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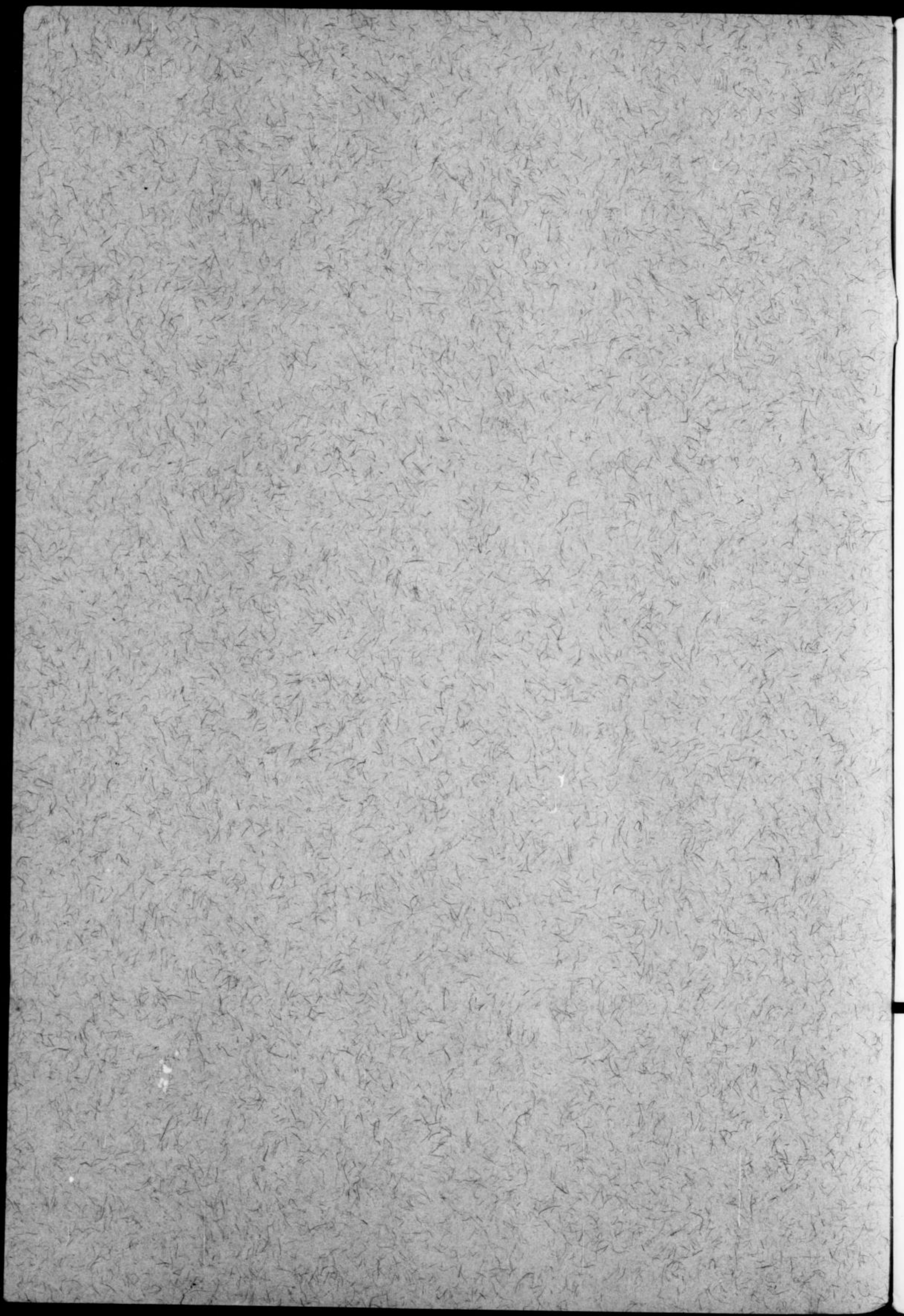
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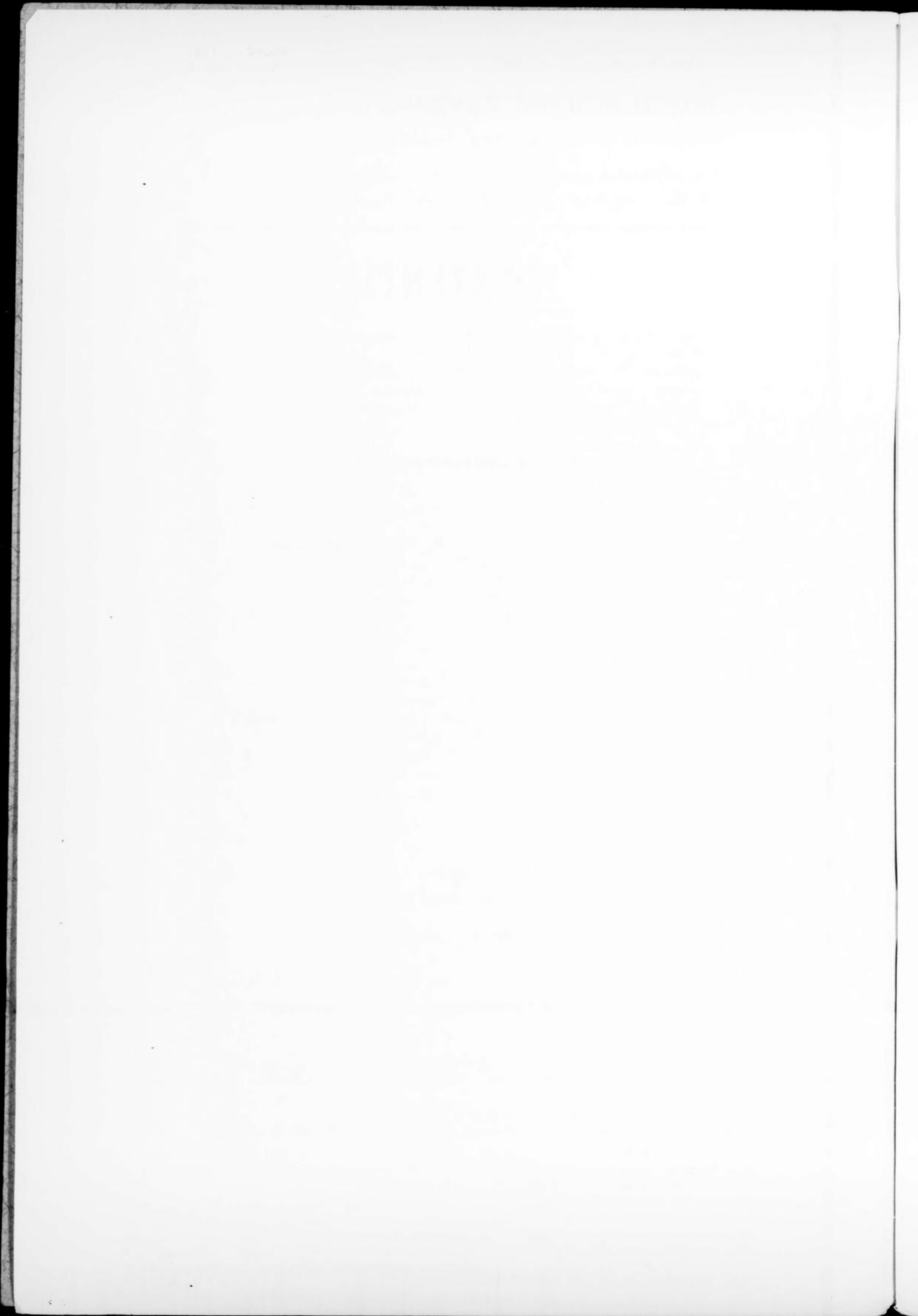
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The Moral and Political Unity of the Socialist Nations

V. Koucky

THE recent Moscow Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, which among other things summed up the experience of the rise of the socialist world system, drew a number of important conclusions which enrich the theory of scientific socialism. One of these was the deduction concerning the moral and political unity of the socialist nations as a new feature of the present stage of world socialism.

I

Constant conflict, mutual enmity and suspicion are features of the relations between nations under capitalism. The ideologists of the ruling bourgeoisie, whose interests such relations serve, claim that they are immutable and seek justification for them in the laws of biology, psychology and geography, and even in the mystic attributes of race. Then there are those who seek comfort in the illusion that relations between nations can be reshaped on a rational footing of eternal peace, mutual understanding and harmony without disturbing the foundations of the society based on exploitation. How many projects of this kind have there been in the course of the centuries! Yet history has relentlessly rejected the best laid of these schemes. Conflicts between the nations became graver, and wars more destructive. Nor could it be otherwise, for the roots of international contradictions and wars lie in the private ownership of the means of production.

In the era of capitalism two tendencies have come to the fore in the nationality question. One is the rise of national movements, the awakening of national consciousness and the rise of national states. The other is the development of relations between nations, the crumbling of national barriers, the rise of the world economic system of capitalism and the internationalization of all economic and intellectual life. And given private property

and exploitation of man by man, the two trends come into conflict and are hampered in their development. This is seen with particular force in the era of imperialism.

And in a world partitioned by the imperialist powers, the emergence of any new national movement or national state hurts the profits and interests of the monopolies of one or another imperialist power or group of powers. This, then, is the reason why these movements encounter fierce resistance on the part of the imperialists.

As for the second, centripetal trend, its principal proponents in the conditions of capitalism are bound to be the ruling classes of the bigger and stronger powers. For them association becomes subordination, rapprochement annexation, while co-operation becomes strangulation of the weak and small nations. The inevitable result is new and sharper contradictions and the aggravation of discord and enmity between the nations.

Antagonisms between nations have their roots in class antagonisms. This Marxist-Leninist truth is incontestably borne out by the march of events. It follows, then, that the relations between nations can be put on a different footing only when class antagonisms have been removed.

The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia did this for the first time in history. Indeed history could hardly have chosen a more suitable testing ground for Lenin's teachings on the ways and means of remoulding the relations between nations. Tsarist Russia was known, and rightly so, as the prison of the peoples. Its vast expanses were inhabited by scores of nations and peoples at varying levels of development. And the relations between these nations and peoples reflected most glaringly all the evils engendered by a system based on exploitation: national oppression and discrimination, mutual suspicion, chauvinism on the part of some and diehard nationalism on the part of others. Yet it was

precisely here that the socialist system, having done away with class antagonisms, offered the world within the span of a few decades one example after another of how to resolve the nationality question, ensuring the well-being of all nations and peoples on the basis of their all-round economic and political advancement and, at the same time, bringing them together in co-operation and indestructible friendship. This friendship was tested on the construction sites of the five-year plans and in the crucible of the Second World War, the victorious outcome of which was due in no small measure to the unity and solidarity of the socialist nations of the Soviet Union.

The rise of the socialist world system faced the Communists with new tasks, more complex, perhaps, than tackled before. The job now was to recast the relations between nations whose independent statehood had crystallized quite a long time ago, whose historical traditions differed widely and whose economic contacts were often exceedingly weak. Nor can the Communists be said to have been "lucky" as regards the legacy they inherited from capitalism in this respect. That part of Eastern and Southeastern Europe which today is a united community of socialist nations was formerly rent by strife and discord. All of the Balkans, for instance, were at one time synonymous with discord and national enmity. For decades the big imperialist powers ensured their sway in this area by inciting nation against nation, carving up their territories and creating one bone of contention after another. All this was aggravated by internal national problems—the relations between the Czechs and the Slovaks in Czechoslovakia, the problems of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian minorities in Poland, the Hungarian minority in Rumania, and so on.

Such was the ground on which socialism had to work after the defeat of fascism in order to rebuild relations between the nations and peoples and bring them together in unity and concord. But from the very outset the efforts of the Communist parties in this direction were signally successful. The overthrow of capitalism made possible both the rapid economic and cultural advancement of the People's Democracies and the reshaping of the relations between their peoples on the basis of genuine friendship and mutual aid.

History has proved that the building of socialism and the appearance of relations of a new type between nations are constituents

of a single process. The socialist reconstruction of society assures a solid foundation for the moral and political unity of the peoples of the socialist camp.

Decisive here was *the rise and consolidation of the socialist relations of production.* A truly epoch-making victory has been scored in this respect. The share of the socialist sector in the national income is more than 70 per cent in Poland, over 80 per cent in Hungary and Rumania, more than 85 per cent in the German Democratic Republic, and from 93 to 99.9 per cent in the Chinese People's Republic, Czechoslovakia, the Korean People's Democratic Republic and Bulgaria. The socialist sector embraces nearly all of the industry and trade of the People's Democracies and in practically all of them it predominates in agriculture as well.

With the victory of the socialist relations of production the dominance of the economic laws of capitalism came to an end, and this undermined the economic basis of mistrust and enmity among the nations. Cutthroat competition and rivalry were superseded by co-operation and mutual aid. With the socialist mode of production and the socialist form of property having asserted themselves as the dominant forms, *the economic prerequisites* for the solidarity of the socialist nations were created. The economic reconstruction was accompanied by far-reaching changes in the social structure. The People's Democracies no longer have any landlord or capitalist classes. And it was these classes that had constantly incited one nation against another on the divide-and-rule principle. All the foreign-policy gambles that led to deterioration of relations between the nations had been engineered by these classes, it was they that sought to poison the minds of workers and peasants with nationalism—the old, old method of diverting the working people from the struggle for their class interests.

The socialist remaking of the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie is likewise proceeding successfully in the socialist countries. Co-operation has changed, or is in the process of changing, the peasantry into a new, socialist class. The small producers in the towns—the urban petty bourgeoisie — are also joining the co-operatives. A substantial part of this section and also a part of the peasantry are joining the ranks of the working class. All this plays a big part in remaking the relations between the nationalities,

for, as we know, it is this small bourgeoisie which, like the intellectuals influenced by the ruling class, have always provided fertile soil for nationalism. Today a new socialist intelligentsia closely linked with the people has made its appearance in the People's Democracies.

The working class, now the leading force in the socialist countries, is the class least of all affected by nationalist prejudices, the international spirit of the working class is of long standing, dating back to the time when it first entered the lists against capitalism. Its basic class aim—socialism—calls for international solidarity in the highest degree. Under socialism its ranks multiply, its class consciousness grows and it becomes politically more mature, while its alliance with the peasantry and other sections of the working people is cemented. As a result, the internationalist influence exerted by the working class on the whole of society cannot but increase.

Thus, the changes that have taken place in the social structure in the socialist countries have created economic and political conditions of cardinal importance for bringing the nations closer together.

Lastly, exceedingly significant are the *ideological prerequisites* created by the changed outlook—the spread of socialist ideology and the gradual eradication of the ideology of the bourgeoisie. When socialist ideology becomes the common world outlook of the nations, it puts an end to their spiritual disunity and isolation, which the exploiters always fostered, aided by religion, bourgeois culture, etc., and overcomes nationalism, national insularity and chauvinism along with all other survivals of the past in the minds of men.

The economic, socio-political and ideological gains for the socialist nations have laid the groundwork for the new national relationships.

This is most evident in the multi-national socialist countries. Czechoslovakia is a case in point. As a result of socialist economic development and the socio-political and ideological advance, the attitude of the two peoples to each other has changed radically. This is expressed, for instance, in the steps taken to solve such a pressing problem inherited from the past as Slovakia's economic and cultural backwardness. To do away with this as speedily as possible the Czechoslovak Communist Party is pursuing a consistent

policy of developing this part of the country at a faster pace.

A few facts will illustrate the point. Whereas the gross production of all Czechoslovak industry showed a 3.7-fold increase by the end of 1960 compared with 1948, the increase in Slovakia was more than fivefold. The Third Five-Year Plan calls for an almost sixfold increase in the overall industrial output of Czechoslovakia by 1965, as compared with 1948; the increase for Slovakia will be tenfold. Last year Slovakia registered a record rate of growth of industrial output—the increase for the year exceeded the total production of 1937. Economic progress is accompanied by the efflorescence of Slovak national culture enriched by a new, socialist content. The socialist development of the country as a whole has brought the two equal peoples of our republic closer together.

Socialism remoulds the relations between nationalities not only in each of the socialist countries but also on the scale of the whole socialist camp. In this community, with a population running into the hundreds of millions, the disappearance of class antagonisms is followed by the disappearance of antagonisms between the nations, by the development and consolidation of co-operation and friendship among the socialist nations. The Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow last November correctly pointed to the growing moral and political unity of all the nations of the socialist commonwealth. "Fraternal friendship and mutual aid between the nations, engendered by the socialist system, have superseded the political isolation and national egoism typical of capitalism," it declared.

II

The contradiction between the two tendencies in the national question, insoluble under capitalism, has been abolished by socialism. Under socialism these tendencies are no longer opposed to one another; they have acquired a new content, are harmoniously combined and find ever broader scope for development and fulfilment.

Experience has shown that *the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries* grow with the development of the socialist world system. Underlying this process is the objective tendency "towards the creation of a single world economy, regulated by the proletariat of all countries as one whole and according to a common plan, which tendency is already quite clearly revealed under capitalism and

should certainly be further developed and fully consummated under socialism."*

At present the socialist world system does not yet possess, and for this there are objective reasons, a common economy of the kind Lenin envisaged. But there is no doubt that development is proceeding in this direction. The mutual ties of the national economies of the socialist countries and economic co-operation between them are becoming comprehensive and diversified. The economic laws of socialism govern not only the economic development of each socialist country taken singly, but also the sum total of their economic relations. A ramified system of international economic relations of a new, socialist type has taken shape and is successfully developing, constituting a powerful factor unifying the nations. The growing co-operation is steadily bringing the national economies closer and strengthening the socialist economic world system. This is a basic, decisive law of world socialist development.

The socialist world economic system is based on the development and consolidation of the national economies of the socialist countries, for co-operation between them far from encroaching on their economic independence acts as a powerful accelerator ensuring unprecedented progress in each.

Under capitalist rule, the economies of a number of European People's Democracies were fettered by foreign monopolies, which held back the national productive forces. The imperialists regarded these countries merely as a source of raw materials and as markets for their manufactures, and retarded the development of the key branches of heavy industry, the backbone of economic independence. But when these countries took the socialist road, they built an advanced industry of their own with the result that from agrarian they became industrial-agrarian states.

All the forms of political, economic and cultural co-operation of the socialist countries, worked out jointly by their Communist and Workers' parties, derive from recognition of the identity and harmony of the national interests and the interests of the socialist camp as a whole and the principles of voluntary association, mutual benefit, international aid to one another and equality of all the nations, big and small.

Besides opening every opportunity for the single world economy trend to assert itself,

*V. I. Lenin, *Preliminary Draft of Theses on the National and Colonial Questions*.

socialism has also created new forms and methods of achieving this aim. And these, unlike the forms and methods characteristic of capitalism, are based not on violence and enslavement, but on agreement and mutual trust between free and independent peoples. The Marxist-Leninist parties, steadfastly working to strengthen the common base of world socialism and to bring the socialist countries closer, proceed from the premise that socialism does not abolish the national and state distinctions between countries and nations. These differences, as Lenin pointed out, "will continue to exist for a very long time even after the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established on a world scale."* The road to the merger of nations in a single worldwide communist society lies through an entire historical period during which the countries and nations, developing in conditions of complete independence and sovereignty, will gradually and voluntarily draw closer.

A cardinal feature of the present stage in the development of the socialist world system is that while the trend toward closer association is becoming more pronounced, each of these nations is thriving as never before on the basis of their growing unity. The coming together of the socialist countries and the consolidation of their independence, and the all-round development of their national statehood, economy and culture, far from being two irreconcilable tendencies, are the organically linked and harmonious aspects of the single process of establishing world socialism.

Capitalist society, even in the heyday of bourgeois democracy, never went beyond purely formal recognition of the equality of peoples. The very essence of capitalism as a system based on exploitation precludes real equality. In the course of its development the discrepancy in the economic and cultural levels of the countries, and, consequently, their inequality, tend to increase.

Socialism has given new content to the old democratic slogan of equality of nations. Not only does it recognize this principle juridically and strictly adhere to it; it accents the guarantee of genuine equality. The socialist world system, overcoming the survivals of the past, is turning this slogan into a tangible reality. Once backward countries, drawing on the advantages of socialism and aided and supported by the entire socialist camp, are rapidly

*V. I. Lenin, "Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder.

raising their economy and culture to the level of the more highly developed. The inequality of nations engendered by capitalism is being abolished.

An examination of the economic development of the socialist countries shows how the differences in their industrial levels are being steadily eliminated. For instance, if in 1937-39 the share of industry in the total production was 57 per cent in Czechoslovakia and 24.8 per cent in Bulgaria, in Albania it was 9.8 per cent and in North Vietnam, 10 per cent. But in 1958-59 the percentage had risen in Czechoslovakia to 85.9, in Bulgaria to 70.6, in Albania to 55.7, and in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to 37.1. In the Chinese People's Republic the corresponding percentage rose from 30.1 in 1949 to 67.6 in 1959, and in the Korean People's Democratic Republic from 28 in 1946 to 71.

"In solving the task of the gradual eradication of the historically conditioned differences in the level of economic development," Khrushchov said, "we are showing to the peoples of the world the communist way to abolish the economic and cultural backwardness engendered by imperialism."

The new economic relations in the socialist world system have had a beneficial effect also on the development of countries with comparatively highly developed economies. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic may be cited as an example.

Czechoslovakia is now a leading industrial country, as is evident from the place it occupies in the world production of a number of basic items. For per capita extraction of brown coal Czechoslovakia occupied third place in the world in 1937, but by 1959 she had moved up to second place. In steel production she has risen from ninth to fifth place; in cement, from eighteenth place in 1936 to sixth today. For per capita production of machines she shares fourth and fifth place in the world with Britain, coming after the USA, Federal Germany and the German Democratic Republic. For overall industrial production per capita Czechoslovakia came after France in 1937. Today she is ahead of France; if we take average world industrial output per capita as one, the figure for Czechoslovakia will be 3.62, and for France—2.37. In the period 1951-59 Czechoslovakia's average annual industrial output growth was 10.8 per cent as against 3.9 per cent in the United States and 2.7 per cent in Britain. This blasts the capitalist myth that high rates of indus-

trial development such as those achieved under socialism are possible only in formerly backward countries. The fact is that the rise of the socialist world economic system is directly linked with the rapid economic advance of the socialist countries irrespective of the level they started from.

The association of free and equal peoples in a single socialist camp is a reliable guarantee also of their political independence. It will be no exaggeration to say that many of the People's Democracies achieved national independence only when they turned to socialism, and they have been able to preserve it solely because of the unity and fraternal solidarity of the nations of the socialist camp. It will suffice to recall the exceptional role which the aid rendered by the socialist countries to the Korean People's Democratic Republic played in safeguarding its independence against encroachments by American imperialism.

The fraternal aid rendered by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to Hungary during the counter-revolutionary putsch enabled her people to safeguard their socialist gains and national independence. This fruitful solidarity of the socialist nations made itself felt also during other imperialist provocations. For instance, when the American imperialists resorted to aggressive actions against the Chinese People's Republic in the Taiwan area, the Soviet Union openly declared that it would regard any attack on People's China as an attack on its own territory. The resolute steps taken by the Chinese People's Republic with the support of the other socialist countries compelled the aggressors to beat a retreat.

Bourgeois theoreticians and their revisionist friends are continuing their smear campaign against the People's Democracies, alleging that they are not independent, sovereign states. But the peoples of these countries, and sober-minded people everywhere, realize that in our day socialism alone ensures the true sovereignty and equality of nations. The peoples of Czechoslovakia, too, know this from their own experience. The Munich compact of ill fame, which placed Czechoslovakia at the mercy of German fascism, clearly showed how ready the bourgeoisie is to trample on national sovereignty when this is in its class interests.

The consolidation of the unity of the socialist world system *guarantees the political independence and sovereignty of each of its member-countries and opens unprecedented*

opportunities for the ascent of national statehood, economy and culture; the national interests of the socialist countries do not run counter to their common interests, but, on the contrary, require that the unity and might of the socialist world system be strengthened in every way, that the common and the national interests be combined.

The Yugoslav revisionists fail, or, to be more exact, do not wish to see these vital features of the relations between the nations under socialism. They, to all intents and purposes, reject the possibility of this reconciliation of interests. For instance, E. Kardelj in a pamphlet entitled *Socialism and War* claims that irreconcilable contradictions capable of engendering acute conflicts and clashes still exist among the socialist nations. Yugoslav revisionist writers try to give a "theoretical" substantiation to this slander by talking about the "inevitability" of a national egoism so long as national distinctions and features have not disappeared. An instance of this is an article by K. Hadji Vasilev, headed "Internationalism and the Unity of the Socialist Forces" and printed in the journal *Socijalizam*. Eschewing the Marxist view, fully borne out, let it be said, by experience, concerning the social and class roots of national egoism, the author declares that this egoism is an inalienable attribute of nations as such, no matter what their stage of development.

From this untenable premise the writer proceeds to the astounding "discovery" that nationalism cannot be characterized as a bourgeois ideology inasmuch as the working class, too, in his view, upholds the interests of the nation and even the socialist countries are not free from national egoism. And this from a man who claims to be a Marxist!

The founders of Marxism showed incontrovertibly—and history has borne them out—that national egoism springs from the capitalist system and always has class roots. The fact that the poison of nationalism, so vigorously injected by the massive bourgeois machine of indoctrination, penetrates also into the ranks of the proletariat under capitalism does not signify that it is an ideology of the proletariat as well. To argue that "socialist nationalism" is possible—and even inevitable—inasmuch as national distinctions and national interests remain under socialism, is simply an attempt to justify nationalistic tendencies, to whitewash the policy of standing aloof from the socialist countries and to poison the relations between the peoples with the venom of nationalism.

True, national interests exist also under socialism. The point, however, is not whether these interests will vanish or continue to exist under socialism, but whether they can be fused with the common interests of world socialism. It is this that the Yugoslav revisionists ignore. Yet this is precisely the crux of the matter.

Under socialism, by virtue of its nature, consolidation of the national statehood, economy and culture is not a source of national egoism or a barrier between the nations; for under socialism national development is no longer based on private ownership which engenders national discord, but on socialist ownership, which abolishes irreconcilable national contradictions and engenders moral and political unity between the nations. The abolition of private property and the exploiting classes does away with the social causes of these irreconcilable contradictions between the nations which, under capitalism, preclude any harmony of national and common interests. Hence it is natural for the socialist nations to strive for fraternal co-operation, international solidarity and unity instead of isolation. Herein lies one of the decisive advantages of socialism over capitalism.

The friendship of the peoples stepping out along the highway to socialism and communism and their moral and political unity make each socialist country and the socialist camp as a whole strong and invincible.

Indeed, these countries owe their economic and cultural achievements primarily to their association in a single socialist camp, to their close fraternal co-operation and mutual aid. "The Communist and Workers' parties regard it as their task indefatigably to strengthen the great socialist community of nations, whose international role and influence on the course of world events are growing from year to year," says the Statement of the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

III

The increasingly closer association of the socialist nations and their growing moral and political unity are not transient things but a process dictated by the objective laws of world socialist development. This, however, does not mean that we can sit back with folded arms and expect the laws of history to assert themselves spontaneously. They are brought to fruition through the activity of the people headed by the Communist and Workers' parties—the guiding force in the

socialist countries. Hence the unity of the socialist camp and its rate of progress depend above all on the unity of views of the parties based on the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism and their steadfast adherence to the jointly elaborated assessments and conclusions concerning the common tasks of the struggle against imperialism, and for peace, democracy and socialism.

The Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties held last November was a big step forward in strengthening the international unity of the Marxist-Leninist parties of the socialist countries and of the entire world Communist movement. The documents adopted at this meeting are a militant program for cementing the solidarity of the fraternal parties. "The solidarity and unity of the Communist and Workers' parties and the peoples of the socialist countries, and their loyalty to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine are the main source of the strength and invincibility of each socialist country and of the socialist camp as a whole," the meeting declared in its statement.

The meeting emphasized the responsibility of each Party for the destiny of its country and for the entire socialist camp, and the need to adhere steadfastly to the principles of socialist internationalism in the relations between the socialist countries. Pursuance by the Communist and Workers' parties of a correct Marxist-Leninist policy based on these principles is decisive for the successful development of the socialist world system and is a prerequisite for the full utilization of all the advantages flowing from the unity of its member-countries. The slightest deviation from these principles may weaken the unity of the socialist nations.

The victory of socialism abolished the soil on which nationalism breeds. But, as the meeting pointed out, manifestations of nationalism and national insularity do not end automatically with the establishment of the socialist system. Nationalist prejudices are among the most tenacious survivals of the past. They must be combated resolutely.

It is imperative to combat these survivals from the standpoint of both the unity of the socialist camp and the supreme national interests of each socialist country. To counterpose the national to the common interests, to place one's own narrow national aspirations above the interests of world socialism inevitably leads, as happened in Yugoslavia, to isolation from the other socialist countries. The harmful consequences of this isolation

are common knowledge. By severing their country from the socialist camp, the Yugoslav revisionists, as the Statement of the Moscow Meeting points out, "made it dependent on so-called 'aid' from the U.S. and other imperialists, and thus exposed the Yugoslav people to the danger of losing the revolutionary gains achieved through heroic struggle." The nationalism of the leaders of the Yugoslav League of Communists has caused grave harm primarily to the people of their own country.

Nationalistic prejudices manifest themselves in various forms and can be the breeding ground not only for Right opportunist and revisionist views but also for dogmatic "ultra-leftism," however revolutionary the latter may seem. The Marxist-Leninist parties unanimously hold that one of the most important duties of the Communists is to combat the survivals of nationalism no matter what form they take.

Complete eradication of nationalistic prejudices calls for ceaseless effort on the part of the Communist and Workers' parties to educate the masses in the spirit of internationalism combined with patriotism. The peoples of the socialist countries are fervent patriots. But their patriotism has nothing in common with national narrow-mindedness and insularity, with national egoism. It has acquired a qualitatively new meaning on the basis of the unity of the national and common interests of socialism. Socialist patriotism far from being opposed to internationalism organically merges with it.

