secretary,
Communist Party of Luxembourg.

Public Initiative in the Polish Countryside

THE Lublin region is both agricultural and industrial; 75 per cent of the population engage in farming. It ranks third in the country for output of staple grain crops and head of livestock, and, in addition, cultivates industrial crops.

Since the liberation industrial development has helped the region to overcome its former economic backwardness as compared with other, more industrialized areas. In the current five-year plan period (1961-65) investments in industry, transport, trade and other spheres will total 7,500 million zloty.

Still, success in the efforts to raise the standard of living depends largely on progress in agriculture. For this reason the regional Party organization is concentrating on raising agricultural output by an average of five per cent a year as

against four per cent planned for the country as a whole. The state has set aside considerable funds for mechanization and electrification of farm production and land improvement work. Supplies of mineral fertilizers have also been increased.

Remaking the Countryside

In order to accelerate the building of socialism it is necessary to stimulate the initiative of the working people and to keep close contact with them. But in the countryside the conditions for this have appeared only in recent years. We had first to get rid of the sectarianism in the Party's policy and to wage a fight against the method of issuing orders and against bureaucracy in the practical activity of the Party organizations.

The re-vitalization of Party life after the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and the 8th meeting of our Central Committee (1956) changed Party policy very much for the better. A new political and social climate set in, a climate conducive to independent action and initiative by the masses. We encourage initiative and use it for the purpose of speeding up the cultural and economic advance of our region, primarily the countryside.

More and more peasants come to appreciate the usefulness of joint cultivation. In many rural districts there are what we call "water companies" engaged in irrigation work. The numerous cooperatives marketing milk and dairy products have a total of 60,000 members. The joint cultivation groups number 1,500 with a total membership of 70,000. These groups set examples of collective work. Their members run joint seed-growing and livestock farms. Many of the groups specialize in bringing state-owned land under the plough and buy machines for common use. The groups have bought about 1,000 tractors in this way.

This joint work is helpful also in releasing initiative as the following examples show.

The bad condition of the roads is felt particularly in the Lublin region. The road network, although it was extended after the war, is still unsatisfactory. The want is being met by the peasants taking an active part in road building and maintenance.

All in all, 135 kilometers of roads were built in the region between 1958 and 1960 with funds raised by the peasants.

Another widespread form of public work is the participation of the rural population in building schools. In the postwar years over 2,500 classrooms have been built in the region. But this is far from being enough — over 60 per cent of the classrooms are used for two shifts. The villagers responded enthusiastically to Comrade Gomulka's appeal to complete the building of 1,000 schools by the thousandth anniversary of the Polish state.

We planned to collect about 200 million zloty for this purpose between 1959 and 1965. But in 1959 and 1960 we collected 130 million, and during the eight months of this year another 130 million. We have now raised the target to 600 million. Schools are also being built by voluntary effort. Altogether, 80 schools were commissioned in the region in 1960.

A third form of socially useful activity in our villages is the building of club premises and recreation halls. In the 3,500 villages in our region there are only 400 clubs. This year work was begun on the building of 94 club premises.

Local public organizations are forming teams for the manufacture of bricks and tiles with a

view to changing the villages from wood to brick. Small brick kilns, it should be said, are a comparatively new development in our region and were first set up in 1957. Today their output is roughly the same as that of the state-owned brickworks, having trebled in the past three years.

Over 100 cooperative shops, five surgeries, nine sports grounds and other projects are being built by public effort.

Particularly successful is the movement aimed at brightening life in the smaller towns and factory settlements. We are striving to make these places centers for spreading culture to the outlying villages. There are 76 of these small towns in our region, and the activity of their residents is growing year by year. Take Stoczek for example. The inhabitants of this town are building a school by their own efforts, for which purpose they collected 400,000 zloty. A water main has been installed almost wholly on funds raised by the townspeople. Just now they are erecting a surgery. And Stoczek is but one of many towns doing things like this.

There are also other forms of community activity in our villages. For instance, the young people have undertaken to plant trees on all the land available for this purpose. Afforestation plans for the next ten years envisage the planting of eight million saplings and 5.5 million shrubs.

Initiative is often displayed by the womenfolk with a view to facilitating household work. Thanks to their efforts some village shops hire out refrigerators, washing and sewing machines and other domestic items. On the initiative of women, milk collecting points, creameries, and shops are being opened in the villages.

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Formerly, many rural Party organizations were not sufficiently active and their work was done in a superficial way. Their members were at times out of touch with the people. But in recent years big changes have taken place in our methods of work. The branches take the initiative in suggesting the setting up of a committee to handle the construction of a school, a fire-brigade depot,

roadmaking, buying tractors for joint use, organizing vocational training, and so on.

However, the main thing is not to get bogged down in routine, but to be able to discern the key point and to tackle the important things first. That is why while building schools and cultural premises we saw to it that the means set aside for agriculture should be used more rationally, with due account to the local conditions.

For this purpose district Party committees sponsor conferences in the villages to discuss the key problems facing the particular community.

For example, a conference in the Wlodawa district dealt with the use of peat as a fertilizer. This district has large peat deposits but mainly sandy soil. The use of peat will no doubt improve the structure of the soil there.

In Lukow the conference was devoted to promoting the local production of building materials. The conference advanced the slogan: accelerate the reconstruction of the village from wooden houses to brick houses.

In the Janow district the intensive growing of fiber crops, mainly flax, was considered. The natural conditions in this district favor flax growing. A conference in Radzyn had on its agenda the questions of land improvement, joint cultivation of meadows and stock-breeding. In Tomaszow the conference discussed ways and means of improving the state farms; the socialist sector is dominant in this district.

In assessing these conferences it should be stressed that they concentrated on establishing for each district the basic element in the struggle to fulfil the agricultural development plans.

Rural Party Organizations Are Growing Numerically

The Party organizations in the villages are working confidently, furthering the initiative of the peasants and ensuring its success. Simultaneously, the Party's prestige and its influence are growing. Proof of this is the growth of its

ranks in our region. For some years past we have held first place in the country for the number of peasant members gained for the Party. In 1957 we admitted 167, in 1958 the figure was 1,233, in 1959 — 1,981, and for 1960 it was 2,860.

As many as 2,325 peasants applied for Party membership between January and September this year. Many of the new members were recruited from among the participants in the community work initiated by the Party organizations — construction of schools, hospitals and roads. Groups of candidate members are being formed even in the villages in which we do not as yet have Party branches. Since January last 56 of these groups have been formed.

The helpmate of the Party in its work among the peasants is the Rural Youth League whose members have initiated many useful undertakings in the villages. The most politically-minded young people join the Party. This year, for instance, 737 League members were admitted.

Proof of the growing prestige of the Party in the countryside is seen in the results of the elections to the people's councils and to the Sejm. Some 200,000 peasants attended the election meetings. The candidates nominated by the Party were unanimously supported by the people. In all previous elections we occupied one of the last places for the number of those who voted; in the last election we advanced to first place.

Other examples could be cited testifying to the prestige enjoyed by the Party in the rural areas. We hold the record for the number of people subscribing to Party publications. Large numbers of non-Party peasants attend our study classes. The foregoing shows that, as a result of tackling and solving the key problems of agricultural development, the prestige of the Party has grown and it now wields a much greater political influence in the countryside.

Wladyslaw KOZDRA,
Secretary of the Lublin Regional Committee, Polish United Workers' Party.

Portugal: New Tasks of the Party Press

THE Party press has played an important role in the steadfast struggle which the Communist Party of Portugal has been waging for more than 40 years on behalf of the people. The difficult conditions of illegality notwithstanding, newspapers, pamphlets and leaflets are published regularly. The Party's central printing plant, for instance, for which Salazar's sleuths have been searching for more than 11 years, turns out political literature in substantial quantities.

The Central Committee of the Party recently reviewed the work done in this sphere, noting that "the underground Party press has on the whole coped with its role of propagandist and agitator. Its explanatory work in a country where the legal press is fettered by censorship, its tireless defense of the interests of the working classes and work among the peasantry and the youth as the forces of the people to struggle against exploitation and oppression constitute a vital elem-

ent of the national movement against the fascist dictatorship."

At the same time a critical analysis was made of the shortcomings of the press.

Many of these shortcomings, the Central Committee pointed out in its resolution on the question, are due not only to weak political activity, but also to shortcomings in organizational and mass work. Party papers and bulletins insufficiently popularize the experience of working-class and other struggles and give poor coverage to the activities of local Party organizations. Improvement in the work of the press, therefore, largely depends on better organizational work on the part of the Party and the strengthening of its ties with the masses.

The decision gives an appraisal of the principal Party publications and examines the tasks confronting them. For example, while noting that *Avante!*, the central organ, systematically reports developments in the class struggle and the international Communist and workers' movement, campaigns for better conditions for the working people and for an amnesty for political prisoners, and exposes the colonialist policy of the government, the Central Committee points out that it should reflect more fully the struggles of the working classes and their problems. More attention should be devoted to questions concerning the building of an anti-Salazar united front and greater emphasis laid on the direct link between the fight for peace and against colonialism and imperialism, on the one hand, and the domestic situation, on the other; more space should be given to the campaign against fascist repressions, to articles on specific problems confronting the peasantry, the middle sections and the intelligentsia as well as to economic and cultural questions. More coverage should also be given to the achievements of the socialist countries and other developments in the world arena.

The Central Committee likewise pointed to the need to raise the journalistic standards of *Avante!*. Advising the editors against long articles, it recommended that the paper should be made livelier, more interesting items chosen for the news columns, more interviews and reportage carried and the network of local correspondents widened, and make-up improved.

Avante! comes out once a month. Since it is difficult for a monthly to keep up with events, the Central Committee proposes to reduce its size and make it a fortnightly. Local Party organizations in turn are urged to give it every support, supply it with local news and send in suggestions. Only with the help of the entire Party can *Avante!* be made a fighting paper able to keep abreast of events.

For Party activists the Central Committee publishes the bulletin *O Militante*, which carries articles dealing with the basic problems of the international Communist movement, decisions of leading Party bodies, and contributions concerning the various aspects of Party building, the struggle for unity of all the anti-Salazar forces, and work among the peasantry and the youth as well as in the army. It was pointed out, however, that the publication suffers from serious shortcomings due to the fact that in recent years it has been rather removed from the day-to-day life and activities of the Party. For example, articles dealing with organizational work and the experience of major mass actions have been very few.

The Central Committee stressed that to make *O Militante* a publication capable of giving real guidance greater demands should be made on its editors, and Party leaders should contribute more articles on the work of the Party and its policy.

O Militante, the Central Committee held, should carry besides articles on the political and practical aspects of day-to-day Party work, theoretical contributions not of an abstract or doctrinaire nature but containing generalizations of the rich experience of the Party and working-class movement as a whole. It should also print more theoretical articles on problems of the international working-class movement, on the world and home situation, and on ideological questions.

In 1946 the Party began to print the paper *O Campones* for the agricultural laborers in the Alentejo and Ribatejo regions. At first it concentrated on educational work among the rural proletariat of these areas, rallying them to struggle for their interests. Later it was decided to make it the national peasant paper, and beginning with 1953 it was circulated all over the country. The contents ranged from coverage of peasant struggles throughout Portugal to articles dealing with the state of Portuguese agriculture in general, and readers' letters. Experience, however, has shown that the agricultural proletariat in Southern Portugal must have a paper of their own, since the system of land tenure in this part of the country, where the land belongs to big latifundists and the 350,000 agricultural laborers who work for them make up 80 per cent of the able-bodied rural population, differs considerably from that in the North. In view of the prestige of *O Campones* among the farm laborers and the heroic struggles waged by the latter, the Central Committee decided that the paper should devote its main attention to the agricultural proletariat of the South.

In the rural areas of other regions where conditions differ from the rest of the country the

Party has made repeated attempts to publish local peasant papers, but so far circulation difficulties have proved to be an insurmountable obstacle. In view of this, the Party leadership believes that for the time being it is more expedient for the branches in these areas to carry on their printed propaganda through leaflets while working to prepare the ground for regional peasant papers.

Considering the importance of such major detachments of the working class as the cork and textile workers (Portugal is the world's biggest supplier of cork, while the textile industry is the main branch of her economy), the Party publishes for them the papers *O Corticeiro* and *O Textil*. Both conduct educational work among their respective readerships and mobilize them for the struggle for their rights. They should, however, reflect topical problems more fully and pose class issues more sharply. This will undoubtedly help the circulation.

In the army the Party circulates the paper *Tribuna Militar*, and for the youth and women special bulletins are put out.

Besides newspapers, vast numbers of leaflets are distributed. These bring the principal decisions of the Party to the attention of the public, help to expose the reactionary policy of the Salazar clique and the brutality of the political police, and play an important role in campaigns for an amnesty for the political prisoners as well as in the fight against colonial oppression and in defense of peace.

Political literature is also published. Recent publications include the Program and Rules of the Portuguese Communist Party, The Communist Manifesto, a brief biography of Lenin and his "Left-Wing" Communism, an *Infantile Disorder*, and also the most important documents put out by fraternal parties. A pamphlet entitled *If You Are Arrested, Comrade . . .* and containing advice to Communists in the event of their falling into the hands of the police has been circulated

among the membership. The publishing program also includes short stories by proletarian writers. In its decision on the Party press the Central Committee notes that "the publication of appeals, leaflets, etc., plays a big role in rallying the masses and guiding their struggles. Some local actions may well develop into national ones if the Party organizations issue at the right time an appeal or leaflets making the aims clear and advancing the right slogans."

The Central Committee decided to entrust general guidance of the Party press to its Political Commission and Secretariat, and to reconstitute the Party Press Commission as the editorial board of *Avante!*. *O Militante* is to be edited by the Secretariat. Local Party bodies will similarly guide the work of their printed publications. At the same time it goes without saying that the press can really improve its work only if it is backed by all members of the Party. "Besides being the duty of the leading Party bodies and members of the editorial boards, improving the press is the task of the whole Party," the Central Committee decision declares.

For the Communist Party of Portugal, which has been working deep underground for years and is persecuted by the fascist dictatorship, publishing and circulating literature is a serious problem. Small printings, delays in publication, slow distribution, lack of technical facilities and unpunctual payment for literature all hamper the work of the Party press. It is the Party's opinion that the circulation of our publications falls far short of the requirements of the time and the urgent need to spread Communist influence among the masses. In order to help bring the truth to the people, the Party leadership urges all its organizations to build up a reliable, efficient system of distribution. The Portuguese Communists regard this as an important contribution to strengthening the popular struggle against fascism.

Joao MATOS.

The 40th Anniversary of the Communist Party of South Africa

THE Communists of South Africa have celebrated the 40th anniversary of their Party. During all these years the Party has been waging a relentless struggle, always holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, against the reactionary forces, for peace, democracy and socialism. Today, despite the difficult conditions of illegality and the repression of the Nazi-ridden

South African regime, the Communist Party is held in high esteem by the people, possesses considerable prestige in the national-liberation movement and is most feared by the reactionaries and white racists.

The inaugural conference of the Communist Party of South Africa was held on July 29, 1921. The Party was formed by the merging of several

Communist and workers' organizations, chief among which was the International Socialist League, led by the workers' leaders W. H. Andrews, D. Ivon Jones and S. P. Bunting. The unity of the organizations was based on the conditions of affiliation to the Communist International.

In the early phases of the Party's development, the Party was mainly composed of white trade unionists, the white workers being the only organized section of the working class, and revolutionary intellectuals.

From its very inception the Communist Party of South Africa called for unity of the black and white workers, but its attention was concentrated on the white workers. Members of the Party played an outstanding and leading role in the 1922 strike of white miners. The strike developed into a fierce class conflict in which armed workers' commandos heroically defended themselves against the military onslaught of the government.

As the Party matured and developed it paid increasing attention to the problems and aspirations of the African masses who were more and more entering the growing South African industries and becoming proletarianized and class conscious. A major turning point in the Party's life was the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in 1928 which focused the attention of the Party on the key question of the national liberation of the non-white peoples. This assisted greatly in eliminating the errors of generalizing from European experience in South Africa and in eradicating traces of white chauvinism. The Party began to make progress among the masses and conducted stirring campaigns against the hated pass laws and for African freedom.

In the early 1930's the Party leadership became dominated by an ultra-left sectarian group whose activities included the expulsion of such veteran revolutionaries as Andrews and Bunting. Much damage was done to the Communist and working-class movement by this sectarian group which eventually deserted the Party.

A new period of the Party's reconstruction was begun with steady hard work in the trade union and national independence movement. Under the new leadership, with Moses Kotane as General Secretary, the Party worked for a national democratic front of mass liberation movements such as the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress, together with the Communist Party and the trade unions, to fight for equality of rights and opportunities for all. This policy won increasing support among the workers. When the Party nominated a candidate for one of the three parliamentary seats for which Africans at

that time were allowed to vote, he was elected with a large majority.

Though the Party enjoyed formal legality it was continuously subjected to various forms of repression by the governments which ruled the country from 1921 to 1948. During the African mine-workers' strikes of 1946, police raids were carried out on the offices of the Party throughout the country and thousands of documents were seized. The Johannesburg District Committee of the Party, together with the leaders of the African Mine Workers' Union were arrested and convicted. This was followed by the arrest of the Central Committee of the Party on charges of sedition. The trial dragged on for two years.

In 1948, the white electorate gave a parliamentary majority to the Nationalist Party, led by the most reactionary elements in the country, admirers of Hitler, sworn to "destroy communism in South Africa," and in 1950 the government introduced the "Suppression of Communism" Bill in Parliament — declaring the Party illegal and laying down harsh penalties for continued membership.

Faced with this, the Central Committee decided by a majority to dissolve the Party.

But the hard core of Leninists in the former Communist Party of South Africa, together with new revolutionary forces which had come forward in the course of struggle against the Nationalist Party government, launched the South African Communist Party to carry forward the great tradition of the Communist movement under the new, harsh conditions of illegality. The SACP combines the legal mass work of building a united democratic front headed by the workers and peasants with the illegal work of building its ranks and educating the members in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

"Despite all the difficulties of working under conditions of fascist repression," stated the Central Committee of the Party, "we South African Communists are determined to play a vigorous and loyal part in this great united front movement; as well as to redouble our efforts to spread the living truths of Marxism-Leninism in our country and our Continent."

The Communist Party of South Africa has a glorious tradition of unflinching struggle against oppression and exploitation; for unity of the workers, black and white, in the common fight against apartheid and for a free, democratic South Africa. The Communists will further that glorious tradition, strengthen their contact with the masses and, overcoming all the difficulties, will steadily advance to their cherished goal — the triumph of peace, democracy and socialism.

P. TLALE.

Short Notices

Austria

IN DEFENSE OF NEUTRALITY

LAST spring *Volksstimme*, organ of the Communist Party of Austria, brought to light the carefully concealed fact that a wide belt of fortifications costing hundreds of millions of schillings was being built with feverish haste on the Austrian side of the Hungarian frontier. The budget passed by parliament authorizes no such expenditure and hence it can be covered only by cutting appropriations for other purposes, in particular culture and education.