The further development of economic co-operation and international division of labor between the socialist countries is bound to play an important role in strengthening their fraternal friendship and their moral and political unity. In this sphere, too, the Moscow Meeting posed important and complex tasks.

The forms and methods of co-operation employed today have proved their value and viability. But the present stage in the development of world socialism makes new and higher demands.

Inasmuch as the socialist world system is an aggregate of independent though closely inter-linked national economies, the voluntary co-ordination of the national-economic plans is the basic form of the planned operation of the socialist world economy. Much experience has been accumulated in this respect. At present, however, with the socialist countries working out long-term plans, better co-ordination and a more rational interna-

tional socialist division of labor are of exceptional importance. For what is needed now is not simply economic plans for the separate countries, but a program envisaging their future economic relations and co-operation over a long period extending all the way to the completion of communism. In order to solve the task confronting the socialist camp—that of surpassing the capitalist world system for overall industrial and agricultural output and thereafter to surpass the most highly developed capitalist countries as regards per capita output and living standards—the economies of all the socialist countries must be developed with an eye to solving their internal tasks and consolidating the common base of the socialist world system. It would be most unwise to retire within the framework of one's own national economy and decide its perspectives without taking into consideration the larger picture of the socialist world system. Maximum utilization of all the advantages arising from the unity of the socialist camp and of the internal reserves and potential of each country is a cardinal condition for the successful solution of the tasks facing each socialist country in particular and the socialist camp in general.

Both the common tasks of the socialist camp and the interests of the separate national economies imperatively require extensive development and elaboration of the highest forms of the international socialist division of labor, such as specialization and co-ordination of production.

For Czechoslovakia, perfecting the socialist international division of labor is a basic condition for successful fulfilment of her Third Five-Year Plan. The potential of our engineering industry, for instance, is such that by 1965 we shall be able to produce 58 per cent of the total imports of chemical-industry equipment by the member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid. International socialist co-operation will also enable Czechoslovakia considerably to increase the production of rolling mills, electric and diesel locomotives, food-industry equipment, machine tools, etc.

The more our national economy is integrated in the system of the international socialist division of labor, the stronger we will be. For this guarantees us the raw materials, machines and other equipment we need, and markets for our manufactures. It goes with-

out saying that this is vitally important also for a further rise in living standards.

A major factor in strengthening the moral and political unity of the socialist nations is close co-operation in all matters of foreign policy. The socialist camp has always been united in the world arena. This infuriates our enemies, who resort to foul fabrications about the Soviet "*diktat*," that we are Moscow's satellites and other lies. The peoples of the socialist countries know full well the purpose of these smear campaigns; the enemies of socialism would like to divide the socialist countries and, in particular, to alienate them from the most powerful force of world socialism — the Soviet Union. However, these hopes are doomed to disappointment. For the unity of the socialist countries in the world arena is not the result of pressure, but a product of the community of interests and aims. Hence the common approach to international matters, the common platform of struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence, for the abolition of colonialism and the reconstruction of international relations on a genuinely democratic footing.

A big contribution to the strengthening of the moral and political unity of the socialist nations is made by the multiform contacts and co-operation developing between the cultural, scientific and public organizations in the various countries. This co-operation is an effective means of educating the working people in the spirit of internationalism. Live contacts enable the peoples to learn more about each other, enrich their cultures and bring them closer, and deepen the awareness of millions of working men and women that, regardless of differences of nationality, race, language, tradition and way of life, they all are members of one great socialist family.

The Marxist-Leninist parties regard it as their supreme internationalist duty to cement the moral and political unity of the socialist peoples. The members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, too, are resolved to work shoulder to shoulder with the Communists of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in order to carry out this duty, to do everything in their power to ensure the steady strengthening of the great community of free socialist nations and to enhance its power of attraction for the working people of the world.

From Feudalism to Socialism

WHAT WE CAN LEARN FROM THE NON-CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT OF MONGOLIA

Y. Tsedenbal

NOW that the system of colonial slavery is crashing under the impact of the national-liberation movement, the question facing the new sovereign states is what path of development should they choose, what are the prospects? About 40 countries, inhabited by nearly one and a half thousand million people, have won independence in the postwar years.

This is indeed the question of the day. Should they go along the old capitalist way with its accompanying crises, unemployment and fear of the morrow, with its unequal distribution of the good things of this world among the members of society, and its political inequality? Or should it be the new path, the path which will enable them to bypass the "blood and dirt, misery and degradation"? (Karl Marx). The people in the underdeveloped countries, says the Statement of the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, are beginning to see that "the best way to abolish age-long backwardness and raise living standards is that of non-capitalist development. Only thus can the peoples free themselves from exploitation, poverty and hunger."

Seen in this light the experience of Mongolia acquires a special significance. In its transition from feudalism to socialism Mongolia has bypassed the capitalist stage. It was not so very long ago that serfdom prevailed in the country; the life of the Mongolian herdsman was wholly in the hands of his feudal lord. Only in 1921, after the people's revolution, did the emancipation of the serfs and the general economic and cultural advance of our people begin.

In the space of forty years Mongolia has traversed the distance from feudalism to the complete victory of socialist production relations in all spheres of the economy; other countries needed centuries for this. How did the Mongolian people do this?

Non-Capitalist Path of Development Is a Reality

That a country which had not gone through the crucible of capitalism and which until recently was one of the most backward in

Asia could switch to building socialism is regarded by some bourgeois sociologists as being inconsistent with the Marxist teaching on the succession of socio-economic formations. How do things stand in reality? History knows not a few cases of countries and nations having bypassed the usual stage of development in their advance to a new and more progressive social system. Many of the nomad peoples in Asia and Africa, for example, did not experience the system of slavery; North America and Canada bypassed feudalism, etc. And certainly the founders of scientific communism did not regard this as a denial of the law of social development. What is more, their view was that the underdeveloped countries could take the "short cut" to socialism by skipping capitalism and they discovered the general law of the non-capitalist way of development for the backward countries.

An indispensable condition for this, Marx and Engels held, was the victory of the socialist revolution in the industrially advanced countries. ". . . Only when the backward countries see . . . how the productive forces of modern industry, having become public property, can be made to serve society as a whole," wrote Engels, "—then and only then will they be able to take the short cut." And he emphasized that this applied to "all countries at the pre-capitalist stage of development."*

The Marxist theory of the non-capitalist development of backward countries was carried forward and enriched by Lenin who developed the theory of building socialism in former colonial and semi-colonial countries. Even before the October Revolution in Russia Lenin showed that pre-capitalist relations were not an insurmountable obstacle to the transition to socialism, that the backward countries could bypass capitalism provided they received fraternal aid from the socialist countries. "We shall try," wrote Lenin, "to render the nations more backward and oppressed than we are 'disinterested cultural aid' . . . i.e., we shall help them to go over to the use of machines, to ease the burden

*Frederick Engels, *On Social Relations in Russia*. Afterword.

of labor, and to pass to democracy and socialism."*

The socialist revolution in Russia, one of the biggest countries in the world, bordering on underdeveloped colonial countries in the East, enabled the oppressed people of these countries, including the Mongolian people, to win national independence and to step out along the road of non-capitalist development.

The Marxist-Leninist teaching on non-capitalist development of backward countries became the guide to action for the Communist and revolutionary parties in a number of countries of the East, including our People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP). The contact between the working people of Russia and Mongolia which steadily became wider and stronger after the October Revolution, was of decisive help in this respect. *This was, in fact, a class alliance between the victorious working class of Russia and the Mongolian arats (peasants), which ensured the victory of our revolution, and thanks to which we were able to step out successfully along the road to socialism without going through the capitalist stage.*

A big impression was made in Mongolia by the fact that immediately after the October Revolution the government of Soviet Russia annulled the unequal agreements which tsarism had imposed on our country, recognized the inalienable right of our people to independence and sovereignty, and declared its readiness to base its relations with Mongolia on full equality. Our people knew that the first socialist country in the world would be a sincere friend in their struggle for freedom and national independence.

Nor were they disappointed. At the request of the Provisional People's Government of Mongolia, the Soviet Government helped us to smash the Whiteguard gangs of Baron Ungern who were committing outrages on Mongolian soil. The common enemy of the two neighboring countries was destroyed by the joint action of the Soviet and Mongolian armed forces. Thus it was that the national-liberation struggle of the working people of Mongolia fused with the Soviet people's struggle against the counter-revolution backed by world imperialism. It became an integral part of the international revolutionary movement.

The people's revolution in Mongolia, a backward stock-breeding country in which

there was no working class, was headed by the People's Revolutionary Party. A feature of the situation in Mongolia at that time was that, from the outset, this party, exclusively a peasant party fighting for national liberation and democratic aims, developed in close co-operation with the international Communist movement and assimilated Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary teaching of the working class.

The founding of the MPRP* signified a new stage in the liberation struggle of the Mongolian people; for the first time the struggle was headed by a militant political organization upholding the fundamental class interests of the working people. In a conversation with a Mongolian delegation which visited him in 1921, Lenin, speaking of the gains of the revolution in Mongolia, stressed the importance of the fact that they had been consolidated "by the founding of a People's Revolutionary Party whose task was to become a mass party and not cluttered up with alien elements."** At the same time Lenin, when asked by a member of the delegation whether the MPRP should be turned into a Communist Party, expressed the view that the revolutionaries still had much to do in the matter of building their state and developing their economy and culture before a proletarian mass could be created from among the herdsmen, a mass which in due course would help to "turn" the People's Revolutionary Party into a Communist Party. Simply to change the signboard, Lenin thought, would be both harmful and dangerous.

The subsequent years and developments in the People's Revolutionary Party have confirmed the soundness of these words. In the course of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution and the accompanying consolidation of statehood, economic and cultural progress and the numerical and political growth of the working class, the MPRP grew and became steered as a consistently revolutionary party of a Marxist-Leninist type. By the 'forties it had, in the main, become the party of the working class and the laboring arats; 26.2 per cent of its present membership is made up of workers, while 24.7 per cent are arats organized in co-operatives.

Our Party has received invaluable aid from the world Communist movement and from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,

*The organizational structure of this Party was defined at its First Congress in March 1921.

**Political Report of the Central Committee of the MPRP to the Ninth Congress in 1934.

*V. I. Lenin, *A Caricature of Marxism and "Imperialist Economism."*

its vanguard. The theoretical documents of the fraternal parties, first and foremost of the CPSU, have helped the MPRP to assimilate the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism and to apply them in the specific conditions of Mongolia.

The Party's struggle for the unity and cohesion of its ranks on a principled Marxist-Leninist basis has contributed greatly to its growth and consolidation. Petty-bourgeois views have always been the main danger to the Party since its inception, for, by reason of its social composition, it contained people who subscribed to such views. This was especially true of the early years when, at the beginning of the revolution, the Party, with a view to rallying all the forces fighting for national independence, opened its ranks to representatives of feudal circles and of the emerging Mongolian bourgeoisie.

Repeated attacks were made on the Party's general line by Right-wing opportunist groupings opposed to the non-capitalist path of development. Dogmatism and sectarianism, expressed in petty-bourgeois "ultra-leftism" and in ignoring the national features, were also a grave danger. Under pressure of the "Left" elements the Eighth Party Congress (1930) erroneously proclaimed that the Mongolian revolution had entered the socialist stage, and called for wholesale collectivization of the arat households. This error, resulting in Left deviations, gravely discredited the idea of collectivization and slowed down the development of the co-operative movement.

The MPRP, however, withstood all the attempts to divert it from the correct path, thanks to its fidelity to Marxism-Leninism, and its close contact with the people whose interests it cherishes and whose support it enjoys.

Our experience has shown that a political party of the working people guided by Marxist-Leninist teaching, can, in certain conditions, successfully lead the struggle in an underdeveloped country where the working class has not yet emerged or where, if it has, it is still numerically small.

Two Stages of the Mongolian Revolution

The people's revolution in Mongolia, more so than anywhere else, was not a "pure" social revolution, and it wholly refuted those naive doctrinaires, ridiculed by Lenin, whose idea of revolution was that of a duel between two adversaries. "Whoever expects a 'pure'

social revolution will never live to see it,"* said Lenin.

Being a manifestation of the law of social development, the Mongolian revolution reflected at the same time the balance of class forces in the country. In the early phase of the revolution, some of the feudal elements, the monks and the old officials, disgruntled by the occupation of the country first by the Chinese militarists and then by Ungern's Whiteguard gangs, aligned themselves alongside the arats—the driving force of the revolution—and the People's Revolutionary Party which, basing itself on the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, headed the revolution.

Our Party drew representatives of these sections into the liberation struggle and isolated the leaders of the reactionary feudal-theocratic elements. Taking cognizance of the popular discontent with the foreign occupation, the Party formed an anti-imperialist national front reserving to itself, however, complete independence in pursuing its anti-feudal class policy. The platform adopted at the Party's First Congress in March 1921 read in part: "In the event of other political parties appearing in Mongolia and accepting our basic aims, the People's Revolutionary Party will enter into an interim agreement with them,"** but any attempt on their part to hamper the Party in its fight would not be tolerated.

At that time the revolution was spearheaded against imperialism. The Party took into account that the majority of the feudal elements were opposed to foreign imperialism and that the masses of religious arats and particularly the lamas*** believed in the "sacredness" of Bogdo-Hehen, the monarch and head of the Lamaist Church. For this reason after the victory of the revolution the Party considered it expedient to establish a constitutional monarchy. To have proclaimed a republic in those conditions would have meant running ahead, and this could have instilled a fear of the revolution in some sections of the population. For the same reason the feudalists were allowed to participate in state affairs. It should be emphasized, however, that the activities of the monarch-theocrat and the feudal officials were under the control of the People's Government. Real power was exercised by the people's state

*V. I. Lenin, *Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up*.

**H. Choybalsan, *Short History of the Mongolian People's Revolution*.

***Before and for a number of years after the revolution the lamas comprised 45 per cent of the adult male population of Mongolia.

which carried out the functions of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the people.

That was how the first stage of the revolution, which lasted from 1921 to the 'forties, began in Mongolia. During this time the anti-feudal revolution was completed and the way was cleared for non-capitalist development. From the outset, in the complex situation then obtaining, the People's Revolutionary Party set about paving the way for a fundamental reconstruction of the country along democratic lines, the complete abolition of feudalism, and laying the foundations of a new economy and a new culture. Suhe-Baatar and Choybalsan, the founders of the Party, wrote in 1921: "The growth of national awareness among the arats will enable us in a year or two to advance the revolution in order to abolish the rights of the princes once and for all."

As independence was consolidated and the political maturity and activity of the masses grew, the Party and the government attacked the positions of the feudal class and foreign merchant and usurers' capital. Because of the conditions that prevailed in the country the Party, in the immediate post-revolutionary years (1921-24), did not set the task of confiscating the feudal estates and the land owned by the monasteries. The task at this time was to destroy the political base of feudalism and feudal-serf relations, to consolidate the rule of the people and its local agencies and develop the arat economy. By the end of 1924 serfdom had been abolished, the privileges of the feudal class had been annulled and equal rights established for all citizens. The feudal administration in the localities was replaced by democratic bodies—the people's khurals. The state annulled the extortionate debts owed by the arats to the foreign merchants and usurers, and introduced customs tariffs, taxes and other levers designed to oust the capital of the foreign merchants and money-lenders.

Land nationalization in 1921 and the setting up of consumer co-operatives marked the beginning of the state-cooperative sector. The importance of the nascent co-operatives for the non-capitalist development of the country was emphasized by Lenin. From the islets of the new economic formation, Lenin said, a new non-capitalist system would develop.

The consistent revolutionary policy pursued by the Party and the People's Government encountered bitter opposition from the overthrown exploiter classes who, although re-

moved from political power, had not yet abandoned the class struggle. They still entertained hopes of restoration, and as long as the exploiters have the hope of restoration, this hope, Lenin wrote, will be converted into attempts at restoration.*

Headed by the former Prime Minister Bodo, the counter-revolutionary group, who upheld the feudal interests, plotted to overthrow the People's Government and to re-establish the absolute rule of King Bodgo-Hehen. At the same time the representatives of the incipient bourgeoisie, closely associated with foreign capital, aimed at diverting the country onto the path of capitalist development.

External enemies, first and foremost the Japanese and the Chinese warlords, frequently encroached on the independence of the young democratic state. In the period between the birth of the new Mongolia to the rise of the socialist world system, they repeatedly perpetrated acts of direct aggression against us. And since we had a border of more than 4,000 kilometers with the enemy countries, our people had to be constantly on the alert, which could not but divert them from their peaceful labors.

But despite the difficulties, the revolution went ahead and by mid-1924 the changes in the economy and the relationship of class forces were such that the next tasks and the perspective of the revolution had to be defined on the basis of the program adopted at the First Congress of the Party in 1921. This was done by the Third Congress in August 1924 which proclaimed the Leninist teaching on the possibility of non-capitalist development of underdeveloped countries as the general line of the Party, and declared the non-capitalist way as the only way which would take Mongolia to socialism. The abolition of the monarchy and the proclamation of the People's Republic in 1924 were landmarks on this road.

One of the most difficult problems of non-capitalist development was that of building the new economy. Important measures such as the establishment of the State Bank, the issue of a national currency and the introduction of a state monopoly of foreign trade, were carried out between 1924 and the 'thirties; we began, too, to build industry and instal transport facilities — all state-owned. The main economic levers were, therefore, in the hands of the people's democratic state.

*V. I. Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*.

The anti-feudal character of the revolution made itself increasingly felt. Relying on the consolidated state-cooperative sector and the growing revolutionary enthusiasm of the working people, the Republic carried out between 1929-32 one of the main tasks of the anti-feudal revolution — it expropriated the big feudal property and elbowed out most of the foreign merchant and usurers' capital. This was of the utmost importance for the non-capitalist development of the country.

The solution of the lama problem was another difficult and specific task of the anti-feudal revolution. Lamaism, with its hundreds of monasteries, vast estates, and masses of parasitic lamas, was a grave obstacle in the way of the socio-economic reconstruction of the country.

In this matter the Party pursued a policy of differentiation, isolating the upper clergy from the ordinary lamas. Political and educational work was conducted among the latter, and they were encouraged in every way to go over to the life of laymen. Those who did so were given help in building their own homes, in joining co-operative handicrafts, etc. As a result many of the lamas voluntarily left the monasteries, broke with celibacy, became family men, and began to take part in socially useful labor.

On the whole, the anti-feudal stage of the revolution had been completed by 1940. Its main feature was *the abolition of feudal production relations and the expulsion of foreign merchant and usurers' capital, on the one hand, and the birth of a socialist sector in the economy and the creation of a firm base for non-capitalist development, on the other.* By the end of the 'thirties industry had become an independent branch of the national economy, accounting for nearly 20 per cent of the country's overall output.

The industrialization was accompanied by the birth of a working class. This was a working class formed not under capitalism but on the basis of a new industry in which socialist production relations reigned supreme.

Important changes also took place in agriculture, where the socialist sector emerged in the shape of state farms, mowing-machine depots and simple forms of arat co-operation.

As the organizational, economic, cultural and educational functions of our democratic state broadened, as the socialist sector grew stronger, and with the deepening political consciousness of the working class and working people generally, the *democratic revolu-*

tion gradually evolved into a socialist revolution. Analyzing the socio-economic changes, Choybalsan said at the Tenth Congress of the Party in 1940: "We can now say with confidence that we have firmly set foot on the road of non-capitalist development."

Mongolia had entered a new stage — the socialist stage of its development.

Mongolia an Agrarian and Industrial Country

The experience of Mongolia confirms the Marxist-Leninist teaching to the effect that, *in essentials, the road to socialism is the same* for all countries, despite the diversity of forms and methods conditioned by the national, historical and economic features of the particular country. It is important to stress this in view of the fact that our country took the socialist road without having previously passed through capitalism.

The extreme economic and technical backwardness and the low level of the productive forces *were not an insurmountable obstacle to building socialism.* The fraternal help accorded by Soviet Russia, where the socialist revolution had already triumphed, was of decisive importance.

Soviet aid enabled Mongolia to become economically independent of enslaving foreign capital and to develop the national economy. It was with Soviet help that the first schools and medical and scientific establishments were built and an intelligentsia trained. Also with Soviet aid our people tackled the job of industrialization—a vital prerequisite for the non-capitalist way. A number of enterprises were commissioned in the early 'thirties; they included a big industrial complex of several factories in Ulan-Bator, a machine-repair works and a power station; motor and rail transport was initiated—the second just before the outbreak of the Second World War.

To a degree the war delayed the realization of a far-reaching economic and cultural program. But the growth of the productive forces, the development and consolidation of the socialist sector in agriculture, the rise in the living standards and the cultural level of the people proceeded rapidly after the war. In addition to increasing Soviet aid, an important factor making for our accelerated tempo of socialist construction was the rise of new socialist countries in Europe and in the East, and the formation of the socialist world system. As the Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties points out: "The people's

revolution in China delivered a crushing blow to imperialism in Asia and in great measure contributed to the balance of world forces changing in favor of socialism." This development radically improved the international position of Mongolia, enabling it to release a considerable labor force and substantial funds for the needs of the economy by reducing defense costs.

The formation of the socialist world system of economy created conditions for large-scale co-operation and mutual help among the socialist countries based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, principles first realized on an international scale in the relations between the Soviet Union and Mongolia. Thanks to the international socialist division of labor, we were able to concentrate funds and attention on those branches of industry for which we have the necessary natural resources. Thus the conditions were created for eliminating Mongolia's economic and technical backwardness and gradually raising its economic level to that of the advanced socialist countries. New mineral deposits have been discovered in recent years. Oil, mining, coal, power, metal and woodworking, leather and footwear, paper, printing and publishing, pharmaceutical and food industries have been created and are expanding rapidly. Our young industry, it should be stressed, is equipped with up-to-date machinery. The Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, and the other socialist countries are giving us much help in equipping our economy and teaching us know-how.

Gross industrial output has almost quadrupled in the past ten years—proof of the success of our industrialization. The share of group "A" (means of production) in our industrial output rose from 25.3 per cent in 1952 to 50.9 per cent in 1960. Industrial output per capita is rising year by year. Power output per capita in 1959 was 357.3 per cent greater than in 1952.

Mongolia, once a primitive cattle-raising country, has become an agrarian and industrial country.

Recent years have seen the rise of a widespread co-operative movement among the arats. In addition to the poor and middle peasants, the co-operatives were joined, on a purely voluntary basis, by the well-to-do arats. Thus, agricultural co-operation has been effected without expropriating the wealthy elements in the countryside. By

1960, some 99.6 per cent of the arat households had joined agricultural associations; the 200,000-odd small cattle farms had now been replaced by 354 associations, forming a widely diversified and developed agriculture.

With the completion of co-operation, socialist production relations have triumphed completely, a single socialist economic system has been established. This is of the greatest significance for the further acceleration of the pace of socialist construction, raising living standards and the cultural level.

Co-operation has been accompanied by modern methods of crop-growing and cattle-breeding and, naturally, has made more farm produce available for the market. The number of agricultural experts with a secondary or higher education is growing, and the same is true of veterinary surgeons and their assistants; in the past ten years their number has increased sixfold.

In addition to stock-breeding — in the past the only branch—Mongolia has taken to crop-growing. Virgin lands are being brought under the plough. The crop area has trebled in the past three years, while yields have increased 5.5-fold. Thanks to this new branch of agriculture and the new modern flour mills, Mongolia for the first time in its history meets its grain requirements from home production; 268 kilograms of grain per capita were grown in 1960 as against 53 kg. in 1957.

More and more machines are being supplied to the farms. The tractor fleet is now 12.5 times what it was ten years ago, the number of combines is 26.7 times as great. Sowing and harvesting of grain on the state farms are completely mechanized. The socialist reconstruction of livestock farming and the development of crop cultivation are the answer to the problem of settling the nomad herdsmen. Slowly, our herdsmen are taking to a settled life on the state farms, in the machine depots and in the co-operatives. At their disposal are boarding schools, medical and veterinary posts, dairies, post offices, shops, hotels, canteens, recreation centers, libraries, sports fields, etc. Many co-operatives, furthermore, are building dwellings, public utility premises, etc.

The victory of socialist production relations has posed the task of completing the building of the material and technical base of socialism, and of quickly catching up with the other socialist countries. Our people are enthusiastically working on their third Five-

Year Plan (1961-1965), which envisages a twofold increase in industrial output, and a nearly threefold expansion of the area sown to crops. With the completion of this plan, Mongolia will have taken a long stride towards becoming *an industrial and agrarian country*.

The fundamental changes in the economy have had their impact on the class structure of our society. With the abolition of the feudal class during the first stage of the revolution, the exploiting classes disappeared, as did the conditions which made for their emergence. Some capitalist elements, however (traders and wealthy cattle-breeders), were still to be found in town and countryside, but as a result of the socialist reconstruction they ceased to exist as a social category. Our society now consists of two friendly classes—the class of workers and the class of arats organized in co-operatives, with whom the intelligentsia, drawn from the people, co-operates closely. With the expansion of socialist industry the working class has grown numerically and has become more skilled. The number of workers has increased 6.4 times compared with 1940. The leading role of the working class and its vanguard, the People's Revolutionary Party, is steadily growing. The alliance of the working class and the arats organized in co-operatives is growing stronger and likewise the moral and political unity of the people.

The establishment of socialist production relations was accompanied by a cultural revolution. Universal compulsory seven-year education is being introduced. Mongolia has left many capitalist countries, including Italy, Japan, West Germany, Austria and Finland, far behind for the number of students per ten thousand of the population.

The standard of living is rising steadily.

The Experience of Mongolia and the New National States

As we see, Mongolia and its Marxist-Leninist People's Revolutionary Party, whose fortieth anniversary is being celebrated this March, have accumulated much experience in the non-capitalist development from feudalism to socialism. The effectiveness of this communist way of abolishing the economic and cultural backwardness inherited from colonialism was, as Khrushchov said, first demonstrated by the former backward peoples of Central Asia and the Caucasus who, with the generous aid rendered by

the more developed socialist nations, first and foremost the Russian nation, rapidly overcame their backwardness and caught up with the industrially developed regions of the Soviet Union.

The problem of gradually abolishing the historically-conditioned disparity in levels of economic development is now being solved throughout the socialist system. And not in the socialist system alone. The experience of the republics in the Soviet East and the Mongolian People's Republic, which have made great progress in their march along the non-capitalist road, is now being applied in some measure by the new nations of Asia and Africa.

After throwing off the yoke of foreign oppression, these countries face the task of getting rid of the same social contradictions as did Mongolia after the victory of the revolution—the contradictions between the national interests and international imperialism; between the peasants and the feudal elements, etc.

But things will be easier for the new countries because they can use the tried and tested experience of non-capitalist development and, relying on the powerful socialist world system, can take this road. One of the conditions which make it possible for underdeveloped countries to bypass the capitalist stage is the victory of the socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in at least one advanced country, and these possibilities have grown immeasurably with the rise of the socialist world system, when the dictatorship of the proletariat is transformed, to use Lenin's words, "from a national one (i.e., existing in one country and incapable of determining world politics) into an international one (i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat covering at least several advanced countries and capable of exercising decisive influence upon the whole of world politics)."^{*}

In the new conditions the liberated countries can make fuller use of the experience of non-capitalist development, taking into account the specific economic, political and cultural features in their countries.

Just as Mongolia did in its time, these countries are concentrating on the struggle against imperialism and feudalism, on uniting all the forward-looking forces of the country in a national democratic front. Our

^{*}V. I. Lenin, *Preliminary Theses on the National and Colonial Question for the Second Congress of the Communist International*.

experience has shown that the urgent tasks of national rebirth can be carried out successfully only when the national front is based on a peasant-worker alliance, even though in the early stages this alliance may be numerically insignificant, or when it is carried out on an international scale. As was the case with Mongolia in the initial stage of its non-capitalist development, the new countries are confronted with socio-economic tasks of a specific order: state-owned enterprises have to be built, the private capitalist sector restricted, foreign capital squeezed out, economic development planned, and producer co-operatives established in agriculture.

These measures will not, needless to say, make the young states socialist, but they will be a big step forward in their social development. Measures of this kind are, undoubtedly, progressive measures, and they bear the hallmark of the new type of state — a state of national democracy, as it is called in the Statement of the Moscow Meeting of the 81 parties. And although a degree of capitalist production relations exists in some of the newly-liberated countries, the latter

can, given favorable conditions, take the road of non-capitalist development.

* * *

Compared with the feudal system capitalism was, in its time, progressive. But its progress was achieved at the cost of incalculable suffering. The non-capitalist way of development is, likewise, a progressive way—yet, to use Marx's apt expression, it does not resemble "that hideous pagan idol who would not drink the nectar but from the skulls of the slain."* And that is precisely why the non-capitalist road accords with the interests of the people in the underdeveloped countries.

The whole history of the national rebirth of Mongolia, of its building a socialist republic, shows that, given the guidance of a Marxist-Leninist Party and the support of the international working-class movement, even the most economically backward countries can win and consolidate national independence and confidently take the non-capitalist road, the road leading to democracy and socialism.

*Karl Marx, *Future Results of the British Rule in India*.

The New Stage in the British Labor Movement

John Gollan

1. The Scarborough Conference of the Labor Party

THE Scarborough Conference of the Labor Party, in October 1960, opened up a new stage in the British working-class movement which is of the utmost importance for the Labor Party and for the political situation in Britain.

In view of the importance of the Labor Party for West European Social Democracy and in view of Britain's key role in the Western alliance, it is not too much to say that the outcome of the struggle around the decisions of the Scarborough Conference will be of significance also for the international situation as a whole.

The decisions of the Conference are well known, and can be briefly recapitulated.

(a) Foreign Policy

The Conference rejected the official right-wing Statement on Defense put forward by the Executive Committee (which had been supported also by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress), the essence of which was continued support of NATO, the American alliance and for nuclear weapons, though containing demagogic proposals for more effective "political control" of NATO.

Rejecting this statement, the Conference adopted the resolution put forward by the 1½ million strong Transport and General Workers' Union, which called for "A complete rejection of any defense policy based on the threat of the use of strategic or tactical nuclear weapons," the ending of the manufacture or testing of nuclear weapons, and

for opposition to establishing United States' missile bases in Britain.