The news caused a public outcry. And in a poll conducted by the anti-communist *Kronenzeitung* only one of 40 people questioned approved of the fortification project.

As the *Volksstimme* uncovered further facts exposing the machinations of the enemies of Austrian neutrality, the anxiety of peace-loving people mounted and protests were voiced even by members of the government parties. Eventually the government was forced to admit the truth of the revelations.

The Communist press produced convincing proof that the fortifications, while being useless for the defense of Austria (and also unnecessary, since her socialist neighbors in no way threaten her but, on the contrary, fully respect her independence and neutrality), are designed to cover one of the flanks of NATO in the latter's aggressive plans.

On July 20 the Wiener-Neustadt area organization of the Communist Party suggested that *Volksstimme* should sponsor a tour of the fortified zone to enable the people "to see how the money they pay in taxes is turned into reinforced concrete." The suggestion found a ready response and when the outing was announced there was a rush to sign up for the trip to see the concrete fortifications each one of which cost as much as 25 flats in Vienna's newest municipal apartment houses.

This threw the reactionaries into a flurry. The fortified area was declared a "forbidden military zone," troops and gendarmes were concentrated there and the outing was banned.

The Communists are working to make it clear to the public that it is not from the socialist countries that the danger to Austrian neutrality emanates.

"Only Bonn threatens the independence, sovereignty and neutrality of our country," stated the

Central Committee of the Party in a resolution adopted in September. It demands prohibition of all ex-servicemen's rallies and militarist and revanchist demonstrations, and stresses that in the present explosive situation a special responsibility in the struggle for peace rests on Austria as a neutral state and next-door neighbor of Germany. The Party demands that the Austrian government press for negotiations between the Great Powers for a German peace treaty, taking into account that there are two German states; that an end be put to the war instigation and the campaign against the socialist countries; that diplomatic relations be established with the German Democratic Republic; that the Austrian government recognize the existing frontiers of the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Czechoslovakia, etc., as final and not subject to change. The Central Committee also called for action against association with the Common Market as the "most dangerous encroachment to date on the independence and neutrality of our country."

West Germany

THE BUNDESTAG ELECTIONS AND THE TASKS OF THE GERMAN WORKING CLASS

THE Bundestag elections show that the majority of the electorate, duped by chauvinistic and revanchist hysteria, has not yet drawn the proper conclusions from the dangerous and bankrupt policy of the Bonn militarists," the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany declared in a recent statement. The new West German parliament consists of men who are impelling the country towards dangerous military gambles.

The Central Committee expressed its appreciation of the efforts of the Communists who, in the most adverse conditions and some even from behind prison bars, courageously worked to bring home to the West Germans the gravity of the situation.

Further, the Central Committee noted the substantial gains registered by the German Peace Union, which is hounded by the Bonn authorities as well as by Brandt. These gains help to create the prerequisites for the success of a peace-loving and democratic policy in the future.

The policy pursued by the Brandt crowd shows that they have gone over completely to the worst enemies of the working class and the German

people generally. "It is now essential to wage a bold and resolute fight against the rejection by the Social Democratic Party of an independent working-class policy so as to isolate the Brandt crowd and enable the working class to fulfil its historic mission in the struggle for peace and the salvation of the German nation," the Central Committee declared.

West Germany now stands at the crossroads. "However, the policy of the Federal Republic can be changed only if the working class is more active," the statement goes on. "Therefore, we must strive by joint efforts to regenerate the working-class movement in West Germany. Moreover, the working class must join efforts with all the peace-loving forces conscious of their responsibility to the country in order to achieve unity of action in the common struggle. An end must be put to the policy of revenge and preparation for nuclear war; and the signing of a peace treaty with both German states must be ensured."

Greece

UNITE ALL PATRIOTIC AND DEMOCRATIC FORCES

THE Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece has issued a statement dealing with international problems.

The people of Greece, who were subjected to grim ordeals in the two world wars started by German militarism and in whose memory the horrors of the Nazi occupation are still fresh, the statement says, condemn the policy of imperialism, which has trampled on allied agreements on the disarmament, denazification and democratization of Germany, armed the West German militarists and encouraged neo-Nazi revenge-seeking. The Greek people warmly support the peace policy of the Soviet Union and demand that the Greek government make its contribution to easing international tension.

"The policy of the Karamanlis government is diametrically opposed to the national interest and aspirations of the Greek people," the statement says. "At the *diktat* of the imperialists the government is making Greece a nest of provocations against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, and is striving to create in the Balkans a situation of tension and danger of war such as has been created by U.S. imperialism and German revanchism in the heart of Europe."

Seizing on the international tension to further its own ends at home, the Karamanlis government is intensifying terror and whipping up anti-communist hysteria to divert public attention from

the pressing internal problems, to halt and crush the popular movement, and to prevent patriotic cooperation among the democratic forces.

The Communist Party declared at its recent Eighth Congress that "the struggle to abolish foreign military bases, to prevent the establishment of rocket sites and to avert the danger of the German militarists setting up military bases in Greece is a task of prime importance" and that "in the present situation it is in the interests of Greece to stand aloof from aggressive blocs and to pursue a firm and consistent policy of neutrality."

The Party calls on the entire people, all the patriotic and democratic forces, all parties, organizations, groups and political leaders to join forces without delay to rid the country of the anti-national Karamanlis government which, currying favor with foreigners, is impelling Greece toward disaster. It is imperative to form through elections a genuinely patriotic and democratic government which would put an end to the policy of provocation and war hysteria, establish friendly relations with all countries, and especially with Greece's neighbors, restore normal democratic conditions within the country, pursue a firm and consistent policy of neutrality, thereby removing the danger of war and excessive military expenditure and enabling the people to devote their energies to peaceful construction and progress.

France

COMMUNIST PARTY LETTER TO SOCIALIST WORKERS AND ALL OTHER DEMOCRATS

THE meeting of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party held in September approved a letter addressed to the Socialist workers and other democrats concerning the situation in France after three years of autocratic, one-man rule by General de Gaulle.

The one-man rule, says the letter, has by no means barred the road to fascism. On the contrary, it is opening the doors to fascism and is fraught with the growing threat of civil war. It is prosecuting the war in Algeria and worsening the economic position of the workers of town and country. The government supports West German militarism, which is a threat both to France and to world peace generally.

Only under the impact of a mighty popular movement can the much-needed changes in the direction of democracy and peace be effected. But no decisive events can be expected so long as the forces of democracy and peace are disunited.

"That is why, Socialist workers," says the letter, "we are appealing to you as comrades to join us in fulfilling our duty as democrats. It is time to put an end to the disunity of the working people, for this weakens the democratic forces, hampers their activity and plays into the hands of the enemies of peace and democracy . . .

"In order to achieve unity it is essential to get rid of anti-communism, to extirpate it from the ranks of the working class and other democratic forces. Anti-communism is the poison weapon of the capitalists and of all brands of reactionaries, the enemies of the workers and the whole people. It is designed to preserve the disunity which facilitates the policy of social reaction, the turn to fascism and the arms race. Unity would immediately open the prospect of a change in the policy and the system.

"The disagreements that exist between us cannot be an obstacle to unity in the fight for democracy, social progress and peace.

"We can and must fight together:

"for negotiations to establish peace in Algeria founded on honest observance of self-determination and respect for the integrity of Algerian territory;

"for negotiations for a peace treaty with both German states, for normalizing the situation in West Berlin and granting it the status of a demilitarized free city;

"for banning nuclear weapons, for a policy of genuine and controlled disarmament, peaceful co-existence and cooperation with all nations without exception;

"for elections to a Constituent Assembly on the basis of universal proportional representation in

order to restore and rehabilitate republican institutions and the national life in conformity with the following principles: the government to be appointed by and responsible to the National Assembly, election of deputies on the basis of proportional representation; the right to recall deputies; disbandment of organizations of the ultras, abolition of the professional army . . . purging and democratization of the police force; observance and extension of local freedoms, abolition of the institution of prefects; election of judges; nationalization of the monopolies . . . establishment of a genuine democratic management at nationalized enterprises; accelerated development of the key branches of the national economy; a higher standard of living for the working people and all social strata of town and country who are suffering from the policy of the monopolies; satisfaction of their urgent demands; deep-going democratic reforms in the sphere of culture and public education; separation of church from school and the state; access to education for the youth — general and professional; the right to recreation and sport."

The French Communists are ready to discuss this program, which is founded on the ideas outlined by the Sixteenth Congress of the Party, with the Socialist Party as well as with all other democratic parties. Appealing for unity before it is too late, the C.C. stresses: "We are ready to make our contribution to the common cause, to support any initiative from whatever quarter it may come. We express our readiness to cooperate on all questions with all parties, organizations and public leaders who show their resolve to implement the necessary political changes."

Meetings of Central Committees

AUSTRALIA

A MEETING of the Central Committee of the Communist Party held on September 2-3 discussed the report by L. Sharkey, General Secretary, on the internal situation on the eve of the forthcoming Federal election and the tasks of the Party.

The situation in the country, Sharkey pointed out, is characterized by recession, mass unemployment reaching the highest figure since the 1930's, and the ruin of the small farmers and traders. The ruling monopoly circles are trying to shift the burden of economic difficulties onto the workers. They have launched an attack against the working-class organizations by adopting the McCarthy-type Crimes Act Amendments which are

aimed at restricting trade union and democratic activity.

Turning to the Communist line in the election campaign Sharkey said: "We will implement our traditional policy: where Communist candidates are not standing, we allot our preferences to the Labor Party and put the Menzies candidates last. At the same time, we campaign strongly, in electorates where there are no Communist candidates, for the defeat of the Menzies government."

Our Party, Sharkey noted, supports Labor measures which can give a temporary stimulus and relieve unemployment. We should point out, however, that this can by no means solve the problems of capitalism. But the Communist Party is

vigorously opposed to everything that is reactionary in the Labor platform — its refusal to nationalize the monopolies, white Australian racialism, advocating exploitation of our resources by foreign monopolies, anti-communism and meddling in trade union matters.

The Central Committee endorsed an election statement calling for the unity of all the forces opposed to the anti-national policy of the Menzies government. The statement urged the formation of a government which would completely break with the Menzies policy. The new policy should be based on the genuine desire for peace and friendly relations with neighboring countries and the abolition of monopoly domination.

The Central Committee also discussed the report by Comrade Robertson, member of the Political Committee, who spoke on the Party's policy in the fight for peace; it also approved the statement by the Soviet Union on the forced resumption of nuclear tests. "The decision to resume tests," say the statement, "has been forced upon the USSR by the feverish preparations of the imperialists, particularly the U.S. and West German militarists, and their open threats of war in response to the proposals for a German peace treaty and the end of West Berlin as a center of provocations dangerous for peace . . . Therefore, the Central Committee . . . sees the decision as an essential one aiming at the consolidation of world peace."

BELGIUM

A MEETING of the Central Committee of the Communist Party held on September 16 and 17 called for a peaceful settlement of the German question.

The aggressiveness of West Germany, says the resolution adopted at the meeting, is a source of anxiety not only to the socialist countries but to Belgium as well. Belgians have no desire to die for the Bonn revenge-seekers. Belgium stands for negotiations. But these negotiations should be genuine, their aim should be to eliminate the danger emanating from West German militarism, prepare a peace treaty with both German states and stimulate a serious discussion which should lead to general disarmament.

From this angle the Central Committee favorably assessed the Spaak visit to Moscow. Spaak's visit, it said, shows that public opinion can exert a positive influence on the actions of statesmen.

His visit should arouse the working-class movement to greater action for a peaceful settlement of all the issues.

The Central Committee called on the working people, patriots and democrats, to unite and ensure that Belgium immediately undertake three

diplomatic steps: reject West German territorial claims, thus setting an example to the other NATO members; insist on an early discussion of the status of a free demilitarized city for West Berlin, and demand that no atomic weapons are handed over to West Germany.

HUNGARY

A MEETING of the Central Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party held in September adopted a decision on the second five-year plan. During the plan the foundations of socialism will be laid. Most of the targets of the previous three-year plan were reached ahead of schedule. Hundreds of thousands of farmers have joined co-operatives since the last Party Congress. Socialist production relations are now dominant in all sectors of the economy. The Central Committee approved the targets for industry, building, transport and communications. By 1965, compared with 1958, industrial production will rise by 83-87 per cent instead of the 65-70 per cent envisaged in the directives of the Seventh Party Congress. In the 1961-65 period agricultural output will go up by 30-32 per cent compared with 1954-58. The Central Committee stressed that at least 70 per cent of the increased industrial output should accrue from the growth in labor productivity. Crop raising should be expanded more rapidly than animal husbandry.

Real incomes of industrial workers, office employees and peasants will rise accordingly. Seven years hence the national income will have risen by 55-60 per cent instead of the planned 50 per cent. Per capita income in the same period will have increased by 26-29 per cent. Some 250,000 flats will be built in the next five years.

The fulfilment of the second five-year plan, the decision states, will accelerate the complete victory of socialism in Hungary.

The plan envisages the further strengthening of the country's defense might. Our Party, loyal to Marxism-Leninism, supports any initiative that promotes peace and friendship among nations. Were we, being part of the great and invincible socialist camp, to fail to do everything in our power to safeguard the socialist gains and ensure the peaceful labor of our people, we would be committing a grave crime against the people and the socialist homeland.

INDIA

THE National Council of the Communist Party met in Delhi over September 18-25.

The meeting discussed the report by Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary, on the present international situation and adopted a resolution on this question.

The National Council, says the resolution, observes with anxiety the worsening of the international situation. The danger of a nuclear war is now greater than at any time since the Second World War.

The National Council is firmly convinced that responsibility for this grievous course of developments lies exclusively with the imperialist powers headed by the United States, as is confirmed by events that have taken place since the Soviet Union's unilateral suspension of nuclear tests. Vigilance and mass action in defense of peace are now more urgent than ever before. War is still not inevitable, and if the peace-loving people unite and act the aggressors can be curbed.

The National Council urges the Party organizations to unite with all the peace forces in order to conduct a vigorous nationwide campaign to bring home to the people the grave danger of war and to tell them how to avert it. It hopes that all patriots will support this noble cause and advances the following demands:

—immediate recognition of the German Democratic Republic;

—a peace treaty between the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition on the one hand and the two German states on the other;

—an international treaty on general and complete disarmament under effective control.

The meeting also approved the Party's election manifesto which had been drafted by the Central Executive Committee.

COSTA RICA

AN enlarged meeting of the Central Committee of the underground Popular Vanguard Party held in August passed a resolution on the political situation in the country in connection with the forthcoming presidential, parliamentary and municipal elections.

The U.S. State Department and the oligarchy in Costa Rica, says the resolution, are trying to paralyze the Left forces, particularly the working class and its Party. The Communist-supported Socialist Party has been banned. The Agrarian Party has been denied the right to register for the election campaign.

The steady whittling away of democratic rights is meeting with the resistance of the people. Despite the repressions, the Popular Vanguard Party has grown. The trade union movement, stagnant at one time (with the exception of the banana plantations), is now gaining strength. The peasant movement is developing in a big way. The people are insisting on a radical agrarian reform. In some areas the peasants say they will resist with arms any attempt at evictions. A mass move-

ment of solidarity with the Cuban revolution is developing among the students, who are showing a greater interest in politics.

"White fighting to retain the rights still left to us," says the resolution, "we should be ready for a different turn of events . . . We prefer to wage a peaceful struggle for the economic and social demands of the working people . . . But with the ruling classes determined to use force to crush the popular struggle, with imperialism and the reactionaries in alliance with it trying to subjugate the working people by violence, the latter have no option but to strike back with violence . . . Developments in Costa Rica will show what path our people will have to choose."

In any case — whether or not it will be possible to vote for candidates contesting the election with a democratic and anti-imperialist platform — the Party advances before the people the prospect of forming in the not-too-distant future a government of national democracy. This will be a government of the workers, peasants, the small and national bourgeoisie, capable of achieving national liberation and carrying through a radical agrarian reform. In this way conditions will be created for the country to take the socialist road.

FINLAND

THE meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party held in September heard a report by Ville Pessi, General Secretary, on the home and international situation. Comrade Pessi pointed to the danger of the propaganda in favor of joining the Common Market. The political commitments contained in the Rome Agreement on the Common Market would prevent Finland from pursuing her present foreign policy and from developing trade with the socialist countries, which is of vital importance.

The meeting outlined the tasks in connection with the forthcoming presidential and parliamentary elections and pointed to the favorable conditions for the success of the democratic forces.

". . . The Right-wing circles," the resolution states, "are striving not only for political gambles in foreign affairs but also to strengthen their economic and political power in the country which would mean a worsening of conditions and restrictions on the democratic rights of our people. This design should be frustrated by the combined efforts of the working people. For the sake of the common interests of the working people the Central Committee calls upon the Social Democratic supporters to take action against the danger arising from the collaboration of the leaders of the Social Democratic Party with the Coalition Party. Neither Social Democrats nor Communists can expect anything good from the Coalition Party

and the rest of the Right bourgeoisie. The workers should have confidence in their own strength and in their cooperation. It is essential, therefore, that in the presidential election the masses should rally round the popular democratic election bloc and vote for Paavo Aitio, the candidate of the working-class movement and the peace forces."

The meeting summed up the results of the campaign held from October 1960 until June 1961 for greater activity by the Party. During the campaign 105 new branches were formed and 7,797 new members won for the Party. It was decided to hold another campaign between September 1961 and July 1962 for the purpose of increasing the circulation of the democratic newspapers.

SWEDEN

A MEETING of the Central Committee of the Communist Party held in September reviewed the international situation, the trade and economic policy of the government, the preparations for the communal elections, the new collective agreements and recruiting to the Party. Reports on these questions were made by Political

Bureau members Erik Karlsson, Fritjof Lager and Knut Tell.

The Communist Party, the meeting stated, holds that the government should support the demand for top-level talks to settle the German question, lessen world tension, effect disarmament and stop the nuclear tests.

In its resolution on the trade and economic policy of the government the meeting urged strict neutrality for the country. The Party noted with satisfaction the government's refusal to join the European Economic Community. At a time when the workers and farmers are unanimously opposed to the policy of blocs it becomes possible to repel the attacks launched by influential reactionary forces against the policy of neutrality. Sweden's affiliation to the Common Market, even in the form of an association, would be fraught with the danger of renouncing neutrality and losing national independence. The meeting pointed to the need for removing the trade barriers and promoting economic, trade and cultural relations between Sweden and other countries.

Exchange of Views

The Communist Movement and the Youth

Occhetto (Italy)

The New Generation

THE Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party, at a meeting held last June, discussed the problems of the youth and the tasks confronting the Party and the Communist Youth Federation in winning the young generation for the democratic and socialist regeneration of the country.

The Central Committee emphasized that the situation is more favorable for our work with the youth than it was several years ago.

The new generation is displaying greater readiness to fight for both immediate and long-term aims. That is why they are sympathizing more and more with our Party, seeing in it the most reliable force capable of achieving the regeneration of Italian society.

The meeting paid special attention to the methods and forms of work which should correspond to the enthusiasm of the young generation and draw it into the struggle for the perspective charted in the political line of the Party.

The following questions arose in this connection: What is the relationship between the youth and the Party, and in what measure is the young generation posing new problems and acting as the vehicle of new experience?

From this standpoint Comrade Togliatti explained what we meant by the concept "new generation," and he stressed that one could not talk about the youth while failing to see the essence of the processes taking place in society.

It is possible, he said, to speak about a new generation "... when we observe in the ideological and practical orientation of young men

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and women now entering upon life definite kindred elements which, when accumulated, engender new problems and new experience because as these problems ripen and as the new experience takes shape, people are confronted with new issues affecting their lives today and tomorrow, and new answers to these issues begin to appear."

The Communist Party has always paid attention to this matter, striving to discern the new elements that have come to the fore in the generation as a whole.

This explains why the Party's policy with regard to the youth has always been consistent and steady and its relations with the youth have been built on a sound basis. Recalling that whenever we come to what we call a turning point in the development of the young generation, the danger arises of the Party losing touch with the youth, Comrade Togliatti said:

"It is the job of the Party, and I would even say, one of its main tasks as the politically conscious vanguard of the working-class and democratic and socialist movement, to ensure that this shall not take place."

And in order to carry out this task "the Party should be able to gauge the way things are going, i.e., it should never stick to obsolete schemes and rigid formulas which no longer correspond to the new situation."

It follows, then, that the problem of the youth is organically linked with the need to introduce into the policy of our Party the new elements of the actual situation in the country.

In what way are these new elements developing today, especially with us here in Italy?

In recent years we have seen a tremendous growth of monopoly concentration based on intensive capital investments made not for the purpose of harmonious development of the economy as a whole, but of concentrating capital in the hands of a few monopolies and of creating "islets" of relative "prosperity" amid the ocean of degradation, poverty and economic hardships.

Agriculture, too, is experiencing a deep crisis. The new element here is the desire of the dominant monopoly groups to boost the competitive capacity of Italian agriculture on the world market by channelling investments into capitalist enterprises and ousting numerous small peasant owners.

In this situation which, as we have seen, is characterized by increased monopoly concentration, the opportunities are more favorable for concluding alliances between the working class and other sections of the masses, alliances which, as our Party has stressed are essential if the monopolies are to be isolated and their policy frustrated.

In this situation the youth are made to bear the brunt of new forms of capitalist exploitation in the factories and the countryside and of the deepening crisis of the educational system.

That is why the outbursts of discontent with capitalism, which at times are very acute, are combined with an urge for democracy, for the democracy won by the working class and its allies in the fight against fascism and the striving towards which our Party, thanks to its policy, has been able to sustain among the working people and progressive intellectuals.

This explains the mass actions which took place in July last year, when the youth went out into the streets to counter the attempts of Tambroni's clerical-fascist government to destroy democratic freedoms, to tear up the republican Constitution and isolate Parliament.

These actions showed that the neo-capitalist and reformist illusions had not demoralized and deceived our youth: in Genoa, Reggio Emilia, Palermo, Catania, Rome and Milan young demonstrators staunchly faced the attacks of the police. A number of young Italians, including our comrades, lost their lives under police fire.

The urge for democracy among the youth merges with their desire to see social regeneration.

The main part in the intensified struggle waged by the workers today, is played by the youth which has taken a stand in favor of unity from below around a program of forward-looking socio-economic and political demands.

The same urge for unity is seen among the students who are stepping up the struggle for a reform of public education. In this respect special note should be made of our work in the united student organizations.

In the course of the struggle we have always encouraged the setting up of united organizations, conscious that the task of the young Communists is to take part in the ideological discussion among the youth, to play the leading role in this discussion, to live the same life as all the youth, and not be afraid to blaze new trails.

The Communist Party conducts its work among the youth both directly and through the Communist Youth Federation which is an autonomous, mass, democratic and revolutionary organization.

Our Demands and the Problem of Unity

The Communist Youth Federation sees the basic line of its activity in forming a united youth movement against the existing economic and political structures, for social regeneration and for socialism.

The Federation considers it its duty to fight for the demands of the young workers, peasants and

students, seeing in this a means of elevating the movement to the level of political struggle for a democratic regeneration and for socialism.

Higher wages, equal pay for equal work with due regard to skill, shorter working hours, democratic vocational training, the right to work and guaranteed employment — these are the demands for which the working-class youth are fighting.

The right to education for all, a single type of education, compulsory education up to the age of 14, a democratic and scientific curriculum — these are the basic elements of the struggle for educational reform, for cultural freedom.

The struggle for the demands of the different categories of working people in the rural areas is part of the general struggle for an agrarian reform and for progress in the countryside.

Thus, the struggle of the youth should be seen as one of the basic elements of the general struggle for the regeneration of the country.

It is around these issues that we are working for unity of action. We maintain, however, that it is not enough to establish contact and to cooperate with the youth movements of the other parties. These movements are an insignificant part of the youth, and although more progressive than their respective parties, they are exposed to a considerable pressure by the leading groups of these parties and are influenced by their anti-communism. We, therefore, conduct our work directly among the masses of youth and endeavor to develop a single youth movement.

The conferences of working-class youth, the councils of young peasants, the councils of secondary school pupils, the student organizations in the universities, the youth councils in municipalities — these are today *the main instruments of our policy of unity*. And our experience in this respect, even if not yet very considerable, is extremely valuable.

By pursuing this policy of youth unity, we are striking hard at the ruling class, at its ideology and propaganda, at the anti-communism and the passivity preached by the clerical hierarchy. This, moreover, is the first important step towards preventing the youth from being "engulfed" by the monopolies, towards helping the young people to appreciate the necessity of finding a democratic and revolutionary substitute for the monopoly line in the economic, social and political aspects.

And here we come to the socialist propaganda which we conduct on the basis of three main elements: disseminating Marxism-Leninism, popularizing the progress made by the socialist world, and explaining to the youth that Italy can and must take the socialist road.

Consequently, our propaganda is directly linked with our political initiative and our fight for unity.

The task which the Federation has set itself in its struggle for unity is to make the youth aware of the necessity of the socialist revolution.

Conferences, film shows, debates, lectures and seminars on education and culture, on the history of our country and Party, on the anti-fascist and anti-colonialist struggle, on the achievements of socialist science as proof of the potential of a more progressive social system — these are the elements of our propaganda and of our efforts to mould the outlook of the youth.

The forms of organization of young Communists must, naturally, correspond to this political task. In the conditions obtaining in our country, the most suitable form is the Communist Youth Federation uniting young men and women of all walks of life between 14 and 21 years of age. The Federation has branches in the factories, in the schools, universities and residential districts.

The lower links of the Federation maintain contact with the unorganized youth. Non-members too can attend its conferences and congresses and are entitled to express their opinion.

Young Communists also work in the democratic mass organizations, in the youth committees of the trade unions, in the Women's Union, in the cooperatives and in the student organizations.

Our Difficulties

One of our difficulties is that hundreds of thousands of young men and women either belong to or are influenced by Catholic organizations. With regard to this section of the youth we pursue a policy of broad unity for economic and political demands within the framework of the republican Constitution. At the same time we also conduct ideological struggle for the triumph of the Marxist teaching.

Since defeating revisionism which preached the myth of a neo-capitalism and cultivated reformist illusions, the main obstacles in our work have been sectarianism and dogmatism, which are particularly dangerous in working among young people, since they give rise to mistrust of people holding different views, obscure the understanding of new problems posed by the youth and hinder the struggle for unity and for mass action.

Another weakness is that the fight for immediate economic demands is not linked closely enough with our propaganda for those intermediate political aims which impart a concrete character to the line for a progressive, democratic and socialist reconstruction of society.

Nor are we always timely in analyzing the fast moving socio-economic changes with the result that we are tardy in reshaping our activity and methods of work which should be free from any

bureaucracy and schematism, especially when the matter concerns work among the youth.

Extend Influence Among the Youth

In view of some of the opinions expressed I would like to pose this question: How should we go about the job of greatly extending the influence of Communist youth organizations to the youth as a whole with a view to uniting young people in the capitalist countries around a common platform, in the common struggle for democracy and socialism? This year our Federation issued some 250,000 membership cards, 60,000 of them to new members. But this result is still not good enough. The number of members does not correspond to the political situation in the country. Difficulties in winning new members arise particularly at those moments when we try to transform the spontaneous revolutionary enthusiasm of the youth into conscious political activity. I think this problem is common to all youth movements, and we should pay more attention to it.

Some comrades have said that the new-fangled dances and the way of life in capitalist countries are signs of demoralization among considerable sections of the youth.

Here is what Comrade Togliatti said on this point at the June meeting of the Central Committee:

"I reject out of hand, and think all of us should reject as being ridiculous, those elements of criticism levelled at the youth concerning the way they dance, sing, study, etc."

Any attempt to regard these external manifestations as a serious factor would signify a superficial approach to the problems that are agitating the youth. The real problem is to fight might and main against the penetration of American ideology which, in the words of Comrade Togliatti, "through an entire complex of institutions isolates man who is forced to seek a solution to his personal problem and . . . results in his abandoning his functions as a citizen." Seizing on

the ideology of neo-capitalism the reactionaries in our country sought to isolate the individual from the complex of problems confronting the community and, harping upon the technocracy myth, sought to destroy the collective world outlook. We combated the theories of the positivists in order to affirm our world outlook on the firm foundation of historical knowledge. This does not mean that we close our eyes to everything new. We live in the very heart of capitalist society, and living in this society we should be able to advance our own revolutionary alternative.

We should be able to head the upsurge of the young people, without closing our eyes to the difficulties and the problems involved. Sympathizing with the Communist Party and drawing closer to it, the youth at the same time actively criticize it. For our relations with the youth to be effective, they should never be paternalistic. We should encourage a critical spirit which, even if at times it betrays symptoms of immaturity, often gives birth to correct demands, and these should be taken into account when revitalizing our political line.

Comrade Paul Laurent has spoken about the Left sentiment of the French youth. The same is true of Italy. What is our attitude to this sentiment? In our view there is no reason to fear it; all that is needed is to win over these young people by acquainting them with the perspectives of our policy. We encountered leftism also in our student movement in which extremist views, leading to political impotence, made themselves felt. In our work in these organizations we took into account the good counsel and criticized the wrong, with the result that we won over large groups of the youth. For the first time our representative was elected to the leadership of the secular students' association.

We still have many problems to solve. But in tackling them we are fortified by the knowledge that on the correct orientation of the young generation depends the success of our cause, the outcome of the struggle for democracy and socialism.

S. Surgoso (Indonesia)

THE youth of our country has travelled a glorious path, fighting together with the entire nation against the Dutch colonialists, the Japanese invaders and the British aggressors. Our young men and women took an active part in the struggle that was consummated by the August 1945 revolution.

The Fifth National Congress of the Communist Party in 1954 supplied the answers to the basic

problems of the Indonesian revolution. The Party pictured a bright future for the youth in its revolutionary program for ending the domination by imperialism and the feudal landowners, its program for completing the tasks of the August 1945 revolution, and building a new independent and democratic Indonesia.

The People's Youth of Indonesia is a reliable assistant of the Communist Party, the vehicle for

its policy among the masses of youth. Distinguished from the other youth organizations by its class consciousness, it is the reserve of the Party. At the same time it is an independent mass organization of young people which includes not only workers and peasants but also other sections, particularly middle strata.

Unite All Youth

In order to extend its influence the People's Youth helps in forming progressive and democratic youth organizations, associations and unions, and its members are taking an active part in their work. There are organizations of this kind among students and secondary school pupils, ex-servicemen, government officials, sports enthusiasts, etc.

The People's Youth considers it to be its principal task to secure unity of action with all other democratic organizations of the youth and, it must be said, we have had quite considerable success in this respect, particularly in sports societies and cultural organizations which at one time we wrongly dismissed as being "non-political." Large-scale cooperation with the other youth organizations requires from the People's Youth first and foremost a clear-cut definition and explanation of its program, aims and tasks.

The aim of our activities is to educate the young people in the spirit of revolutionary patriotism. We say: He who really loves his country should actively fight for the abolition of imperialism and feudalism which retard its independent and progressive development.

The aims of the youth movement are reflected in the slogans, common programs and joint resolutions of the youth organizations which stress that socialism can be achieved only after victory in the struggle for a completely independent and democratic Indonesia. This, naturally, does not mean renouncing propaganda of the ideas of socialism. On the contrary, we widely popularize scientific socialism and the advantages of the socialist system, and use concrete examples to this end. But at the same time we concentrate on more immediate democratic tasks, those associated with the struggle against imperialism and feudalism.

We are also focussing attention on the specific problems of the youth, on their everyday needs. We uphold their interests, develop sport and cultural activities in order to bring up sound and healthy young people who have faith in the victory of their people.

In so doing we emphasize that only united action by the whole youth within the framework of the national front can solve the youth problems.

Our struggle necessitates vigorous youth activity; but part of the youth still remain apathetic, standing aloof from the struggle. We are trying to win over this section by showing them the perspectives of the struggle, drawing them into the various forms of work. But no less dangerous is the cynicism of some young people who are influenced by bourgeois ideology and culture. We take cognizance of these circumstances in training the cadres for the youth movement, helping them to adopt a flexible attitude to the various groups of the youth.

Begin With Small and Concrete Things, Understandable to All

In order to ensure joint action by the greatest numbers and to make this action a success, it is not enough just to determine the aims of the movement or choose the right moment to start. It is every bit as important to find the right approach, to formulate slogans which will not frighten those whose understanding of the tasks and character of the impending social changes is still inadequate. The Sixth National Congress of the Communist Party pointed out to the cadres working among the youth that in organizing mass actions they should be certain of the timeliness of the demands set forth and set the correct limits to these demands in order to avoid going too far. The demands should be understandable and should inspire people to fight for them. It is essential to define the aim of any action, big or small, sometimes to begin with the small, with partial demands with a view to extending them as the struggle goes on.

A few examples. The struggle against colonialism, besides stimulating the mass action of the youth, imbues them with revolutionary fervor and is the best means of repelling the anti-communist attacks from the right and from the left, of exposing the arguments of anti-communism. But how to initiate this struggle? Our experience has shown that we were right when we began to develop the struggle for the liberation of West Irian by organizing the chalking of slogans condemning the colonialists. This action was supported by youth organizations of the most diverse trends. As the struggle proceeded, we produced a specific demand — control over the Dutch enterprises. As we know, subsequent developments resulted in our government taking over these enterprises.

Another example. Many Indonesians still adopt a naive attitude with regard to U.S. imperialism. They do not see it as the deadly enemy of the Indonesian people, nor do they see that the rebel forces in the country rely on the support of this imperialism. The following incident was made use of to organize a large-scale political action

against U.S. imperialism. At the beginning of 1960, on the eve of the visit of the U.S. Seventh Fleet to Djakarta, the association known as "Friends of America" circulated invitations and letters urging Indonesian girl students to entertain the American sailors. This aroused the anger of the youth. As a result the visit was called off and the protests developed into a major political action against U.S. imperialism.

The correct approach to the youth, elaborated under the leadership of the Communist Party, has resulted above all in the numerical growth of the People's Youth which numbers now 1,250,000 members.

The influence of our organization was manifested in the success of the All-Indonesian Youth Congress last year, when its participants gave us their support. Those who tried to push through the idea of non-participation in the political struggle found themselves isolated.

From temporary and essentially formal agreements in the past we, acting within the framework of the united national front, have passed over to setting up national or local united bodies, either permanent or temporary, representing all or several organizations and directing their combined activities.

After the defeat of the counter-revolutionary putsch in Hungary in 1956, the reactionary elements in Indonesia launched an anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaign in parliament and in the press, trying to win mass support for it. In Bandung the Masjumi and the Socialist parties, which were still functioning at that time, tried to organize a mass meeting to "condemn the actions of the Soviet Union in Hungary." They mobilized people from all parts of the region. But quite unexpectedly for the sponsors, the first speaker was refused a hearing, and the youth took over the meeting. Meanwhile, posters appeared everywhere with the slogans: "Long live the Soviet Union!," "Down with the counter-revolution in Hungary!," "Counter-revolution in Hungary is the same as the reactionary Darul Islam rebellion in Indonesia!," "Down with Darul Islam!" The character of the meeting changed completely, it developed into a demonstration of solidarity with the Soviet Union. This event made a deep impression on both friends and enemies of democracy.

Work Among the Peasants

All the work carried out by the Party among young workers, students, secondary school pupils, and scout organizations proceeds parallel with work to increase its influence in the countryside. Representatives of the various youth organizations, with the People's Youth members in the lead, have helped the peasants introduce the new methods of land cultivation recommended by the Com-

munist Party, have helped in wiping out illiteracy, organized camping sites for cultural activities in the country-side and popularized the land reform. The People's Youth organizations in rural areas have formed armed groups of peasants to protect the villages from attacks by the bandits.

Work Among the Students

The spontaneous student protests against counter-revolutionary activities made it possible for the Communist Party to take its place at the head of the student movement and extend its influence among the young intellectuals. The counter-revolutionaries, after the failure of their putsch, tried to turn the universities into centers for their provocations. Aware of this danger, the Party issued an appeal to the students and university professors, which was actively supported by most of the students who launched a resolute campaign against those professors and students who had aligned themselves with the rebels.

The spread of the student actions has made it possible to unite the basic forces of the student movement. The students are unmasking the subversive activities of U.S. imperialism which has, under the banner of "academic freedom" and "independence of science," dominated the life of Indonesia's universities. The students succeeded in forcing the dismissal of the counter-revolutionary professors.

The Communist Party widely supports the students in the struggle for their everyday needs.

Difficulties and Shortcomings

The political attacks and penetration among the youth of capitalist ideology with its anti-communist slogans—these are the difficulties which we continually encounter. The reactionaries have tried repeatedly to break up the democratic youth organizations and to establish instead a single militarized organization. When their efforts failed at the All-Indonesian Youth Congress, they founded a semi-fascist "Red and White" organization.

There are also shortcomings in the Party's work among the youth; chief among these are sectarianism, and misunderstanding by some of our cadres working among the youth of the nature and tasks of the united national front. In particular this impedes united action with the center forces.

As a rule sectarianism finds expression in slogans such as "Develop the youth front into a People's Youth"; it is manifested also in attempts to reduce unity to adoption of "joint declarations," in claiming that it is possible to mould "a Communist in a short time," in short—in a lack of patience in working among the masses.

The Party pays close attention to these shortcomings and is exerting every effort to improve the work of building a united national front among the youth.

G. Giannopoulos (Greece)

DURING the years of the Nazi occupation the Communist Party of Greece was able to rally the people and lead the struggle for national liberation and social regeneration. The Party won the majority of the youth for this struggle. The Panhellenic United Youth Organization (EPON), formed in February 1943 on the initiative of the Communist Youth Organization (OKNE), fought courageously against the invaders and for democracy, thereby winning over the youth and becoming a truly mass organization (its membership was 600,000 at the time of the liberation).