This resolution had been adopted by the Trades Union Congress a month earlier. But that Congress *also* adopted the official Defense Statement (although by a much smaller majority) due to the fact that the right-wing leaders of the Amalgamated Engineering Union cast their vote *both* ways—an attitude which held the union up to public ridicule. The Labor Party Conference, therefore, carried the matter a decisive step forward. It rejected the official Defense statement and adopted the Transport workers' resolution and, in addition, adopted a further resolution proposed by the Amalgamated Engineering Union (rejecting the position of their right-wing leaders) which included a demand for "the unilateral renunciation of the testing, manufacture, stock-piling and basing of all weapons in Great Britain."

These decisions were the culmination of a two years' struggle in the Labor Party and the trade union movement on the key issues of foreign policy. The particular points have

It is safe to say that on overcoming the split in its ranks, on achieving unity of action of all its contingents, the working class of many capitalist countries could deliver a staggering blow to the policy of the ruling circles in the capitalist countries and make them stop preparing a new war, repel the offensive of monopoly capital, and have its daily vital and democratic demands met.

(From the Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, November 1960.)

been the subject of bitter struggle and controversy, of nationwide campaigning, marches, demonstrations and mass action by the peace movement and by progressives generally. *The Times* correctly stated (Nov. 4, 1960):

"The defense issue dividing the Labor Party is the deepest and most momentous issue in British politics today."

The Scarborough Conference proclaimed important elements of a new peace policy and its decisions were a demand for a complete break not only with the policies followed by the Labor leadership throughout the cold war but the whole of Britain's "bipartisan" foreign policy.

(b) Socialist Aims

The Scarborough Conference reaffirmed Clause 4 of the Constitution of the Labor

Party, which calls for "common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange," and which is regarded by most people in the movement as the key statement expressing socialist aims in the Labor Party.

This reaffirmation marked the defeat of the attempts made by the right-wing leaders during previous months to remove socialist objectives from the declared aims of the Labor Party. Ostensibly advanced on the pretext that these aims were an obstacle to winning electoral support, the right-wing programmatic statement really sought to commit the movement to support of so-called managed capitalism. It was from this standpoint that the last three general elections were fought by the Labor Party and, significantly, they all resulted in disastrous defeat for Labor.

The conflict between the leaders and the Labor Party majority on this issue was the British expression of the ideological and political crisis confronting all modern social democratic parties in the imperialist countries. After the Second World War the policy of the right-wing leaders was proclaimed as being based on a supposed democratic way leading gradually to socialism. In fact, Social Democracy was faced with the alternatives: either go forward in a class fight in unity with the Communists or abandon socialist aims. A result of this policy has been the extreme concentration of monopoly capitalism in Western Europe, the rule of Adenauer in West Germany, de Gaulle in France, and Tory rule in Britain. The German, Austrian, Swedish and other Social Democratic Parties in adopting their "new" programs completely abandoned any socialist ideological basis. Gaitskell and his friends sought to do the same in Britain. The assault on Clause 4 of the Labor Party Constitution was part of a campaign to "modernize" the Party, formally to replace socialism with the Keynesian mixed economy formula. The defense of Clause 4 by the Scarborough Conference has thwarted this offensive of the right wing, and is a reflection of the political battle now being fought out in the movement. The outcome of this fight will have repercussions for the whole of Western Social Democracy.

(c) The Sovereignty of Conference

The Scarborough Conference reaffirmed that "Labor policy is decided by the Party Conference, which is the final authority."

The issue here was whether or not the Conference decisions would be followed by the Parliamentary Labor Party, the Party Execu-

tive and the central apparatus of the Party. This issue—which body exercised functions of control in the Labor movement—reflected the stage reached in the struggle between the right wing and the left.

The struggle for the sovereignty of the Party Conference is of significance not only for the immediate conflict on foreign policy and Clause 4, important though these are, but for the future of the Labor Party. In the Conservative Party, for example, effective power is vested in its M.P.s or in the Tory Parliamentary Party representing finance capital. The Tory Party outside Parliament is a mere vote-getting machine, first created by the Tory leaders in the 1870's after the extended franchise was won. The annual conference of this Party has no real power. The Labor Party, on the other hand, was originally formed by the Trade Unions in conjunction with the co-operative movement and the then small socialist societies at the turn of the century with the sole aim of independent working class representation in Parliament. It did not adopt formal socialist aims in its constitution until 1918.

In 1908, Lenin made his penetrating judgment of the Labor Party when he supported its application for affiliation to the Second International. The Labor Party, he said, was the first step of the British working class towards a class-conscious socialist policy; a separate or independent Labor group in Parliament did not mean that the Labor Party would be politically independent of the bourgeoisie.

The Parliamentary Labor Party was created by the Labor movement outside Parliament. It has no real existence apart from the mass Labor movement as such. The possibility of fundamental conflict between the Parliamentary Labor Party and the mass movement and, therefore, between the Labor Party Conference and the Parliamentary Labor Party was always present over the years.

This conflict between working class politics and the pro-capitalist politics of the dominant Labor leadership—expressed in the struggle between right and left in the movement—is inherent in the character of the Labor Party, which, primarily, is based on the trade unions; the individual membership is one-sixth of the total, the remaining five-sixths being the affiliated trade union membership. The Labor Party is, in fact, an association of different class elements, with the trade unions forming the mass membership and the petty

bourgeoisie, along with the right-wing trade union bureaucracy, providing the leadership.

This leadership has in the past been able to pursue pro-capitalist politics, because, influenced by the right-wing trade union bureaucracy, the majority of the unions have

The opposition also embraces a section of the Social-Democratic Party functionaries. The forces favoring joint action by the working class and other working people in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress are growing. The overwhelming majority in the Social-Democratic Parties, particularly the workers, are friends of peace and social progress.

(From the Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, November 1960.)

provided automatic majorities at Conference for the right-wing leaders of the Labor Party.

In the past the frequent revolts of left minorities in the Labor Party were defeated because they came mainly from small groups of Members of Parliament who, although backed by many Constituency Labor Parties, had little connection with the workers in industry and in the trade unions. And because of right-wing domination these minorities tended to regard the unions as a barrier to progress.

The Communist Party, however, always stressed that the class basis of the trade unions would inevitably bring their members into conflict with the petty-bourgeois leadership, and that the trade unions should be won as the driving force for change in the political outlook of the Labor Party. It was necessary to fight in all the major unions to defeat the right-wing and secure the adoption of progressive politics. The recent developments in the Labor Party are proof of the soundness of this approach.

In Britain there is a single trade union movement; the unions include workers of all religious and political trends. While the Labor Party excludes Communists and imposes bans on the association of Communists with Labor Party members, this is not the case in the trade unions, where the Communists have always worked alongside all progressives for a working-class policy. Consistent activity by the Communist Party and especially by Communist trade unionists has been a major factor in bringing about a change. So long as the right-wing leaders could control the trade unions, the inherent potential conflict between a predominantly left-wing Labor Party Con-

ference and a right-wing dominated Parliamentary Labor Party could be contained. But the conflict was always there. At Scarborough it burst out into the open. The point has now been reached when the one-time automatic right-wing trade union majority in the Labor Party no longer operates: the united progressive forces in the trade unions, jointly with those in the Constituency Labor Parties, are now able to secure left-wing majorities on a growing number of vital political issues.

And so, while an important stage has been reached with the Scarborough decisions, this should be seen only as a first stage. The Conference swung to the left—but the executive control of the movement is still in the hands of the right with its majority in the Parliamentary Labor Party and on the National Executive, and with its complete control of the administrative machine; and these in turn are backed by all the capitalist agencies—press, radio, television, etc.

It should be pointed out that there were also weaknesses and a certain measure of confusion in the fight waged by the left at Scarborough, and the rights took advantage of them to confuse the issues. For example, the right was able to secure endorsement for the Executive's "clarification" of Clause 4 which, in effect, authorized the leadership to operate any policy in relation to industry which they considered practical—thus opening

Communists will continue to criticize the ideological positions and Right-wing opportunist practices of the Social Democrats; they will continue activities aimed at inducing the Social-Democratic masses to adopt positions of consistent class struggle against capitalism, for the triumph of socialism. The Communists are firmly convinced that the ideological differences obtaining between themselves and the Social Democrats must not hinder exchanges of opinion on the pressing problems of the working-class movement and the joint struggle, especially against the war danger.

(From the Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, November 1960.)

the way in practice to the abandonment of nationalization. Again, on the question of the control of policy, the mover of the resolution establishing Conference control, accepted a statement by the Executive that this was subject to "existing practice," thus weakening the significance of the resolution.

But with all its weaknesses the Conference opened up a situation which is without parallel in the modern history of the Labor movement.

The new development will have far-reaching consequences for the future, because it questions the whole method of right-wing domination and control of the movement.

At all costs, therefore, the right wing was forced to launch a counteroffensive to try to re-establish its old position of control. And this, in addition to sharpening the struggle, demonstrates the urgency of going forward from the first stage achieved at Scarborough to a new stage of far-reaching changes in the character and leadership of the Labor movement. The key to this is the political organization of the British working class involving above all the strengthening of the Communist Party and enhancing its leading role.

II. The Position Since Scarborough

Immediately after Scarborough, Gaitskell and his colleagues set out to defy the Conference decisions, as they put it, to "fight, fight, and fight again" in order to secure the reversal of the militant attitude in the main trade unions. The aim is to get the 1961 Trades Union Congress and Labor Party Conference to reverse the Scarborough decisions, change the Labor Party Constitution and to give the Parliamentary Labor Party and the leadership permanent control over policy, formally to abandon the aim of nationalization and socialism and re-establish the domination of the right wing.

Simultaneously with their vendetta against the left, the right-wing leaders are developing still closer co-operation with the Tories in the American alliance, in making bases in Britain available to the West German forces and in providing a base for United States' submarines armed with the Polaris missile.

This right-wing onslaught is being carried out at all levels in the Labor movement — in the Parliamentary constituencies, in the trade unions, in the Parliamentary Labor Party, and in the National Executive.

Gaitskell's personal campaign in the provinces, partly in the form of delegate conferences of Constituency Parties, and also in the form of membership meetings and social functions with local Labor Party officers and full-time trade union officials, and selected groups of supporters, is receiving the full backing of the capitalist press, the radio and TV. All these functions have been organized by the Labor Party apparatus; requests from the left that in addition to Gaitskell, a speaker should be allowed to state the opposite stand-

point, supporting the Scarborough decisions have been refused.

But despite the right-wing precautions, the opposition to Gaitskell and his repudiation of Conference decisions has made an impact; unprecedented scenes have been witnessed at the meetings. The battle on policy has raged at all the gatherings. Demonstrations have taken place outside the private meetings; in some cases police have had to intervene. The Coventry Labor Party, for example, refused to organize a meeting for Gaitskell.

Opponents of Gaitskell, organized in the "Victory for Socialism" group, have launched a campaign of meetings in support of the Scarborough decisions; moreover, numerous local demonstrations against nuclear weapons and the Polaris base are helping to keep the issues before the movement.

Despite the right-wing majority in the Parliamentary Labor Party, the struggle is increasingly reflected in Parliament. First there was the organized challenge to Gaitskell's leadership of the Parliamentary Party. The leader of the Labor Party is not elected by the Party Conference, but by the Parliamentary Labor Party. The right-wing majority assured Gaitskell's election by 166 votes. But the extent of the support for the opposing candidate, Harold Wilson, who was nominated by the left Labor M.P.s, was significant. Wilson got 81 votes, an important result because the vote included not only some sixty Labor M.P.s who have been associated with the opposition to the H-bomb policy, NATO and American bases in Britain, but others who are dissatisfied with Gaitskell's repudiation of Party Conference decisions. The right also secured the election of ten of the twelve members of the so-called "Shadow Cabinet" (Committee of the Parliamentary Labor Party) which leads the activities of Labor M.P.s, although Harold Wilson was one of those elected to it, along with Fred Lee, a supporter of the Scarborough decisions.

The struggle has now been carried to the point of organized challenge to bi-partisan support of the Western alliance. This was seen in the Parliamentary debate on December 14th. Gaitskell moved a motion, which had been approved by the majority of the Parliamentary Labor Party against strong opposition from the left, which embodied the right-wing views on the defense issues, — the views which the Scarborough Conference repudiated. When the vote was taken, 80 Labor M.P.s abstained from voting, thus defying the official Labor whip. This action shows that something

like two Labor Parties are emerging in Parliament: the right group, with a "bi-partisan" policy close to that of the Tories, and the left, representing the line of the Party Conference.

While the battle is thus mounting in the Constituency parties and in the Parliamentary Labor Party, everyone realizes that the central point is in the trade unions. Here the progressives have the aim not only of consolidating and extending the support for the Scarborough decisions in the unions already won, but also of winning over those unions which last year voted for the official right-wing policy.

Although the right wing have tried their hardest they have not been able to shake the solid trade union support for the Scarborough decisions. A statement in support of Gaitskell and his policy was issued by a number of right-wing members of the General Council of the TUC, and received wide publicity in the capitalist press. But the Executive Committee of the National Union of Mineworkers (one of the unions which voted for Gaitskell's policy at

The vital interests of the working-class movement demand that the Communist and Social-Democratic Parties take joint action on a national and international scale to bring about the immediate prohibition of the manufacture, testing and use of nuclear weapons, the establishment of atom-free zones, general and complete disarmament under international control, the abolition of military bases on foreign soil and the withdrawal of foreign troops, to assist the national-liberation movement of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries, to safeguard national sovereignty, promote democracy and resist the fascist menace, improve the living standards of the working people, secure a shorter working week without wage cuts, etc.

(From the Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, November 1960.)

Scarborough) passed a resolution calling on the thirty Miners' M.P.s to demand the removal of United States bases in Britain. At its next meeting the Miners' Union Executive adopted a further resolution opposing bases for the Polaris submarines.

The National Executive of the Transport and General Workers' Union has reaffirmed its resolution which the Scarborough Conference adopted. The same resolution will again be tabled at this year's Conference of the Union. The National Executive of the Building Trade Workers' Union (whose delegation at Scarborough voted both for the official Defense Statement and for the left resolution) has

adopted a resolution to the effect that, as a democratic organization, it considered that the Scarborough Conference decisions were binding and should be operated. The Executive of the National Union of Railwaymen, reaffirming its support for the Conference decisions, has called on the TUC and Labor Party to take steps to have all foreign bases, including the Polaris base, withdrawn from Britain, and made it clear that its representative on the TUC General Council, who had signed the statement supporting Gaitskell and his policy, was not acting on behalf of the union.

An indication of the widespread feeling in union branches is the fact that resolutions for the coming Distributive Workers' Annual Conference include three supporting Gaitskell and 28 against. The right-wing leaders of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, in their endeavor to switch the union in favor of Gaitskell, invited the union branches to send in resolutions on the issue. Press reports indicate that the overwhelming majority of the Resolutions received are opposed to the Gaitskell line, and that the AEU Executive is now considering a referendum of the members, in the hope that this will reverse the attitude of the branches.

There are, in addition, innumerable trade union branch and District Committee resolutions affirming support for the Conference decisions and protesting against the Gaitskell line.

The international working class must close its ranks to save mankind from the disaster of a new world war. No political, religious or other differences should be an obstacle to all the forces of the working class uniting against the war danger. The hour has struck to counter the forces of war by the mighty will and joint action of all the contingents and organizations of the world proletariat, to unite its forces to avert world war and safeguard peace.

The Communist Parties regard the fight for peace as their prime task. They call on the working class, trade unions, co-operatives, women's and youth leagues and organizations, on all working people, irrespective of their political and religious convictions, firmly to repulse by mass struggles all acts of aggression on the part of the imperialists.

(From the Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, November 1960.)

The developments in these big trade unions since Scarborough, and these unions will play a major part in deciding the issue again at this year's Labor Party Conference and Trades

Union Congress, are indicative of the level reached in the struggle. At the same time it is to be expected that the right-wing campaign and maneuvers will mount in tensify. In all probability the Labor Party Executive and the TUC General Council, in an attempt to confuse the issue and split the support for Scarborough, will advance a "new" defense statement.

While the policies decided on at Scarborough continue to be the subject of controversy at all levels within the movement, the mass struggle against nuclear weapons, NATO and the United States bases in Britain is developing on a growing scale. In addition to innumerable local demonstrations, poster parades and the distribution of leaflets on these issues, the 1961 Aldermaston March of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament looks like being the greatest national demonstration for peace ever seen in Britain. What is in many ways the biggest and most important mass campaign, has been organized against the Polaris submarine base in the West of Scotland. This campaign, in which the Communist Party has played an important part, is supported by the most important working-class bodies in Scotland—the Scottish Trade Union Congress, the Scottish Council of the Labor Party, the main section of the Co-operative movement in Scotland, almost every important Trades Council, and hundreds of trade union branches and shop stewards committees in the factories. The campaign has also brought in many other sections of the population, of widely differing political and religious standpoints. Big demonstrations have been held in Glasgow, and the Glasgow City Council and many other Scottish local authorities have protested against the base.

The special significance of these mass activities on nuclear weapons and bases is that large numbers of Labor Party members and trade unionists are not confining themselves to the stage of supporting resolutions in their organizations, they are participating in mass political actions for peace alongside Communists and others, thus developing a firmer basis for the growth of the left in the Labor movement.

These developments in the struggle between the right and left in the Labor-movement are widely recognized as being of the greatest significance for the alignment of class forces in Britain.

III. The Dilemma of the Right Wing

Faced with the continuous weakening of their authority, the right-wing leaders are

desperately seeking some way of reversing the trend. But in view of the strength of the opposition to their policy, they are more and more turning to the idea of splitting the Labor Party as the only solution for them.

Immediately after Gaitskell's re-election as leader, *The Times* in an editorial on November 4, 1960, urged the need for a split:

"The next objective for Mr. Gaitskell and his supporters is to secure a reversal of this year's conference decision. Until that is accomplished there is no prospect of restoring unity, discipline and morale to the Labor movement. . . . In the long run the task to which Mr. Gaitskell committed himself in his peroration at Scarborough . . . can be completed only by a revision of the constitution giving the parliamentary party unambiguous pre-eminence in the movement in matters of policy, and by the formal disavowing of the unilateralist elements in the party. Neither of these surgical operations is possible until the balance of opinion in the parliamentary party is roughly reflected in the conference. Then the break should be made."

The suggestion that the Parliamentary Labor Party should be the body that decides policy, and not the Party Conference, has been discussed and advocated by the Right ever since it became clear that the Conference would reject the official policy. But a memorandum on the Labor Party Constitution submitted by the National Executive at Scarborough admitted that "the Parliamentary Party could not for long remain at loggerheads with Annual Conference without disrupting the Party." But it is this disruption of the Party which is now being actively pursued by the right wing.

All kinds of suggestions are being peddled by the rights, and all have one thing in common, to deny any effective control of policy by the trade union conferences over the Executives, and to restrict or completely deny the policy-making role of the trade unions in the Labor Party. All such suggestions would, if adopted, disrupt the Labor Party.

One influential right-wing trade union leader has threatened the disaffiliation of his union from the Labor Party. Gaitskell has publicly deplored what he calls the system by which great trade unions decide their policy before considering the Joint Executive (that is the right wing) statements of the TUC and Labor Party. One of Gaitskell's supporters, Woodrow Wyatt, has called for what is in effect two Labor Parties.

In an interview published in the *Daily Telegraph* on December 29, 1960, the General

Secretary of the Trades Union Congress even questioned the right of trade union annual conferences to decide the union policy: "The most a delegate conference can reasonably do is to indicate a direction, or criticize a direction taken. The actual formulation of policy is, in my view, the responsibility of the smaller executive body."

The difficulty, however, which the right wing is facing is not merely the question of democracy in the trade unions and in the Labor Party, but the consolidation of a left standpoint in important unions on which the Labor Party relies for mass membership backing and finance. The idea of splitting the Party, of breaking off the connection with the unions or of limiting their power in the Labor Party will be hard to realize in a party in which the trade unions have the decisive voice and the decisive vote.

The political advance in the trade unions is a reflection, too, of the sharpening class struggle and the economic situation. After all that has been said and written about the "affluent society" there is stagnation in many important industries, particularly in the motor car industry, in which short-time working is prevalent and thousands of workers have been dismissed. The policies of the Tory Government, with a high Bank rate and credit squeeze, aimed at cutting down consumption in Britain and encouraging exports, worsened the position, and Britain's growing economic difficulties are now openly admitted. Tory home policy has been directed against the working class and the standards of the people: its Rent Act has sanctioned outrageous increases, while its cutting of housing subsidies and high interest charges to local authorities have led to the cancellation of many local housing programs so that the housing situation has become worse. The health services and educational programs have been restricted, and now a sharp increase in the military estimates for the coming year threatens increased taxation and further attacks on the social services. The nationalized industries, too, are under attack.

As a result of these measures together with the employers' resistance to wage increases, as well as the spreading insecurity of employment, the workers' fight against monopoly capitalism has been intensified. The struggle is rising on both the industrial and political fronts, and the policies of right-wing Labor are being more and more discredited.

And if this situation is not reflected in the attitude of the large number of trade union

M.P.s, who form the main body of Gaitskell's supporters in the Parliamentary Labor Party, the explanation lies in their unrepresentative character. In the main these M.P.s are former union officials, men who have been rewarded for their loyalty to the right-wing bureaucracy. It is significant that protests are now coming from trade union branches against the line taken by their M.P.s on the ground that support for Gaitskell is in contradiction with the official policy of their union.

The essential character of the developing conflict is that it is a class battle. The trade unions as such are not, of course, political organizations; but because of the special structure of the Labor Party the unions fulfil a decisive political function in this party. So the need is to consolidate and extend this left trend in the unions, a trend which received its clearest expression at the Scarborough Conference. All this places special responsibility on the Communist Party.

IV. The Next Stage of the Struggle

Ever since its foundation the Communist Party has emphasized this special position of the trade unions in the Labor Party. The issue was to develop militant class politics in the unions and, on this basis, build a militant alliance of Communist and non-Communist trade unionists to fight with the Socialists in the Constituency Labor Parties against the right-wing policies. This alliance would mean that the trade union vote could be cast for progress in the Labor Party and this in turn would create entirely new possibilities for developing and leading the political movement. This has been the fundamental strategy of the Communist Party.

For us the key question was this changing of the relationship of forces in the Labor Party and, with it, the relationship between the Labor Party and the Communist Party.

The Communist Party's correct strategy and consistent work played a considerable role in the advance expressed in the Scarborough Conference decisions. In the factories, in the trade union branches and in the localities the persistent struggle waged by the Communists alongside the progressive elements in the Labor movement, against nuclear weapons and the NATO alliance, on such vital issues as wages and rents and on all the issues affecting the masses, has strengthened the left and won more support for working class policies. The further advance and the winning of decisive

victory of the left necessitate above all the further strengthening of the Communist Party and its becoming a mass force.

For the Scarborough decisions, far from concluding the battle between right and left in the Labor Party, have opened up a still greater struggle for the future of the political Labor movement. The right-wing defiance of Conference majorities and their use of the Party machine for the fight against the Conference decisions is making plain to more and more people in the Labor Party the need not only to continue the struggle, but to effect far-reaching changes in the character and leadership of the political Labor movement.

The nature of these changes is dealt with in the Draft Political Resolution for the coming National Congress of our Party, scheduled for Easter. The battle over the leadership in the Parliamentary Labor Party, the resolution points out, has shown that the issue of leadership cannot be solved simply in terms of this or that individual. What is needed is victory for a policy corresponding to the interests of the working class and socialism. Such a policy requires for really effective expression a political party based on the working class and socialism, that is, the Communist Party. Hence, the strongest possible left unity must be combined with strengthening the main organized and leading force of the working class, the Communist Party.

The next step towards these changes, in addition to increasing the membership of the Communist Party and developing its municipal and parliamentary representation, is to carry forward the fight for militant policies and leadership in the trade unions; the anti-Communist bans in those unions where they still exist must be ended; we must win over the unions not yet supporting these aims; in this way it will be possible to establish a progressive majority on the General Council of the Trades Union Congress and extend this advance in the unions to the political field, to the Labor Party and to parliamentary representation.

The co-operation of Communists and trade union and Labor representatives in all fields of activity must be secured, and all bans against this co-operation ended; joint activities should be carried out in all organizations whose objectives are in harmony with the aims of peace, socialism and national independence. Bans on the right of unions to elect delegates of their own choosing to Labor Party Conferences at all levels must be ended; and

Labor and Communist electoral agreements in municipal and parliamentary elections promoted.

The strengthening of the progressive alliance engaged in the struggle to ensure fulfilment of the Scarborough decisions can and must lead to the final elimination of all right-wing influence and leadership in the Labor Party, to the victory of a united Labor movement in which the Communist Party will fulfil its role as the political party of the working class struggle for power and socialism in comradeship and partnership with all sections of the organized working class.

This struggle in the British Labor movement is taking place against the background of the worldwide struggle for peace, for colonial liberation and higher living standards, against the attempts of the imperialists to turn the

clock back. In the British Labor movement there is now growing recognition of the fundamental issues of the present period, issues clearly set out in the Statement of the Moscow meeting of the Communist Parties. This historic document has aroused considerable interest in the Labor movement. The *New Statesman* described it as a landmark in Communist history; the left-wing *Tribune* gave it a big welcome, and called it a "great victory for peace." Jennie Lee tabled a motion in the House of Commons, which was signed by 51 Labor M.P.s, welcoming its plea for peace and peaceful coexistence.

It is in this situation, and confident that, given unity and resolute struggle, the progress already registered can be consolidated and developed, that the Communist Party is preparing for its 27th Congress at Easter.

Soviet Democracy at a New Stage

(Notes of a Correspondent)

Raoul Calas

DAY by day the truth about the progress being made by the Soviet Union and the superiority of socialism is finding its way to more and more people in the capitalist world. And the facts demolish one by one the arguments used by bourgeois propaganda against the new social system.

The more difficult things become for the advocates of anti-communism, the more they fall back on the myth—with a view to misleading the public—that the Soviet Union's economic advance has been achieved at the cost of freedom and democracy. Some 30 years ago, when the Soviet people were registering their first big advance in industrialization, Léon Blum, one of the anti-communist ideologists, uttered the venomous words: "With slaves one can always build pyramids." Fabrications about the suppression of democracy, about "totalitarianism" and "dictatorship" in the Soviet Union abound in the bourgeois and Social Democratic press. And this is understandable. After all, what arguments can the enemies of socialism and the Soviet system advance now that they can no longer deny the achievements of the Soviet Union, and recognize the peaceful nature of its foreign policy? For them to say that the Soviet political system is democratic would be tantamount to their recognizing the superiority of socialism and to signing the death sentence of bourgeois society.

To the Soviet political system the anti-communist propaganda continues to counterpose the bourgeois state as the ideal of a perfect and unrestricted democracy. The old fiction that bourgeois democracy is the universal and only possible form of democracy is now one of the most deeply rooted of misconceptions. And many people in France and the West generally are still under this misapprehension. Their concept of democracy is associated with the attributes of the bourgeois democratic state. And since Soviet democracy differs from bourgeois democracy not only in substance but in form, it does not fit in with their usual conception of it.

It is true, of course, that the Soviet Union does not have the same kind of democracy

as the countries of the "free world." A new, higher type of democracy—Soviet socialist democracy—has become firmly established and is developing in the Soviet Union. "The Soviet system," wrote Lenin, "provides the maximum of democracy for the workers and peasants; at the same time it marks a break with bourgeois democracy and the rise of a new type of democracy of world historic importance"

During his stay in the Soviet Union the author of these lines spoke to a cross section of the Soviet public. He familiarized himself with the central and local governmental bodies, the people's courts, trade unions and other public organizations, factories and collective farms and saw, so to say, the mechanisms of Soviet democracy in operation. The author does not pretend to an exhaustive description of the Soviet political system; this article is more of a series of notes, some impressions and thoughts on questions pertaining to the substance and the forms of Soviet democracy.

Unity of the People and Socialist Democracy

In May last year we attended a session of the Supreme Soviet—the highest organ of state power in the USSR. There were two main items on the agenda: abolition of taxes and the completion in 1960 of the switching of all factory and office workers to a seven- and a six-hour day. The draft laws submitted by the government on these questions were adopted unanimously after a three-day debate.

Bourgeois politicians, the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders, the monopoly press, and other mouthpieces of anti-communism delight in saying that the Supreme Soviet passes laws and decrees unanimously because pressure is brought to bear on the deputies, and that it does so is evidence of the non-democratic nature of the Soviet parliament. Of this unanimity they always write and speak ironically. The strife between various groupings in bourgeois parliaments is, they would have us believe, a sign of unlimited freedom,

*V. I. Lenin, *Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution*.

and the bourgeois parliament itself — the expression of the popular will, the mouthpiece of the nation's community of interests. But the question arises: does a unity and community of interests really exist in bourgeois society?

An overt and covert struggle is always going on in capitalist society—not only between the exploited and the exploiters, but also within the ruling classes. Although these classes act in a united front against the working people, their interests do not always coincide. The contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the landed proprietors, the fierce competition between the monopolies, and the monopolies' actions against the non-monopoly bourgeoisie are proof of this. These antagonisms, which will continue to obtain as long as capitalism exists, *exclude the possibility of unity in all spheres of socio-political life, including parliament.*

Let us, for instance, imagine the improbable: that a government of a capitalist country has sent a bill to parliament to reduce the working day without reducing wages—as the USSR Council of Ministers has done. One need not be a prophet to predict what would happen, say, in the French National Assembly, especially with its present composition. None will deny that a bill of this kind would harmonize with the vital interests of the overwhelming majority of the French electors. However, it is not they but the spokesmen of the classes interested in getting as much as possible out of their workers for as little as possible who have the decisive say in the French National Assembly. Whenever questions of this kind are discussed the bourgeois deputies begin to talk about encroaching on free enterprise. And inasmuch as they are in the majority, all motions aimed at improving conditions for the workers and reducing capitalist profits are rejected.