The consequences of the imperialist armed intervention and the defeat of the people's movement were grave indeed, and could not but affect the democratic youth movement. These consequences were aggravated by the incorrect Left-sectarian line pursued by the former leadership of the Party (up to the time of the 6th Central Committee meeting in 1956).

The political situation that obtained in postwar Greece explains the difficulties which our Party still encounters in its work among the youth. If we add to this that in the past four or five years, which generally speaking have been marked by the growth of the movement and strengthening of the Party, we have had serious weaknesses in our work among the youth, that in these years the reactionaries have stepped up their efforts to disorientate the youth and to form fascist storm groups, then the reason why the question of Party work among the youth is so acute will become clear.

Aware of its importance, the Communist Party is studying the matter of youth work and along with the other pressing aims of the popular movement has set the task of effecting a change in this work.

The deep roots of our movement, the traditions of the progressive struggle and particularly the leading role which the Party played in the Resistance Movement are of great significance in our country and, despite the postwar ordeals, have a favorable effect on the youth. The growth of the democratic movement and the popular struggle in the past few years have been a good school for the youth imbuing them with progressive views.

Problems Facing the Greek Youth

In the postwar the role played by the youth in production has changed somewhat. Despite a relative decline in the percentage of the youth in the population, young people are playing an increasingly greater part in the economic life. Capitalist development demands that more and more young

people, and even children, be drawn into production.

The imperative need to add to the family's scanty resources makes young people and children in their early age a commodity on the labor market. The same need as well as the technological advance compels them, notwithstanding the countless difficulties, to attend *gymnasiums* and evening schools in the hope that in future it will be easier for them to get a job. But the present regime has erected insurmountable obstacles in the way of the youth, banning them from participation in creative endeavor, with the result that the problems of the youth are being multiplied and their rights continually violated.

The most tragic problem of our youth is unemployment and part-time work. One hundred thousand young men and women annually come to the labor market but only few are lucky enough to find a job.

The only "solution" offered by the government of plutocratic oligarchy is emigration, which has become a national scourge. Entire villages and districts in the towns are left without young people. According to official statistics, during nine months of 1960 some 48,000 people, i.e., half the annual replenishment to the army of unemployed, emigrated to the West European countries, to Canada, the United States and Australia.

There is a growing contradiction between the yearning of the young for education and the money appropriated for this purpose. Thirty per cent of the budget is swallowed up by military expenditure, whereas allocations for education do not exceed ten per cent, and this includes the money spent on the churches, museums, theatres, etc. There is a shortage of schools and many of those functioning suffer from a shortage of teachers and adequate classrooms. If we add to this the outmoded methods of teaching, it will be clear why even bourgeois experts look upon education in Greece as "one of the grave ills of our society."

Similar contradictions arise in resolving the other problems affecting the youth. On the one hand, young people are trying to carry out cultural activities, and on the other, the ruling classes are opposed to any activity in this respect and are doing their utmost to spread among the youth the decadent ideas and art of the "free world."

Progressive cultural organizations are subjected to constant persecution. The theatre, which gets no aid from the state, is inaccessible to working-class youth. The cinema, instead of being a means of healthy recreation and education, demoralizes the youth. Sport, chiefly football, is highly commer-

cialized: most of the sport societies are run by the big sharks.

To this should be added the acute housing problem, the problems of family life, etc.

The source of these evils is to be found in the servile regime which strangles all national life, carries out a policy of national humiliation and subservience to imperialism, the policy of cold war, in the arbitrary regime of violence and brutal exploitation of the people by the foreign and domestic monopolies.

Our young people want their country to pursue a policy of peace, friendship and cooperation with all nations, and above all with the Balkan peoples. They favor the idea of peaceful coexistence, disarmament and a peace zone in the Balkans. The trampling on our national independence by foreign imperialists offends the national feeling of the youth.

From what has been said it will be clear that the contradictions between the interests and desires of our youth and the policy of the government are growing. This signifies that objectively the place of our youth is on the side of progress, the side of the forces fighting for the national interests and democracy.

Reactionary Intrigues Suffer Fiasco

But if objectively the interests of the youth are on the side of the forces fighting for changes, this does not mean that the young people automatically find their place in this struggle. In order to preserve their rule the reactionaries are working to bring the youth under their ideological and political sway.

Propagating the idea that the youth should not take part in politics, they are trying to drive a wedge between them and the forces waging the struggle for democracy and progress.

The youth are proud of the national traditions, of the struggle for independence, peace and democracy, and this constitutes a danger to the reactionaries; hence they are trying to misrepresent our history and the spirit of the 1821 revolution which liberated our country from the Turkish yoke.

When the U.S. imperialists insisted that the school textbooks on history should be so revised "as to make them serve broader interests," the government hastened to comply.

The reactionaries would like to keep the youth in ignorance about the glorious history of the recent struggle against the invaders—the history of the national Resistance Movement. Any mention of the resistance is scrupulously deleted from the textbooks and, conversely, whole pages are added glorifying the quislings and the "exploits" of the Greek expeditionary corps in Korea. Distortion of

the history of the resistance, persecution of its active fighters and release of the Nazi war criminals complete the picture.

At the same time the reactionaries are implanting cosmopolitan ideas in an attempt to persuade the people, including the youth, to forego the national interests for the sake of the imperialists and colonialist interests of the NATO bosses.

Propaganda against the socialist countries, and anti-communist propaganda generally, is being intensified.

To divert the youth from active political life, the reactionaries are popularizing the "American way of life," night clubs and gambling dens are being opened, and the Boy Scouts, religious bodies and other organizations are used in pursuance of this aim.

Strenuous efforts are made to drive the youth into fascist organizations, in particular, to set up fascist storm groups to combat progressive youth and the democratic movement.

All means of propaganda and administrative and economic measures (censorship, bans on the distribution of progressive publications, etc.) are used in the drive to demoralize the young generation and paralyze its will to struggle. A special department has been set up by the secret police to handle youth matters.

In our country there is a ramified terrorist system for persecuting progressive young people: special steps are taken to make it impossible for them to study or find a job (so-called "public opinion licenses"), while activities of a progressive nature in the trade unions and in the youth organizations are prohibited.

The reactionary offensive has resulted in part of the youth becoming passive and in greater activity by fascist organizations. But our Party emphatically rejects the reactionary talk about a "crisis" of our youth.

We regard this idea as one of the forms of the reactionary offensive against the youth. The Party is convinced that this offensive can be repelled, and that the youth can be won for the cause of progress. Decisive in this respect will be the general development of the progressive and democratic movement in the country.

Our youth are putting up growing resistance to the anti-national, reactionary policy of the government. Despite the terror, the youth have taken an active part in recent years in the popular national struggle and in the fight to solve their own problems. And the democratic youth movement has gained valuable experience in this struggle.

Our Party too has become more experienced in working among the youth. But the many new tasks that confront us call for a turn in this work. In

this connection I would like to dwell on some important aspects of the work among the youth.

We are focussing attention on developing mass actions by the youth in defense of their rights and also for peace, national independence and democracy.

The young people have accumulated useful experiences in organizing mass actions, as was the case, for example, in 1956, when they fought for the right of the people of Cyprus to self-determination and against the treacherous policy pursued by the Karamanlis government in relation to Cyprus. The united mass actions organized by the youth at that time were violently countered by the police. We are benefiting today from the experience of the struggles of 1956-1959 when all the youth organizations issued joint statements, distributed leaflets and held meetings and demonstrations. This was done mainly on the initiative of progressive youth organizations and student groups. These youth actions acquired a mass character and often sparked off nationwide demonstrations. They created an atmosphere of militancy in the cities (Athens, Salonika, etc.) and became a school for the youth, in the first place, for the students and factory workers.

We have seen the growing role played by the youth in the general political struggle—for peace, democracy, for recognition of the National Resistance and the release of its fighters. Large numbers of the youth took part in the actions against installing foreign military bases on Crete.

During 1960-1961 there were large-scale actions for the rehabilitation of the Resistance Movement and in defense of the national democratic traditions. The youth took an active part in a signature campaign for the release of Manolis Glezos, and held mass meetings on October 28, 1960, the anniversary of the fascist invasion of Greece. At a meeting in Athens they repelled an attack by the fascists. Young men took an active part in the demonstrations and meetings last May to mark the 20th anniversary of the Glezos exploit.

Initiative and ingenuity are displayed in the day-to-day struggle for economic demands, progressive culture and the right to education. Youth sections of the trade unions and the student organizations arrange excursions, amateur art performances, meetings with scientists and prominent personalities. Young workers impart militancy to the strikes and other actions of the workers (young workers shed their blood in Athens during the builders' strike and demonstration in December 1960). Gymnasium and technical school pupils, and particularly students, fight for their interests by holding demonstrations, marches and going on hunger strikes when arrested.

It should be stressed that latterly the movement has been distinguished more and more for its anti-imperialist and anti-fascist character. Here are a few typical examples.

The assassination of Patrice Lumumba and the criminal aggression of the U.S. mercenaries in Cuba aroused the indignation of the public and especially the youth. Youth associations and organizations conducted large-scale activities around these and other events. Protests and demonstrations outside newspaper offices, embassies, etc., infused new vigor into the movement.

The democratic movement against fascist organizations is also a useful experience which, however, should be considered as only the beginning. The actions against the fascist danger were coordinated. The first step in this respect was a joint statement issued by the political organizations of the youth in January 1960. This year the fascist gangs which raided the democratic organizations met with a resounding rebuff. A notable part in this was played by the students who combined against the fascists during the elections in the student associations; the "third all-student congress" was denounced as an EKOF gathering (EKOF is a fascist student organization). Nearly all student associations expelled the fascists from their leading committees and published a statement denouncing EKOF.

During the May Day meetings, when the fascists tried to organize provocations, the young workers threw them out of the premises in which the meetings were held.

Relying on the experience gained, the democratic forces should redouble their efforts to secure the dissolution of the fascist groups.

Our Weakness and How to Overcome Them

Youth struggles are developing in all spheres. It should be said, however, that there are many weaknesses, that the activity is far from being what it could be and what it should be. The position of the rural youth poses serious problems, and it must be admitted that as yet we have not done much in this respect. Since everything in the countryside is controlled by the gendarmerie, the terror makes the work more difficult.

The Party stresses the need for bigger and more militant youth action. This action should concentrate on such demands as youth rights, demands which are closely linked with the struggle for the general aims of the democratic and patriotic movement.

The organization of mass youth action largely depends on unity between the various trends among the youth.

Initiative displayed at the right moment and prompting cooperation on a specific problem usu-

ally evokes a broad response among the members of other organizations, who exert pressure on their leaders and force them to accept the united action proposal.

As a rule the united action takes the form of issuing joint statements and leaflets, and holding joint meetings, strikes and demonstrations. In addition to the student associations and the youth trade union organizations, most of the youth organizations of the opposition parties take part in these demonstrations.

There are, of course, not a few shortcomings in this respect. United action is often restricted to issuing joint statements. Fearing that the joint action may assume a political character, the progressive organizations all too frequently wait until others display the initiative. This often results in missing the opportune moment for action. United action is taken mainly by organizations belonging to the center parties. It does not reach out to the other youth organizations and associations and leaves untouched the vast mass of unorganized youth. It has not yet been elevated to the level of establishing a permanent guiding committee. The experience and the success achieved in this work should help us to overcome these weaknesses.

From united action on specific issues we must pass over to permanent cooperation on all the issues affecting the youth, set up standing joint commit-

tees both nationally and locally, and then start building a united front. In so doing we should bear in mind all the possibilities available. Decisive in this respect is activating the progressive and most consistent youth organizations.

Equally essential is the matter of forming more youth organizations, activating those that are passive and correctly orientating the existing organizations.

The experience of the youth movement shows that the levers for achieving this are the democratic and progressive organizations which appear wherever the young people foregather. These organizations should display more initiative within the framework of the general program of action of the progressive forces, and organize the youth in the struggle for their rights, for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

The common interests make it possible to develop united action among all sections of the youth. Consequently, the progressive organizations should work among all these categories. The youth movement should be neither non-political nor supra-class, and it should be said that reducing to the minimum the political character of youth organizations is a wrong tendency.

Our Party feels that the conditions are ripe for winning the masses of young people to the side of progress.

J. Gotowitch (Belgium)

Although our youth organizations have grown considerably in the recent period, their influence is rather limited. Still, an examination of our experience will throw light on some interesting and important aspects of the youth movement in the Western countries.

The Communist Party of Belgium is working in difficult conditions. Clerical influence is still strong in our country and this affects the youth movement as well as the working-class movement in general. The bulk of the working class is connected with the Social Democratic movement and the struggle is carried on mainly through the trade unions, in which the Communists too are active. The student youth in Belgium are mostly of petty-bourgeois origin (fewer than five per cent of the university students come from working-class families), but for all that they are doing their bit in the major political battles.

The Communist Party sponsors two youth organizations: the Communist Youth League and Communist Students' League. This organizational structure makes it possible to address each group of young people in a language they can best understand.

There are, of course, many other youth organizations. The largest are the Catholic associations such as the Christian Working Youth, Christian Students, Catholic Boy Scouts and Rural Youth organizations. There are also three Socialist youth organizations—the Socialist Young Guard, Socialist Students and Young Trade Unionists. The last of these, aligned with the Social Democratic trade union movement, is completely inactive. Strongest of all are the Catholic organizations.

There has been a general decline in the activities of youth organizations, largely due to their inability to adapt themselves to the new conditions in which young people live and to failure to provide new forms of recreation that would attract the youth. On this score, however, a most vigorous rebuff should be given those who accuse the young people of being light-minded. This is far from being the case. The young people take a very serious view indeed of public life and their place in it.

Looking back over the past few years we cannot but note the scale of the actions organized by the youth. Let us dwell on some of these.

In 1950, at the height of the cold war, the government extended the term of military service to

two years. The response to this was a wave of protest strikes, and in July 1952 the conscripts who had served their 18 months started on insubordination movement that spread from barrack to barrack. This unprecedented anti-war action was all the more significant because in response to the calls issued by the Socialist Young Guard and the Communist Youth League, solidarity strikes took place in the factories compelling the government to reduce the term of service.

Considerably later, in January 1960, an Anti-Nazi Vigilance Committee, representing nearly 40 youth organizations—from Catholic to Communist—was formed to combat the anti-Semitism that swept Western Europe at the time. This was the biggest unity movement since the days of the Resistance. Powerful demonstrations were held against the resurgence of fascism. At Easter 1960 the Socialists and Communists joined forces and organized an anti-nuclear march after the pattern of Aldermaston. The march was joined by many others.

Large numbers of young people, mostly students, came out into the streets of Brussels in November 1959 to demand independence for the Congo and to protest against the dispatch of soldiers to that country.

These examples suggest a number of conclusions. First, in each case the movement embraced young people from all sections of society. Young workers as well as college students and secondary school pupils took part both in the actions against extending the term of military service and in the fight against racism. This is important to note. The second point is that each of the broad youth movements of the past ten years has had primarily political aims; it was in response to political slogans that the youth took action and displayed the greatest militancy. Here I should like to make the following point: the relative weakness of the youth organizations is due, in part, to their inability to advance political demands that would open up new vistas before young people and point the way to a brighter future. For years the organizations have conscientiously drawn up economic programs to meet the interests of the various sections of the youth, but the programs and the social demands were not accompanied by organized action and failed to evoke the same enthusiasm as the political slogans we have advanced.

The Strike of One Million

Allow me to dwell for a moment on the biggest popular movement Belgium has ever seen, the experience of which is now used by us in all our work. I have in mind the great strikes which swept our country at the end of 1960 and the beginning of 1961.

As you know, the strikes broke out when the government submitted a bill which marked the beginning of an offensive against the rights won by the working class in long years of struggle. This strike, now generally called the Strike of One Million, was one of the biggest working-class struggles in the Western countries in recent years.

The strike took many people by surprise, as did the role which the youth played in it. The young workers were in the picket lines and were active in circulating the labor press. This gave the lie to those who had asserted that the youth of today lacks militancy. The strike showed that young people were not spectators in the class struggle. It was they who were most militant at trade union meetings and who sharply criticized the Right-wing union leaders.

In the course of the strike an exceedingly interesting fact was brought out—a fact to which the Party attaches great importance. It has a bearing on the place of the intellectuals in the revolutionary struggle. Under pressure from the Communist and Socialist students who joined forces in a united front, the Brussels University came out on strike in support of the working class. Students and teachers picketed the university auditoriums. Solidarity meetings were held in the university, and large groups of students took part every day in the demonstrations. At two universities hundreds of faculty members signed declarations condemning the “austerity” law and supporting the strike movement.

This highlights the interest displayed by the students in political issues and their degree of political consciousness in a situation of sharp class struggle.

The main conclusion to be drawn from these events is that the students are becoming more and more aware of the instability of the capitalist system. They are actuated by a growing sentiment of protest, and if this protest is not yet aimed at the abolition of the capitalist system as such, the students, in the light of the policy pursued by the bourgeoisie, are becoming increasingly conscious of the fallacy of the bourgeois ethics taught them.

The two Communist youth organizations are organizationally independent. They are open to all who accept the Marxist-Leninist ideology and agree with the political line of the Communist Party.

In other words, the political line of these organizations is determined by the Program of the Party, which charts the way to the future and for this reason is primarily a program for the youth. What are the key points of this program?

In the economic sphere the Party pursues a policy of full employment and economic expansion. Only a policy of this kind can make the future

secure for young people and rid them of the specter of unemployment, which is a scourge in capitalist Belgium. The fight for this policy includes the demand for the regeneration of areas such as the Borinage, which monopoly capital has reduced to a state of extreme distress through association with the Common Market.

Our Party advocates far-reaching structural reforms designed to curb the power of the monopolies, strengthen the forces of the working class and pave the way for the transition to socialism. We are working for the genuine democratization of the educational system in order to make university education accessible to working-class children.

In Search of New Forms of Activity

The program of action outlined by the Party opens a wide field of work for our youth organizations; the duty of these organizations is to find the forms of activity needed to enlist the youth in this work.

The Communist youth organizations should provide every attraction for the young people and not merely teach them how to put up posters and give out leaflets. We arrange excursions and outings, organize recreation camps, and sponsor visits to the socialist countries. Besides arranging social evenings the Communist youth organizations maintain, wherever they can afford it, club premises where they invite young people and provide them with opportunities for study and recreation. Lectures adapted to every audience are held regularly.

In the case of students who have adequate recreation facilities at their disposal, the emphasis is on political education (sale of books by progressive authors and lectures by both Belgian and foreign Marxists). Communist students advocate the establishment of a students' union.

Students are now displaying a keen interest in socialism, largely because of the achievements of the Soviet Union in cosmic exploration. In our propaganda we emphasize that these achievements are due to the Soviet socialist system in the USSR. With this in view we arrange numerous lectures and draw attention to literature on the subject. This is an important aspect of our political work.