Why then, if the Soviet parliament *unanimously* adopts a law in keeping with the will of the people, is this unanimity regarded as non-democratic? And conversely, why, if a bourgeois parliament, thanks to the votes of the representatives of the ruling classes and their allies, rejects motions that are in the interests of the majority of the electors, is this regarded as proof of democracy and unlimited popular power?

The socio-economic base upon which the Soviet political system rests differs fundamentally from that of bourgeois democracy. The political unity, characteristic of the proceedings of the Soviet parliament, is not

fortuitous, not something that has been imposed. It is the logical consequence of the fundamental changes which have taken place in the economic and class structure of Soviet society.

There was not complete community of interests in Soviet society during the transition to socialism inasmuch as remnants of the classes defeated by the socialist revolution and the numerous kulak exploiters were still active politically. Suffice it to recall that in the early years of the Soviet state the political parties and groups upholding the interests of the exploiting classes—the Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries, etc. — came out at elections, congresses of Soviets and elsewhere as an organized opposition with their own political platform.

But with the victory of socialism, Soviet democracy entered upon a new stage of its development. Inasmuch as the exploiting classes have been eliminated and socialist production relations — which preclude the exploitation of man by man — firmly established in all branches of the national economy, irreconcilable class antagonisms are a thing of the past.

The organic unity of economic and political interests, the community of the fundamental aims and views of all citizens, and the moral and political unity of society as a whole—impossible under private ownership—arose on the basis of socialist ownership and are successfully developing. The point made by Khrushchov at the 21st Congress of the CPSU, that there are now no cases in the country of people being tried for political offences is convincing proof of this unity.

Is there anything surprising in the fact that there are no fundamental political differences among the deputies elected by the Soviet people? It would be more in place to ask: on what grounds could differences of this kind arise? What social groups in Soviet society could have interests running counter to the common interests and on what grounds could any of the deputies to the May 1960 Supreme Soviet session have objected to the laws discussed there? We have taken the May session as an example, but it was typical of all the work of the Supreme Soviet. No matter how hard they try, the critics of Soviet democracy cannot cite a single case of the supreme organ of state power in the USSR adopting a law or a decree running counter to the interests of the people, or of rejecting a law conforming to these interests. There have been no cases of this kind, and there will be none.

Unity on fundamentals, needless to say, does not wholly exclude differences between, say personal and public, national and local interests, etc. But the differences are no longer antagonistic; they do not affect what is fundamental and decisive and are, therefore, easily overcome. Soviet democracy gives full scope for this.

It has become the practice to debate the more important laws and decrees on a nationwide scale before finally adopting them. This was the case, for instance, with the theses submitted by Khrushchov for the 1959-65 economic plan. In the factories, on building sites, on the collective and state farms, in offices and educational institutions a total of a million meetings attended by over 70 million people were held to discuss the targets. More than 4.5 million spoke at these meetings, tabling proposals and suggestions. Furthermore, newspapers and magazines, local and central Soviets, Party and other public organizations received more than 650,000 letters and articles containing suggestions for the plan. We would ask the critics of the Soviet political system: In what capitalist country have they seen a nationwide discussion of this kind? Lively debates take place and different views are often voiced not only in the Soviet parliament but also during these national discussions but, since there is a community of economic and political aims and interests, a unanimous decision is finally arrived at.

Zealous advocates of bourgeois democracy shed crocodile tears over the Soviet electoral system. They pretend not to understand how it is that deputies can be elected unanimously or almost unanimously, or how elections can be free if there is only one candidate nominated for a constituency. But there is no secret here. The mechanism and procedure of elections are much more democratic than in any bourgeois democratic republic. No one in the Soviet Union can announce himself as a candidate. All candidates are nominated by the various organizations and by public meetings of the citizens. The electoral law and the practice of elections ensure free and critical discussion at these meetings of any number of candidates, while a majority vote decides which of them will be nominated. These meetings elect representatives to the pre-election meetings which discuss the candidates nominated by different public organizations, establishments and collectives of working people. It is only natural that in the conditions of the moral and political unity of society all the candidates should have the same electoral

platform, that of the bloc of Communists and non-Communists, which conforms to the general interests. When candidates are discussed at pre-election meetings it is not to ascertain which of them has the most acceptable platform, but to examine their personal qualities and abilities. This procedure ensures a careful selection of candidates, in which the opinion of the electors is taken into account, and it assures a unanimous vote on election day. This is now established practice, although the law does not limit the number of candidates which can be registered in any one electoral district.

It is only at election time that bourgeois M.P.s feel dependent to some extent on the electors. To catch their votes they make lavish promises which they forget the day after the elections. The Soviet deputy is under the constant control of the electors and they can recall him at any time if he fails to fulfill his obligations. This is clearly stated in Article 142 of the Constitution of the USSR which reads: "It is the duty of every deputy to report to his electors on his work and on the work of his Soviet of Working People's Deputies, and he may be recalled at any time upon decision of a majority of the electors in the manner established by law." One would seek in vain for a similar article in the Constitution of a bourgeois republic.

When we attended the session of the Supreme Soviet we saw the vast difference between the bourgeois and the Soviet parliaments. Sitting in the same row with a Marshal of the Soviet Union were a scientist, a mechanic, a stonemason, a weaver and a milkmaid. There was little to distinguish one from another, save perhaps that a member of the armed forces stood out because of his uniform, or a deputy from Uzbekistan had a duskier skin than his Moscow colleague. We had a new type of people's representative before us, a deputy who does not leave his job during his term of elective office, but continues to work in the factory or collective farm, university or laboratory.

There are 1,378 deputies in the present Supreme Soviet. Of these 831 are workers and peasants, most of whom are directly engaged in production. The remaining deputies are professional people, ministers, engineers, agricultural experts, etc.

During our visit we made the acquaintance of Supreme Soviet deputy Tatyana Dmitrieva, a doctor in a children's sanatorium in the remote northern town of Yakutsk. Dmitrieva spends much time in her constituency, visiting

villages and settlements, and the homes of collective farmers; she has verified the work of co-operatives, stores and educational and medical institutions. Over 1,000 people spoke at the meetings at which she reported on her work as deputy. On returning to Yakutsk, Dmitrieva takes the issues raised by her electors to the government bodies of the Yakutian Autonomous Republic and endeavors to get them solved. Soviet deputies are indeed translating Lenin's words into reality: "... parliamentarians should work themselves, should execute their own laws, themselves test their results in real life, and be directly responsible to their electors."*

A deputy has many duties: he receives his electors, listens to their complaints and suggestions and takes the necessary measures. He is invested with considerable powers. On behalf of his electors he can submit motions and draft laws to a session of the Soviet and make inquiries of the executive bodies. He contacts the management of enterprises, collective farms, state farms, establishments and departments on matters raised by the electors. Deputies regularly report back to their electors.

One of the arguments of bourgeois propaganda to the effect that the Soviet system is non-democratic, is that there is only one political party in the country; democracy is only possible, it alleges, in a country with two or more parties. It is true that there are no parties in the Soviet Union other than the Communist Party—a fact greatly bewailed by the critics of Soviet democracy. There are two reasons for this: first, because with the elimination of class antagonisms the soil on which opposing parties could grow has disappeared and, second, because the policy of the Communist Party expresses the interests of the people as a whole, and the people do not need another party which would inevitably pursue a policy running counter to their interests.

Furthermore, bourgeois democracy in practice refutes the assertion that a political system can be democratic only if there are several parties. Let us take the example of American democracy. For decades the elections have brought either the Democratic or the Republican Party to power. But — as the 1960 presidential election reaffirmed — even professional politicians have been unable to discover any essential difference between the programs of the two parties.

The democracy of a political system is determined not by the number of political parties

in a country but by what the system stands for — by whose interests this system upholds and by who holds state power. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union unites the most advanced and politically conscious section of the working people and is a truly popular party. Its policy reflects the common interests of Soviet society and therefore enjoys the wholehearted support of the people.

From Socialist Democracy to Public Self-Government

With de Gaulle's advent to power the 1946 Constitution, one of the most democratic in French history, was abrogated. The new Constitution imposed upon the people has deprived them of major democratic gains. These developments are not a specifically French phenomenon; they indicate the general trend of the evolution of bourgeois democracy.

The bourgeoisie wants to cut down political freedoms and to restrict democracy in general. Fortunately, however, this does not depend on the will and desire of the bourgeoisie alone. Their anti-democratic designs are resisted by the people, first and foremost the working class. Jean Jaurès once said from the tribune of the Chamber of Deputies: "What, I ask you, would have happened to political freedoms in this country if over the last 120 years the working class had not devoted all its boldness, all its strength and all its unselfishness to the emancipation movement?" The present situation in France reaffirms these words.

The Soviet political system is developing in a diametrically opposite way to that of the bourgeois state, towards the broadest possible extension of democracy. The Soviet state did not confine itself to proclaiming legal rights for the people, it set about creating conditions which would enable them to administer the country. This path was beset with grave difficulties. There were, among other things, the difference in the economic and cultural development of the nations, the inequality of men and women, illiteracy, cultural backwardness and other survivals of the past.

The Soviet state set to work to surmount these obstacles, to create the conditions for drawing the people more extensively into the work of running the country. Let us take, for example, the cultural level. Seventy-six per cent of the adult population in pre-revolutionary Russia was illiterate; today illiteracy is a thing of the past. The number of people with a secondary and higher education has risen from 290,000 in 1913 to 13.4 million in 1959. Over 50 million people (every fourth person)

*V. I. Lenin, *The State and Revolution*.

is studying in one way or another. The results are particularly notable in the Central Asian republics where, under tsarism, the cultural backwardness was well-nigh incredible. The Rector of Stalinabad University told us that there were only 10 elementary schools, 13 teachers and 360 pupils in Tajikistan in 1913. Now there are 2,600 schools, 20,000 teachers and 366,000 students; the Stalinabad University alone has 4,200 students and a teaching staff of 276. It is not, however, merely a matter of raising the educational level. Cultural treasures, the arts, literature and science are no longer the property of the chosen few; they are accessible to all the working people. The reduction of the working day to seven hours provides the people with new opportunities to continue their studies and to participate in the work of government bodies and the public organizations.

The Soviets have from the outset been the most numerous organization of the working people. The number of deputies is constantly rising. Thus, whereas 1,500,000 were elected to the local Soviets in 1957, this figure rose to nearly two million in 1959. But this is not the sum total. A network of permanent committees which handle the various problems of economic and cultural upbuilding, are attached to the local Soviets. Some 120,000 of these committees, for example, function in the local Soviets of the RSFSR. Working on these committees, in addition to the 700,000 deputies, are over a million activists. These committees see to it that decisions are implemented, verify the work of the enterprises and establishments under the jurisdiction of the Soviets and make proposals to improve their work.

The local Soviets also rely on the numerous body of activists in street and house committees which help the Soviets to organize public services and amenities in the towns and villages; women's councils; parents' committees at the schools; housing and cultural councils, etc., all take part in this work. One fact will suffice to show the extent to which the people participate in these organizations: membership of the street committees in the Krasnodar Region alone is in the neighborhood of 40,000.

Some local Soviets have recently begun to enlist deputies and activists as permanent supernumerary (i.e., unpaid) employees. Thus five departments of the district Soviets in the city of Sverdlovsk are functioning on a public basis, i.e., all the people in these departments work without remuneration and in their spare time. In his work *The Immediate Tasks of the*

Soviet Government Lenin wrote: "Our aim is to ensure that every worker, after having finished his eight hours' 'lesson' in productive labor, shall perform state duties *gratis*." The Soviets are implementing this Leninist injunction on a growing scale.

The bourgeoisie wants to perpetuate its rule and the bourgeois state as an organ of that rule. The fundamental difference between the two types of state is that the Soviet state does not aim at perpetuating its existence. The function of the Soviet state is to build a society, in the higher phase of which—communism—the special apparatus of government will no longer be needed and the state will gradually wither away, while "the function of public administration," as Khrushchov said at the 21st Congress of the CPSU, "will no longer have a political character, and will pass under the people's direct administration."

With the creation of the material base of communism, the deepening consciousness of citizens and their greater participation in the government of the country, there begins the process of *gradual transition from socialist democracy to communist self-government*. Two trends of this transition have already emerged: in the forms and methods of their work the Soviets, as organs of state power, are drawing nearer to the public organizations; simultaneously certain functions of the government agencies are being transferred to these organizations. A gradual rapprochement is taking place between the organs of state power and the public organizations. Eventually, *they will fuse into a single system of communist self-government which will not bear the character of political power*.

Soviet democracy, in contrast to bourgeois democracy, embraces all spheres of public life. In the bourgeois-democratic republic the rights of the working people are in one way or another confined only to the sphere of politics. Capitalism excludes the possibility of the working people really participating in the management of industry. The worker cannot manage what belongs to the capitalist. The process of capitalist production, concealing as it does the secret of the origin of profit, is the holy of holies of the bourgeoisie which does not allow the workers to run capitalist enterprises.

The development of socialism is inconceivable without the people participating in the direct management of the economy. And if bourgeois democracy does not give citizens the opportunity to do this, socialist democracy brings the productive and political functions as

close as possible. The Soviet state is profoundly interested in seeing as many working people as possible having a say in the management of production and in perfecting it. And, on the other hand, the working people are interested in perfecting and expanding production. Thus the role of the mass organizations of the working people, first and foremost of the trade unions, in running the economy is constantly growing. Important government functions, such as labor safety and the utilization of the budget social insurance allocations which run into thousands of millions of rubles, have been transferred to the trade unions, which unite over 50 million members. In 1958 the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet promulgated a decree according to which the rights of local and factory trade union committees were considerably extended. When a factory manager is appointed, account is taken of the views of the local trade union organization, which can demand the removal of the manager if his attitude is not in the interests of the workers. No worker can be dismissed without the agreement of the trade union committee. The unions can stop any production process if the management does not observe the safety regulations, and can, if necessary, bring the guilty party to trial.

Some government functions have been transferred to organizations other than the trade unions.

In the past sport was handled by a state body—the Committee for Physical Culture and Sport—the functions of which have now been taken over by the Union of Voluntary Sports Societies, a public organization. Administrative changes in the system of public health, sanatoriums and houses of rest are now being discussed. It is intended to enhance the role of public organizations in this sphere, too.

Functions connected with justice and public order have also been handed over to popular organizations. The legal system in the USSR is founded on a democratic basis. People's judges, elected by the public, are obliged to report back to their electors, and they can be recalled at any time. We attended a court in Leningrad. The judge was examining the case of a man charged with a breach of the peace. The court was held in public. Among the officials were two women, one a people's assessor, the other the court secretary. A social defender — a member of the trade union committee in the enterprise where the accused worked—was present. Nothing of the kind is to be met with in bourgeois legal procedure. The social defender submitted to the judges

the opinion of the accused's fellow-workers. They requested the court to allow them to take the man under their charge, undertaking to be responsible for him and saying they would help him to reform. In other words, his fellow workers undertook to educate and reform the man and be responsible for him. The request was granted and the man was released on probation.

Cases of breaches of the peace are often handed over to what are known as comradesly courts. These courts, public bodies, function in factories, public organizations, educational establishments, state and collective farms, rural Soviets, house managements, and street and block committees, etc. They handle cases of labor discipline, bad behavior and transgressions of the law, where the latter is a first offence and not particularly dangerous to the public, and also cases remitted to them by the People's Courts and the organs of the People's Militia. Punishment takes the form of a caution or public reprimand. If the case warrants it, the comradesly court passes it on to the People's Court.

These comradesly courts are lively and always well attended. We were told of cases where offenders brought before them said they would prefer the case to be heard in a People's Court which would not be so well attended and where they would not have to blush so much. Such is the impact of public opinion.

On the initiative of the public, volunteer groups have been set up to assist in maintaining public order. In no way subordinate to the militia, these groups act jointly with it. They are purely voluntary and their committees are elected at group meetings. They receive no remuneration and carry out their duties in their spare time. Their chief function is the prevention of anti-social and anti-moral acts. Their methods are persuasion and education.

Another result of the establishment of volunteer groups is a sizable reduction in the militia force. This fact in itself makes nonsense of the lies spread by the capitalists and their stooges to the effect that the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies are "police states."

The transfer of a number of functions now being fulfilled by the state to public organizations *extends and consolidates the political basis of the socialist state, ensures the development of socialist democracy* and paves the way to a social system in which "the functions of control and accounting—becoming more and more simple—will be performed by each in turn, will become a habit and

finally die out as the *special* functions of a special section of the population.”*

* * *

It is difficult in one article to cover the diverse aspects of Soviet democracy. But its essence is expressed in Lenin's words: “It is those masses who, even in the most democratic bourgeois republics, being equal before the law, are, in practice, prevented by arts and

*V. I. Lenin, *The State and Revolution*.

crafts from taking any part in political life and from using democratic rights and freedoms, are now being drawn into the constant, ceaseless and, what is more, decisive participation in the democratic management of the state.”*

If the word “democracy” means the rule of the people, then it finds its fullest and most consistent realization in the Soviet Union.

*V. I. Lenin, *Theses and Report on Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat at the First Congress of the Communist International*.

Writers of Asia and Africa Make Common Cause

Sharaf Rashidov

“THE African writer is at once a sort of doctor who prescribes for the people a remedy against colonialism and a soldier who fights for national independence.” This is how Benjamin Matip, the Cameroon author, described the function of the writer in the countries of Asia and Africa fighting for their freedom. And indeed for the writers of these countries the vital problems of their art are inextricably bound up with the movement of their people for liberation. The progressive writers of the dependent and independent countries of Asia and Africa are taking an increasingly active part both by their literary and public work in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism, for the happiness of their peoples, for freedom, friendship and peace. Common to all of them is their striving to put an end to the imperialist influence in all spheres of the nations' life, to blast the myth of the “civilizing” mission of colonialism and to revive the national culture.

The Fight Against Colonialism Goes On

The writers and other intellectuals are playing an outstanding role in the independence struggle waged by the peoples of Africa and Asia. The lives of some of the best writers are a model of dedicated service to the people's cause. During the liberation struggle in Indonesia the progressive men of culture

sided with the people, bringing the word of freedom to the masses, writing books calling for the overthrow of colonialism and often taking up arms themselves.

At the time when the colonialists were stirring up antagonism between Burmese and Indians, Takin Kodo Chmain, the dean of Burmese letters, spoke up boldly for unity, showing the people that colonialism was the real enemy.

Bozorg Alavi, one of the leading figures in the progressive literature of Iran, and one whose works are aimed at strengthening peace and friendship among the nations, was kept in jail for four years by the reactionaries.

Writers in Lebanon, led by Omar Fakhouri, have also been active in the fight against imperialism and for democracy. In the summer of 1958 progressive writers raised their voices in protest against the presence of the U.S. Sixth Fleet in Lebanese ports and the occupation of the country.

Outstanding among the writers in Morocco who have put up a staunch fight against colonialism are Alal El Fassi, poet, historian and geographer, who spent many years in exile, and Moulay Elarbi Alaoui.

The books of Sheikh Abdul Hamid Ben Badis, whose words: “Communism is the inspiration of the peoples” are well-known throughout Algeria, have been consistently

anti-colonial in spirit. His disciple Sheikh Reda Hoho, another implacable enemy of colonialism, was seized by the French colonialists and tortured to death. An active part in the political life of his country has been taken by Mohammed Dib. In common with other writer colleagues, he describes the plight of the peasants and fearlessly attacks the colonialists.

Progressive writers in Japan have made their contribution to the movement for genuine independence, democracy and peace. When five of the twenty defendants in the notorious "Matsukawa case," framed by the U.S. occupationists, were sentenced to death and five to life imprisonment, the writer Kazuo Hirotsu took an active part in the movement for the release of the innocent men. For years he made copious notes and collected material exposing the unjust trial. This material was subsequently used for a film and a play which were shown all over Japan. Generally speaking, progressive writers in Japan have played a prominent part in the various movements of their people, in their struggle against resumption of nuclear tests, militarization of education and the expansion of U.S. military bases. Last year, for instance, when the new Japanese-American military treaty was signed, writers joined in the protests not only through their writings but by personally taking part in the signature campaign and marching in the demonstrations.

The imperialists are resorting to all manner of subterfuges to retain their influence and to preserve the colonial regimes, in refurbished form, in those countries where they have been unable to prevent the people from gaining independence. Many difficulties will have to be overcome before full freedom can be achieved, and for this the progressive forces must be able to distinguish their true friends from their enemies.

Even in countries that have thrown off the colonial yoke, the struggle against colonialism continues in the sphere of both the economy and culture. The whole system of imperialist plunder greatly retarded the development of the national culture. The colonialists tried to make the Asian and African peoples forget their language and history. As for their economy, it will take much time and effort before the backwardness in this respect is overcome and a modern industry and agriculture built up. This is the goal toward which

the progressive forces of the newly-liberated countries are working.

We, writers and people active in public life in the Soviet Union, have met many Afro-Asian public personalities, writers and artists and have heard them speak with pride of the growth of social consciousness in their countries. The upsurge of patriotic thinking and the active protest against the imperialist policy of suppressing and degrading the national spirit are features of public life in these countries. Life confronts the intellectuals of the liberated countries with cultural problems also, and the future of these countries depends in large measure on the solution of these problems.

One of the most shameful consequences of colonialism is wholesale illiteracy. The peoples who have taken their destiny into their own hands are thirsting for knowledge. Hence *public education* has become a task of prime importance. Guinea, for example, has spent more on public education in three years of freedom than the colonialists spent in sixty. More schools have been opened in Libya today than in a hundred years of Turkish domination and thirty years of Italian colonialism.

Our friends have to start practically from scratch—to build schools, compile textbooks and revise study programs so as to remove all traces of colonialist ideology. Education is conducted in an entirely new spirit. The purpose of education, as the colonialists saw it, was to instil loyalty, humility and veneration for the "white masters." Colonial "education" led to the degradation and suppression of the national culture. In Tunisia, for example, where tuition was modelled after that of France, the young Tunisian upon finishing school knew practically nothing about the history or economy of his own country. The education of today must not only give the pupils knowledge, but imbue them with a spirit of patriotism and national pride. The Asian and African countries today more than ever before need patriots, men of action and vigor, capable of waging a consistent fight for their people.

In educating the new generation the intellectuals of Asia and Africa are turning more and more to the *national traditions*, to the history and culture of their peoples, to creative art, in a word to all that priceless heritage so long neglected. They are frequently obliged to reopen pages in the history of their peoples, in the history of the culture and art

of their native land so that the creators of the art treasures once deliberately kept in the shadow may once again shine in all their glory.

Combating "Cultural Expansion"

Colonialism can no longer act as crudely and brazenly as it did fifty years ago. The colonialists are forced to seek new and more subtle methods of enslaving the peoples.

At the Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian Countries, Sukarno issued a just warning: "I say to you: colonialism is not yet dead . . . and I beg you not to think that colonialism exists only in that classical form which we knew in Indonesia, and our brothers in the various parts of Asia and Africa. Colonialism also dons modern garb, it emerges in the form of economic control, intellectual control and virtual physical control by a small but alien group within the country. This is a clever and resolute enemy, it assumes many different disguises. It does not easily relinquish its booty."

Today the supporters of colonialism are resorting widely to methods of "cultural expansion." They are hiding behind words like the "superiority" of Western culture, the "civilizing" mission of the West. They even talk about the interaction of cultures. But in practice this "interaction" turns out to be the one-sided dominant influence of the "higher" Western culture.

The people of Asia and Africa judge the colonialists by their deeds, not by their words. They remember that the first thing the invaders did in West and Equatorial Africa was to plunder the temples and carry off the art treasures to Europe. Masterpieces of Oriental art are still to be found in the museums of Paris, London, Brussels and West Berlin, and questions as to their origin elicit only the vaguest of answers. The people remember that Indian schoolchildren were made to learn the genealogy of the English kings but were taught nothing about the history and culture of their own country. They remember the incredible difficulties that attended the publication of every book, every newspaper in their own language.

The destructive wars repeatedly imposed on them by foreign invaders, centuries of feudal reactionary rule and, more recently, colonialism, stifled the material and intellectual development of the Eastern countries and hampered their traditional cultural intercourse.

In many of these countries American, British, French and other companies, agencies

and societies of all kinds have their own newspapers and magazines, their own clubs, their own libraries and printing establishments. These media of reactionary propaganda are used to stir up national antagonisms, to glorify the "Western way of life" and to slander the socialist countries and the young republics of Asia and Africa.

On more than one occasion Asian and African writers have bitterly complained about the disastrous influence of colonialism on the theatre, cinema, radio and television in their countries. Imposing their own language and culture on the Afro-Asian peoples, the colonialists hold back the development of the national culture and the arts, especially the theatre and cinema.

The gaining of national independence is a powerful stimulus to the national culture, to education, art and literature. When the first volume of the Burmese Encyclopaedia appeared, the people of Rangoon held a demonstration to celebrate the occasion. They marched through the streets triumphantly carrying the volume as a symbol of the intellectual powers of the regenerated nation.

The efforts of the Afro-Asian peoples today are directed towards the economic advancement and intellectual revival of their countries; to train *professional workers, drawn from the people*, who are so essential in the new situation; to achieve a radical improvement in education, to found newspapers, publishing houses, radio stations and printshops — in a word, all that is required to bring culture to the people. These are by no means simple tasks and definite political and economic conditions are needed for their successful fulfilment. The flowers of culture cannot bloom without the sunlight of freedom. But these are tasks posed by life and they will be carried out!

In this noble field of endeavor a place of honor belongs to the writers of the Afro-Asian countries, who are waging a resolute struggle for the revival of their national literature, against the "cultural expansion" of the imperialist powers, for democracy, against the reactionary forces in their countries.

In Indonesia, for example, a campaign has been launched against this "cultural expansion" and especially against the demoralizing influence, particularly on the youth, of trashy American films. Prominent personalities are insisting that the government restrict the import of American films and bring in a greater number of progressive films from other countries. A few years ago intellectuals organized

a demonstration against the American film "Desert Fox", which was a glorification of the Nazi General Rommel. One of the first manifestations of its kind, it achieved its purpose. Under pressure of public opinion the authorities have had to ban a number of vulgar American dances (rock n'roll, for example), and the radio recently stopped broadcasting some of the more vulgar American jazz songs. The public is also demanding the suppression of other items of American "art export." At present the majority of intellectuals in Indonesia are united in the Society of National Culture, a progressive organization with strong anti-colonialist tendencies.

Literature Unites Human Hearts

The writer's work is one of the most important factors of national and cultural progress. Art is both a mirror of life and an instrument for changing it. This is particularly true of the progressive literature of the Afro-Asian countries, which is giving a more and more vivid and profound portrayal of the life of the colonial and former colonial countries and of the national-liberation movement of their people.

The Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore, the centenary of whose birth will be observed this year, wrote that literature helps us to feel our spiritual affinity with our fellow men. Literature, said Tagore, guides the stream of the inner consciousness, makes our hearts beat faster, in unison with the heartbeats of others. One might think that there could be no artificial means of uniting the hearts of men. Yet literature, it seems, can do just that, concluded the poet.

The message of truth penned by the writer who expresses the thoughts and aspirations of his people has always inspired men with confidence and faith in their own strength, the desire to work, to fight and to win in the name of human happiness. But never before has the written word played so great a role in the development of society as in our time. The struggle against war, for peace, freedom and independence for all peoples, for universal progress and a brighter future for man has become the vital cause of progressive writers the world over.

The writers of the East are turning more and more to *contemporary themes*, to the life of their people. Writing with love and understanding about the ordinary men and women of their countries and the rich spiritual forces of the nation, they expose the colonialist myth

of the "inferiority" of men with black or yellow skins, and help to reveal the perspectives unfolding before these peoples.

The best writers of Asia and Africa are devoting more attention to the ordinary man, his hopes, his needs and his aspirations. Much of the work of the forward-looking Indian authors, for example, describes the plight of the oppressed sections of the population, spotlights the social evils and asserts the human dignity of ordinary men and women. Humanism and realism are breaking through more and more, ousting the reactionary, decadent trends.

The leading characters in *Flowers of the Storm*, a novel by the Indian writer Krishan Chandra, are peasants, men of high moral fibre, worthy representatives of the people. The action takes place at the time when India was still a colony, but the writer was able to discern in the masses of that dark period the forces that were destined to make history.

The life of ordinary people is vividly and graphically portrayed in the novel *New Journey* by the Bengal writer Monadja Basu, dealing with the struggle against ignorance in the countryside, a highly topical question in the Indian village today.

A new type of man is appearing in the new literature of the African peoples, a man who is discarding his meekness, freeing himself of illusions and acquiring faith in his own strength. In his novel *Oh My Country, My Glorious People* the Senegalese writer Sembou Usman gives a delightful portrayal of a young Negro who returns home after the war to join with his people in building the new life. In the end he is killed by agents of a foreign company, but the cause for which he died is carried on by the people.

The struggle against colonialism is the keynote of *Life of a Boy* by the Cameroon author Ferdinand Oyono, the story of a young Negro who is employed as a houseboy by a white colonialist. At first the youth hopes that as a white man's servant he will have a chance to improve his position. "The king's dog is king of the dogs," he likes to say. But gradually his eyes are opened to the rottenness of the colonial regime and the hypocrisy of colonialist morals, and he begins to be revolted by the bearers of these morals. In the end he sides with those who are fighting for the people.

The liberation motif is to be found also in the work of Tahar Al Haddad, a leading Tunisian progressive writer and poet, author of books upholding the interests of the work-

ers and the emancipation of women. In his poems he draws a gloomy picture of poverty in Tunisia in the first half of the 20th century ("Our fields are devastated, our workmen are crushed, our trade is stagnant, we are weighed down by fear, our streets are filled with unemployed . . .") and tells his people that the only way to salvation is through struggle. ("This is our earth. It was created for us. How can we agree to live in misery on this earth? If we are not the masters of our earth to whom does this country belong? Oh, the vicissitudes of fate! Oh my people, you were born to die for your dignity, not to live as cowards . . .")

No one who reads these writers can fail to feel that the African people are yearning for the new life, and that the young African literature mirrors their hopes and yearnings.

Clasp Hands Firmly

There is a growing understanding among the peoples that the evil of colonialism can be vanquished only by joining hands and helping one another. The writers afford an inspiring example of this unity, which has been strikingly manifested in the numerous conferences attended by representatives of the Asian and African peoples held in recent years in different countries.

Of far-reaching importance for the artists and intellectuals of the Afro-Asian countries, as indeed for all peoples, were the decisions of the *Bandung Conference* (1955). The Declaration on world peace and co-operation adopted at that conference called for preserving and consolidating the peace, and ensuring peaceful co-existence and co-operation among countries irrespective of their social systems.

The 1956 conference of Asian writers in Delhi, which laid the foundation for co-operation of the literatures of the Eastern peoples, was held in the Bandung spirit. The writers unanimously declared that comradely co-operation among writers of different countries and continents, exchange of art and cultural treasures and joint discussion of literary problems would contribute to a better understanding among the peoples and strengthen their solidarity.

Among the documents adopted by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in Cairo (January 1958) was a resolution on cultural ties and co-operation, containing a broad program for friendly contacts between the Afro-Asian countries in all spheres of science, culture and the arts.

The *Tashkent conference* of Asian and African Writers (October 1958) carried forward the ideas of the Bandung, Delhi and Cairo conferences and was an important step toward deepening and expanding cultural intercourse among the countries. It was the most representative of all the conferences of its kind held hitherto on these two continents.

While the Bandung Conference was attended by delegates from 29 Afro-Asian countries, the Delhi Writers' Conference by delegates from 17 Asian countries, and the Cairo Solidarity Conference by delegates from 45 Afro-Asian countries, the Tashkent conference brought together representatives from 50 countries: 196 delegates from 37 Afro-Asian countries and 22 guests from 13 countries of Europe and America.

The Tashkent conference might as well be called the "literary Bandung." Its delegates and guests included men and women of diverse political views, religions and literary trends. But all of them were united by the common desire for freedom, peace, happiness and friendship among the nations of the world.

Perhaps the most widely discussed question at the conference was that of the writer's *place in the social struggles of his people*. Some writers tend to be suspicious of appeals to participate in such struggles and in public life generally. They still believe that art can be divorced from politics. We found evidence of this influence in India, in the United Arab Republic and in other Afro-Asian countries. It was manifest at the Tashkent conference as well. Such prejudices the reasons for which are quite clear should be countered by thoughtful, convincing and tactful argument. The ideologists of imperialism seek to divert the Afro-Asian writers from the vital and urgent issues of our time and from participation in nationwide movements for freedom and peace by trotting out the old argument that the writer is an artist, not a politician. But no artist can be an indifferent bystander. The true artist is one whose art expresses the life of his people. The portrayal of contemporary life with its tangled web of contradictions, the everyday lives of everyday people, demands of the writer *the highest level of literary craftsmanship*. In the course of informal talks and discussions, the writers who believe in the active, social significance of art succeeded as a rule in convincing the doubters.

Solidarity, an Earnest of Success

Solidarity, economic, political and cultural co-operation—these are what the Afro-Asian

peoples need in order to win the fight against colonialism, consolidate their freedom and defend it against imperialist encroachment.

While consistently combating the influence of reactionary, anti-humanist pseudo-culture, the progressive writers of Asia and Africa at the same time emphasize that they cherish no enmity for the peoples of the European and American countries. On the contrary, they have the greatest respect for the advanced writers and intellectuals of all countries. Progressive literature repudiates all national limitations. The beneficent influence of the distinguished writers of the West on the work of the Afro-Asian writers is a recognized fact. The Appeal to the writers of the world adopted by the Tashkent conference, condemned the imperialist attempts to stir up antagonism among the writers and to undermine their unity. The writers of Asia and Africa reject any division of culture into superior and inferior, Eastern and Western; they call for closer ties between all cultures in order to augment the treasures of world culture.

The growing international co-operation among writers furthers the development of the literature and art of the Afro-Asian peoples.

So it is not by chance that the unity of the Afro-Asian writers is being so bitterly attacked by the reactionary press. The Tashkent conference, for example, was described as a "propaganda" measure, and its spirit as "tendentious", although all those who participated in it can testify that the dominant principle was one of frank and friendly discussions, complete equality and respect for the opinions of all.

The ideas of Bandung and Tashkent infuriate the colonialists and their henchmen because these are the ideas of freedom and peaceful development of nations. The stooges of reaction aim at sowing suspicion and mistrust among the intellectuals. "The spirit of Tashkent is the Communist spirit," says a vicious pamphlet published in Federal Germany. The author, while admitting that the culture of the democratic and socialist countries is exerting a growing influence on the democratic forces in many countries, ends on this note: "That the writers of Asia and Africa should accept a foreign ideology as suitable for their own countries is a real tragedy."

Authors of this brand merely expose themselves by such statements. They cannot deny that the intellectuals recognize the ideology of peace and friendship among nations, and for reactionaries this is indeed a tragedy. But for

sincere people it is the only ideology on which an art that is to benefit the people can be based. And however the reactionary gentlemen may lament, the Afro-Asian writers will fight for progressive ideas and condemn the chauvinist and racial ideology of the exploiters which, according to these yesmen, is "free." The reactionaries in a number of countries are persecuting progressive literature and progressive writers, not stopping at direct victimization of those who attended the Tashkent conference.

The consolidation of unity of the Afro-Asian writers and other intellectuals in the struggle for the vital interests of their peoples continues in spite of reaction's resistance. Questions pertaining to culture, literature and the arts were discussed in one or another form at a number of important international gatherings held in recent months, among them the Conference of African Peoples in Accra and the Second Solidarity Conference of the Afro-Asian Peoples in Conakry. The next meeting of Afro-Asian writers is due to be held this year, according to the decision of the Tashkent conference and, on the invitation of the writers of the United Arab Republic, it will meet in Cairo. Preparations for the Cairo conference are already under way in a number of countries.

A meeting of the Permanent Bureau of the Afro-Asian Writers' Conference was held in January in Colombo (Ceylon). This gathering of representatives of writers' organizations stressed that the situation in Asia and Africa has undergone a tremendous change since the Tashkent conference. The Afro-Asian peoples' movement has become a mighty force, and its impact on international affairs is growing. The meeting called on all Afro-Asian writers to extend their support to the just struggle of the Congo people whose banner will always be the immortal Patrice Lumumba savagely murdered by the colonialists; to the heroic Algerian people, to the people of Indonesia, Laos and Japan and all peoples of the world fighting for independence against foreign domination and for world peace.

The Permanent Bureau decided to hold an emergency meeting of Afro-Asian writers in Tokyo at the end of March 1961 with the participation of as many writers as possible. It was also decided to hold the Cairo conference of Afro-Asian writers in the second half of 1961. An international preparatory committee of 20 Asian and African countries has been set up to make the necessary arrangements.

The progressive forces throughout the world are following the growing solidarity of the Afro-Asian writers and hope that, whatever the dark forces ranged against them, they will

not depart from the spirit of Bandung and Tashkent and will continue to hold aloft the banner of struggle against colonialism, for peace and friendship among the peoples.

In Memory of Eugene Dennis

EUGENE Dennis, outstanding figure in the American and international working-class movement, President of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, died after a long and severe illness. Dennis' whole life was a model of dedication to the cause of peace and socialism.

Eugene Dennis was born into a worker's family on August 10, 1904, in Seattle. He began work at the age of thirteen, working variously as electrician, carpenter and longshoreman. He joined the Communist Party in 1927. For a number of years he held leading Party posts in Southern California and Pennsylvania. He became a member of the National Committee in 1938.

Eugene Dennis, together with William Foster, vigorously combated the opportunists and liquidators in 1944-45 and fought to preserve the Communist Party — the party of the American working class. At the Extraordinary Convention held in 1945 Dennis was elected to the Secretariat of the National Committee, and a year later to the post of General Secretary. At the Seventeenth Convention (1959), he was elected President of the Party.

Ever a staunch Communist, Dennis was victimized and persecuted by the reactionaries. He was arrested and sent to prison six times for his revolutionary activities. In 1947 he was sentenced to a year's imprisonment and in 1949 a framed trial was organized against him and ten other Party leaders. After serving a sentence from May 1950 until March 1951, Comrade Dennis was re-arrested in July 1951 and kept in prison until March 1955. While these persecutions failed to break the spirit of the tireless revolutionary, they gravely undermined his health. But even during illness



there was no peace for Dennis: kept under strict police surveillance, he was not allowed to travel around the country and a new trial was prepared against him.

Comrade Dennis was the embodiment of the finest qualities of the American working class: staunchness, resolve and courage. To the very last he worked to strengthen the Party, which is waging a difficult and unequal fight for peace, democracy and socialism in the heartland of world imperialism.

Comrade Dennis waged a relentless struggle against renegades of all hues. He was among those who in 1956-57 prevented the revisionists from breaking the unity of the Party, from undermining it from within; he called for ousting the revision-

ists from the Party.

An American patriot and an ardent champion of the interests of his people, Comrade Dennis worked for friendly relations with all nations. He was passionate in his appeal to avert a new world war, stressing the wide range and unlimited possibilities of the forces that could be enlisted in the struggle for peace.

A consistent internationalist, Eugene Dennis stood for the abolition of colonialism and racism. He played an active part in the anti-colonial liberation movements in the Philippines, the Union of South Africa and China. He spared no energy in reinforcing the solidarity of the national ranks of the working class and in rallying the international Communist movement.

Eugene Dennis will live in the memory of all Communists and of the working people of all countries as a splendid son of the American working class and a fearless fighter for peace, democracy and socialism.

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

Worldwide Communist Unity

WE ARE continuing to receive reports of meetings of the Central Committees of Communist and Workers' parties endorsing the documents of the recent Moscow Meeting of the 81 parties as a program of struggle for peace and socialism and hailing them as proof of the ideological unity and solidarity of the parties.

The resolution of the Central Committee of the *Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party* points out that the Moscow Meeting "demonstrated the unswerving resolve of its participants to strengthen in every way the monolithic unity and solidarity of the international Communist movement."

Deeply conscious of the common tasks facing Communists in all countries, the parties are applying the principles proclaimed at the Meeting to the conditions of their respective countries. The Central Committee of the *Vietnam Working People's Party* stressed at its meeting that the ideological premises of the Statement "strengthen our confidence in the building of socialism in North Vietnam and offer greater possibilities for influencing the people's democratic revolution in the South with a view to reuniting the country on the basis of independence and democracy, creating a peaceful, reunited, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Vietnam, and thereby strengthening the socialist camp and peace in South-East Asia and throughout the world."

A meeting of the National Committee of the *Popular Socialist Party of Cuba* expressed gratitude to the Communist and Workers' parties of all countries for their solidarity with the Cuban revolution. The outcome of the Moscow Meeting, says the resolution, is another powerful blow to imperialism—first and foremost to U.S. imperialism which is the hub of global reaction and the principal factor of war—and to all the reactionary and bellicose forces in the world.

It gives effective aid to the Cuban revolution, for which international solidarity and primarily the solidarity of the socialist camp are a reliable shield against U.S. imperialist aggression.

The National Committee of the *Communist Party of the United States* has stressed that the manifesto of the Moscow Meeting, reflecting the basic change that has taken place in the world — the changed global balance of forces between the capitalist and

socialist systems—is a sure guide for the future. The Kennedy administration has taken office at a time when the country is at crossroads. The steady concentration of power in the hands of the monopolies and their infiltration of government institutions aggravate the conflict between the monopolies and the overwhelming majority of the American people. The Communist Party is working for a united anti-monopoly front based on a minimum program acceptable to all. The people should press on the new administration to end the cold war and agree to new negotiations with the USSR.

Warmly endorsing the documents of the Moscow Meeting, the National Committee of the *Communist Party of Canada* has adopted a resolution declaring that "together with the program and policy statement of our Party, they are a constant guide in strengthening the work of our Party for Canadian independence, neutrality, disarmament and peace—the road to socialism in Canada."

Recent events have reaffirmed the soundness of the conclusions of the Moscow Meeting. The Executive Committee of the *Communist Party of the Netherlands* also notes this and, approving the results of the Meeting, states that "the strike struggle of the Belgian working class against the notorious *Loi unique*, which began in December 1960 and in which the Communist Party was to the fore, demonstrated the strength of the working class in the imperialist countries. Moreover, it revealed on the one hand the link between the imperialist action in the Congo and the intensified exploitation in Belgium and, on the other hand, between the Congolese national-liberation movement and the class struggle of the Belgian working class. The class struggle in Belgium and the achievements of the national-liberation struggle in Algeria and Laos confirm the ideas elaborated at the Moscow Meeting."

The documents are a concrete program of united action for all the forces fighting imperialism and reaction, and hence the Communist parties in all countries are working to circulate them widely. The Central Committee of the *Communist Party of Argentina* has published both the Statement and the Appeal in large editions, and says that they "should be distributed not only among Communists and sympathizers but also among workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, professionals and other working people (artisans, the petty and middle

bourgeoisie, etc.). The Central Committee is confident that these documents will enable all patriots—men and women, young and old, civilians and servicemen, members of various democratic and anti-imperialist movements—to get a better understanding of the international situation and the tasks arising from it in defense of peace, democracy and national independence; enable them to get a better understanding of the importance of united action with a view to building a national-democratic, anti-oligarchy, anti-imperialist front of peace and a broad democratic coalition government.”

A meeting of the Central Committee of the *Communist Party of Greece* urged the Party members “to study and take full cognizance of the invaluable conclusions contained in these documents, to be guided by them in their activity, tirelessly to work to cement the unity of the Party and its unity with

the other Communist and Workers’ parties, to fight for the purity of Marxist-Leninist theory, against all deviations, against revisionism, which is the main danger for our Party too, as well as against dogmatism and sectarianism, which, if not combated, may become the main danger, to disseminate among the workers, peasants, intellectuals, youth and all other patriots the noble ideas of the Statement and the Appeal, and to rally the working people to resolute struggle for an international détente and peace, for democracy, national independence and social progress.”

The resolutions adopted by all Communist parties emphasize that the documents are a source of inspiration to Communists, cementing their unity and redoubling their strength in working for peace, democracy and socialism.

The CPSU Prepares for Its Twenty-Second Congress

THE Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is scheduled to take place on October 17, 1961. CPSU Congresses are, as a rule, of significance not only for the Soviet Union; as the Statement of the Moscow Meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers’ Parties stresses, “the experience accumulated by the CPSU in the struggle for the victory of the working class, in building socialism and now in the all-out construction of communism, is of fundamental significance for the world Communist movement.”

The forthcoming Congress will be especially important because, apart from reviewing the Party’s work in the new stage of all-out communist construction, it will adopt a new program and amend the Party Rules. The present program, drafted by Lenin and adopted by the Eighth Congress 42 years ago, no longer corresponds to the needs of the day. The daring tasks posed by it have long since been carried out. In point of fact a decision to draft a new program was adopted by the Eighteenth Congress in 1939, but the war and other happenings prevented it from being carried out. Having accumulated considerable experience in the building of socialism and communism, the Party can now draw up a more comprehensive program-document, which will light the path for years ahead and define the ways of building a communist society.

In keeping with the Lenin tradition, the program, resting on a scientific foundation, will provide solutions to the pressing problems of the day. In

his report entitled “For New Victories for the World Communist Movement” published in *World Marxist Review* for January 1961, Khrushchov mentioned some of the questions pertaining to the theory and practice of communist construction that will be reflected in the new program. These include the two phases of communism, the transition from the first to the second, higher phase, and questions concerning the development of the productive forces and the production relations during the transition from socialism to communism, the evolution of the socialist administrative system into communist public self-government, the communist education of the people, etc.

The drafts of the program and of the Party Rules will be published in the press, and this will enable the public—Communists and non-Communists—to discuss them. There is no doubt that during the pre-Congress period the Party will consult with the people, whose suggestions and proposals, and valuable experience will be taken into account in finalizing the decisions. This will be a new, logical step forward along the highway of socialist democracy.

Consistent development of democracy has been typical of Soviet society in recent years; this applies to all spheres of life, including inner-Party life, as the composition of the Twenty-Second Congress will show. Industrial workers, collective farmers, local activists, and professionals have always been widely represented at Party Con-

gresses. The representation quota in electing delegates to the Twenty-First Congress was as follows: one delegate with a decisive vote for 6,000 Party members and one delegate with a consultative vote for 6,000 candidate members. At the Twenty-Second Congress, on the other hand, despite the fact that the membership has grown, a delegate with a decisive vote will represent not 6,000, but only 2,000 Party members, and this will apply also to delegates with a consultative vote.

This means that about three times the number of delegates will attend the Twenty-Second Congress compared with the Twenty-First Congress which was attended by 1,269 delegates with a decisive vote and 106 with a consultative vote. The forthcoming Congress will, therefore, be the most widely representative in the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and this is indicative of the trend under way in the CPSU.

The January meeting of the Central Committee illustrated this. Although economic matters featured on the agenda—fulfilment of the plan and measures for the further development of agriculture—attention was focused on the man in Soviet society, on the all-round satisfaction of his growing needs.

The socialist economy is striding ahead. Industry is producing at a rate far in advance of the rate envisaged in the Seven-Year Plan. And there has been marked progress in agriculture. Compared with 1953, grain production in 1960 increased by more than 3,000 million poods and state purchases by nearly 1,000 million poods. Meat output was one and a half times as great, and meat purchases more than two times as great; milk output was 1.7 times and milk purchases nearly two and a half times as great. Never before have there been such rates of agricultural development in the Soviet Union as in the past seven years. But requirements, too, are growing, and the Party has set itself the task of satisfying them fully.

Success has made many people complacent and has had a corrupting influence on others. Furthermore, although all appreciate that communism cannot be built without expanding heavy industry, not everyone realizes as yet that it will be built only if agriculture makes steady progress and farm production is a step ahead of the popular demand. This partly explains why the potentialities of socialist agriculture are not utilized to the full.

The decisions adopted by the Central Committee go in two directions: on the one hand, they call for improved methods of crop raising and cattle-breeding on each farm, proper crop rotation, greater use of fertilizers and better use of machinery. On the other hand, there is the grand program for irrigating millions of hectares of land, amelioration and accelerated development of industry supplying the needs of agriculture. The task

has been set of making agriculture independent of nature's caprices and of guaranteeing the supplies, irrespective of weather conditions, needed for the full satisfaction of the people's needs. It is planned to divert to the South some of the rivers flowing northward into the Arctic Ocean. This will provide vast sources of cheap electric power and of water for irrigation purposes. Considerable appropriations, additional to those envisaged in the Seven-Year Plan, have been made for the development of agriculture. Changes have also been made in the procedure of state purchases of agricultural products, and the structure and functions of the Ministry of Agriculture; prices for agricultural machinery, spare parts and fuel have been reduced. These measures are intended to enhance the role of economic factors in guiding agriculture and livestock-raising and to bring science closer to production.

Thus with renewed force the Central Committee meeting and decisions manifested the daily concern of the Party for the welfare of the people. This will be fully reflected in the Party's program, a programme which will equip the people for the work of building communism.

The significance of the points dealt with at the meeting, and even more so the manner in which they were discussed, goes beyond the bounds of the agricultural problems. The meeting offered a striking example of self-criticism and democracy in the Party. It discussed the style of work and the moral qualities which a leader should possess.

The speeches made by those who know their job and who are enthusiastic about their work was applauded. What they said showed that they were keen and zealous workers; they came to the meeting well-prepared, to share their experience with comrades, and not to indulge in empty talk. These people are men of their word; if they say a thing they will do it, and then forge on further. It is on people of this kind that the Party relies.

At the same time it was pointed out that the Party had grown, that it was strong and could boldly replace the inefficient. "Do you think we are all here for eternity?" queried Khrushchov during one of the speeches. "The time has gone when leading jobs were inherited. Nowadays if you work well, people will applaud, and if you work badly, they find someone else. This is how things are, and this is how they should be, this is democracy."

Strictness, however, should be combined with concern for people. Functionaries should be aided, and not replaced all the time. The thing is to teach people, and learn from them, to be attentive to them, to show respect for the opinions of workers, collective farmers and all working people generally. Office-seekers, bureaucrats and those more con-

cerned with their "room at the top" than with the job in hand, were severely criticized. Criticism of this kind helps to educate not only agricultural cadres, but all functionaries generally. The Central Committee meeting developed into a splendid school of democracy which taught how one should work if the important tasks now before the country are to be solved.

The trenchant criticism evoked considerable comment in the bourgeois press. And once again anti-communist propaganda has put its foot in it. In fact that is what it has been doing ever since the first days of Soviet rule. The slightest criticism at a Party meeting in the Soviet Union is immediately seized upon as "proof" of the instability of the regime, of its imminent collapse, etc. And this time again, the sharp way in which the question of eliminating the shortcomings in agriculture was posed, plunged them into talk about a crisis of the

collective-farm system. Here again, however, self-criticism is proof not of the weakness, but of the strength of the Communist Party. Backed by the country's achievements, the Central Committee called on the Party and the people to work more efficiently to achieve further economic progress, a sharp rise in agricultural production and a further rise in the standard of living.

The Soviet people have never regarded Party congresses as a purely Party matter, but as the affair of all. A nationwide movement in which working people in town and country are participating has been launched in honor of the Congress for fulfilment of the year's plan ahead of schedule, for further technological progress, higher labor productivity and lower production costs. The CPSU will come to its Twenty-Second Congress with new achievements.

Landmarks in a Great Strike

(Documents of the Communist Party of Belgium)

MORE than one million workers—nearly half the working population of the country—took part in the great strike in Belgium in December and January. The struggle, the biggest in the history of the Belgian labor movement, embraced all trades and the main industrial areas. Socialists, Liberals and Catholics took part in this magnificent demonstration of united action and solidarity against the notorious *Loi unique* designed to worsen the conditions of the working people. But the most consistent and militant force in the struggle was the Communist Party. Below are excerpts from some of its public declarations during the strike.

The Beginning

The struggle began long before the general strike proper. As far back as September the Communist Party called on the working people to take action against the austerity law or as the people called it the "misery law," which the government was then preparing.

"The composition of the new Eyskens government," declared an appeal issued by the Political Bureau of the Party on September 5, 1960, "and its program amount to a declaration of war on all who live by their labor, an attack against their standard of living and their political and trade union rights. An economy to the tune of 10,000 million francs, effected mainly through cuts in the

social services; 6,000 million in new taxes to be paid by industrial and office workers, civil servants and the middle strata of the urban and rural population; further curtailment of employment—such is the program of the government of the monopolies. . . .

"Action must be taken to defeat the austerity and privation plan, the struggle for the people's demands must be intensified, to oust the reactionaries from the government and ensure the victory of a government of democratic and social regeneration which would base itself on Communist and Socialist workingmen belonging to the Belgian General Confederation of Labor, on the Catholic workers' movement, on the middle strata of town and country, on all sincere democrats and peace supporters. . . .

"Down with the austerity plan! Eyskens and his clique must go!

"Forward, for the people's demands, for a government of democratic and social regeneration!"

In the Front Ranks

The Communists were in the front ranks of the strike, which started on December 20. Statements issued by the Executive Committee dealt with the aims and methods of the struggle and proclaimed slogans many of which were taken up by the strikers.

"In order to ensure speedy victory, the Central Committee of the Communist Party urges the General Confederation of Labor to put clear-cut and practical aims before the labor movement:

"1. Proclaim January 3 as the beginning of the official nationwide general strike;

"2. Demonstrations and meetings to be held in all the big centers on this date;

"3. The struggle to be continued in the event of the government refusing to concede;

"4. Regular meetings of the strikers to be held to co-ordinate the movement, achieve unity of action and protect the movement against provocations of a terrorist nature which could but play into the hands of the government . . ." (*Drapeau Rouge*, January 2, 1961).

On January 3 the strike embraced the whole of the country. The leadership of the Communist Party suggested that deputations of workers should go to parliament. As a result of this action Liberal and other M.P.'s declared they would vote against the austerity law. And when it became clear that the government would not yield but would do its utmost to get the law through, the Party called for struggle to force its resignation and the dissolution of parliament.

"The first result of a compromise favorable to the working people would be the dissolution of parliament," Ernest Burnelle, National Secretary of the Party, wrote on January 20 to the Common Action organization. "The parties would agree to this, despite differing views on the austerity law, since a democratic solution of this kind is the only way out of the impasse.

"Further, it would be necessary to decide on emergency financial measures that would furnish the country with the needed resources pending the convocation of a new parliament and the formation of a new government. . . .

"We propose to obtain these resources by imposing at once a temporary tax on the capitalists. There is a precedent for this: in 1956 the Van Acker government was forced under pressure from the working people to levy a 5.5 per cent business tax which yielded the treasury a revenue of roughly 1,000 million francs in 1958.

"The recent bill introduced in the House by the Communist deputies provides for such a tax.

"A ten per cent tax would yield a revenue of 2,000 million francs. If more is needed, the tax can be raised.

"Our proposal is a simple one, and it can be effected within a brief space of time.

"Thus, our proposals, which could serve as the basis for immediate negotiations, can be summed up as follows:

"1. Dissolution of parliament;

"2. A temporary 10 per cent tax on the profits of the capitalists."

In the Localities . . .

The local Party organizations did highly important work during the strike. In Liege, Charleroi and other industrial centers where the strikers took vigorous action, Party committees kept the strikers informed of the situation, advised them on methods of struggle, and worked for unity between strikers of different trades.

Here is a message from the Liege committee of the Communist Party to the Common Action Conference held on January 12 with delegates from the Socialist Party, the trade unions and co-operatives participating:

"It is our opinion that the Liege workers' movement, which bears a great responsibility to the country as a whole, must stand firm and call on all workers not to allow themselves to be intimidated by political and administrative reprisals. . . .

"The Liege Communist Party organization submits the following practical proposals:

"a) The strike committees should organize mass meetings to discuss the methods of struggle and ways and means of strengthening contact and solidarity between the various trades.

"b) The suburbs of Liege should help the city strike committee which is under pressure from the reactionaries, who are the main organizers of the reprisals, and from political organizations seeking to deceive the middle sections of the population and to use shady elements for provocations.

"In particular, we propose that help be given to the Liege inter-trade strike committee in arranging a mass meeting of the strikers in the Sport Palace or the Forum, and also that the suburban strike committees organize mobile pickets to help the victims of the police terror, the purpose of which is to force the workers back to work. . . .

"Comrades, the fight can be won if you rely only on yourselves, on your unity and your calm.

"Our best weapons are solidarity, staunchness, calm and unity."

The leaders of the Communist Party spoke at meetings and mass rallies in the various strike centers. Ernest Burnelle addressed a public meeting in Charleroi. Explaining the position of the Party, he warned the strikers against pointless acts of sabotage.

"Such acts will not take us far," he said. "Damage done by sabotage is usually soon repaired, and the government does not fear it. Most of all it fears joint action. Eyskens trembles when he sees you in strength in the streets, or in the picket lines, or accompanying deputations to M.P.'s."

Other leading Communists who addressed mass meetings and demonstrations in various parts of

the country included Jean Blume, National Secretary, and Gaston Moulin, a member of the Political Bureau.

. . . And in Parliament

The Communist M.P.'s steadfastly upheld the workers in parliament. They exposed the real meaning of the government's austerity program.

"You say that you must have 20,000 million francs," Theo Déjace, a Communist M.P., said addressing the government benches. "We do not deny this sum. But we propose to find it by taking 10,000 million from the military budget and 10,000 million from the superprofits of the big capitalists."

Another Communist M.P., Gaston Moulin, demanded that the austerity bill be rejected, and ridiculed the attempts made by some ministers to persuade the people that it was in their interests.

"Just try to defend your austerity law in the public squares of Liege, Brussels, Antwerp, Charleroi and other cities," he said, "and you will see how far you will get!"

Deputy Theo Déjace vigorously attacked the government for its attempts to break the strike movement.

"Do not think that gendarmes, troops and arms can break the strikers' resolve," he said, addressing the ministerial benches. "The people are already fraternizing with the troops. The policy of reprisals and intimidation has failed. The middle sections of the population are with the strikers."

"You would like to repeat the reprisals of 1886. But you forget that the working class and the middle strata were poorly organized at that time. Nor did the Belgian workers enjoy the international help they have today."

"Today international trade union organizations of all orientations support the Belgian working class. . . ."

"Neither in home nor foreign policy has the Communist Party ever advocated anything that runs counter to the interests of the country. . . . We can say that our proposals have been taken up by the masses throughout the country."

"The struggle is led by the strike committees. In these committees the Communists, too, are playing their part. But it would be wrong to say that the Communist Party alone leads the strike. If that were the case, gentlemen, you would tremble more than you do now."

Against Persecution

The government mobilized all the available police forces against the strikers. And when this proved insufficient, troops were called in. Demonstrators were shot and a wave of arrests swept the country. The Communist Party was hounded. Many Com-

munists were arrested, among them Frans Van den Branden, one of the Party's secretaries, and Turf, a member of its Central Committee.

The Political Bureau of the Party declared:

"Having failed to win the support of the country for the *Loi unique* by democratic means, the Eyskens government has resorted to arbitrary methods. On the pretext of maintaining public order it is confiscating newspapers, conducting police raids, arresting strikers, persecuting active trade unionists, and, to justify itself, spreading false information."

"The working class, and the strikers are strong enough to foil the plans of the government. Calm and level-headedness are what are needed now to build a solid strike front across the country."

The Fight Goes On

For more than a month the working people waged a heroic struggle. And on January 23 when they returned to work, they did so with heads erect, singing the *Internationale*. For they had forced all the political parties to demand dissolution of parliament and the resignation of the government.

Torn by growing dissension, the reactionaries had no alternative but to agree to a new general election.

"The fight will go on in other forms," declared the Political Bureau of the Communist Party in a statement published the day the strike came to an end. "It can be continued by proclaiming a national action day to bring pressure to bear on the senate if the government forces it to debate the *Loi unique* before parliament is dissolved. . . ."

"The problem of the nation's financial resources must be solved not at the expense of the working masses, but by drawing on the military budget and the profits of the monopolies."

"A struggle must be waged for a far-reaching program of major anti-capitalist reforms which would ensure economic expansion, weaken the monopolies in the sphere of capital investment and raise the living standard of the majority of the people."