The circulation of our two youth papers is rising. These papers ceaselessly combat bourgeois ideology and popularize the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

What are we doing to reach out to broader sections of the youth and to achieve unity of action with the other youth organizations? Here we are obliged correctly to assess our own forces, which are still weak, and take due note of the fact that anti-communism is widespread in Belgium, especially among the youth.

In view of this our slogans are designed to win the support of the masses of young people in order to compel the other youth organizations, especially the social democratic, to accept them. Working in this way we were able to organize a series of important actions and put an end to our isolation. The struggle initiated by us for a 12-month term of military service started off the movement in the army. The anti-nuclear march, too, was a result of our steadfast struggle for peace.

Every time we show in practice that we Communists are the most consistent champions of unity and advance the right slogans, we win new supporters. During the strike of 1960-61, when we broke out of our previous isolation, the masses realized that in the Communists they had the best and most resolute defenders of their interests. This explains the substantial growth in the membership of the Communist Students' League and the Communist Youth League both during and after the strike. And in the elections held two months later our Party made the biggest advance since the liberation.

What are the obstacles in the way of unity?

The clerical orientation of the Catholic youth organizations makes it extremely difficult to cooperate with them. Our efforts, therefore, are directed mainly at united action with the Socialist youth organizations.

And here we encounter difficulties of a different order. It is common knowledge that the Socialist Party is headed by violently anti-Communist leaders who recently made an odious deal with the party of extreme reaction, betraying the cause of the strike and destroying the hopes that were born with the success won at the polls.

The Socialist youth organizations have strongly opposed the policy pursued by the Right-wing leaders of the Socialist Party. However, the way in which the Socialist Young Guard functions fails to attract young people and for this reason it is not very strong. Moreover, the influence of Trotskyite elements who often advance adventurist "left" slogans makes itself felt. And since young people are apt to be taken in by such maneuvers, this state of affairs is a definite danger to the movement and obstructs our efforts to achieve unity of action among the youth organizations.

Still, the fact that we are gaining members and that the number of our supporters is growing shows that the Communists are becoming stronger and that the ideas of communism are reaching out to ever wider sections of the youth who, striving for peace and happiness, are inspired by the example of the socialist countries.

U. Karlsson (Sweden)

The Youth Is the Party's Reserve

Young people played an important part in founding the Communist Party of Sweden. At the time of the break with reformism, the whole of the Youth League went over to the new party (Left Socialist Party), and in the subsequent years the members of the Youth League have always followed the revolutionary wing. In recent years, with the Communist Party gaining in strength, the League has been able to devote more attention to its specific task, namely, work among the youth.

While involvement in the controversial issues fought out in the Party diverted the League from direct work among the youth, our experience is that on some issues the youth organization should act jointly with the Party. The important thing is to find appropriate means of bringing the Party's policy home to the youth.

Joint action can be achieved first of all in the fight for peace, which offers ample opportunity for youth initiative, boldness and militancy. It is also possible in the trade unions, where the fight for higher wages and better conditions has its specific appeal for the youth. But perhaps the decisive stimulus is an atmosphere of lively activity in the trade unions. Of course, in some cases it is necessary to put the accent on problems immediately affecting the youth. But it is precisely at moments of tension, when the young people begin to identify themselves with adult problems, that they acquire experience and have an opportunity to display their energy and dynamism.

The Party's Aid Is the Earnest of Success

After the Second World War there was in Sweden, as in a number of other countries, a general upsurge of the youth movement. But by the end of the 40's and in the early 50's a decline set in and we endeavored, by extending our political and organizational work, to reach out to the young people and win them over to our side. We had some local and temporary successes, but on the whole the results were negligible. We were not strong enough to break through to the main mass of the youth; we were not even able to reach that section of the youth interested in socialism. One of the reasons for this was the illusion that progress was possible without any deep-going changes, an illusion fostered by the Social Democrats during the prolonged period of so-called prosperity. But the main trouble was that our Party cadres treated the non-party youth organization with distrust and did not give it wholehearted support.

After the two youth organizations merged to form the Democratic Youth League (1958) we made

some headway in our youth work. On an international scale, as well as in absolute terms, our successes are modest. But we can say that the membership of our League has doubled in three years, and it is much more active politically. This is explained mainly by the improvement of the Party's work among the youth.

Today the older Party cadres and the politically alert section of the youth are beginning to lend an ear to our young comrades. The new youth leaders can hold their own in debate, and they parry the arguments of our opponents with success. This in turn has attracted more young people to our movement.

Functionaries

An important contribution to the development of the youth movement has been made by the functionaries specially assigned to this work. Our experience shows that never before have functionaries been so urgently needed as at present. We must compete for the youth with opponents who are very well equipped for this struggle. They have strong organizations (Sweden has one of the biggest Social Democratic youth leagues in the world, closely linked with the trade unions, workers' schools, cooperatives and other organizations). The bourgeois youth associations have considerable financial resources at their disposal. All of them have paid officials. We, too, must train our functionaries. The young people who are new to organizational work need experienced leaders to guide them. With such cadres it is possible to plan the work and to achieve lasting results.

Work Wherever There Are Young People

The Communist Party carries on work among the youth not only through the Democratic Youth League, but through other organizations as well, chiefly the trade unions. There are 300,000 young men and women members in the Central Trade Union Federation. In the Federation of Office Workers' Unions alone there are about 100,000. Here there is obviously a vast field for activity. At our last Party Congress it was emphasized that contact with the youth could be strengthened by raising the issues directly affecting their interests in factory and office, by drawing them into trade union and other mass work.

In our country hundreds of thousands of young people engage in sports (the Central Sport Society alone has 500,000 members and vast numbers belong to local societies). It goes without saying that we must promote sport activity in every way. We help the youth to obtain gymnasiums and swimming pools, football fields and funds for trainers, and

to free sport measures from taxation. We are now trying to get Party members to join the sport organizations where it is easy to establish contact with a large part of the youth.

Youth activity in community organizations is a common feature in our country. In Stockholm there are about 50 neighborhood youth clubs attended by up to 20,000 young people weekly. This provides an opportunity for political activity, and we are making the most of it.

There are, then, many channels through which contacts with the youth can be formed. The correct policy and tactics of our Party are a guarantee that these opportunities will be put to good use.

More Attention to the Youth

It was noted at our Congress that wherever the Party organizations were conscious of their responsibility for work among the youth and did not limit themselves to a mere statement of the desire to support the youth movement but gave practical assistance in money and cadres, good results were obtained. However, there are still a number of towns which do not yet have youth clubs, although Party influence there is fairly strong.

The Nineteenth Congress of our Party recommended to all local organizations and district committees to advise their members to take an interest in youth problems at their place of work, to participate in the daily activity of the Youth League branches and particularly in forming youth clubs and working in them; it was suggested that the Party committees should assign some members for work among the youth and that special training courses be organized for these members.

The conditions for conducting work among the youth are more favorable than ever. The successes of the socialist camp have a strong impact upon the youth, and interest in socialism is growing. Many young people are turning to us for the answers to their problems.

The Youth League can carry out its task of uniting the young generation, it can answer the questions agitating the minds of young men and women. But it can do this successfully only if it gets the necessary assistance from the Party, if the Party regards work among the youth as one of its principal tasks.

Reviews

Never Again!

TWENTY years ago, on October 22, 1941, 27 French patriots in the Châteaubriant concentration camp were shot by order of the Nazi occupation command in revenge for the killing of the Nazi commandant of the neighboring town of Nantes by French guerillas.

Those from Chateaubriant by Fernand Grenier* tells us about these 27 patriots who gave their lives in the struggle against fascism. The tragic events are recreated by the author, himself a veteran of the anti-fascist struggle, member of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party and deputy to the National Assembly. Grenier has drawn widely on numerous and large unpublished documents, accounts by eye-witnesses and other materials.

Grenier was himself a prisoner at Châteaubriant and one therefore reads his book with all the more emotion and interest. He was detained in the camp until June 1941 when, together with other comrades, he succeeded in making his escape.

Written in an unpretentious style, the book is intensely moving: the heroism of the Resistance fighters who went to death singing the Marseillaise tells its own tale.

They Died That Others Might Live

Grenier paints a sombre picture of the France of autumn 1941. The darkness of fascism; the brutality of the invader who found faithful aides in the treacherous men of Vichy; the terror and the persecution . . . But inexorably the struggle went on, even in the concentration camp.

The martyrs of Châteaubriant and the heroes of the Resistance come alive in this book.

There is Charles Michels, a Communist worker from Paris, secretary of the Federation of Trade Unions of the Leather Industry, Deputy to Parliament, who was unlawfully deprived of his seat in 1939 and subsequently imprisoned. . . .

" . . . Let our daughters not forget," he wrote to his wife just before his death, "that their father always tried to be an honest man and did every-

**Ceux de Chateaubriant*, Paris, Editions Sociales, 1961, 190 pp.

thing he could to secure a better life for the workers."

Michels was the heart and soul of the Resistance in Châteaubriant.

Then Jean Poulmarch, member of the Administrative Commission of the CGT, railway worker, active Communist and splendid comrade. Here are his last words: ". . . Courage, don't lose heart, your husband will go to his death with head held high, with a firm heart, confident that happiness will yet prevail in the world. Long live communism! Long live a free, strong and happy France!"

And Jean-Pierre Timbaud. . . . Paris metalworker, active trade unionist and indomitable fighter. After the defeat he, like his comrades, went underground and helped to bring out the illegal *La Vie Ouvrière*. In his last letter Timbaud wrote: "Be brave my dearest ones! Promise me that. Long live France! Long live the international proletariat!"

We should kneel in homage before these 27, for they were people who from the beginning of the occupation spared no effort in the struggle against a ruthless enemy, fully aware that they were risking their lives every minute; they were people who sacrificed everything they held dear for the sake of their country and people; they were men big of heart, and with great souls. Knowing they had only a few more minutes to live, they wrote to the outside world that victory over Nazism was bound to come, about the life which they knew could not but triumph.

By sending these men to the wall as hostages, the Nazis and the collaborators hoped to strike terror into the hearts of the people, to break their spirit, to reconcile them to the Hitler oppression. But the courage of the 27 defeated this plan.

. . . Having learned of the fate awaiting the hostages, Charles Michels that very night called a meeting of the camp "management"—the leadership of the underground organization set up to continue the struggle. There was no hope of rescue, he said, and escape was out of the question. All that was left, therefore, was to let the whole camp, the whole of France know of the Nazis' criminal act, that the Communists and patriots had gone to their death without flinching. Then they would not have died in vain. . . .

The "management" agreed unanimously.

And when the condemned men were led out to be shot they sang the Marseillaise, and its words rang out clear and strong. The whole camp took up the song. All Châteaubriant went into the streets and the people accompanied their staunch compatriots on their last journey. . . .

News of the execution spread through France with lightning speed. It was a clarion call to con-

tinue the struggle. Hundreds of patriots joined the Resistance, taking the place of those who had fallen. By shooting the hostages in Châteaubriant the Nazis inflicted a heavy defeat on themselves.

Lessons of the Past

"Those of you who remain alive, be worthy of the 27 going to their death. . . ."

These words, the last spoken by the youngest of them all, 17-year-old Communist Guy Moquet, are the Châteaubriant heroes' behest to the present generation of Frenchmen. They are especially pregnant with meaning now that the dangerous ashes of war have been re-kindled in the heart of Europe and German imperialism's munitions works are again turning out weapons of aggression and revenge.

German Militarism and France by Florimond Bonte,* member of the C.C., French Communist Party, and a Deputy from Paris, is a thoroughly documented study of the danger which German militarism represents to France and the other nations of Europe. Bonte's book treats of another period of history and its style differs from Grenier's. But the two books have a profound inner logic in common.

The tragic events related by Grenier are a potent reminder of the dangers inherent in aggressive German imperialism, in the policy of encouraging its criminal designs, and "cooperation" with it. The heroes of Châteaubriant tell us: History must not be repeated, never again shall German militarism be allowed to drench Europe in blood.

Both are an ardent appeal to stamp out the growing threat of German aggression.

Bonte's book opens with a number of eloquent figures: 11,745,000 killed, 17,600,000 wounded, destruction and military expenditure valued at \$374,800 million—that is what the First World War, German militarism's first act of aggression in the present century, cost mankind.

54,800,000 killed, 90,000,000 wounded, destruction and military expenditure valued at \$1,350,000 million—that is what mankind had to pay for the Second World War, which was also unleashed by the German militarists.

And, unless it is averted, a third war will bring still greater loss and suffering. Judge for yourselves: About 2,500,000 tons of bombs were dropped on Europe during the Second World War. Yet this vast quantity of explosives is the equivalent of a single hydrogen bomb!

Revived Hotbed of War

The author reminds us that the possibility of German imperialism starting another war could

**Le militarisme allemand et la France*. Paris, Editions Sociales, 1961, 242 pp.

have been eliminated once and for all after the end of the Second World War. All that was needed for this was to implement the Potsdam Agreement drawn up by the Allies which envisaged the conversion of Germany into a peace-loving democratic state. But the spirit of Potsdam and the principles of Potsdam were betrayed by the West. And the result?

West German imperialism, Bonte points out, revived with the aid of the West, has become unprecedentedly powerful. Having re-established their positions, the West German monopolies now occupy first place in capitalist Europe (and second after the USA in the capitalist world) for industrial output and share in capitalist foreign trade. On the whole the economic potential of the "Fourth Reich," Bonte says, is about half as much again as that of France, while its industrial output is 25 per cent higher than that of Great Britain. By way of comparison Bonte reminds the reader that before the Second World War Germany was far behind Britain, while the difference between her potential and that of France was then much less than now.

But the economic aspect is not the only thing. The renaissance of German imperialism has decisively changed the correlation of the military and political forces in Western Europe. The Bundeswehr—successor to Hitler's Wehrmacht—is today the biggest and most up-to-date (in equipment and techniques) army in Western Europe.

That the Federal Republic of Germany has become the most powerful capitalist country in Europe as a result of the unlimited support of the aggressive circles in Washington, is in itself—bearing in mind the aggressive traditions of German militarism—a threat to the European peoples. The danger is aggravated by the fact that the West German state and its armed forces are headed by the direct heirs of the Hitlerites, and behind them are the same monopoly forces that brought Hitler to power and still dream of a "greater Germany," at least on an all-Europe scale.

True, leading politicians and commentators in the West deny that the Bonn program is either revanchist or aggressive. General de Gaulle, to mention one, has frequently and solemnly stated that West Germany does not threaten European peace in any way.

But, Bonte emphasizes, these pronouncements have little in common with the facts. He recalls the impertinent demand of Bonn Minister Seehofer for "the integration of Sudetenland in the German state," a speech by Vice-Chancellor Erhard: "Only the return of Upper Silesia to Germany will guarantee a durable peace." He cites a statement in the official *Bulletin of the Federal Government Press and Information Department* to the effect

that "the Federal government must re-establish the 1937 frontiers of the German Reich."

Dangerous Illusions

There are those in the West who say that if Federal Germany is really threatening anybody, it is the East. Why should the West worry? After all, the Federal Republic is our ally.

This attitude, fundamentally erroneous and dangerous to peace, bears the Munich hallmark. As a matter of fact, Bonte stresses, German militarism is a threat to all the peoples of Europe without exception. What is more, a "Drang nach Westen" appears to it to be easier than a "Drang nach Osten." And there is nothing surprising in this, for even the most hidebound revanchists cannot but reckon with the fact that the results of a "Drang nach Osten," now that the socialist camp is so powerful, could be even more disastrous today than they were yesterday. And conversely, in view of the present correlation of forces in capitalist Europe, and the fact that the governments of Britain, France, Belgium and other countries, blinded as they are by hatred of communism, readily make concessions to the "Fourth Reich," the idea of an expansion westwards is particularly attractive to the West German revenge-mongers.

Florimond Bonte cites statements by Bonn politicians and military leaders frankly advancing territorial claims on their Western neighbors. Bonte completed his book early this year. Bonn's revanchist propaganda vis-à-vis its Western neighbors has become much more trenchant of late. The claims—which German revanchists voice quite openly—refer to considerable areas in France (Alsace, Lorraine, part of Northern France), Belgium (Eupen-Malmedy), Denmark (Schleswig-Holstein), and Italy (the Tirol). With growing frequency the Bonn politicians are beginning to say that Switzerland (to say nothing of Austria) has also been "a German land from time immemorial."

West German imperialism is passing from words to deeds—from propaganda to step-by-step penetration by West German monopolies into the economy of the Western countries. The so-called "European" associations and communities are helping the Ruhr trusts in this.

Capital, Soldiers, Bases

We give one of many examples. Over a hundred German firms have in the past two years set up businesses in French Alsace. A large number of mixed French-German companies too have been formed there by the monopolies of both countries. West German capital in the Alsace economy now amounts to nearly 25 per cent of total investments in that area.

In the light of these facts, an excerpt given by Bonte from the resolution adopted at a gathering of former Wehrmacht soldiers is of interest: "The territories to the East of the Oder and the Neisse are just as much German as the areas now to the West of the present German frontiers but which have been German since the time of Charles the Great. . . . We demand the right to self-determination for the Germans living in the Western territories detached from the Reich."

This resolution is dated September 11, 1960. Here is a more recent one of the same order. On July 12, 1961, the Cologne *Deutsche Zeitung*, a paper close to Adenauer, published an article expressing indignation at the alleged subjection of the Alsatians to greater national oppression than ever before. A few days earlier the same newspaper carried a demand that "an interest in Alsace and Lorraine must be re-awakened in the German masses."

The West German military bases in the countries of Western Europe—which the treacherous policy of their ruling circles has made possible—is a striking manifestation of expansion in Western Europe. Bonte shows that the bases are in fact the first step towards the future occupation of these countries—which is the dream of the Hitler generals now directing the Bundeswehr.

"... The soldiers of this army," Bonte writes, "who in 1914 destroyed the marvellous sculptures of the magnificent Rheims Cathedral, who, in 1944, burnt Oradour-sur-Glane and made living torches of its women and children, are now drilling and training on the soil on which Nazi atrocities were committed! And this is only the beginning, for altogether 35,000 German troops are expected to undergo training in France."

One occasionally comes across, in the French and British press, articles denying that German bases are a danger to the countries in which they are located. Some commentators even go into raptures over the German soldiers and officers—they are so young, polite and smart. . . . All but paragons in fact. This pouring on of the syrup is a crime against the people, for it is an attempt to brainwash the French, British and Belgians, to get them accustomed to the idea of having German soldiers in their countries.

It is beside the point whether the Bundeswehr soldiers are polite or not, what is important is that they are the first emissaries of the armed forces that are preparing for aggression and revenge, a weapon of German militarism.