"The Belgian working class began the year 1961 well, demonstrating its strength, its foresight, its dedication to democracy, and its firm resolve to resist the capitalists and reactionaries who would impose a reign of hunger and violence on the country."

"If the workers continue the fight they have so successfully begun, if they remain united and resolute, 1961 will be for them a year of victory!"

A meeting of the Central Committee held on January 28-29 summed up the lessons of the general strike. Commending the work done by the Party, the meeting critically analyzed the activity of its organizations and outlined the tasks ahead.

Italian Communist Party Marks Its 40th Anniversary

IN DECEMBER last year the Central Committee decided to celebrate the Party's 40th anniversary not as a purely formal occasion, but as "a political and cultural event of national importance," chiefly through widespread educational activity, particularly among the youth, and work to strengthen and develop the Party itself.

The anniversary program, covering a period of a year or more, envisages a wide range of activities including the collection of data, research, study and popularization of the history of the Party, meetings and rallies on a local and national scale; lectures, exhibitions, the publication of pamphlets, books, and new editions of works by Gramsci, Togliatti and other comrades.

To give the occasion an international character it was decided that articles by Italian Communists should appear in the magazines and newspapers of the socialist countries, and in the Communist press of other countries, and to ask the fraternal parties to contribute to studies and researches in the history of the Italian Party.

The most outstanding events to date were the special meeting of the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee held in Rome over January 19-22 to discuss Comrade Enrico Berlinguer's report on the "1961 Campaign for the Exchange of Party Cards and Urgent Problems of Revitalizing and Consolidating the Party" and the big anniversary rally attended by several thousand people and addressed by Comrade Togliatti.

Loyalty to Principles and the Ability to Apply Them in Practice

Recalling the events that led to the founding of the Communist Party on January 21, 1921, Comrade Togliatti stressed the historical necessity of that step for the Italian labor movement and for the country as a whole. He reminded his audience of what Gramsci had said about the basic contradiction that had undermined the strength of the socialist movement in Italy. The movement, he said, "while striking at the foundations of the economic system had not, however, provided for the creation of another system. . . . It had striven for victory, but had not concerned itself with retaining it. . . . It had created the prerequisites of revolution, but had not built up a revolutionary movement. It had shaken the foundations of the state yet hoped to avoid establishing a new state."

To put an end to this situation and move forward it was necessary to overcome both maximalism and

reformism, and this could be done only by creating what Lenin called a party of a new type, a party equipped with the principles of Marxism, loyal to those principles and able to apply them.

The Italian Communist Party was founded at a time when the dawn of the October Socialist Revolution had arisen over the world. The Party saw at once — and proclaimed the fact — that this was the beginning of a new epoch, an epoch of crisis and debacle for capitalism and of the conquest of power by the working class. On assuming the leadership of the Italian Party, Gramsci, as his writings show, posed the cardinal and always timely problem of developing the strategic and tactical principles of Marxism-Leninism with due consideration to the situation within the country, taking into account all that is new and specific in that situation and the changes which occur against the broad background of a world advancing toward socialism.

Proletarian internationalism, noted Comrade Togliatti, has been perhaps the principal force behind that capacity for resistance and progress which the Italian Communists have displayed even at the most difficult moments.

The new Party numbered at first little more than 58,000 members. Today that figure does not seem very great, but "out of that powerful core," said the speaker, "emerged four thousand Communists sentenced by a special fascist tribunal to a total of 230 centuries of imprisonment; out of this core came the two thousand Communists who fought against the fascists on the battlefields of Spain, and shed their blood generously in its people's cause; out of it came also those 210,000 Communists who at the time of the war of national liberation became the backbone of the Garibaldi partisan brigades and left 42,000 of their slain on the battlefield; out of it to this day have come tens and thousands of fighters, and we can proudly say that we are the strongest Communist Party in the capitalist world and the most numerous and highly-organized political party in Italy."

The most remarkable thing about the Party is its amazing capacity for multiplying its forces and moving forward under the new conditions. This is because the Party has understood that the progressive advance toward a new social system in Italy can be effected only as part of a powerful international movement for new conditions of peaceful coexistence of the peoples of Europe and the whole world.

The success of the Italian Communist Party is due also to the awareness that a Marxist-Leninist party in its thinking and actions must never stand still, must never meekly adhere to schemes and formulas that have outlived their time. Capitalist production continues to grow in many countries, engendering ever new contradictions, new causes of social crises and perturbations. New problems of labor and struggle arise, living conditions change and with them the practical and ideological aspirations of the workers, the peasants and the middle classes. "The Party must always adjust its activities, its organization, its language and all forms of its work to these new conditions," concluded Comrade Togliatti.

Always Take Account of the New Conditions — a Party Law

The resolution adopted by the meeting of the Central Committee, giving a favorable appraisal of the work of the Party, notes that "during the past year, on the basis of the line laid down by the Ninth Congress, the political unity of the Party has grown stronger and its contact with the masses firmer and broader." This is evident in the successful actions of the working people, the increase in the number of votes cast for the Communists at the municipal elections of November 6-7, the campaign for the collection of one billion lire for the Communist press and by the positive results of the 1960 campaign for the exchange of Party cards in which 100 per cent of the membership was re-registered and 142,000 new members admitted.

The Central Committee and the Central Control Committee, however, drew the attention of all the Communists to the need to combat a certain tendency towards self-complacency, passivity and insufficient criticism. "Attention should be focussed on shortcomings and omissions which impair, slow down and restrict the Party's work and hinder fulfilment of the tasks set by the Ninth Congress."

These shortcomings are expressed both in insufficient participation in the mass actions and inability to extend the mass base of the democratic anti-fascist movement. That is why the organized, conscious participation of the Party in all spheres of public life and the broadest initiative are decisive in working for the regeneration of the social and economic structure of the country, for democracy and socialism.

It is necessary also to overcome the lag in the work of the Party still to be observed in relation to the changes arising from the rapid process of capitalist development in the country, namely:

1. Changes in the structure of the economy; the decline of some districts and the rapid development

of others, where thousands of new factories are springing up;

2. The changes that have taken place in the past five or six years in the composition of the working class as a result of technological progress; the renewal—often radical—of the older personnel with the new generation of workers consisting of peasants, young people and women;

3. The alienation of hundreds of thousands of workers from agriculture as a result of the monopoly offensive in the countryside;

4. Large-scale migration of the population (in 1960 alone approximately a million people were involved) and the consequent rapid and haphazard growth of large, medium and small towns, and also the substantial growth of the intermediary sectors (trade, services, public utilities, etc.); the emergence of new districts, new strata of the population, new ways of life (in ten years the population of Turin increased by 250,000, i.e., 35 per cent, Rome by 28 per cent, Naples—15 per cent, Prato—26 per cent, Latina—32 per cent, etc.);

5. Far-reaching changes in habits, culture and thinking, the general urge towards progress observed among the broad masses of the people; the growing number of students, the increased circulation of literature, the enhanced role of the cinema, television, etc.

The Central Committee meeting noted that in recent years the Party had not managed to adjust its social, territorial and political positions, organizational structure, life and work speedily enough to these changes. The Party cadres had remained basically the same as in the first years after liberation; most of the worker Communists joined the Party 10 or 15 years ago; the number of workers among the new reinforcements was not great; the influence of the Communists among the middle sections of the peasantry was still weak; while the cities had grown immeasurably, the number of Party members had remained stationary; the average age of Party members had slightly increased.

Measures to Strengthen the Party and Improve Its Work

To reinforce and renovate the Party chief attention must be paid to recruiting new members, so as to bring the numerical strength of the Party up to two million in 1961. The political campaign launched to this end should avoid hackneyed and bureaucratic methods, should be closely linked with the political struggle and conducted on the basis of the theses of the Ninth Congress, the Statement issued by the Moscow meeting and the tasks connected with the 40th anniversary of the Party. Party branches will be opened at new enterprises,

and also among those categories of workers and in places where the political influence of the Party and its organizational work are still inadequate. For example, there are 11,099 branches and other intermediate territorial organizations at the present time, but more will have to be opened in some 1,000 communities where they do not as yet exist but where the Party already polls thousands of votes.

The question of the work of the street groups came in for lively discussion. There are some 40,000 of them, but though they play a useful role, their political work is not always even and satisfactory, and often tends to be bureaucratic. Among other measures, the meeting proposed that street groups working in a more or less homogeneous environment where they play or can play a major role, viz., the new districts, part of the old districts, etc., should be converted into subsections, i.e., bodies having a greater political responsibility and independence.

Other decisions adopted were aimed at achieving greater organizational and political decentralization. For example, the regional committees of the Party will work out and conduct regional policy, direct mass work and mass action and all the work connected with the Party's alliance with other forces and strata on a regional scale.

The present urban and district committees will be strengthened and new ones created in order fully to meet local needs and potentialities. The annual membership meetings of the sections now in progress are to be the occasion for strengthening their leading bodies and injecting new blood into them with a view to improving their work and "drawing all comrades, primarily the leading core at the lower levels, into active participation in elaborating Party policy and rallying the members, sharing full responsibility for this work."

It was noted that in order to ensure the further political and organizational development of the Party it was necessary to build up finances, simplify the system of collecting party dues in such a way as to enable all organizations to receive greater and speedier financial support from their members and bring the provincial federations of the Party closer to complete independence of financial aid from the center. In this connection it was decided to conduct a countrywide collection of funds during the Communist Press Month in 1961 with a target

of one billion lire as in 1960, and not 500 million as in the previous years.

The work of the Central Committee was reviewed, with particular emphasis on the need for closer contact with the outlying areas, better organization of the central apparatus and its various departments. Some of the provincial committees were criticized for still clinging to the old forms of political work (notably insufficient criticism and self-criticism).

It was observed that on the whole the political orientation and activity of the organizations and membership had improved; problems were being more widely discussed, and there were now fewer members who did not understand the general line of the Party. At the same time, there were still not a few shortcomings. Failure to understand Party policy had now taken new forms. Comrade Berlinguer noted that some groups of comrades had manifested extremist tendencies, which were somewhat different from the old maximalism and sectarianism. They were expressed, for instance, in a striving to treat every trade union and political action as the final struggle for the overthrow of the clerical regime and monopoly domination, in underestimation of the tactical elements, etc. It would, however, be a serious mistake to consider these tendencies apart from those at the opposite pole—conservative, opportunist and reformist tendencies which take the form of a dampening of militancy, a parochial outlook, municipalism and bureaucracy, incapacity to display initiative, etc. The struggle against sectarianism and opportunism was once again intervoven, but in a new way, and this must be seen in the proper perspective.

To ensure the correct orientation and the political unity of the Party lip service is not enough. It is necessary to adhere to the Party line, and this implies not mechanical execution of directives but initiative, imagination, and ingenuity all along the line. The meeting therefore urged a broader, livelier and constant political discussion in all Party organizations. A more intensive democratic life, frank interchange of ideas and experience could and should make for a stronger unity in orientation and practical work. This in turn would encourage deeper political thinking on the part of all Party members, and stimulate their interest in study and research in political theory.

Enrico VERCELLINO

For Mass Communist Parties, Every Communist an Activist

The Meeting of Representatives of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties placed important tasks before the entire Communist movement. The keynote of the Statement adopted by the Meeting was the need for the parties to intensify their activity, to do more on the ideological front, and to display initiative in all spheres of public life. "Lenin's great behest," says the Statement, "—to go deeper among the masses, to work wherever there are masses, to strengthen contact with the masses in order to lead them—must become a major task for every Communist Party."

This task can be successfully carried out by the parties which are constantly replenishing their ranks with new members and which ensure that each member is active in Party life and in mass work.

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW has asked a number of comrades to share experiences in building the Party and in drawing the membership into active work. Below we publish the first two articles received in response to our request.

HOW THE JAPANESE COMMUNIST PARTY DOUBLED ITS MEMBERSHIP

AFTER the local and parliamentary elections, held between April and June 1959, the Communist Party of Japan set itself the target of doubling its membership. The elections had shown that the Party did not yet enjoy the full confidence of the masses. In the prefectural elections, for instance, only 12 of the 132 Communist candidates were elected; in the municipal elections in the cities, 180 out of 327, and in elections to the local councils in the small towns and villages, 164 out of 294. Only one Communist deputy was elected to the Upper Chamber of Parliament.

Developments both at home and abroad had favored the democratic forces. Why, then, was the Communist vote so far behind the Socialist, although the elections took place at a time when several million organized workers were on strike all over the country, when the movement for peace and against the reactionary system of certifying teachers was spreading, when the movement against the "security treaty" was gaining momentum?

The sixth plenary meeting of the Central Committee (summer of 1959) which reviewed the results of the electoral struggle, drew the following conclusions:

Not all Party members displayed the Communist fighting spirit; in some districts only half of the members were active, while many either did no work at all or were extremely passive; the Party was still numerically weak. Most of the Party functionaries waited for things to happen, acting on the assumption that if the Party took part in the mass struggle it would grow automatically.

These shortcomings did not exist in the first postwar years. At the beginning of 1950 the membership stood at 150,000; *Akahata*, the Party paper, had a circulation of 300,000. However, that year turned out to be the worst in the history of our Party. The failure to settle, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles, the differences that arose on questions of strategy and tactics threw the Party into confusion. Much of its energy, instead of being devoted to work among the masses, was dissipated in internal Party strife. In the meantime, the American occupationists, who had launched their aggression in Korea and were out to impose the San Francisco system on Japan, concentrated their attacks on the Communist Party. The Central Committee was forbidden to engage in political activity, thousands of Communists were victimized in factories and offices, and many more removed from leading posts in the trade unions. Communist Members of Parliament were deprived of their seats.

For all the ferocity of these attacks their effect would not have been so great had the Party not been torn by dissension. But since there was no unity, the number of Party organizations diminished under the reprisals and Party prestige among the masses began to wane. It took ten years to remedy this situation and to build up organizational and ideological unity on the firm foundation of principles.

While the Seventh Congress (July 1958) cleared up a number of issues, there were some on which unanimity was not reached (adoption of the program was postponed until the next Congress). The prolonged confusion led to a considerable decline in

Communist activity. Liberalism had taken root in the Party, expressed in underestimating democratic centralism or in ignoring it; a general relaxation of efforts was observed, a reluctance to enter the lists against conservative tendencies.

After the Congress, the Central Committee took steps to overcome these tendencies and guide the Party work into normal channels, to ensure that democratic centralism was observed in practice and the activity of the Party committees and the membership increased.

Emphasis was laid on regular branch meetings, on members reading the Party press, paying their dues regularly, and subscribing to *Akahata* and the journal *Zenei*.

These are the elementary, everyday duties of every Communist. But simple as they are, discipline was so weak at the time that by no means all the organizations found it easy to carry them out. The Central Committee stressed that the only way to cope with these tasks was to strengthen the Party ideologically and organizationally in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. It began to convene regular meetings of representatives from the Party committees at all levels. It verified the fulfilment of decisions, and did everything to deepen political consciousness and to further the initiative and activity of the Party organizations, beginning with the branches. As a result, meetings are now being held more regularly; members read the Party press more attentively, and payment of dues and subscription to Party publications have been regulated. Activity is on the upgrade, the circulation of the Party press is now showing a tendency to rise, and the Party's financial position has improved.

A major role in this was played by the decisions of the sixth plenary meeting of the Central Committee and the Central Committee's letter calling for doubled membership in the course of the year. This letter urged each member to assess his work critically, to have his own target for recruiting new members and for winning more readers for *Akahata*. These targets were later to be discussed at branch meetings with a view to drafting an overall plan for the particular branch.

Although by this time the situation in the Party had improved, the secretaries of the prefectural committees frequently complained of difficulties. At first only a few branches replied to the Central Committee's letter. If the Central Committee had reacted to these complaints by changing its original plan, the bulk of the passive members would have remained inert. We would not have mobilized all the forces of the Party and would have had to rely solely on the activists. But the Central Committee made no concession to the negative tendencies. Several conferences of secretaries and heads of the organizing departments of the prefectural

committees were held and reports on Party activity delivered. Eventually, most of the branches replied to the letter of the Central Committee, the answers were published regularly in *Akahata* and contributed to the rapid expansion of the movement for doubling the membership.

In the meantime, the struggle against the Japanese-American military alliance was spreading throughout the country. More than two thousand organizations for joint struggle were formed. The Communist Party formed the core of these organizations. In this situation better opportunities were afforded for drawing into the Party the workers, peasants and sympathizers from other sections of the population who were taking part in the mass struggle.

How the branches worked during this period and what shortcomings were overcome can be seen, for instance, from the report of the Party branch in one of the big iron and steel mills.

"At the beginning of 1960," reads the report, "Comrade Matsushima, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee, addressed a general meeting of our branch. Speaking of the defects in our work, he pointed out that sectarian, conservative views concerning the methods of building the Party were still current. Of course, he said, in admitting new members, the Party should be guided by the Rules and verify the newcomers. But we should throw overboard our sectarianism and conservatism and be more active and bold in recruiting new members. We did not grasp the full significance of this statement at the time, but after holding a number of meetings to ascertain how conservatism and sectarianism had been manifested in our work, we outlined ways and means of getting rid of these unhealthy tendencies. The result was that members became more active, and two months of intensive effort by each bore fruit—the membership began to rise. By the summer of 1960 our organization had grown by 90 per cent as compared with August 1959, and it is still growing. Our task now is to bring the number of members to over a thousand in the next few years."

Here is a report from a branch in Tokyo, consisting mainly of housewives.

"Our branch has been in existence for only nine months. Most members are housewives, women who have children and who take in work besides. Some of us are in poor health, and some have young babies to look after. Still, we feel that we cannot stand aside from the struggle against the new 'security treaty'. Our participation in this struggle gave us confidence in ourselves. We adopted a decision to recruit more members; to this end we linked short and long-term plans and arranged weekly work schedules for the branch as a whole and for each member; at our weekly

meetings we verified fulfilment of our plans, discussed the questions of the day, and decided what was to be done the following week. In this way we succeeded in increasing the membership fivefold compared with the latter part of 1959."

The national conference of activists, held on August 3-5 last year, gave an impetus to the movement for doubling the membership. It was attended by over 1,000 representatives from all Party organizations in the country. Compared with the Seventh Congress, held a little more than two years ago, the conference was a magnificent example of the unity of a completely re-invigorated Marxist-Leninist party.

The prefectural Party committees and activists delivered reports and exchanged views. All the speakers pledged to fulfil the task of doubling the membership.

As subsequent developments showed, this was a most important conference. It was followed by conferences of activists at prefectural level. And again the experience of the foremost members served as an inspiring example to others and gave them confidence. For instance, the Communists of long standing, veterans, who have tended to grow passive, were greatly impressed by the enthusiasm and confidence of some of the younger members, especially those who joined during the recent struggle and have thrown themselves heart and soul into the work of building a mass Party.

An atmosphere of spirited confidence prevailed in the district committees and in the branches. Even those who had harbored liberalism and passive tendencies were obliged to reconsider their position since the situation had clearly changed and it was no longer possible for anyone calling himself a Communist to keep aloof from Party work. Revolutionary enthusiasm remoulded even the "passive elements."

In sum, this resulted in a unity of purpose and endeavor such as our Party had never known before. The members now saw for themselves what the Party could do once its ranks were firmly united.

Within one year the membership had doubled. The circulation of *Akahata* also doubled, reaching 100,000 copies, while that of the Sunday edition rose to 170,000. Circulation of *Zenei*, the theoretical organ of the Party, of the Japanese edition of *Problems of Peace and Socialism* and other publications likewise increased. Of course, these results could not have been achieved had we waited passively for the membership to grow automatically in the process of the mass struggle. The main reason for the success was that, in setting the difficult task of doubling the membership, the Central Committee acted in accordance with a well-thought-out plan, it gave constant encouragement to the members, verified fulfilment of the plan and enabled all the organizations to benefit from the experience gained by the foremost in extending the Party's ranks.

But doubling the membership was not an end in itself. We developed the movement in every way, actively conducting propaganda among the masses, holding meetings, and organizing strikes and demonstrations involving millions. In the course of this struggle the Party extended its network of branches in the big enterprises, thereby increasing the influence in the leading trade unions. In the countryside, too, more branches have appeared.

Addressing the meeting held in Tokyo on November 9, 1960, to mark the 43rd anniversary of the October Revolution, Kenzi Miyamoto, General Secretary, declared: "Our Party, with the support of the working people, and primarily of the working class, has doubled its membership in the course of one year and now numbers about 100,000. We intend to double that figure again next year and within the next two or three years we plan to have a membership of at least 300,000-400,000."

Many difficulties still lie ahead for the Communist Party. But by advancing step by step along the path it has followed in the past two years, victory will be assured.

Sotomi HAKAMADA,
Secretary of the Central Committee,
Communist Party of Japan

THE VALUE OF EXPERIENCE

THE question of training young members and drawing them into active work is an urgent one for the Communist Party of Argentina, especially now that the Party, after a brief spell of legality, is working underground again.

In recent years the Party has been reinforced by many thousands of new members, chiefly workers. Most of them have come to us after taking part in strikes or in other struggles. They

have no organizational experience and no political training to speak of. But they bring to the Party an enthusiastic spirit, a warm sympathy for our cause and a desire to learn more about how the Party proposes to solve vital issues. We have made it a rule to admit these people right away, without waiting until they have proved themselves full-fledged Communists. Experience shows that when we succeed in drawing young members into active

work and help them to contribute to the fulfilment of one or another task, the initial results may be modest but the training process is speeded up and the recruits soon develop into capable and devoted members.

Here are one or two examples. Two years ago a railway worker, formerly a supporter of Peron, joined the Party in the town of Temperley. He began by selling the paper *Nuestra Palabra*, and later was entrusted with the job of handling circulation in the town. After attending a school for propagandists, he was put in charge of educational work and made a success of it. He recruited 15 workers to the Party and won 80 sympathizers for the local branch. He is now branch secretary and member of the town committee of the Party.

Another comrade who quickly emerged as an active member was a former Socialist who joined the Party a year ago in the town of Quilmes. He was made branch treasurer and largely due to his efforts the branch won a town committee prize in the 1960 financial campaign. He has completed a course of Party training and is now studying Leninism on his own; he, too, functions as branch secretary and represents the Party on the Cuban Solidarity Committee.

A housewife in the same town who joined the Party two years ago has also come to the fore. She studied in the Party school for women, sold the Party paper and took part in collecting funds. Now secretary of her branch, she is doing good work in the local organizations of the Union of Argentine Women.

About three years ago a refrigeration plant worker in the town of Avellaneda joined the Party. At first he avoided Party assignments, but after a course in a Party school, his attitude changed. He began to hold talks on problems of the day with the workers and got many of his listeners to join the Party. He is now one of the most energetic branch secretaries in the town.

These examples show that the young Communists develop quickly when they are given assignments, drawn into Party study and given proper attention. We consider training every new member to become a real Communist to be one of the most important tasks of inner Party work.

One popular method of work in this field, especially widely employed in the city and province of Buenos Aires, is what we term "patronage." It takes two forms. The first is practiced mainly in the province and takes into account the specific features of the countryside where there are fewer Communists. Every active member is assigned to work with two or three young Communists. It is his job to keep in constant touch with them, supply them with Party literature, collect their membership dues, help them to understand current

political developments at home and abroad and the Party's attitude to these and other problems, and encourage them to take part in the activity of the branch. In this way the young members are gradually drawn into active work.

The second form of "patronage" is employed in Buenos Aires itself. One, two or three experienced comrades from a factory or a neighborhood branch—depending on the possibilities of the particular branch—are assigned to work with new members. In a branch with twenty young members, for example, "patronage" is effected not by individuals but by a small committee set up for the purpose. Of course, "patronage" is not the only way to develop new members. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that if applied incorrectly "patronage" can have the effect of retarding the young Communists instead of teaching them to be independent. The important thing in training the youth is to draw them into the practical work of the branch, and, if this is done wisely, "patronage" will have the desired result.

We come up against many difficulties in working with the young Communists. Transferring from one organization to another is one. It often happens that shortly after joining a branch, a member is forced to shift to another either because he has changed his job or moved to another locality. Sometimes, too, it is found more expedient to transfer a member who has joined his local territorial branch to an industrial branch, particularly if he works in a big industrial enterprise. The housing problem is becoming acute in this country. A worker often has to spend an hour or even two hours to get to his place of work. This is another reason for transferring to another branch. If the young Communist shifts at once to a branch where he is not known, he is liable to drift away from the Party. We have lost many members in this way. But we are learning by experience. At present, before transferring a young member, the organization which admitted him to Party membership prepares him for the change. And when it considers that everything possible has been done, one of the local activists accompanies him to the new organization to introduce him personally.

The breaking up of the big territorial branches into smaller ones has proved most effective and has helped to train young Communists. Formerly we had branches of 60-100 members covering between 40 to 50 blocks. Now we are trying to reduce the branch to 10-15 members covering not more than 4-6 blocks. This facilitates the training of the young members while at the same time promoting mass work and strengthening the Party's contact with the masses.

We attach importance to the timely issuing of Party cards to new members. The motto: "To

every member his card and every card paid up" has an organizational significance and helps to educate the members. We are making more and more progress each year in this respect. In Buenos Aires 80 per cent of the members are clear with their dues. In Buenos Aires province the percentage is somewhat less, and in a number of other provinces the percentage of the regular dues-payers is no more than 50. This is largely the result of the semi-legal or illegal conditions in which the Party has to work.

Party education plays a big part in training the members. Some provincial committees hold regular talks for the new members explaining the Party's attitude to current problems, the organizational structure of the Party and the role of the branches, and acquainting the recruits with the Party press and literature. Elementary study courses for new members are also arranged. A popular pamphlet has been got out for this purpose, illustrated with maps and diagrams and divided for study purposes into four parts. The first part deals with the international situation and the new balance of forces in favor of socialism, the fight for peace and national independence. The second part deals with the home situation and the road which the Communist Party proposes the country should take. Part three reviews the Party's struggle to build a national-democratic front capable of opposing the oligarchy and imperialism and fighting for peace, while the last part deals with the role of the Party, its structure, activity and objectives.

Elementary courses of this type have been organized in a number of provincial committees and are repeated three or four times a year. In 1960 they were attended by some 7,000 Party members.

A few words about women members. To facilitate their education, women's branches and sections were set up as far back as 1946. Organized on a residential basis, they conduct constant work among the masses. The women's branches are distinguished for their discipline, militancy and the spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice. Women's sections have also been formed, where necessary, in enterprises, not to speak of branches in those enterprises in which all or most of the workers are women. This has proved most effective as a means of both attracting and training new members.

Although some progress has been made in the countryside it admittedly does not yet measure up to the fighting spirit of the peasant masses. In this respect our work still falls short of the mark. Of course, the specific nature of the rural localities in the Argentine, where the peasant families usually live on widely scattered farms, must be taken into account. With the growing activity of the peasants and their enhanced interest in politics, it is not difficult to recruit members in the country-

side. To train them, and to get the rural branches to function regularly, is a bigger problem. To cope with it we try to strengthen the rural Party organizations by sending experienced Party workers (chiefly of peasant origin) from the industrial centers. We arrange brief training courses for peasant members all the year round with the exception of the harvest season. The more promising comrades are sent to the provincial Party schools or to the national school. In some cases city branches take patronage over peasant branches. Another useful form of contact is the "city-and-village gatherings," arranged chiefly by Communist youth.

The work of recruiting and training new members is proceeding successfully in the capital and its province, in Santa Fe and Mendoza. Elsewhere the situation is less satisfactory. New members are fewer, and not enough is being done to recruit and train members. Some localities avoid new members so as not to spend time and effort in training them—an attitude that has been censured by the Party leadership. This contradiction between recruiting and training is an artificial one. Experience shows that these are two aspects of a constant and simultaneous process.

There has been considerably less fluctuation of late, although the term "fluctuation" is relative, since not all those who drift away from the Party are lost to it. It often happens that persons who leave for a new place of residence eventually return to the Party. In all cases they join the trade unions and peasant organizations and generally take part in the mass movement, giving active support to our comrades.

In conclusion, we wish to cite a few figures showing how the network of Party organizations and the ranks of its activists have grown.

In 1954 there were 10 city committees in the suburbs of Buenos Aires, this year there are 17. The number of comrades conducting leading Party work has risen in this period from 120 to 340. The number of district committees has grown nearly sevenfold—40 instead of 6—and the activist groups from 60 to 500. The increase in the number of branches is a striking indication of the growth of the Party. In 1954 there were 60 branches in the industrial enterprises in the suburbs of the capital led by 180 active members—branch secretaries, secretaries in charge of organization, propaganda, etc. Now there are 555 branches with an active core of 2,369 members. A similar growth can be observed in many of the provinces.

Orestes GHIOLDI,

Communist Party of Argentina

Propaganda Secretary of the C.C.,

Some Aspects of Work Among the Youth

IN RECENT years the Communist parties in the capitalist countries have devoted more attention to work among the youth. The Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties noted that "there are new opportunities now for drawing the younger generation into the struggle for peace and democracy, and for the great ideals of communism." It stressed moreover, that extension of work among the youth is of the utmost importance.

Last autumn the Communist parties of the Northern countries exchanged views on youth work. The point in question concerned also the experience of our Party—the Communist Party of Finland. And since our views on the subject may be of interest to the other fraternal parties, we relate below some of our experiences.

Like all working people, the youth suffer from exploitation by big capital, an exploitation which is intensifying and assuming new forms, and, like all sections of the population, they are oppressed by the economic and political power of the monopolies. From this point of view, it seems to us, there is no particular youth problem; the interests of the working youth and students are the same as those of the workers, small and middle peasants, middle sections and even small business people. In Finland, for instance, we have had to stress the need to enlist the youth in the common movement in defense of the interests of all working people and not of the youth alone.

The Specific Demands of the Youth

But in stressing the importance of drawing the youth into action for common interests, we cannot fail to see the specific character of some of the problems and those difficulties which first of all affect the youth. The Finnish youth is concerned with the following problems.

Unemployment. The main thing for young people on leaving school is to find a job. Despite a certain rise in business activity, large-scale unemployment is becoming chronic. The hardest hit by the unemployment are young people with no skills. In the near future jobs will be sought by the numerous groups born in the first postwar years. This, together with the migration of young people from the countryside to the towns, means that at least another 500-600 thousand jobs will be needed by 1970 to ensure full employment. Thus the business of finding a job will be even more difficult. And while there is much talk about the matter, none of the bourgeois parties has been able to suggest a solution. Working among the youth, the Communists stress that this problem can be solved once and for all only by socialism.

Wages and social problems. Most of the working youth in Finland, chiefly apprentices, auxiliary workers, shop assistants, clerks, messengers, etc., at the age of from 15 to 20 get a meagre wage, hardly enough to buy the bare necessities. The fight for higher wages is, therefore, an important aspect of our work among the youth. Young people, like women workers, suffer from unequal wages. The demand for "equal pay for equal work" concerns the youth above all.

Social legislation envisages a shorter working day for the youth, longer holidays, and prohibits the employment of young people in unhealthy occupations. But this legislation loses its significance because many young people have no choice but to perform any work, to work overtime, and when in temporary employment they do not qualify for paid holidays. Hence the fight for better social legislation and for observance of the rights gained should occupy a prominent place in the youth movement. At the same time it is important to explain the fundamental reasons for the plight of the youth.

Opportunity for study. Young people also encounter difficulties in getting an education. Large numbers start life without any professional training. Vocational schools are lacking. Furthermore, because of the shortage of accommodation only three-fourths of the annual enrolment in these schools could study in recent years. A small number of higher schools and high fees make access to higher education difficult. In 1935 about 23 per cent of the students at Helsinki University came from working-class families; at present the figure is below 10 per cent. Hence the need to fight for a democratic educational system.

Problems of young couples. The housing crisis and high rent are also specifically youth problems. The desire for family life is often unrealizable. The welfare services for young people are wholly inadequate.

The conditions of the rural youth. The intensified exploitation of the peasants by big capital, the unjust terms of land tenure and often the deliberately maintained backwardness of vast agricultural and forest areas—the suppliers of labor—have reduced the sources of earning a livelihood in the rural villages. Things are aggravated by the price policy and the policy of financing agriculture which benefit big landowners. As a result, young people leave the countryside in search of work which they cannot find at home.

There are, of course, other problems, such as the social and political rights of the youth, voting qualifications, health services, the use of leisure,

cultural problems, the rights of soldiers, etc. The struggle to solve these problems helps recruit the youth into Communist and democratic organizations.

The Fight for the Younger Generation Is Becoming More Intense

The reactionary circles are making greater efforts to draw the young people into bourgeois organizations in an attempt to keep them away from the working class and above all from the Communist movement.

In Finland there are numerous youth organizations. One group consists of *political organizations*. Nearly all parties have youth sections. However, the youth sections of the bourgeois and Social Democratic parties are not numerous. For instance, the youth section of the Agrarian Union was in recent years the only one which increased its membership, the number of branches and its activity.

Much more important are so-called "*non-political*" organizations led by bourgeois parties and often by the ultra-reactionaries. The biggest of these are the sports organizations which embrace large numbers. Through these "*non-political*" organizations the bourgeois parties daily exert considerable influence on the young people. These organizations consist mainly of young workers. Hence some of their members and in many cases even whole organizations cannot be regarded as political opponents. Many young people join these organizations because they provide facilities for entertainment.

In recent times *the church has joined in the battle to win the youth away from the progressive forces*. It is building clubs and holiday centers and allocates funds for all kinds of undertakings and entertainment, in an attempt to divert the youth from the ideas of communism.

These means, in addition to the other vehicles of reactionary ideology such as the educational system, the army, press, literature, cinema, radio and television, are widely used for purposes of anti-communist propaganda. The Communists are said to be unpatriotic, to deny the freedom of the individual; the rural youth is intimidated by the bogey of collective farms, etc. At the same time bourgeois propaganda idealizes Western culture, the parasitic way of life; war is depicted as something romantic and is justified in every way; the ills of capitalism are the workings of Providence and so nothing can be done about them. All this is designed to make the youth passive, to divert it from thinking about the essence of the social system. The reactionary forces succeed in retaining their influence thanks to their vast propaganda machine, to the state institutions, religion and decadent literature.

How to Improve Our Work

In recent years the Communist Party has adopted a series of decisions aimed at improving work among the youth. These decisions boil down to the following:

- to discuss work among the youth and teen-agers in all Party organizations;

- to improve the ideological education of the youth and extend help to the democratic youth organizations;

- to render material aid to the youth organizations;

- to promote the circulation of the youth press;

- to assist the youth organizations in obtaining the necessary premises;

- to help them train cadres and select tutors for seminars;

- to popularize the campaigns and measures undertaken by youth organizations, such as festivals, summer sports, camps, etc.;

- to help the youth in peace activities and promote international youth contacts.

The Party also reviewed the work among teen-agers and the Young Pioneer organization. We have made some headway in training Young Pioneers. When the Party branches and other democratic organizations discussed the importance of this work and outlined measures for improving it, the number of Young Pioneer organizations increased, their membership grew and their activity improved. Within a year 102 Young Pioneer branches were set up and the number of Pioneer leaders rose by 400. However, not all Party organizations pay attention to this work, and not all Communists have realized the importance of their children joining the Young Pioneer organizations.

A marked improvement has been observed in the activity of the Democratic Youth Union. In the past two years 76 branches of this union have been set up with the aid of our Party organizations. In the space of one year the attendance at political classes doubled, as did the number of amateur art groups.

Experience has shown the importance of varying the forms of work so that the young people can choose what they like. Amateur art, sport, games, rambling, etc. — all this appeals to young people and brings them into closer contact with the youth organizations.

We have decided to make a deeper study of the ways of influencing the youth, of getting them to understand the importance of the peace fight. Our youth organizations should find the most suitable forms of peace work and improve their contact with the youth organizations in the other Northern countries and with the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

Popularizing the achievements of the socialist countries is not just the task of the youth organizations; the Party, too, should interest the young people in the socialist countries. At present this is a major task of our ideological work. We should stress in particular the scientific basis of the ideas of communism, humanism and optimism as against bourgeois pseudo-science and mysticism, pessimism, and the glorifying of violence.

Our young people are not sufficiently active in the trade unions. This is explained in part by the fact that the reformist trade union leaders often violate democracy; they ignore the views of the workers and arbitrarily decide such vital issues as wages. Nevertheless, the trade unions are important organizations uniting Social Democrats

and Communists. They provide ample opportunity for work with young people through their youth sections. There are also other working-class organizations of a general character—sports, co-operative, educational and cultural—in which our Party can work among the youth.

Reinforcing the unity and organization of the working youth acquires an ever-growing importance. It is necessary to establish contact with young Social Democrats, discuss with them the question of protecting the common interests, promote united action of our own and other youth organizations. Joint action will enhance the prestige of our youth organizations and help them "build a bridge" to the other organizations.

Olavi POIKOLAINEN

Support and Criticism

SUPPORT the positive, criticize the negative, and exert pressure by our activity based on the unity of all peace-loving forces—such is the line of the Moroccan Communists in relation to the government in all matters of home and foreign policy.

Under the impact of the sweeping liberation movement in Africa, conceding to public opinion at home, and taking cognizance also of the decisive role played by the socialist camp, the Moroccan government has been forced to make some positive changes in its foreign policy.

The resolutions adopted at the Casablanca conference of the heads of African States and signed by Morocco were, undoubtedly, of a positive nature. Their significance will be all the greater provided they are carried out, since this presupposes a more resolute anti-imperialist policy on the part of our government than that pursued so far.

The people of Morocco hailed the news of the exchange of visits between King Mohammed V and N. S. Khrushchov. In the person of Khrushchov all patriotic forces of the country greet the spokesman of the Soviet Union, an ardent champion of the independence of peoples and of peace, a representative of the country which renders disinterested aid to the underdeveloped nations. All sections of the population will be glad to meet this friend of Morocco and of all nations, the man who condemned colonialism from the rostrum of the United Nations.

Now that the balance of forces in the United Nations is coming into line with the balance of forces in the world arena there is a real possibility

of this organization adopting progressive decisions. Our duty is to watch closely the attitude of our government in the U.N., for on this will depend the solution of the issues of war and peace and of the problems affecting every man.

It should be said that the Fifteenth General Assembly of the United Nations could have made headway in a matter that is of concern to Morocco. The people had anticipated that their delegation to the United Nations would support the national demands concerning Mauritania and other territories severed from the motherland, that it would champion Algeria, support disarmament, condemn the policy of France and the atomic tests in the Sahara, that it would urge the dismantling of all foreign bases in Morocco. Our delegation should have exposed the imperialist intrigues in the Congo. It should have done this because the Moroccan armed forces were taking part in the U.N. Congo operation.

What attitude did the Moroccan delegation adopt? In our view its stand on Mauritania and Algeria was, in the main, correct, and should be maintained.

The speech made by the government spokesman in the debate reflected the aspirations of the Moroccan people, who want the return of Mauritania and support Algeria. Our people recognize the provisional government of the Algerian Republic as the true representative of the people.

The people of Mauritania, as the recent events have shown, want reunification with Morocco. But French colonialism has not been completely exposed yet, and not everything has been done to substantiate our stand on Mauritania. Obviously,

the General Assembly could have been utilized for this purpose. The Moroccan delegate ought to have exposed the atrocities of the French colonialists in Algeria and Mauritania. Unfortunately, he did not concentrate on these questions.

The government's policy suffers also from other faults and contradictions which we Communists criticize.

Officially, Morocco advocates an independent foreign policy. But this advocacy is in contradiction with the agreements concluded recently with the United States and France whereby the latter retain the use of some of their bases on our territory until 1963. These agreements detract from the value of government statements in favor of disarmament. Disarmament presupposes a reduction in military expenditure. But in our country expenditure on the police swallows 40 per cent of the budget, while army expenditure has been increased twofold this year. The strength of the army is to be raised to 100,000.

Part of the military expenditure is covered by U.S. aid. And this, too, shows the falsity of the government statement about the inadmissibility of "even the slightest interference in our domestic affairs by the great nations rendering us financial and technical aid." Is it not interference when the United States tells Morocco that it must not buy Cuban sugar with the dollars which it doles out to us?

The public thinks that this interference should be exposed. But the Moroccan delegation did not do this. Its spokesmen included in the "great nations" both the imperialist and the socialist countries. This irresponsible statement is in effect a cover for the intrigues of the imperialist countries.

The Moroccan delegation voted for the admission of People's China to the United Nations. This is to its credit. But to say, as the head of the delegation did, that "UNO, its Secretary General, committees, commissions and General Assembly have of late proved their worth" was unmerited praise for Mr. Hammarskjold. The government is well aware of the intrigues of the U.N. armed forces' command in the Congo, which acted on instructions from the imperialists and Hammarskjold. These instructions contradicted the resolutions of the Security Council. By exposing the activity of the U.N. Secretary General the Moroccan delegate could have rebutted the charges of the bourgeois press about interference by some Moroccan army officers in Congolese affairs. The Communists also regret that the government opposed the Soviet proposals for reorganizing the U.N.

* * *

Still, the first session of the Fifteenth General Assembly undoubtedly showed signs of progress in U.N. activity. The scale and character of the debate and the adoption of the anti-colonial declaration are obviously positive facts. Our people hope that when the General Assembly resumes in March, it will adopt decisions in keeping with the interests of all nations.

Realization of these decisions will depend in large measure on the stand taken by the governments of the Afro-Asian countries. Supporting the positive and criticizing the negative features of the policy of our government, we are contributing to greater U.N. efforts in the interest of universal peace.

Mohammed ESSAOUIRI

Forms and Methods of Mass Work

(Review of the Party Press of the Socialist Countries)

INDIVIDUAL TALKS

Bulgaria

**ПАРТИЕН
ЖИВОТ**

A friendly heart-to-heart talk is the best way to convince people, says Comrade Chavalinov, secretary of the Party branch at a repairs depot in Sofia. For a long time things were not going well in a team of young workers, many of whom violated labor discipline and did not fulfil production quotas. The team leader, Stefanov,

tended to get nervy and angry and ordered the lads about. At meetings the team was described as the worst in the depot, but this did little to improve matters. We advised Stefanov to change his attitude when talking with the boys so that they should see in him not the boss, but a comrade and friend. At first Stefanov had difficulty in doing this; he had to learn the art of getting on with people. One day he would stop at a machine to help the worker, chat with him about things and his plans for the future. Next time he would tell another

worker about his own life and the hardships he endured under capitalist rule. He invited the lads to visit him at home and they in turn invited him to share a meal with them. On Sundays all of them went to the country for outings.

The long and the short of it was that the atmosphere in the team changed for the better. The lads began to speak about shortcomings, to show concern for the plan and for quality. Stefanov now saw his workers not as robots but as people anxious to do things, and he began to consult with them. The workers felt the respect of their team-leader and in a short time the work in the team began to go with a swing. The team is now competing for the title of "Young Communist League labor group."

Examples of this kind in the Kirkov district of Sofia are many. Much attention is devoted to working with people. Kirill Palaveyev, secretary of the Party district committee, says that individual work, its forms and methods are often discussed with the branch secretaries and propagandists. The classes for training propagandists arrange for exchanges of views, and there are discussions on how the personal talks should be conducted.

Leading workers, veterans members of the Party, Party functionaries and business executives take part in the personal talks which are held among all sections of the population. Particular attention is given to suggestions made by the people during the talks.

WINTER COURSES IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

Hungary

PARTELET

Socialist agriculture brings well-being to the peasants, improves their education and changes their very outlook. Most peasants show keen interest not only in local affairs, they also want to know about the developments in the country and abroad.

This interest can be satisfied in a variety of ways. And the winter months, when field work is practically at a standstill, offer particularly good opportunities.

Last winter two-week courses were held in some 800 villages. Over 300 experienced lecturers explained current political problems on the basis of the documents of the Seventh Party Congress. As a rule, the lecturers first acquainted themselves with the state of affairs in the particular village, with the thinking of the peasants and the issues of concern to them. The methods of work varied.

In some villages there were talks every day, in others—three times a week. The talks were usually followed by discussion. Talks were held also for small groups of co-operators, teachers, etc. Consultations and question-and-answer meetings were also arranged. The lecturers helped the local leaders. Most of the comrades who conducted the talks continue to maintain contact with the villages they visited.

This year the number of winter courses is greater. More than 500 comrades were assigned to propaganda work in January and February. In addition to conducting talks, they help the peasants in completing the reconstruction of agriculture. Experience has shown that when the peasants are well acquainted with the political situation at home and abroad they better understand the problems of their co-operative, their tasks and duties.

EFFECTIVE PROPAGANDA

German Democratic Republic

Neuer Weg

The Party committees in many enterprises have formed propaganda commissions. This enables the branches to react more quickly to events and to conduct effective mass work.

In the Buchungsmaschinenwerk enterprise in Karl-Marx-Stadt the propaganda commission includes members of the Party bureaus in the shops, the editors of the factory's radio center and of the factory bulletin. The commission, which is headed by the secretary of the factory Party committee, briefs the propagandists and assists them in arranging talks.

The commission meets weekly to review the propaganda work, the radio programs, the lay-out of the factory bulletin and the subjects of the forthcoming talks.

The documents of the Moscow Meeting of 81 Parties are widely popularized. At the Adlershof cable plant, for instance, the commission met immediately after their publication to discuss measures for popularizing them among the workers. There was a suggestion that the documents should first be discussed at a meeting of the activists, then in Party groups and only after that among the workers generally. But the majority objected. We must not lose time, they argued, we can be sure the radio and press in West Germany will react with their usual slander campaign, and so it is essential that the people know our attitude. A leaflet explaining the significance of these documents for the working class was drawn up and

then distributed in all the shops. This was followed by a general discussion of the documents.

The propaganda commissions raise questions concerning utilization of the untapped reserves in the enterprises. At the Buchungsmaschinenwerk, for instance, the commission arranged an exhibition devoted to mechanization and ways and means of improving quality.

CULTURAL CENTERS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

Poland

Trybuna Ludu

In Poland it is still possible to find villages without a village hall or recreation center. In the Wegrow district it was decided to use school premises for these purposes and soon 57 recreation centers equipped with TV and radio sets, record players, books, newspapers and journals were opened. The centers are usually supervised by teachers.

The Village hall in Miedzna has a TV and a library and is a popular gathering place. It arranges lectures and talks on political and scientific subjects; there are classes for tractor drivers, a motoring circle, agricultural and technical classes. For the children there is airplane modeling.

Other centers work in much the same way. The Wegrow experience is spreading to other districts, particularly those where recreation halls are few.

The Wegrow experience was the subject of a discussion in the Ministry of Culture. Wegrow teachers and activists were invited to the meeting which was attended also by officials from the cultural department of the Central Committee and from the Warsaw Regional Committee of the Party. Speakers praised this experience. One hundred and twenty leaders of recreation centers, teachers and members of rural youth organizations of the district were presented with gifts by the Warsaw Region People's Council.

YOUTH EDUCATION IS THE CONCERN OF ALL

Czechoslovakia

ŽIVOT STRANY

Jaroslav Marek, chairman of the Mimon committee of the Party, had this to say: "Not so long ago our youth work, especially among teen-agers, was badly organized. After school, work with children was dull and formal. We did not have enough people to take charge of the classes and social activities.

"The Party committee instructed the members working in schools, the Union of Youth organizations and the members working in the public organizations, first and foremost in the National Committee, to enlist as many people as possible for work with children; they were told to draw mainly on the parents of the schoolchildren and the best factory workers and intellectuals. The opening of a Parents' University was one of the first steps. A series of lectures were read here on the following subjects: upbringing in the family; cooperation between school and family; polytechnical training at school; how to instil a careful attitude to public property, etc.

"Discussions were also held on problems of education.

"With a view to interesting parents in school and after-school activities we arranged exhibitions of children's handicrafts, social evenings and concerts. As a result the parents know now what their children do in the Young Pioneer organizations and in the recreational groups.

"Over 100 factory workers take part in the classes and Young Pioneer groups arranged by the three local schools. The classes range all the way from gardening to drama and include literature, singing, rambling, cookery, puppetry, photography, dress-making, traditional handicrafts, sculpture, cycling, hygiene, sport and hunting.

"The Party Committee arranges for the comrades working among children to meet regularly with the teachers, to become acquainted with the problems which arise in the schools and to supervise the polytechnical training of the children."

Exchange of Views

The Agrarian Problem and the National-Liberation Movement

(Conclusion. See also Nos. 1 and 2, 1961.)

J. M. GARCIA
(Argentina)

ARGINA has a territory of 2,793,000 square kilometers and a population of 20,500,000. The urban population accounts for 58 per cent and the rural for 42 per cent of the total, but the former is growing rapidly owing to the wholesale migration of peasants and farm laborers to the towns. In some of the poorer provinces in the interior the rural population is as high as 80 per cent, while in the main grain-growing provinces on the seaboard its share falls far below the average.

However, even in the cities of the coastal belt, such as Buenos Aires which together with its environs has six million people, or Rosario with 500,000, many workers depend on seasonal farm work. Thus it is difficult to establish the urban and rural population figures exactly. The only definite thing is that the city population is growing.

Owing to Argentina's historical background, the big latifundia have been the predominant factor in agricultural development. For only in exceptional cases were grants of land made during settlement to peasants and other small settlers of European immigrant stock. Also important in agriculture are tenant farming and sharecropping.

All told Argentina has 279,000,000 hectares of land, of which 64,000,000 (23 per cent) are cultivated, cattle ranches occupy an area of 87,300,000 (31 per cent) and 37,000,000 are unsuitable for agriculture. The non-arable land is located in the mountain areas and in Patagonia.

It has been estimated that 89,000,000 hectares (32 per cent of the total) are wooded. The timber wealth, however, is being criminally depleted by imperialist companies. Not more than 40 or 50 million hectares of the timber land have survived. The quebracho woods, which yield tannin, have been rapaciously destroyed. The British Forestal firm alone has, in the past fifty years, cut down a

million hectares of quebracho, mainly in Santa Fe Province.

The number of farm laborers is approximately 1,100,000. Sharecropper families number 159,740, constituting the majority of all tenant farmers. Seventy-two per cent of the farmers till land that does not belong to them.

As for the poor and middle peasants, there is no hard and fast rule for distinguishing between them, for the criterion here is not the size of the plot, but what the tiller gets out of it. And this depends on the quality of the land and the money he has been able to put into it. For instance, in the irrigated fruit-growing areas of Rio Negro, famous for their apples, a peasant with 10 hectares may be a wealthy man. On the other hand, in the less fertile crop and stock raising areas the owner of 50 hectares may be a poor peasant. There are areas where tenants without land of their own rent as much as 300 hectares and definitely can be classed as rich farmers. This group has accumulated some capital which is used to buy farm machinery.

The land is distributed very unevenly, ranging from vast latifundia to dwarf farms. All told there are 235,953 poor peasant farmsteads with a total of 2,164,239 hectares. In recent years the number of the dwarf farms has grown as more and more peasant families are forced to give up the land they rented, or rent still smaller plots which can no longer support them. Many of the peasants in this group become semi-proletarians.

Holdings ranging from 25 to 200 hectares belong mostly to middle peasants. They number 209,000 and own a total of 18,387,900 hectares. The third group includes farms from 200 to 2,500 hectares. Most of these belong to the rich farmers, or semi-landlords, as we call them. Their number runs to 88,691 with a total area of 60,624,400 hectares.

A fourth group (the landlords proper) has holdings of 2,500 hectares and upwards. Some landlords own tens or hundreds of thousands and even millions of hectares. All told there are some 13,000 of these landlords whose farms and ranches amount to 120 million hectares, or more than half the farm land in the country.

The overwhelming majority of the peasants and the farm laborers want an agrarian reform; they realize that without this they will never be able to improve their conditions. The farm laborers above all want plots of their own. Most of the poor and middle peasants, who rent small plots, also look forward to a progressive reform that will give them land.

Even the rich peasants—both tenant farmers and those lucky enough to own land of their own—are anxious for an agrarian reform, though their support is highly inconsistent. They are dissatisfied with the prices charged by the land speculators, and want a bigger market and fair prices for their produce.

The national bourgeoisie and the majority of small tradesmen also favor an agrarian reform. But, like the rich peasants, the national bourgeoisie is by no means consistent about it.

Opposition to the reform comes from the big ranchers and the imperialist companies with vast land holdings. Formerly these companies were mostly British, such as the Forestal concern with its more than a million hectares, but now U.S. interests, which are buying up large areas of land, are coming to the fore.

In striving for agrarian reform, the peasants have to fight not only the landed interests but also the imperialist monopolies which buy up the crop and export it, paying the growers as little as they can. They have already taken vigorous action against the Bung-Born, Dreyfus, De Ridder and other monopolies. The monopolies exploit the farmer also through the sale of machinery and other means of production. For instance, to buy a five-furrow plough, which in 1958 cost him the proceeds from 25 metric tons of wheat, he now has to sell 35 tons. Besides, thousands of peasants are threatened with ruin by the U.S. dumping of "farm surpluses." Co-operatives, which unite a considerable part of the peasantry, were set up precisely as a defense against monopoly exploitation.

What has governmental policy been in regard to the agrarian reform? Peron actually came to power in 1943 (although his presidency began in 1946) at the peak of a demagogic campaign for social justice and agrarian reform. "Land to the tillers!" was his slogan. But through the two terms of his presidency Peron did no more than the

previous governments. Though he had paper plans for settling peasants on the land, the land grants did not exceed 500,000 hectares. Each of the imperialist companies operating in Argentina has more. A huge sum was paid to the landlords for the expropriated land, and the latifundia were not even touched. In all the years of the Peron presidency only 4,000 peasants received allotments.

One of the main points in the program of the Frondizi government which took over in 1958 was a far-reaching agrarian reform. Our Party declared at the time that if the forces that voted for Frondizi stood united they could guarantee fulfilment of the program of national liberation, i.e., of the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution. Unity could have compelled Frondizi to carry out his election program.

Alas, unity was wanting. Frondizi betrayed the trust reposed in him. Instead of enacting an agrarian reform, the government became its principal opponent. It suffices to say that the man who shapes the government's agrarian policy, Minister of Agriculture Malaccorto, owns a dozen estates and is an agent of U.S. imperialism. His policy of so-called free enterprise and free trade has sent the cost of living, and rent, soaring.

The government's refusal to carry out an agrarian reform is causing indignation in the countryside and also among other sections, while the acquisition of vast areas by U.S. imperialist interests is spreading the discontent to a section of the big ranchers.

The farm laborers, peasants and other sections connected with agriculture are voicing dissatisfaction with the government's agrarian policy. In particular, the more than 1,000 farm laborers' unions which are to be found throughout the agricultural belt have declared for an agrarian reform.

This sentiment is reflected also in the Agrarian Federation, whose top leaders—a handful of rich farmers and civil servants (generally speaking the organization is bureaucrat-ridden) — have enjoyed the support of the government for years. For ten years and more its conventions have been pressing for a progressive reform, advancing proposals which the Communist Party, although it has its own program for solving the agrarian question, supports.

The Agrarian Federation advocates expropriation of the big latifundia, especially those over 5,000 hectares, and the transfer of the land to the peasants at reasonable prices to be based on the returns from it during a certain period, say, ten years. A reform of this kind would provide the peasants with allotments, while ensuring the landlords repayment in government securities in the course of 25 years.

But what happens? The conventions pass fine resolutions, including those submitted by our comrades and supported by the overwhelming majority of the peasants, which even the Federation's leadership dare not oppose for fear of antagonizing the masses. But nothing is done between conventions to carry out their recommendations. This cannot but add to the peasants' dissatisfaction with the Federation's leaders.

All the so-called democratic and popular political parties, too, are forced by public sentiment to declare for reform.

This applies also to the Peronista party, now illegal, which has considerable influence among the poor and middle peasants and the working class. Frondizi's party—the Radical Union of Intransigents—came to power under the banner of agrarian reform, which it has since then betrayed. The main bourgeois opposition party—the Popular Radical Union — also has a point about agrarian reform in its program. The same is true of the Progressive Democratic Party, founded by Lisandro de la Torre, a democrat and progressive, and also of the Christian Democratic Party, which was established on the initiative of the Vatican and which pays special attention to the countryside, even holding conventions to discuss land questions. The Socialist Party follows suit in its own fashion.

There is of course a vast difference between the agrarian reform advocated by these parties and the radical solution proposed by the Communist Party. The Popular Radical Union, for instance, confines itself to generalities about transferring the land to the peasants, and avoids going deeper into the issue. To do so now would not be in its interests. Some legislators urge caution, warning against haste, violence, etc.

Our Party's position is unambiguous. Its gist is this:

Large-scale landed property, the latifundia and land owned by foreign and national companies, regardless of whether it is uncultivated or used for growing crops or livestock raising, as well as the farm implements and the livestock on these lands, should be expropriated without compensation. The area above which holdings are to be regarded as latifundia, depending on the zone and conditions of farming, should be stipulated by law. Landowners who cultivate the land or raise livestock rationally, observe the laws of the democratic state and ensure proper living and working conditions for the farm laborers and other rural working people, shall not be subject to expropriation. This group should be clearly defined by law.

Large farms and cattle ranches which it is inexpedient to break up so as not to lower their productivity should be transferred to the state or

to co-operatives in order to ensure the food supplies and raw material for the national industry. The democratic state should provide proper conditions for the laborers and peons engaged on these farms.

Semi-feudal forms of exploitation, such as sharecropping, should be prohibited, and the sharecroppers given the title deeds to the land they till, the size of the allotments to be specified by law in accordance with the zone. Squatters and others occupying state lands should receive land free of charge. Free allotments are to be issued also to agricultural laborers in areas where the land belongs to the state.

The land taken away from the Indian communities should be returned to them, and whatever extra land they need should be granted to them.

Small and medium-sized farms shall not be subject to expropriation. Part of the land expropriated from the latifundists and companies should be handed over to the smallholders.

Free land belonging to the democratic state should be given to those who wish to till it, either free of charge or on payment of a small fee stipulated by law.

The new owners should be allowed to decide for themselves whether to till the land individually or collectively, as members of a co-operative. The democratic state, however, should render assistance to the agricultural co-operatives and encourage the establishment of new ones. Co-operatives specializing in certain crops or cattle raising and anxious to branch out into other fields of farming, and also to process and market their produce, should be given every assistance by the state, including insurance and credits. The democratic state should extend special credits to the suburban vegetable, fruit and dairy farms supplying the towns with foodstuffs at reasonable prices.

All peasant debts carrying exorbitant interest rates should be cancelled. Henceforth the land, implements, livestock, including draught animals, homes or other peasant property shall not be attached for debt. We propose to annul the huge debts which run into the millions, which the peasants owe to the banks and usurers. The democratic state should promote the development of industry and transport, build roads, hospitals, schools, etc.

The government should build or help establish chemical factories in the various zones in order to provide the peasants with fertilizers and other chemicals. To prevent spoilage, it should build or help build district refrigeration plants, and also establish canneries and other plants for processing farm produce in agricultural areas. The state should also organize machine and tractor centers for the benefit of the farmers and cattle-breeders,

the machines to be hired either individually or collectively for a moderate fee.

Such, in general outline, is the agrarian program of the Communist Party. We hold that the fight for an agrarian reform concerns not only the peasantry but all progressives, the working class in particular. Hence, our Party, active in workers' organizations in the cities, is urging their members to support and join forces with the peasants.

We fully realize that to bring about an agrarian reform in Argentina political changes are needed — a democratic coalition government must be formed which, with the support of the organized masses throughout the country, would invigorate the struggle for this much needed reform.

At present the Communist Party is campaigning to extend its influence in the countryside and to

recruit new members. Several thousand peasants and agricultural laborers have joined in the recent period.

Our work in the rural areas still suffers from grave shortcomings. Far from all our members are fully conscious of the importance of the worker-peasant alliance and the peasant movement in the struggle for national liberation. But with the Party organizations paying due attention to these shortcomings, they will gradually be overcome.

The Party believes that the country is on the eve of major actions in the countryside, which hold the promise of contributing much to the struggle for national liberation, against the rule of the imperialists and the oligarchy, and for democracy. And with the winning of democracy the cherished aspirations of the working people will be realized.