The Peace Front

The peoples of Europe are well aware of this. That they are not taken in by the imperialist propaganda is shown by the condemnation of Ger-

man bases in Britain at the Sixtieth Annual Conference of the British Labor Party; by the powerful demonstrations in Italy and Belgium for a peace treaty with Germany and against German bases in European countries; and by the rising tide of the French people's struggle, especially the working class, to avert a new tragedy in Europe.

Ever since the end of the Second World War the French Communist Party, as Bonte makes clear, has consistently advocated a policy on the German question that would rule out once and for all any repetition of German aggression. As far back as June 1945, at their Tenth Congress, the French Communists opposed the policy pursued by the international monopolies who were already then hindering implementation of the Potsdam principles. The Party has consistently exposed the national betrayal by the French ruling circles and demanded a national policy on the German question.

The Communist Party, Florimond Bonte writes, "is dedicating its energy to the creation of a union of all patriots, all those who fought in the war, all former Resistance fighters, whether they wore uniform or not, all French men and women devoted to the cause of progress, well-being and peace . . ."

And, true to the behests of the heroes of Châteaubriant, the French Communists call on all patriots to oppose German militarism, to fight for the speedy conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, for the conversion of the European continent into a peace zone. Never again!—they say. Never again shall Germany be allowed to destroy the edifice of European and world peace!

Rallying all the forces of the nation to combat the new threat of war, the French Communists at the same time call on all international peace fighters to stand solidly against Bonn's revenge-seeking and aggressive intrigues. To the German people the French workers extend the hand of fraternal cooperation in the anti-war struggle, they support the peace policy of the German Democratic Republic, which has broken with all the traditions of German militarism.

"Long live the Communist Party of Germany!" cried Jean-Pierre Timbaud to the S.S. butchers just before he died. His words are a symbol of the internationalism which has always inspired the life and struggle of the French Communists.

"Proletarian brothers in West Germany. . . . We do not doubt that we, the proletarians of France can, together with you, the German proletarians, take by the scruff of the neck those who have at least twice in half a century thrown us against each other. . . ."

These words, spoken by Benoit Frachon at the World Trade Union Conference in Berlin, convened in support of a peace treaty with Germany,

show that the French workers and the French Communists hold high the international banner of the heroes of Châteaubriant.

* * *

Each year, on October 22, French patriots and Resistance fighters pay tribute to the memory of those who died at Châteaubriant. This year has been no exception. On October 6 an exhibition was opened in Gennevilliers devoted to the "History

of the French Resistance" and dedicated to the memory of the 27. Over 500 men and women prominent in public life, active participants in the Resistance, attended the opening to pay homage to those who gave their lives for a just cause, to vow again never to allow a new German aggression, and to achieve a peaceful settlement of the problems still outstanding from the Second World War.

V.-M. VANDENHOVE

From Struggle to Victory

(Apropos of the Publication of the History of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia)

THE *History of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia* is an excellent contribution by the historians to honor the 40th Anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. For the first time a textbook has appeared giving a complete history of the struggle waged by the revolutionary vanguard of the Czechoslovak working class for the victory of socialism.

It has been prepared by a body of authors from the Institute of History of the CPC, the Higher Party School, the Institute of Social Sciences sponsored by the Central Committee of the CPC, and other research establishments. Work on the book continued for six years and its theses and layout were broadly discussed. Opinions were expressed by veteran Party members, Party functionaries, teachers and propagandists; their numerous and valuable suggestions were taken into account in preparing the final text.

The Communists and working people of Czechoslovakia can now study more thoroughly the Party's experience in the struggle to remake society, and this will help them to find correct solutions to the urgent problems of the day.

The Founding

The book opens with a survey of the evolution of the working-class movement in Czechoslovakia since the 1840's. The march of events and the development of the working-class movement prepared the ground for the formation of the Communist Party. Social democracy had become a reformist petty-bourgeois party and was betraying the interests of the working class. There was need for a new type of revolutionary working-class party. And the founding of the Communist Party met this need. The Party relied on the favorable results of the earlier stage of the working-class movement, on the fact that this movement was a mass one,

and on the revolutionary traditions of the people. It made a decisive break with opportunism and orientated the working-class movement towards revolution.

The textbook deals in detail with the decisive influence exerted on the Czechoslovak working-class movement by the Great October Socialist Revolution which proclaimed and implemented the right of nations to self-determination. When an independent Czechoslovak state emerged from the debris of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the workers advanced the slogan for a socialist republic. But its realization was obstructed by the opportunist Social Democratic leadership. The bourgeoisie became the leading force in the new state. Very soon, however, many of the workers who fell for the nationalist and bourgeois-democratic illusions when the republic was founded, became alive to the treacherous policy pursued by the Social Democratic leadership and began to turn to the Communist International.

The founding of the Communist Party in 1921 was the result of the efforts of the Social Democratic Party's Left-wing, headed by B. Smeral. The founders attached great importance to work among the masses. From its birth the Party was a mass party, which was essential in the conditions of an advanced capitalist country with a numerous, well-organized and fairly active working class. The mass character of the Party determined the success of its struggle for socialism.

But the fact that the Party was a mass party did not automatically impart a revolutionary spirit to it. Three-quarters of its members were former Social Democrats who brought with them into the Communist Party social democratic survivals. The CPC did not, therefore, become wholly a Leninist Party immediately. To achieve this the salubrious process of Bolshevization was needed.

**Dejiny Komunistické strany Československa*. Praha, Státní nakladatelství politické literatury, 1961, 710 pp.

The Decisive Fifth Congress

The task of the Communist parties at the time when revolutionary development was at a low ebb and a temporary stabilization of capitalism had set in, was their Bolshevization. This task was set by the Fifth Congress of the Communist International in 1924.

In Czechoslovakia it was undertaken by the new generation of Party functionaries, of whom Klement Gottwald was an outstanding representative. These comrades had assimilated the creative essence of Leninism and applied it in their everyday work. Thanks to them the Bolshevik orientation triumphed at the Party's Fifth Congress in 1929. This Congress defeated opportunism in the Party and threw overboard the social democratic traditions and habits. It equipped the Party with the means to wage an economic and political struggle when the temporary stabilization of capitalism began to wane. It emphasized the importance of adhering to the Leninist norms of Party life and the Leninist principles of Party leadership. The leadership now at the head of the Party was closely linked with the working class, regularly generalized the Party's experience and worked out its tactics with greater precision. The Party's strategic and tactical problems were henceforth solved on the basis of profound Marxist-Leninist analysis.

In the 'thirties in the course of its struggle to win the masses the Party learned to conduct revolutionary work not only among the industrial workers but also among the working peasants.

At the Head of the Anti-Fascist Struggle

When the country and indeed the whole world was confronted with the fascist threat, the CPC lead the anti-fascist struggle to safeguard democracy and national independence. On the basis of the line charted by the Seventh Congress of the International it elaborated a working-class concept of the defense of democracy, national freedom and independence. It upheld the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat in the democratic movement against the reactionary groupings of finance capital who were in a conspiracy with the Nazis and who for the sake of their class interests were prepared to betray the nation.

The Party made every effort to rally the people in defense of democracy and the republic, and the popular movement, of which the Party was the soul, foiled the designs of the reactionary bourgeoisie to establish a fascist dictatorship in the country. But it could not prevent the international and the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie from entering into a conspiracy which resulted in Munich. "Democrats" of the type of Benes, and the "Socialists" Zenkl and Bechiné, in whom at that time considerable sections of the people still believed, felt no shame in subscribing to Munich. They feared the

Popular Front, a government of the Popular Front and joint action with the Soviet Union against the aggressor more than they feared Hitler.

In the course of the struggle against the Nazi invaders, the Party rallied the patriotic forces in a broad National Front. The working class, the most consistent force in the Resistance, led this front. Munich and the national-liberation struggle made the people aware of the decisive role the Soviet Union had played in the struggle. The Communists who, as the people saw, were in the forefront of the anti-fascist fighters, became the most authoritative party in the country. And that is why the CPC was able to become the guiding force in the people's and democratic revolution.

Building the New Society

The revolution brought into being a new people's democratic state which differed fundamentally from the pre-Munich bourgeois republic. But it was not as yet a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for there were also representatives of the "democratic" bourgeoisie in the government who dreamed of restoring capitalism.

The far-reaching democratic changes effected under the leadership of the working class in face of bourgeois resistance, undermined the economic and political positions of the bourgeoisie and enhanced the influence of the working class headed by the CPC. The bourgeoisie came out more and more openly against the new order of things. And the people began to realize that to guarantee their national and social interests it was necessary to abolish bourgeois reaction and to take the path of socialist construction. And when, in February 1948, the bourgeoisie attempted to change the balance of forces by means of an anti-state putsch, it found itself isolated from the people. The February victory finally decided the question of political power in favor of the working class and the working people generally. The people's democratic state was consolidated as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our experience has proved that the working class can win power by peaceful means. This has been made possible by the changed balance of world forces and the growth of the influence and prestige of the Soviet Union. The Czechoslovak working class won power by peaceful means because, led by the CPC, it headed the struggle for democracy, national freedom and independence. The National Front, based on the worker-peasant alliance and whose guiding force was the CPC, gained in strength in the course of the struggle. But this peaceful path was nevertheless a revolutionary path, a path of resolute class struggle against the bourgeoisie.

The *History of the CPC* deals in detail with the Party's experience in building socialism in the

period 1948-1960. It shows how the Party applied the universal laws of socialist construction to the specific conditions of the country. The Party utilized the favorable international and domestic situation to achieve the victory of socialism in a comparatively short time. It accumulated much experience which has enriched the Marxist-Leninist theory on socialist construction.

Of exceptional value is the experience obtained in building the material and technical base of socialism in the conditions of an industrially advanced country. The level and structure of industrial production, inherited from capitalism, did not suffice for building the material and technical base of socialism and raising the standard of living. It was necessary to reorganize industry and increase the share of heavy industry and machine-building in the national economy. This was, in the main completed during the First Five-Year Plan. The Second Five-Year Plan saw the completion of the material and technical base of socialism. By 1960 industrial output had risen fourfold compared with the bourgeois republic. The experience of Czechoslovakia shows that even in industrially advanced countries where, under capitalism the rate of production growth is slow or marking time, a big leap can be made under socialism.

In reorganizing agriculture along socialist lines the CPC relied on the Leninist cooperative plan and the Soviet experience of collectivization which it has adapted to the conditions of the country. Traditions of agricultural cooperatives are old in the Czech countryside. The Party sought to combine the existing cooperatives with the united agricultural cooperatives. Their task was to organize collective farming. Four types of cooperatives have come into being. The peasants have come to realize the advantages of joint labor and have joined cooperatives of the higher, socialist type. The Party saw to it that in establishing cooperatives the voluntary principle was strictly observed. A big part in setting up cooperatives and in their development was played by the industrial workers, many of whom live in the countryside. As regards the wealthy farmers, a policy of restriction and eliminating them was pursued with the result that they were gradually abolished as a class.

The socialist reorganization of the countryside was accompanied by the growth of agricultural output, although the development plans were not fulfilled 100 per cent. Completion of the reorganization has enabled the Party to direct its efforts to considerably increasing output.

The CPC's experience in developing socialist democracy is valuable. The Party held nationwide discussions on the country's major economic and political problems. These undoubtedly helped to heighten the working people's sense of responsibility

for the nation's advance, and spurred them on to still greater efforts to fulfil the tasks of socialist construction. Extension of socialist democracy is further expressed in extending the rights of the national committees and the gradual transfer of some state functions to public organizations.

The experience of the cultural revolution in Czechoslovakia shows that this revolution is essential in the transition to socialism also in countries with a high cultural level. Although the cultural and educational level of the population was fairly high in pre-war Czechoslovakia, bourgeois ideology nevertheless exerted a big influence. Thanks to painstaking educational work, the Party has won a victory for socialist ideology. A large part of the intellectuals had turned to socialism even before February 1948, and this enabled us to draw them into the socialist construction. At the same time cadres of new intelligentsia have been formed from the workers and peasants.

The experience of the CPC's national policy shows how the working class of an advanced country helps to overcome the backwardness of a formerly oppressed country. As a result of the socialist industrialization of Slovakia output there had by the end of 1960 risen tenfold compared with prewar. The cultural level is rising rapidly to that of the rest of the country. Development on this scale was unthinkable for Slovakia under capitalism.

On the whole, the experience of building socialism in Czechoslovakia confirms the correctness of the general laws of socialist construction as applicable to economically advanced countries.

* * *

The *History of the CPC* ends with an account of the Party Conference of 1960, the adoption of the new Constitution which sealed the victory of socialism, and the Meeting of Representatives of the 81 Parties in Moscow in November 1960. This symbolically emphasizes that the Czechoslovak working people achieved their successes first and foremost because they were a strong link in the international revolutionary working-class movement, while in the future, in the course of building a developed socialist society, they will, led by the CPC, always be a reliable contingent of the world army of Communists.

The *History of the CPC* shows that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has taken guidance from Marxist-Leninist theory, creatively applying it in its revolutionary practice. The text-book sums up the experience of the struggle of the Party and of the people for socialism. It will undoubtedly become a useful source of instruction for the Communists and working people of our country. Study of the history of the Party will inspire them to fight, together with the Party, with ever greater energy, persistence and purposefulness, for the advance to communism.

Miroslav KLIR

Mr. Taylor's Aunt Sally

Origins of the Second World War

IN British political controversy a favorite device of rival contestants for the ear of the voters is to attribute to their adversary some proposal which he never made, and then to demolish it by demonstrating its absurdity. This is called "putting up an Aunt Sally"—from an old children's game in which a dummy figure with a pipe in its mouth, called "Aunt Sally," was put up and then bombarded with sticks, aimed to break the pipe. In the furious uproar which then ensues—as, for example, when Churchill during the 1945 general election attributed to the Labor Party leaders the intention of introducing Gestapo methods into Britain if they won—the real purposes of both sides are effectively concealed from the electorate.

Mr. A. J. P. Taylor has adapted this method to the requirements of a sensational history of events from 1919 to 1939*, calculating to astonish the reader by its paradoxes—one which would provide, as the reviewer in the BBC weekly *Listener* put it (April 20, 1961), "a virtuoso display of impish inconsistency." His Aunt Sally is the supposedly wide belief that Hitler had "planned," long before, a particular date for the second World War, and that he even had a precise timetable. Again and again he pours scorn on the unnamed advocates of such views, drawing the conclusion that in fact, in 1939, "many were guilty, none was innocent," and indeed perhaps there were no "villains" in the piece at all (p. 17). Many reviewers in the principal bourgeois journals are fascinated by this feature of the book, some of them lauding him as "one of England's two or three outstanding historians" (*Times Literary Supplement*, April 21, 1961), comparable with Gibbon or Macaulay (*New Statesman*, April 21).

Yet in the course of knocking down his Aunt Sally, Mr. Taylor several times says something quite different, and much more relevant to the quest for the causes of the war. Hitler's aim, he says, was "to make Germany the greatest power in Europe" (p. 68), where he would create a "new order," dominated by Germany (p. 278). But if these were Hitler's objects—and we know in fact that he stated them publicly many times, apart from private declarations in documents which came to light only after the war—and if he steadily built up armed forces on a scale to enforce his will, why is it important whether he had a strict calendar of events drawn up beforehand, or whether he was a skilful improviser as Mr. Taylor would have him, taking advantage of all the opportunities which other governments provided? Mr. Taylor

returns again and again to this skill in "improvisation"—although, truth to tell, it was perfectly obvious to many of Hitler's contemporaries before 1939, and at the Nuremberg trial in 1946 his own confidential interpreter Schmidt confirmed it (almost in Mr. Taylor's words):*

"The general objectives of National Socialism were known from the start, namely, the domination of the European continent, to be achieved first by the incorporation of all German-speaking groups in the Reich, and secondly by territorial expansion under the slogan of 'Lebensraum'. The execution of these basic objectives, however, seemed to be characterized by improvisations. Each succeeding step was apparently carried out as each new situation arose, but all consistent with the ultimate objectives mentioned above."

But Mr. Taylor's emphasis on this aspect of Hitler's policy makes it all the more necessary to ask, how did the situations arise which gave Hitler the opportunity for such convenient "improvisations"? And it is precisely this question which Mr. Taylor fails to answer in his book, despite a mass of doubtful generalizations about the psychology of the British and French peoples, Ramsay MacDonald and Stanley Baldwin, Chamberlain and Daladier. Before turning to this question, however, there is the matter of Hitler's armed forces to clear up.

Hitler Germany's Armed Forces

Several times in his book Mr. Taylor seeks to reinforce his main thesis, that Hitler had no intention of launching war, by the argument that "even in 1939 the German army was not equipped for a prolonged war" (p. 75), which then becomes (p. 105) "the German generals insisted unanimously in 1939 that they were not equipped for war," even that "the state of German armament in 1939 gives the decisive proof that Hitler was not contemplating general war, and probably not intending war at all" (p. 218) — while in June, 1941, "the Germans had to improvise furiously when they went to war against Russia" (p. 219).

Of course there has never been a war in which both sides have not had to improvise furiously. Those who have launched wars have never known how long the fighting would go on. And it is an old truism that generals are never satisfied with their preparations for war. But it would be useful to know what Hitler was thinking of, in Mr. Taylor's opinion, when he organized the following increases in the German armed forces:

*A. J. P. Taylor. *The Origins of the Second World War* (Hamish Hamilton). 296 pp., 25/-.

*Trial of Major War Criminals. Proceedings of the International Tribunal (London edition). 1946, Part 10, p. 143.

	1932	1935	1938	Sept. 1939
Corps Commands	0	11	21	23
Divisions	10	31	52	103

Germany had just over 100,000 troops in 1932 and 3,750,000 in 1939. She had no military planes in 1933, while in 1938 she had 3,350 and in 1939 4,700. She had no tanks in 1933, but in September 1939 she began the war with 3,200 tanks. All this may not have been enough for a "prolonged war." But 44 divisions (including five tank and six mechanized divisions), with 2,000 planes, proved enough to overthrow the old Poland in 1939, and 135 divisions, with 6,500 tanks and 3,400 planes, did the same for France in 1940.

Hitler's generals may well have had to "improvise furiously" when they went to war against the USSR, all the more because they (like their opposite numbers in Great Britain) did not think the Red Army could hold out for more than eight weeks (the figure given at a German military conference on December 5, 1940), and made no serious provision for the winter. The fact remains, however, that (i) thanks to the vast expansion of heavy industry made possible by the seizure of Austria and Czechoslovakia, Hitler Germany raised her tank output from 2,200 in 1940 to over 5,000 in 1941, and military aircraft output from 4,700 in 1939 to over 11,000 in 1941, with guns in proportion; (ii) in France alone the Nazi forces captured 3,000 planes and nearly 5,000 tanks, with enough motor transport to equip 88 infantry, one tank and three mechanized divisions; (iii) by June 22, 1941, Hitler Germany had 214 divisions as against 103 in 1939—and 152 of them were on the Soviet front, together with 29 supplied by the satellite states, and with 18 German and satellite brigades.

But Mr. Taylor takes the easiest way out—by not mentioning these facts.

The Historian's Blind Eye

We come back, therefore, to the reasons which made it possible for Nazi Germany to "improvise," and to throw large armed forces into the scales besides its improvisations. Turning to Mr. Taylor's narrative of events from the end of the First World War onwards, we soon begin to discover some formidable improvisations of his own, very substantially affecting the main question at issue. There is space to select but a few.

He says that after the armistice of November 11, 1918, the Allies "were transformed, without conscious intent, into allies of the Reich . . . against Bolshevism" (p. 23). He omits to mention that article 12 of the armistice terms themselves, and article 433 of the subsequent Peace Treaty, provided specifically that the occupying German troops were to stay where they were in Russian territory, to maintain "order"—and that they were already cooperating for that purpose with British

naval forces in the Baltic, within a few days of the armistice. "Without conscious intent"?

Mr. Taylor speaks of the authors of the Versailles Treaty as "liberally minded men" (p. 28), of their "high principle" (p. 30), of their trusteeship as "Western democracies" (p. 33) and particularly of Clemenceau's dislike of tsarist Russia as alien to Western democracy. But these same high-minded men were at that moment spreading fire and slaughter, through their own troops and those of the Whites, all over Russia.

Only at one point does Mr. Taylor suddenly bethink himself of the invasion of Soviet Russia which had been going on since the spring of 1918. But he makes as little as possible of it, saying only that it began "while the war against Germany was still on" (p. 36). No one would know, from his few words, that in December, 1918, the press began a hurricane preparation of the British public for large-scale war against the Soviet Republic—that it was only prevented by the giant strikes of the British army for demobilization in January 1919—that invasion dragged on nevertheless for well over another year—that both the Labor Party Conference and the Trades Union Congress in 1919 deemed the situation so serious that they threatened industrial action unless intervention stopped—and that a year later (August 1920) only the direct threat of a General Strike prevented Lloyd George's government from declaring war on Soviet Russia in support of Poland.

Putting together Mr. Taylor's omissions and improvisations, a constant element in British and French policy after the 1914-1918 war begins to emerge in spite of the fact that he has not mentioned it. The British and French governments, whose investors suffered a heavy blow when the Soviet Republic was established, began to do their utmost to overthrow it. For this purpose they saved from destruction in Germany the very forces of big capitalism, large landownership and militarism which had ruled under the Kaiser, hoping to use them against Soviet Russia and in any case to prevent Bolshevism from spreading in Germany.

With his improvisations Mr. Taylor is not merely acting the mountebank rather than the historian, but taking belated ideological responsibility for that very policy which rebuilt the forces of aggression in Germany — not by chance either, as we shall see.

More Improvisations

In the meantime, Mr. Taylor does his best to throw everyone else off the scent. On page 21 he told us that it was the decision to grant an armistice to the German government in 1918 "which ultimately led to the Second World War." On page 44 it is reparations which, "more than anything

else, cleared the way for the Second World War." Then, on page 177, it is the lying guarantee given by Chamberlain to Czechoslovakia on September 18, 1938, which "landed her (Great Britain) in the Second World War." On page 211 it is the British guarantee to Poland on March 30, 1939. On page 278 it turns out that Hitler "became involved in war through launching on August 29 a diplomatic maneuver which he ought to have launched on August 28."

All these improvisations and "impish inconsistencies"—and many other verbal fireworks, strongly reminiscent of the weekly essays of first-year undergraduates and of the "stimulating" comments of their tutors, have nevertheless a method in their madness. And it is the same method as before—by keeping the reader amused, to distract attention from more dangerous "improvisations."

Taylor talks of the Locarno Treaties of 1925 bringing Europe "peace and hope," and no one seriously wishing for an anti-Soviet bloc (p. 55), as though the British Foreign Secretary, Austen Chamberlain, had not circulated his notorious Cabinet memorandum that year,* about organizing security in Europe 'in spite of Russia, perhaps because of Russia'; and as though there was no flood of comments on the Locarno Treaties (including some by British cabinet ministers) as uniting "Western civilization" against the USSR.

"In the first years of power," Mr. Taylor expects us to believe, "Hitler did not concern himself much with foreign affairs" (p. 72). But it is worth noting that Hitler's "unconcern" for foreign affairs led to the pact with Poland (January 1934), the revolt of his Austrian agents and the murder by them of Chancellor Dolfuss (July, 1934), the flat refusal to join a collective security plan which would have barred the way to German aggression in Eastern Europe (Mr. Taylor does not even mention the Hitler Note of September 12, 1934), and the Nazi terrorist intervention in preparation for the Saar plebiscite of January, 1935, with the unmistakable complicity of the Western authorities.

Somewhat later (p. 73) our author has mentioned the real reason why Hitler's rearmament of Germany, in defiance of all treaties, failed to produce the action for which they provided—"if Hitler fell, chaos would follow in Germany" (be it recalled that Communists and Social Democrats between them had had over 13 million votes in November, 1932, two months before Hitler was installed). When the crisis arose over Hitler's remilitarization of the Rhineland in March, 1936, the French army could have been sent in by the signatories of the Locarno treaties. Why did not this happen? He says that all it could do would be to exact "pro-

mises of good behavior," and then go away. That is not true. It could have overthrown Hitler and his gang—and all Europe, then saturated with accounts of Nazi brutality, would have applauded, and so would most Germans. But this would have been "chaos."

The Root of the Matter

What would have been "chaos" and "ruin" in Nazi Germany and fascist Italy, in the eyes of the British and French ruling classes? Mr. Taylor, for all his daring paradoxes, does not venture to do more than hint. He retires behind his smoke-screen of tributes to Chamberlain's "idealism," alternating with complaints of "indecisiveness" and "moral and intellectual fog." Why? Because to draw the true conclusions would be to admit that there were quite identifiable "villains"—and villain classes—who caused the Second World War. Here we come to the root of the matter, and Mr. Taylor's cavalier treatment of the facts plays a greater part than ever.

When the fascist rebellion began in Spain in July 1936, Hitler "knew no more than anyone else" beforehand (p. 121). In reality, the rebel leaders had been in Berlin discussing German air support in February 1936, and four days after the rebellion started Goering was able to send large numbers of transport planes to Morocco which brought thousands of Franco troops to Spain. Mr. Taylor doesn't know why the British government proposed "non-intervention," which in fact meant supporting Franco. But he should. Premier Baldwin had instructed Foreign Secretary Eden on July 26 "that on no account, French or other, must he bring us in to fight on the side of the Russians."**

Our author finds it "hard to trace in detail" the connection between British policy on Spain and the failure of the Brussels Conference in November 1937, to help China when she appealed for help under the League Charter, on being attacked once more by Japan (pp. 127-8). His readers would have found it easier, had he reminded them that in November 1936, Japan and Germany had signed the Anti-Comintern Pact and that, while the Conference was in session, Italy had adhered to it—and had he informed them that the Western Powers "invited" the USSR to mobilize on the Manchurian border and send its air force over Tokyo, while they confined themselves to a naval demonstration in "Far Eastern waters."*** To provoke a Soviet-Japanese war at a time when Germany and Italy were close allies of Japan—what could seem more tempting?

*Thomas Jones, *A Diary with Letters* (Oxford, 1954), p. 231.

**V. Galyanov, *The Fascist Aggressors and Their Accomplices* (Bolshevik, January, 1938, pp. 64-5).

*Published first in March, 1925, and never repudiated by Chamberlain.

All over the world people were drawing the conclusion from Hitler's actions up to and including 1937 that he was preparing for further conquests. But Mr. Taylor now singles out one of the many secret Nazi documents published since the war—the "Hossbach Memorandum" of the meeting of the Nazi war chiefs on November 5, 1937. Mr. Taylor triumphantly points out that the document doesn't contain a "concrete plan" or "directive" for 1937-38 (pp. 131-4). Why should it, when Hitler began by saying specifically that what he intended was "to explain to those present his fundamental ideas on the possibilities and necessities of expanding our foreign policy"—which he did—and when experience suggested he could still seize position after position in Europe with the consent of the British and French governments?

Several times in his account of the years 1936-39 Mr. Taylor refers to alleged doubts in London and Paris about the strength of the USSR (pp. 112, 129, 158, 208). But he does not mention the heavy defeat the Japanese army sustained at the hands of the Red Army on the Soviet border as early as July and August 1938. It must be clear that the "doubts" about the strength of the Red Army were entertained by Chamberlain and Halifax because they wanted a specious pretext for avoiding any practical cooperation with the Soviet Union while Hitler was pushing ahead with his conquests.

Considerations of space prevent adequate treatment of Mr. Taylor's version of how the British and French governments presented Hitler with Czechoslovakia. But it adds nothing essential to other apologies for appeasement. What deserves notice in the light of his earlier efforts, however, is the following. Out of at least six Soviet offers of staff talks with France, Czechoslovakia and Great Britain made between April and September 1938, Mr. Taylor mentions only two—both in September (pp. 172, 180). In particular, when writing of the one and only meeting between British and Soviet Ministers on Czechoslovakia (in Geneva on September 23) he depicts Litvinov as merely repeating that the USSR would help if France did, and forgets to mention that Litvinov proposed an immediate Three-Power meeting in Paris, with military and air staff experts in attendance.

In short, Mr. Taylor does all that he can, even at the expense of well-attested historical facts, to prepare the reader for his ludicrous assertion—for which alone, possibly, his book will be remembered—that Munich "was a triumph for all that was best and most enlightened in British life," indeed was inspired by high "morality" on Chamberlain's part (p. 189).

Smokescreen for Warmongers

What makes his words about morality peculiarly fantastic (whether written seriously or with

tongue in cheek) is that, in the three final chapters dealing with the period following Munich (October 1938-September 1939), Mr. Taylor shows very plainly that the British government's policy was quite the most immoral in history—if we measure its consequences by the tens of millions of lives lost in the Second World War. The British leaders were now eagerly hoping that Hitler would try to seize the Soviet Ukraine, if possible with Polish assistance (pp. 192, 194, 196, 198). At the same time they wanted reassurance, in case he didn't. Already on November 1, 1938, he writes, Lord Halifax was advocating a policy that meant that "Russia should fight for British interests, but Great Britain and France should not fight for hers" (p. 197). For this purpose, and only for this, the British government entered upon negotiations with the USSR, under pressure from the enraged majority of the British people, following Hitler's occupation of all Czechoslovakia in March, 1939.

"The British," writes Mr. Taylor, "wanted a moral demonstration which would enable them to reach a settlement with Hitler on more favorable terms"—and would then "enable Hitler to attack the USSR with Polish or Rumanian connivance" (p. 238)—while "the Russians wanted a precise military alliance for mutual assistance, which would either deter Hitler or secure his defeat" (p. 246). There is much else on the same lines, mingled with plenty of anti-Soviet remarks too.

But this section of the book, a non-typical one, can hardly excuse the distortion of history that runs through the book as a whole. The plain and unmisakeable fact is that, for every twist and turn of official British policy in Europe from 1919 to 1939, there is only one clear purpose running right through those years, apart from slight temporary deviations under pressure. It was as old as the Armistice of 1918, and it emerged with fatal force at the end. It was implacable enmity to the Soviet Union as the first socialist state, treated throughout as the worst of all possible foes. For this the Orgesch and the Reichswehr (both legal and "Black") were permitted, for this their successor Hitler was built up and encouraged. And even Mr. Taylor's final "impish inconsistency"—in admitting some of the truth about 1939 which the apologists for Baldwin and Chamberlain usually hide—should not blind one to the fact that in essence, with its omissions and distortions and perverse paradoxes, his book is one more apology, one more smokescreen serving to conceal the true policy of British imperialism between the two world wars, and its results.*

*Since this review was written, Mr. Taylor has achieved still greater success. His main rival among Oxford historians, Trevor Roper, attacked his Aunt Sally with great violence in the American journal *Encounter*, denouncing Taylor's apologies for Hitler as "irresponsible," "too clever by half" and "perversion of evidence." Thereupon BBC Television gave the two 40 minutes for a discussion at the most popular time

Smokescreens of this kind are particularly in demand just now, when aggressive German finance capital and revenge-seeking militarism have been carefully rehabilitated, rebuilt and nurtured once more by the capitalist democracies, just as they were after their defeat in the First World War, and are being incited against the USSR as Hitler was. It was not for nothing that, as Elizabeth Wiskemann pointed out in the *Times Literary*

—Sunday evening. This, too, remained a debate for or against Hitler's responsibility for the Second World War—without a breath of suggestion that any other powers shared it.

Supplement (June 2, 1961), the neo-Nazi and militarist press in West Germany has welcomed Mr. Taylor's book. Clear thinking about the origins of the Second World War is of exceptional importance for understanding the forces which are threatening to bring about a third and final catastrophe for the world. Mr. Taylor's book—whatever its motives, which we do not pretend to fathom—serves only to prevent clear thinking, to muddle minds, and thus to help the warmongers.

Andrew ROTHSTEIN

Communications and Comment

Peoples of Oceania Against Colonialism

OCEANIA is one of the few areas of colonialism still remaining in the world. The few thousand islands scattered over the expanses of the Pacific Ocean and inhabited by over three million people have been divided among Britain, the United States, France, Australia and New Zealand.

There was a time when bourgeois propaganda worked hard to build up a legend about the "halcyon existence" of the indigenous population of these islands. But in recent years the Western press has ceased to extol this Oceanic paradise. The reason for this silence is that the national-liberation movement is spreading rapidly in that corner of the globe. The colonialists are anxious to hide the fact at all costs and to pretend that their position there is unshakeable.

The imperialist powers, and primarily the United States, attach the utmost importance to regaining their domination over Oceania. And for a number of reasons.

Economically their colonial possessions in the Pacific are of no small value for the imperialists. In the first place the area is rich in minerals. New Caledonia (French colony), for instance, occupies second place in the world for nickel deposits. Moreover, the colonies and trust territories of Oceania produce large quantities of cane sugar, copra (more than 10 per cent of the total world output), palm oil, bananas and cocoa. Phosphorites are mined on a big scale. On the whole the foreign capitalists derive huge profits from the colonial exploitation of Oceania.

But it is for strategic rather than economic reasons that the imperialists are clinging to Oceania. The Pentagon is particularly conscious of the strategic position of the Marshall, Caroline and Mariana islands the possession of which enables the

United States to ensure its trans-Pacific naval and air communications and to control the approaches to such important areas as the Philippines, Indonesia, New Guinea and Australia. After the Second World War the American imperialists set up dozens of bases on their trust territories. Guam, for instance, has been turned into one of the biggest U.S. military bases in the Pacific. Other bases have been established on Eastern Samoa (another U.S. colony).

The Pentagon chiefs have used Oceania as a testing ground for nuclear weapons. In recent years America has been testing rockets and guided missiles there. Britain has spent millions on a nuclear testing range on Christmas Island.

Decades of colonial oppression have had dire consequences for the population of these islands. In many of them the population is dying out. On the Marshall, Caroline and Mariana islands, for example, the population has shrunk to about half since the beginning of European colonization. The population of New Caledonia, which comprised about 70,000 when French colonial domination was established in the mid-19th century, is now 37,000. The standard of living on the U.S. trust territories in Oceania is now much lower than it was before the war.

The imperialists and their agents seek to justify their efforts to preserve the colonial regime in Oceania on the grounds that its people are "not mature enough" for self-government and independence. The apologists of colonialism have advanced the "theory" that the territorial, economic, national and language differences between the peoples of the islands allegedly present an insuperable obstacle to their independence. They claim that the path of development for the peoples of Oceania

must be "fundamentally different" from that of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples.

The history of Oceania, however, proves the falseness of this assertion. Throughout the period of colonial rule the peoples of this area have never ceased to struggle against their oppressors. In recent years the national-liberation movement has spread. The hopes cherished by the imperialists that the peoples of Oceania would remain unaffected by the great movement of our time — the movement for emancipation from colonial oppression — have been disappointed.

Western Samoa is about to become independent. It will be the first country in Oceania to gain political independence — the result of long years of struggle for freedom.

Last year the constitutional assembly of Western Samoa endorsed the Constitution of the future independent state. At the end of the year the United Nations Trusteeship Council passed a resolution to hold a referendum in Western Samoa in which the population was to state its attitude to terminating the New Zealand mandate and receiving independent status. The referendum was held in May 1961, and the overwhelming majority of the population voted in favor of independence. In accordance with the terms of the referendum New Zealand is obliged to grant Western Samoa political independence as of January 1, 1962.

A broad movement against the British colonialists has developed in recent years on the Fiji islands. In December 1959 the first general strike in the history of the colony occurred, the workers demanding an increase in their miserly wages. The strike developed into something like an uprising. In Suva, the administrative center of the colony, buildings belonging to European firms were damaged. Barricades were thrown up and in spite of the state of emergency clashes between workers and police and troops continued for several days.

Although the rebellion was crushed and the British authorities arrested nearly 150 people, they nevertheless had to grant some concessions. The situation was aptly described by Fullerton, an Australian missionary, in a radio broadcast on his return from the islands. The winds that are blowing over the rest of the world are blowing over Fiji as well, he said. What is happening in the underdeveloped countries of the world is having an intoxicating effect on the Fijians, he added.

The colonialists had hardly time to relax after the first outbreak when the Indian sugar cane farmers on the island staged a strike which lasted four months. Thousands of farmers walked out in protest against the powerful British Colonial Sugar Refining Company. With great difficulty the company, aided by the colonial administration, managed to induce them to return to work. But

the struggle against colonial oppression and the monopolies is still going on.

For the French colonialists, too, the days of calm and tranquility are a thing of the past. The population of "French" Polynesia and New Caledonia are insistently demanding independence.

Early in 1958 the Association of the People of Tahiti in "French" Polynesia formed a government which officially proclaimed in favor of withdrawing from the French Union and establishing an independent Tahiti republic. During the referendum held in the French possessions in September 1958, 34 per cent of the population in Polynesia voted against preserving the link with France.

After the referendum, the authorities attempted to crush the liberation movement. On orders from the Governor, the government was dissolved and its leader Pouvanaa a Oopa was arrested and charged with "subversion." The French court condemned him to eight years' imprisonment and banishment from Tahiti for 15 years.

But the population was not intimidated. In June 1960, during the elections to the French Chamber of Deputies, Pouvanaa a Oopa's son, Marcel Oopa, was elected deputy from "French" Polynesia by an overwhelming majority. This was a slap in the face for the French colonialists.

In New Caledonia open manifestations against colonial rule have occurred latterly, including clashes with police and troops. The disturbances in 1958 were so serious that, as the foreign press put it, the French governor had difficulty in "saving the colony from civil war."

The inhabitants of the Marshall, Caroline and Mariana islands are rising against the U.S. colonialists. At a session of the United Nations Trusteeship Council in 1960 the representatives of the Marshall islands strongly opposed the continuation of American administration. "The peoples of Africa and Asia are getting their freedom," one of these spokesmen, Jalle Bolkeim, declared. "We think we can do as good a job of governing ourselves as do these countries."

The U.S. imperialists are well aware that in the present circumstances it is becoming increasingly difficult to preserve their direct colonial rule over the Pacific islands. They are now toying with the idea of retaining their control by new methods "more suited to the present conditions."

The movement against the colonialists is gaining headway in Australian New Guinea as well.* By making a few concessions the Australian government is trying to check the growth of the national-liberation movement there. Early this year the first six representatives of the Papuan population were elected to the Papua-New Guinea

*The Australian colony of Papua and the United Nations trust territory of New Guinea are under Australian administration. The two territories have been combined to form the administrative territory of Papua-New Guinea.

Legislative Council. It was officially announced that Australia will grant self-government to this territory (exactly when, however, was not indicated). At the same time, there is a plan afoot to join Papua-New Guinea to Indonesian West Irian and establish a formally independent state of New Guinea virtually controlled as before by the Australian and Dutch imperialists.

Despite the efforts of the Australian colonialists to consolidate their control over Papua-New Guinea, many of them under the impact of events are beginning to doubt whether this is possible. A *Pacific Islands Monthly* correspondent commented, after visiting Papua-New Guinea, that there was no evidence that the political development of this territory would differ in any way from that of a dozen other former colonial territories after the

Second World War; in all probability it would merely take a little longer.

The national-liberation movement in Oceania is developing under extremely adverse conditions. But although relatively few in number, scattered over a vast area, divided by national and political barriers and remote from the main centers of the struggle against colonialism, the peoples of Oceania are carrying on the fight against the colonialists. Inspired by the successes of the national-liberation movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the peoples of these Pacific islands are determined to overcome all obstacles to their emancipation. Their struggle is flowing into the mighty torrent of the movement against imperialism and colonialism.

I. SHVAN.

Letter from Berlin

"BLACK Sunday" is how the Western press describes August 13, 1961. All progressive people, all those who value peace, regard it as the day mankind was rescued from the disaster of another world war.

Early that morning I visited several points on the state border of Berlin . . . A few tanks stood near the Brandenburg Gate, while on the border itself there were large units of people's police, soldiers of the People's Army and worker volunteer detachments.

"It's high time," was the comment made by one member of a workers' volunteer unit. A man of about 45, his manner was grave but calm as he replied briefly to my questions. He was glad to be in the thick of things. He did not know how many days he would be serving, but the inconveniences of mobilization did not appear to bother him. "It's high time," he said. "There will be many changes now."

This was indicative of the general feeling among the population of the GDR who consider the government's action in closing the border of the eastern sector of Berlin to be long overdue.

The working class of the GDR refused to tolerate any longer a situation which they regarded as a threat to their republic. And indeed, the West German militarists and revenge-seekers took advantage of the situation to use the Western sectors for all kinds of provocative activities, subversion and sabotage. No wonder the worker standing guard at the Brandenburg Gate declared it to be "high time."

. . . A little farther south, at the point where the building which once housed Hitler's Chancel-

lery stands, the atmosphere was electric. During the night West Berliners had knocked down several yards of the newly-erected barrier. GDR sappers promptly restored the posts and put up barbed wire. Armed men of the People's Army stood guard over the barrier. A curious crowd from the Western sector gathered to gape. Some hoodlums tried to provoke trouble by shouting insults at the GDR soldiers. Someone began to throw stones, but no one was hit. Herr Brandt's policemen stood aside looking on. It was not until much later that they started clearing the border area to prevent clashes.

In the afternoon I went to see what was happening on the other side, in West Berlin. I found here not just tension but depression. People went about with worried expressions on their faces. On Budapester Strasse I passed a knot of people discussing the situation. Someone declared the Americans were bound to intervene since an uprising was likely to break out at any moment in the "Eastern Zone." Someone else pooh-poohed the idea . . .

Returning to the democratic sector I met some more workers' volunteer detachments. Not all were factory workers, there were some intellectuals, office workers and journalists among them. They all seemed cheerful and optimistic. But though they felt they were participating in momentous events, by no means all of them were fully aware of what was happening.

When they said they had come to the Brandenburg Gate to defend peace, these men perhaps did not realize how much profound meaning there was in these words. For had the armed forces of the

GDR not erected a state border between East and West Berlin on August 13, Europe might well have been enveloped in the flames of war by the time this issue of the journal went to press!

According to a report published in the West-German magazine *Spiegel*, a "secret general staff" of the Bundeswehr had drawn up a plan which was to have gone into effect immediately after the elections in Federal Germany. Bundeswehr units were to have invaded the GDR "without the participation of the NATO allies" and staged a counter-revolutionary putsch there at the same time. This report has not been denied.

Looking back over the weeks preceding August 13 one finds a number of indications that this crazy plan had already been put into operation. Suffice it to recall the high pressure propaganda campaign launched in West Germany with the object of playing on the emotions of the West German population by talking about the "martyrdom" of their 17 million "brothers and sisters" under "communist terror."

The plan of aggression was foiled by the peaceful and timely action of the GDR government. It all happened in the course of two hours on the night of August 12. The lights in the windows of the party offices, ministries, public organizations and army barracks burned all night. Border posts, barbed wire and bricks—all that was needed to turn the demarcation line into a state frontier—were transported by lorries to all parts of the line. Units of people's police and the army took up positions along the new 45-km. border, ready to defend the sovereign rights of the GDR. Tanks were stationed at various points. By 4 a.m. on August 13 the new frontier had been established. Bonn's "secret general staff" lost its main operational base. Hard times had arrived for the spies, saboteurs and diversionists.

The foreign press has been featuring heartrending photographs of a baby being held up by its parents, standing at the frontier, so that its grandmother, living in the democratic zone, might see it.

Undoubtedly for many Berliners establishing the state frontier between East and West Berlin was not an occasion for rejoicing. But the measures taken by the GDR by no means envisaged—in fact they excluded—any such regrettable consequences. It was the policy of the West Berlin authorities, or rather Mayor Willy Brandt, in refusing to issue passes to the GDR at the S-Bahn stations in West Berlin that caused the trouble. The steps taken to protect the frontiers of the German Democratic Republic have indeed created some inconvenience for the Berliners and have made things very difficult for some families. But can the present situation in West Berlin be judged solely from this

angle? After all, those who were plotting to invade the GDR gave little thought to the family ties of the Berliners. In this light the wisdom and humanity of the GDR government's step aimed at foiling the plans of the German militarists and saving millions of Germans from a real tragedy—the tragedy of war — will be appreciated.

. . . Today tanks are no longer to be seen on the streets of democratic Berlin. The workers' detachments have returned to their peaceful labors. But they are always on the alert. At the Friedrichstrasse station, the wooden partitions have been replaced by walls neatly faced with ceramic tiles. The tension has relaxed, although diverse provocations on the zonal frontier continue. The Americans have removed the tanks and guns which for two weeks had been pointed threateningly at the democratic sector from the control post on Friedrichstrasse. Only the American sentry post remains. The American soldiers on guard still wear helmets and carry tommy guns. A few steps away from them, forming a contrast in itself symbolic, are two GDR policemen and customs officers wearing their ordinary uniforms and armed with nothing but pistols. The white line on the asphalt separates the two sides.

The first evening papers appearing in West Berlin on August 13 claimed that the East Berlin authorities, seized with panic, had had to resort to tanks for their own safety. In reality, as we now see, the panic and fear were on the other side, where the militarists, revenge-seekers and other West German adventurers congregate. But this is hardly surprising.

Fifty black market money exchange offices, where you could buy four East marks for one West mark, have been closed. Factories, offices and shops in West Berlin are hunting for personnel to replace the "Grenzgaenger." Owners of motor vehicles are unable to provide transport for all those anxious to leave West Berlin for Federal Germany. Cafes and cinemas which flourished for years thanks to their close proximity to the demarcation lines are going out of business one after another. . . . For many adventures, profiteers and idlers "la dolce vita" has ended.

. . . Every evening the dazzling lights of the Kurfuerstendamm are switched on. The famous street is garish and ugly, but it undoubtedly makes an impression. This brightly illuminated show window of the "free world" is supposed to represent the "economic miracle." But behind the glossy facade lurks the harsh reality: a city of more than two million people, declining and morally debased; a city with the biggest number of suicides in the world; where one out of every four criminals is under 20 years of age; where 60 per cent of the sex crimes are committed by teenagers;

where hatred is an element of family upbringing, as is smuggling and spying; where every gangster regards himself as a hero of Christian civilization.

There is a considerable reactionary press in Western Berlin, an American radio station (RIAS) and more than 80 subversive centers whose wings were clipped on August 13 but which continue to operate. When these too will have been eliminated,

West Berlin will start life anew in a healthy and honest atmosphere.

"There will be many changes." . . . Much indeed has changed since that memorable morning when I heard those words—and not only in Berlin but in the broader and more complicated sphere of international relations as well.

Giuseppe CONATO

Against the Persecution of Democrats

SAVE THE INNOCENT

(Letter from a Japanese Prison)

DEAR COMRADES,

Soon it will be 10 years that I have been in jail for a crime I never committed. I am held in the Odori prison in the town of Sapporo, Hokkaido Island. The long years in a damp cell which is never heated, on this northernmost island of Japan which is known for its severe climate, have wrecked my health. I am seriously ill. Now my case has been submitted to the Supreme Court for a final hearing. In the event of justice not being restored, I shall have to serve the full sentence of 20 years of hard labor.

How did it happen that I, a man innocent of any crime, was thrown into prison?

The point is that my country's democracy is only a paper democracy; in reality we suffer under a brutal dictatorship—that of U.S. imperialism and the Japanese monopolies. It is they who for years have incited their minions to all kinds of crimes with the sole purpose of ascribing them to Communists, denouncing the Communists and trying to discredit them in the eyes of the masses. The derailing of an electric train at the Mitaka station, the sudden death of the president of the state railroads, the Matsukawa railroad accident, the bomb explosion at the police center in the village of Sugo—these are some of the crimes provoked by the police, crimes that were seized upon as the pretext for staging noisy trials of members of the Communist Party. The arrested Communists were held in prison for a long time before trial, subjected to torture and given harsh sentences. But then the trials began to boomerang. Under pressure from the masses, the judges had to observe justice and finally acquit the accused. The "Matsukawa trial" which ended recently in the complete rehabilitation of the accused and which had worldwide repercussions, is a typical example of these trials.

The case which led to my condemnation is similar to the other incidents provoked by the police against the Communist Party. One evening in the winter of 1952 the chief of the patrol department of the Sapporo police was shot and killed by an unknown person as he was cycling home. His assassin, who also had a bicycle, succeeded in escaping in the darkness.

The police, unabashed by the absence of evidence, immediately declared that the crime had been committed by a Communist. The capitalist press and radio joined in the hue and cry, asserting that the murder was the work of the Communist Party and that behind it was a political conspiracy.

In this atmosphere the police began to arrest the most prominent Communists in Sapporo. The first Communist whom they claimed was the "murderer" was a day laborer. Then came the turn of an active trade unionist from the day laborers' union, then a deputy secretary of the district Party committee on the staff of the electrical workers' trade union. Then, some time later, when these people were released, I was declared to be the "real assassin." At the time of my arrest I was a secretary of the district Party committee, that is, a leading Party functionary, so that a verdict of Guilty against me was the dream of the reactionaries. All in all, ten Communists and trade union members were arrested, and all of us were confronted with forged documents and false witnesses and were subjected to torture. The very fact that four men, one after another, were declared the "real assassin" gives an idea of the confusion in which the investigation proceeded.

During the past nine years there have been some 130 court sessions in the course of which it was made absolutely clear that I was innocent. I first came to Sapporo, a city with a population

of half a million, only two months before the murder took place. I had never seen the patrol chief. During the trial my alibi was completely established by numerous witnesses, including witnesses called for the prosecution. At the time of the murder I was away from the place in the company of a group of people—the ten members of a class of which I was the tutor. This fact was proved in court.

The absurdity of the "evidence" of my "guilt" was also demonstrated during the trial. In particular, it turned out that the police had resorted to forgery in an attempt to convince the court that on the day before the murder I had engaged in shooting practice on the outskirts of the city.

Dear comrades and friends, now that my case has been submitted to the Supreme Court, I appeal to all of you, to all honest and humane people throughout the world to act in my defense, to demand in letters, in the press or through any other means available to you that the Supreme Court of Japan study my case with the utmost attention and release me from jail, since a verdict of Not Guilty is the only just decision that it can take. By doing so you will help not only me but also the other wrongly accused and condemned victims of the terror in Japan.

Kuniji MURAKAMI

IRAQ: THE FACTS ACCUSE

THE Committee in Defense of Democratic Rights and Liberties in Iraq which includes prominent personalities, men of different political views, has published a pamphlet entitled *Stop the Terror!* The pamphlet contains numerous data on the persecution of democrats and patriots during the past two years.

This document, widely circulated in the country, levels grave charges against the government and reaffirms the justness of the protests against its policy of reactionary terror.

Between mid-1959 and May 1961 military courts passed 112 death sentences; 770 persons were condemned to terms of imprisonment that add up to more than 4,000 years. Last year 22,000 were sent to prison for political reasons.

Prior to the July revolution the number of patriots and democrats in Iraqi prisons and in exile was about 300. That is to say, the present government is persecuting the revolutionaries on a scale unknown even under the notorious Nuri Said regime.

There were 7,510 registered cases of police and bandit raids on the premises of trade union and other democratic organizations; 3,424 families were forced to leave their homes; during these raids 270 people were killed and 1,572 wounded.

During the Mosul coup the counter-revolutionaries killed about 90 and wounded 400. But instead of punishing the real culprits, the government tried hundreds of patriots, charging them with the murder of 30 counter-revolutionaries. Twenty-five were sentenced to death, 16 to life imprisonment, 18 to 15 years and others given various terms.

The events in Kirkuk, provoked by stooges of the oil monopolies, took a toll of 32 lives. But the

government, while leaving at liberty those guilty of this crime, arrested hundreds of democrats, of whom ten were sentenced to death.

Some 7,000 active trade unionists were victimized and many of them arrested. In particular, 96 workers in the cement industry were sentenced to terms of imprisonment totalling 58 years and nine months. The Ministry of Agriculture victimized 900 agricultural laborers for taking part in trade union activity; 3,260 peasant associations were denied licenses under various pretexts.

The pamphlet cites examples showing that the struggle waged by the people against the repressions and the protests made by progressive public opinion throughout the world are yielding fruit. In some cases the government has had to retreat. Of the 112 death sentences passed by the military courts 64 were commuted to long terms of imprisonment. Not long ago, yielding to the public pressure, the government released 500 democrats who had long been kept in prison without trial, while for 652 others the date of the trial was at long last fixed. The protest demonstrations compelled the government to postpone execution of the death sentences passed upon the Communists Adnan Djilmiran, Mahdi Hamid and Monzyr Abdul-Issa.

The Committee in Defense of Democratic Rights and Liberties in Iraq appealed to public opinion throughout the world for a still greater effort on behalf of the victims of the terror in Iraq. The pamphlet is a valuable contribution to the struggle against the persecution of democrats, to the cause of safeguarding the most consistent fighters of the Iraqi revolution.

Sami MAHMOUD

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the titles here are given in English)

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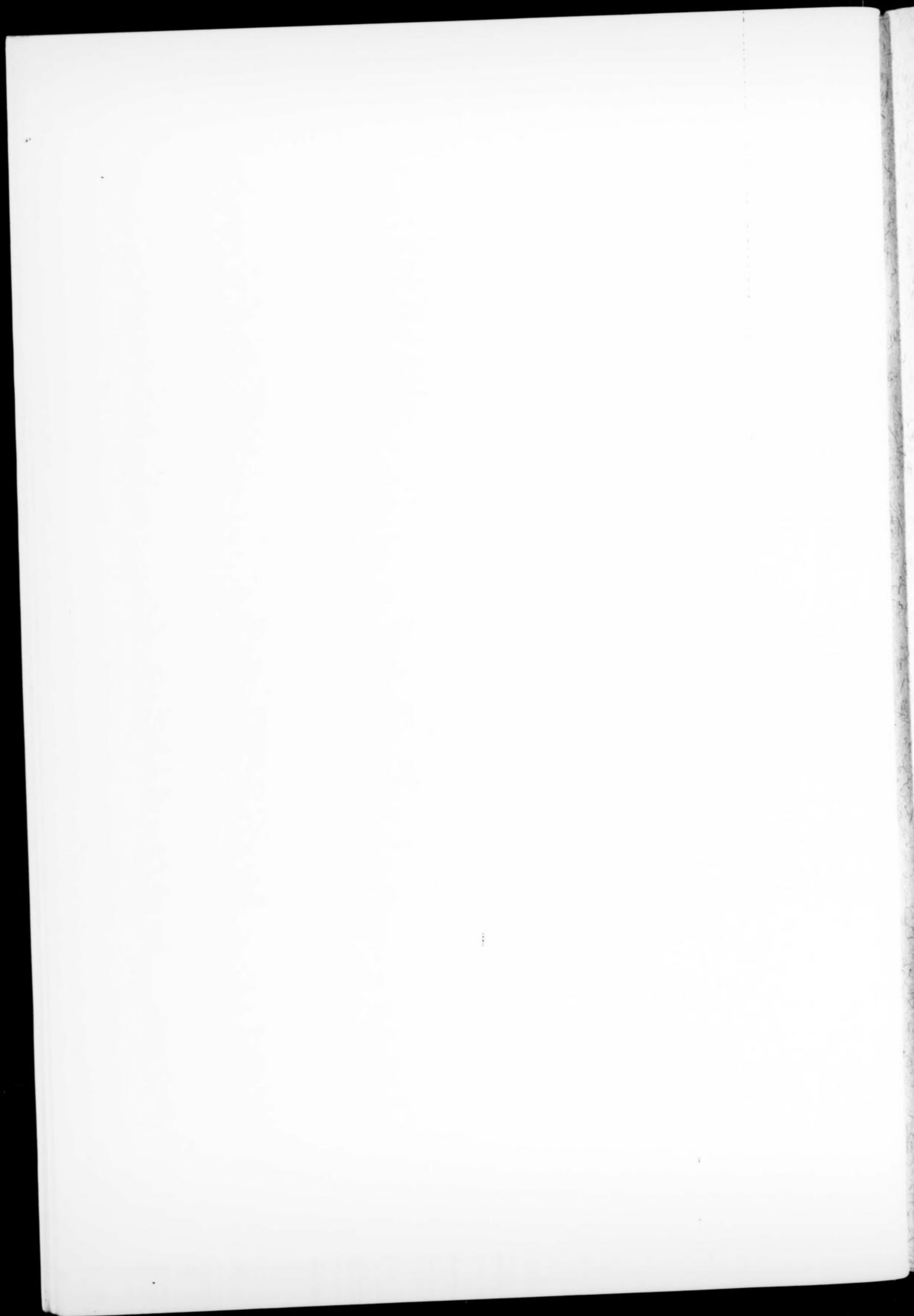
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