AZIZ AL HAJJ (Iraq)

FOREIGN imperialism has played a decisive role in turning the natural agricultural production in Iraq into commodity production. This process developed rapidly between 1918-58. At the beginning of the century land in Iraq was state property. But under imperialist rule it was transferred to the feudal chiefs. The peasants who comprise over 70 per cent of the population, found themselves face to face with their worst enemies—imperialism and big landowners. The latter, a bare one per cent of the rural population, owned about 75 per cent of the cultivated land, the remainder was held by the peasants, most of them smallholders. More than 80 per cent of the rural population had no land at all.

Semi-feudal agriculture, based on big feudal holdings and sharecropping, is a feature of present-day Iraq. There is a class of big landowners which consists of feudal chiefs, bourgeoisified feudalists and a land-owning bourgeoisie.

The national revolution in July 1958 against the imperialist-feudal monarchy was a bourgeois-democratic revolution. But since there are still remnants of colonialism and feudalism left, it cannot be said to have completed its tasks. The main remaining elements of imperialism are the oil companies, while the main remaining elements of feudalism are owners of the big estates.

Although we Communists are working for an agrarian peasant revolution, for the abolition of big landed property (for a radical and comprehensive agrarian reform) and for transferring the land thus released to the peasants within the framework

of the present bourgeois-democratic republic, we are not suggesting that all this can be done overnight. Our attitude is explained by the fact that we take cognizance of a revolutionary situation, the job of building the republic, the balance of forces, the class structure of national rule, the bonds between the national bourgeoisie, big landowners' property and agrarian exploitation. This is the reason why we have not advanced a radical and comprehensive agrarian reform as a slogan of action, rather we have accepted the agrarian reform law as promulgated by the national government.

The law did not abolish the big estates; it merely fixed a ceiling, a high one, on land holding (250 hectares irrigated and 500 hectares arid land).

The law provided a high level of compensation for the landowners payable by the peasants over a period of 20 years. Even traitors and their stooges were entitled to compensation. We are not against compensation in certain cases, but we are resolutely against it where the big landowners are concerned who in most cases acted as traitors; we are against compensation being paid at the expense of the peasants, especially the poor peasants. At the same time we fight to reduce the ceiling to 100 hectares of arid land and 50 hectares of irrigated land.

One of the aims of the agrarian reform law is to create more favorable conditions for capitalist development both in the towns and the countryside. The national bourgeoisie is anxious to create a class of "modern" capitalist landowners.

And yet the Communist Party, in agreement with this law, is working for its strict implementation. In fact, we regard it as our minimum program for the immediate future.

During the first year and a half, according to the figures at our disposal, more than 500,000 hectares were confiscated by the government, the total scheduled for confiscation in the space of five years is 2,250,000 hectares. So far less than 125,000 hectares have been distributed among the peasants. Implementation of the law encounters fierce resistance on the part of the big landowners, resistance of the administrative bodies which have not been purged since the revolution and, lastly, lack of unity in the peasant movement.

More was done during the first year than in the second year when agrarian policy was switched sharply to the right and a campaign was launched against the progressive forces, the workers' unions and the peasant unions. The Right wing and other sections of the national bourgeoisie are pursuing the "balance-of-power policy between 'Left' and 'Right'" — the Rights being the reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries.

In an attempt to weaken the influence of our Party and the democratic mass movement generally, influential groups of the national bourgeoisie are resisting the agrarian reform law and turning more and more to the reactionaries who are bent on wiping out the gains of the revolution and on abolishing our republic. This attitude spells danger to the revolution, to national independence and, consequently, to the genuine interests of the national bourgeoisie itself. At the moment the Right wing of the national bourgeoisie prefers coming to terms with the landlords and the big bourgeoisie.

The matter, of course, is not just resistance to the agrarian law or a slowing down of its implementation. Some concessions that bode ill for the future of the country have already been made to the landlords; they have returned to their old methods of plundering and persecuting the peasants. Scores of people active in the peasant movement have been jailed or exiled; others have been driven from their land; revolutionary-minded peasants have been assassinated by landlords with the encouragement of the reactionaries in the administrative bodies. There are big landowners who have not been affected in the least by the reform. Pumping installations confiscated from big landowners have been returned to them. The amendments to the law favor the landlords and are detrimental to the peasants. The elections for the

peasant unions, just as the trade union elections, were crudely falsified.

However, as in the past, our Party is working hard to re-establish mutual understanding with all anti-imperialist elements, groups and parties for the purpose of safeguarding the revolution and its gains. The agrarian question, though of vital importance for the revolution, is subordinated to the basic issues of safeguarding the republic, of building a united national front against the imperialists and their allies. And while the two issues are interwoven, we never forget that imperialism is the main enemy.

In summing up it can be said that the national bourgeoisie in Iraq, as in other underdeveloped countries, is reluctant to carry out a radical agrarian reform and is incapable of doing so. In this respect we are on common ground with the fraternal Communist Party of Syria.

This does not mean, of course, that we in any way belittle the main positive features of the partial agrarian reforms carried out in the newly-independent countries under the leadership of the national bourgeoisie. In one way or another these reforms further economic development in town and countryside, thus consolidating the sovereignty of the country which has gained political independence. But only a genuinely democratic regime can really effect a radical democratic reconstruction in the countryside.

Our line with the different strata in the countryside is to win over the small landowners, neutralize the middle landholders and deliver the main blow against the big landholders.

Only a solid worker-peasant alliance, under the leadership of the working class and its Party, can ensure the carrying out of a radical agrarian reform—abolish the big estates, supply the peasants with water, credit, seed, machines, etc.

It is absolutely essential that the peasants and their organizations should take an active part in the agrarian reform. Otherwise, it will be neither real nor radical.

These conclusions demonstrate once again the vitality of the basic principles with regard to the democratic revolution elaborated by Lenin in his *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*. True, the conditions in our country are not the same as they were in tsarist Russia. Still, as demonstrated once again by the countries that have won political independence, only the working class led by the Communist Party can be the most consistent fighter for the vital interests of the peasants.

JOSE RODRIGUEZ (Guatemala)

GUATEMALA, while it is a small country of 109,122 square kilometers and a population of about four million, has everything needed for the development of agriculture and industry. And this development is essential for raising the standard of living and ensuring progress. Yet, because of the semi-feudal relations and imperialist rule, Guatemala remains an underdeveloped, semi-feudal and semi-colonial country with a monoculture system of farming.

The imperialist companies' control of the key branches of our economy, economic and political interference in our affairs by the United States, have been, in this century, the main features of our economic and political life. The foreign imperialists and native reactionaries maintain their rule with the backing of the Catholic Church and the military. The people are kept in ignorance (72.2 per cent illiterates), while drinking and other vices are deliberately encouraged in order to divert the people from political struggle.

The dominion of the omnipotent United Fruit Company established in 1901 resulted in a change in the then purely feudal relations brought to our country by the Spaniards. The main change was in the forms of labor. Rural wage-workers made their appearance. Their emergence was a step forward in rural development. But strong feudal survivals have been preserved in the latifundia.

The United Fruit controls the production and export of bananas, and owns over 40 per cent of the shares in the railroad system which belongs to another U.S. monopoly—the International Railways of Central America. United Fruit owns also a shipping company—the Great White Fleet—which carries most of the foreign trade. Tropical Radio Company, also a United Fruit associate, controls, jointly with All-America Cables and Radio, Guatemala's means of communication with the outside world. United Fruit owns most of the harbor installations, many enterprises and big estates. Its annual profits in Guatemala are in excess of 40 million quetzales.*

The land tenure as reflected in the 1950 census shows a high degree of concentration. Some 259,000 farms averaging 3.5 hectares each (75 per cent of the farms canvassed) accounted for only 327,696 hectares (about nine per cent of the land) while 22 estates each over 9,000 hectares owned nearly half a million hectares (13 per cent of the land). In reality, the concentration is greater, because the census gives only the number of farms but

not of landowners, and one person may have a number of farms.

This unequal distribution—the reason for the uncultivated latifundia and for the poverty-stricken minifundia, for the high rent (in its natural form and in the form of compulsory labor), for the survivals of serfdom and other semi-feudal relations—is the biggest obstacle to the country's economic advance. Minifundia are small holdings of less than seven hectares tilled by poor peasants using primitive methods, and who are denied any kind of state aid. On the other hand, the latifundia enjoy the protection of the state and receive aid from it.

Agriculture yields 95 per cent of our exports. Coffee (which ensures the stability of our currency and is a source of foreign exchange) makes up 87 per cent of the net value of our agricultural products and three-quarters of the exports.

Slightly more than half the population consists of Indians. The Indians have a glorious history; it was they who prepared the way for the Guatemalan nation. Their ancestors—the Mayas—had one of the most developed civilizations in America. In our times the Indians are ruthlessly exploited and suffer from social and cultural discrimination. As a rule they are either landless peasants or have strips so small that they can hardly make ends meet. Large numbers of them are forced to lease plots from the big landowners; most of the laborers on plantations are Indians. In a word, the Indians grow the bulk of the agricultural produce. Agrarian reform is their main demand, which makes them take an active part in public life and in the fight for national liberation.

Agrarian relationships began to change with the implementation of a land reform by the revolutionary-democratic government headed by Jacobo Arbenz (1951-54). During the 18 months in which the reform was under way numerous bureaucratic and legal obstacles, caused by the resistance of the landlords and the bourgeoisie, had to be overcome. Still, some 400,000 hectares were distributed among approximately 100,000 peasants. The counter-revolutionary coup of June 1954 left 150,000 hectares undistributed. Of the expropriated land 159,000 hectares belonged to United Fruit which owned roughly seven per cent of the land registered during the census.

During the 18 months of the reform the peasants benefited from government credits of over 8,000,000 quetzales.

This land reform, the main measure of the revolutionary-democratic government, carried for-

*Quetzal=1 U.S. dollar.

ward and deepened the revolution and exacerbated the class struggle. The inevitable result was a clash with the imperialists, the big landowners and the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie. Because of the U.S. intervention and the unfavorable correlation of forces, the imperialists and their stooges succeeded in overthrowing the democratic government.

The struggle for a democratic land reform has been a valuable experience not only for our Party but for the national-liberation movement of Latin America as a whole. In implementing it mistakes of both a Right and Left nature were made, the latter being the most serious. For example, the land of some peasants, which was not subject to re-distribution under the reform, was handled in the same way as the landlords' estates. In other cases pressure was brought to bear on the peasants to get them to set about distributing land, unaffected by the reform, on their own initiative, without waiting for instructions from the Agricultural Board. These mistakes were made chiefly by the leaders of the National Peasant Confederation which pursued an adventurist policy. In some instances Left mistakes drove some sections of the peasants into the arms of the reactionaries.

It can be said that the struggle against the semi-feudal latifundia in Guatemala is closely linked with the struggle against U.S. imperialism and for national independence.

Our experience enables us to draw the following conclusion: provided the working class heads the struggle for agrarian reform and wholeheartedly supports the peasants in carrying it out, an alliance of the working class and the peasantry can be quickly built. In this respect much was done in our country during the agrarian reform. Even where the working class is still new and numerically small, it can provide leadership to large sections of the peasantry and become an important political and revolutionary force, demonstrating thereby that it is the only class capable of solving the peasant problems. The results of the difficult but necessary work done during the reform are still being felt. Where the reform was more deep-going our Party won more members and the democratic forces registered impressive electoral gains.

Nevertheless the conditions that set in as a result of the reform were not sufficiently utilized. Much more could have been done to draw the national bourgeoisie into the anti-feudal struggle. It so happened that we were unable to neutralize our weak bourgeoisie, which is linked to the semi-feudal landowners and the imperialists and is strongly influenced by them, and allowed it to pass over to the enemy camp.

After the U.S. intervention and the overthrow of the democratic regime, reprisals were taken

against the people, especially in the rural areas. Land that had been divided among the peasants was, in most cases returned to the landlords. The United Fruit Company also got its land back. The old agreements were resumed with the company and it was granted new concessions.

In 1956 the government of the traitor Castillo Armas proclaimed an "Agrarian Statute" according to which the land would be transferred to the peasants, but over a long period. The proclamation of the "statute" was supposed to lull the seething discontent in the countryside.

At present things in the rural areas are in a bad way, and the call for a far-reaching agrarian reform is becoming more and more insistent. The Communist Party holds that one of the tasks of the moment is to effect the reform envisaged in the "Agrarian Statute." Demanding that the transfer of the land to the peasants be accelerated, we, at the same time, are making use of every legal opportunity to put forward the demand for land to the peasants. The peasants, naturally, realize that little can be expected from an "agrarian reform" of this kind, and so there is a feeling of hopelessness. They feel that nothing will be done until such time as the rule of the reactionary classes is overthrown and a government formed which would again set about the job of carrying out a radical agrarian reform.

The present state of agriculture with its latifundia, minifundia, metayage and other feudal survivals is in obvious contradiction to the economic needs of the country. In its day-to-day work our Party constantly explains this contradiction to the workers, peasants and intellectuals and shows how it can be overcome. But blocking the path is imperialism. And without struggle against it there can be no revolutionary government in Guatemala. It was U.S. imperialism that placed the reactionary classes in power in 1954 and is supporting the corrupt regime of Ydigoras Fuentes. Hence the forthcoming national democratic revolution in our country will inevitably be an anti-imperialist revolution.

The basic contradiction in Guatemala is between the new productive forces coming to the fore, on the one hand, and, on the other, the old, semi-feudal production relations and imperialist rule blocking the path of the new forces.

At the present stage of development the strategic aim of the Party is a national democratic revolution and the formation of a patriotic, revolutionary and democratic government representative of all the classes opposed to imperialism and the remnants of feudalism.

In order to achieve this aim and also to solve the more immediate tasks, the Party is working for a broad front of revolutionary unity based

on the worker-peasant alliance, the peasants being the main force of the democratic revolution, to say nothing of the fact that the peasants and workers are the vast majority of the population. Particular attention in this alliance should be paid to the poor peasants who will be able to solve their problems only through revolution.

Much work must be done among the peasants; we must find new ways of organizing them and of winning them from the influence of the national bourgeoisie. Important in this respect is the setting up of more Party organizations in the countryside. For the Party is the heart and soul of the worker-peasant alliance.

For us the attitude of the national bourgeoisie to the agrarian reform is a matter of no little importance. The reform, doubtlessly, will benefit this bourgeoisie since it will release the productive forces in the countryside from the bonds of feudalism and enlarge the home market. But, as experi-

ence teaches, the bourgeoisie in Guatemala as in many other colonial and semi-colonial countries dreads agrarian reform and is even hostile to it. It regards the reform as an encroachment on private property, fearing that the steps taken during the reform may be applied later to the property of the capitalists. Hence more struggle is needed to win over the national bourgeoisie, to make sure that it does not join the enemy camp in the course of the struggle for national liberation and agrarian reform.

The Third Congress of our Party, held last year, stated that the Guatemalan economy, with its dependent and semi-feudal structure, was undergoing a crisis. The October Revolution (the term we use for the revolutionary period between October 1944 and June 1954) was called upon to resolve the crisis, but the victory of the counter-revolution temporarily interrupted this process. Thus the national democratic revolution is still an historic necessity.

N. STEINBERGER (German Democratic Republic)

THE fight to put an end to the medieval survivals of feudalism and to the colonialist forms of exploitation of the rural population is the pivot of the political and economic development in those countries which have won national independence and in which the peasants are the bulk of the population. Only by doing away with all forms of feudal exploitation can a rapid expansion of the productive forces be ensured, because the elements of feudal production relations retard the development of the national economies. This applies in equal measure to Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The primitive level of farming, scanty yields and abject poverty of the peasants—these are the things that stand out in the agriculture of the underdeveloped countries which have not yet broken with feudal and imperialist exploitation. Over a thousand million people are doomed by these conditions to a life of hunger in the non-socialist agrarian Afro-Asian countries.

The desire to perpetuate the economic and social backwardness of the underdeveloped countries is a feature of imperialism, both of the old imperialism and in the form of neo-colonialism. This is clearly reflected in the policy of West Germany.

German monopoly capital, in addition to laying claim to supremacy in Western Europe, is hankering for restoring and extending its colonial positions. Its chief economic instrument in this respect

is the European Economic Community in which West Germany plays the leading role. It will be recalled that when France, Belgium and the Netherlands joined the EEC, their colonies were accorded the legal status of associated territories. It is on these territories that West Germany is now focussing attention. They add up to a sizable part of Africa in an area infinitely bigger than that of all the Common Market member-countries taken together. The population of these territories amounts to 52 million of whom approximately 90 per cent are engaged in agriculture.

In an article on the underdeveloped countries the West German Minister of Economy Erhard formulated the aims of the political and economic penetration of these countries! "The economic aid should not simply keep the underdeveloped countries in the free world, it should simultaneously ensure the free world's integrity and its further economic and political development."

In order to safeguard the capitalist system as a whole, the economic dependence of the underdeveloped territories on the industrial imperialist countries should be maintained—such is the meaning of all West German "development programs." In the same article Erhard warned that the underdeveloped countries should not be industrialized. All governmental economic measures, he declared, should be concentrated on intensified exploitation of African raw materials. This is in line with the

views expressed by W. Jantzen, a leading member of the Hamburg Chamber of Commerce, concerning the principles of economic policy in Africa: "In the sense of developing the countries and raising the living standards of their populations main attention should be given to primary-goods production, i.e., to agriculture . . ."

The focal point of these contentions is preservation of the colonial structure of the economy. Not only does this concept preclude industrialization, it is also aimed against any real development of agriculture. For in order to put agriculture really on its feet in the underdeveloped countries it is essential to ensure its all-round development both in the matter of crop raising and animal husbandry. And to do this it is necessary to abolish the plantation system and its concomitant—the system of monoculture crops with all its harmful consequences (soil exhaustion, erosion). Another condition for any advance in African agriculture is the emancipation of the rural population from the fetters of the feudal and tribal chiefs. The West German imperialists, true to their colonialist traditions, regard the tribal rule and the plantation system as the basis for extending their positions in Africa.

The West German monopolies, trying to make believe that they are keenly interested in the

development of the African peoples, are making much noise about their "economic aid programs." But a glance at these programs shows that their first concern is monopoly interests, and not the underdeveloped nations. The greater part of the finances allocated in the West German budget finds its way into the coffers of the monopolies in the shape of subsidies for import-export transactions. Another sizable portion goes to finance arms supplies to the agents of imperialism in their struggle against the national movements. Lastly, West Germany uses these funds to bribe part of the bourgeoisie in the underdeveloped countries as an ally against the peasantry and the working class in these countries. The same can be said about the training of African personnel in the West German colleges and factories within the framework of the aid program.

In contrast to the aid granted by the socialist countries, West German aid makes no provisions for raising the level of agriculture or building industry. This is true also of the grants for developing transport and means of communication, for they are almost entirely spent on meeting the needs of the monopolies who are intent on exploiting the sources of raw materials.

R. ARISMENDI (Uruguay)

LAND monopoly is the distinguishing feature of agrarian relationships in our country. The relatively high level of capitalist development in agriculture has not done away with the latifundia nor has it ended the dependence on imperialism, and this is the main reason for the present crisis in the socio-economic structure of the country.

The latifundia play a very big role in Uruguay's agriculture. Nearly half the country is in the hands of some six hundred families. About 3,600 farms (four per cent of the total) of a thousand hectares and upwards own a total of nine and a half million hectares—55.8 per cent of the territory of Uruguay. At the same time, 56,630 farms (63.6 per cent of the total) own only a little more than a million hectares. Farms averaging less than 20 hectares (of which there are nearly 40,000 or 44.6 per cent of the total) account for only 324,000 hectares—1.9 per cent of the territory of Uruguay.

These figures, however, do not give a picture of the capital investments in the farms or the extent to which wage labor is employed. In a

cattle-raising country like Uruguay the size of holdings can be deceptive. On some areas a cattle-rancher with 500 hectares ranks as a small or middle farmer, while a grape-grower in the vicinity of Montevideo who cultivates 20 or 30 hectares may be a middle capitalist farmer, or even more.

The dominant type of farm is the "estancia," a large cattle ranch ranging from 40,000 to 50,000 and sometimes as much as 200,000 hectares and run in a primitive way with the minimum investment of capital. Crops are cultivated on roughly 1.5 million hectares out of a total of 16.5 million hectares of arable land. Crop raising is the domain of some 100,000 small producers, farmers who own or rent land. Half of the cultivated land, however, belongs to farms with more than 200 hectares. It is in crop growing that sharecropping and pre-capitalist forms of quit rent are most widespread.

In its program declaration the Communist Party of Uruguay defines the role of large-scale land-ownership in the social-economic development of Uruguay as follows: "A relatively rapid develop-

ment of capitalism has taken place in Uruguay in the last few decades. This, however, has taken distorted forms and has been retarded by dependence on imperialism, as well as by the high degree of monopoly ownership of the land, which tends to preserve the diverse feudal survivals, restricts the home market and holds back the productive forces . . . Hence the capitalist development in the countryside, leaving large-scale landownership untouched, is taking a course most injurious to the working people, who bear the brunt of the old brutal semi-feudal exploitation combined with the worst forms of capitalist exploitation." This definition stresses the distorted nature of capitalist development in our country and shows that so long as imperialist domination and land monopoly continue, the innate defects of our economy, the source of its crisis and of all the contradictions and antagonisms cannot be removed.

The striking feature of the development of capitalism in Uruguay's agriculture is the large number of farm laborers—100,000 out of a total of 292,000 engaged in agriculture. Another feature is the role played by the joint stock companies. Owning over a million hectares, these companies are formed in most cases either as a screen for the seizure of the latifundia by foreign monopolies or as a legalized form of big banking investments in the latifundia, or else as part of the process of the acquisition of land by the bourgeoisie. With the restricted home market offering little inducement for the investment of their profits in home industry, the wealthy manufacturers prefer to purchase estates and become landowners, planters, etc. The growing inflation is another reason for the investment in land.

A prominent place in our rural economy is occupied by the co-operatives, which are also a form of capitalist development. They are united in a federation and account for a substantial quantity of our agricultural produce. Livestock co-operatives, to which the small, and sometimes the big, ranches belong, exist chiefly for the purpose of securing better conditions for the sale of the livestock and for handling matters with the landlords, the banks and the big capitalists. But there are also co-operatives of small and middle producers who combine not only to sell their produce but also to improve their farms. The latter are becoming an active force in the struggle for agrarian reform.

The development of capitalism on the basis of the latifundia is, then, a complex and painful process, and for this the bourgeoisie is responsible. The national bourgeoisie came to power in 1903 in alliance with those of the ranchers most interested in the advance of capitalism. It did much to develop industry, transport and communications,

encouraged immigration, and initiated the state sector in economy. At the same time the national bourgeoisie compromised with the latifundists, and its agrarian reform amounted to the slow and gradual transformation of the latifundia into capitalist-type farms.

As the pace of capitalist development increased, especially after the First World War, a process of differentiation took place in the national bourgeoisie between the big bourgeoisie, linked with the rich merchants and bankers, and the middle industrial bourgeoisie. It is this latter section that we now call the national bourgeoisie. The big bourgeoisie, in turn, splits into a pro-imperialist group closely linked with the foreign monopolies, and the conciliatory bourgeoisie not directly connected with the monopolies but ready to compromise with them. Today the two groups are bound by a thousand threads to the latifundists.

No one doubts that the group of big conciliatory bourgeoisie is incapable of carrying out a radical agrarian reform. But neither can the national bourgeoisie do it. We believe that the hesitancy characteristic of the national bourgeoisie in implementing radical economic reforms is becoming more pronounced. This is explained by the relatively high level of capitalist development, the intensity of the class struggle, and also by the scale of the national-liberation movement on our continent.

We must not confuse two things: when we say that the national bourgeoisie is capable of participating in the democratic national revolution and in the national-liberation front this does not mean that it can lead a revolution of a radical type or accomplish the revolutionary task of destroying the latifundia. Even in its heyday the national bourgeoisie in Uruguay did not do this, and certainly will not do so today.

Yet without abolishing the latifundia, without a struggle against imperialism, against large-scale landownership and the pro-capitalist survivals, there can be no way out of the crisis. Lenin showed that there are two ways of capitalist development in agriculture—the *Prussian* and the *American*. In our country it has taken the first of these and continues to do so. The question is whether the second way—dividing up the latifundia and capitalist development based on a large number of small farms—is possible in the present circumstances. It is obvious that the historical moment for this has passed, and that the abolition of the latifundia and distribution of the land among the peasants can only be effected through a democratic national-liberation revolution the motive force of which will be the proletariat in alliance with the peasantry. This revolution would, doubtlessly, abolish the latifundia, but it would not lead to the growth of capitalism, *inasmuch as a democratic national-liber-*

ation revolution headed by the proletariat is the first stage of a socialist revolution.

The program of our Party envisages a radical agrarian reform in the success of which would be interested various sections of the peasantry and the national bourgeoisie, both industrial and agrarian, and which would guarantee the material prerequisites for the subsequent economic advance. The program declaration stresses that the future democratic government "will carry out a radical agrarian reform by expropriating the land held by the latifundists and transferring it free of charge or for a moderate price to the landless or land-hungry peasants, and to all who wish to till it; will abolish sharecropping and other feudal survivals. The big technically-equipped estates of the latifundists will be nationalized, not divided. The laborers and peasants working on these estates may if they so wish receive an allotment with rights of ownership." This is an agrarian reform of a revolutionary type, aimed at abolishing the latifundia. "At the same time," the declaration continues, "the government will not touch the non-latifundia property belonging to national industrialists and merchants, peasants and tenant farmers provided they did not offer resistance to the rule of the people." Hence, the property of the middle agrarian bourgeoisie will not be affected by the reform.

This again underlines the importance for our revolution, and for the possible participation in it of the national bourgeoisie, of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. A sweeping agrarian reform is our aim, the banner beneath which we can rally all forces in the struggle against the latifundists. The fact that the rural population is but a small part of the total in no way detracts from the political and social importance of the alliance of the working class and peasantry. In the process of building this alliance, the proletariat, directing its fire against the latifundists, usurers and middlemen, as well as against the monopolies, will base itself mainly on the poor peasantry. At the same time, we must not lose sight of the anti-feudal and anti-capitalist demands of the small and middle farmers and ranchers.

Against the background of the high level of organization, militancy and class-consciousness of the industrial proletariat and the urban radical petty bourgeoisie in our country, the lag in forming an alliance between the working class and the peasantry is clearly apparent. But the rural population is awakening, as is evident in the numerous actions fought by the agricultural laborers and the militancy of the co-operatives.

As a result of the development of capitalist relations in agriculture, groups of ranchers and small and middle farmers have in recent times

broken with the organizations of the big landowners and have set up their own organizations. Their demands, though not too clearly defined, are directed against the big landlords and capitalists and against the urban proletariat. But while the leaders of this movement have degenerated into agents of imperialism and the latifundia, the social significance of the movement cannot be ignored.

The demand for an agrarian reform, if only partial, is raised at present by the small urban bourgeoisie, the intellectuals, and the left wing of the national bourgeoisie. It is supported also by the peasant co-operatives. The time is now ripe for channeling the movement for agrarian reform into a broader democratic and anti-imperialist movement.

"The basic contradiction of the socio-economic system in Uruguay," says the program of the Communist Party, "is the contradiction between the productive forces striving for development, and the production relations, based on dependence on imperialism and land monopoly which are retarding development. This contradiction is expressed also in the antagonism between imperialism, the latifundists and the big anti-national capitalists, on the one hand, and the people—the workers, the small and middle agricultural producers, the intellectuals and students, civil servants and employees of private firms, pensioners, artisans, small shopkeepers and the national bourgeoisie, i.e., the middle industrialists and shopkeepers, on the other. If the first category enjoys all the benefits of the existing system, the burden of the economic hardships and poverty fall in greater or lesser degree on the broad section of the population." Our Party regards this basic contradiction as the sum of all the contradictions, which makes it possible to regard the anti-imperialist struggle and the agrarian struggle as basic and parallel tasks of the revolution. We place equal emphasis on the slogan for radical agrarian reform and the slogan of national liberation.

Why do we not see the conflict between the interests of the people and imperialism as the basic contradiction, thrusting the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production to the background?

Firstly, from the philosophical standpoint, we do not believe that the one can be mechanically separated from the other. We have before us a conglomerate of contradictions, something in the nature of a skein in which are intertwined the contradictions between the masses and imperialism, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and contradictions arising from the failure to solve the general democratic tasks in the sphere of agrarian relations.

Secondly, from the economic standpoint, imperialist oppression cannot be categorically separated from production relations. Imperialism is an external factor of national oppression. At the same time, it cannot be isolated from the production relations within the country, inasmuch as the imperialists own the industrial enterprises and the land and are the allies of local capital and landlords.

Thirdly, from the political standpoint, the national-liberation revolution will not be weakened if the radical agrarian reform and anti-imperialist tasks are placed in the foreground and on an equal level. After all, peasants are one of the main forces of revolution, and their alliance with the working class is the cornerstone of the national-democratic front. Can we consider waging a second war for independence (it has begun in Cuba) without combining it with the revolutionary struggle of the peasants for land? How could the peasants take an active part in the anti-imperialist struggle if the demand for land were to be shamefacedly hidden by the proletariat? And to what purpose? In order not to frighten the national bourgeoisie or some landowners? It should be borne in mind that the big landowners will never enter the fight against imperialism, except perhaps within definite limits. The degree of partici-

pation by the national bourgeoisie in the national-democratic front will depend on the stability of the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry.

We believe that a clear understanding of the process of the development of capitalism in Uruguay and of the dominant production relations is the basic criterion in working out the strategy and tactics of our Party. We should not harbor illusions with regard to the possibility of the national bourgeoisie and some groups of landlords waging an anti-imperialist struggle. We must arouse rural workers to fight for the land, unite them with the proletariat, which is now strong and well organized, group the masses of the petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals around the proletariat and its alliance with the peasants and determine the degree of active participation in the anti-imperialist struggle of the progressive section of the national bourgeoisie.

At present the democratic and anti-imperialist movement and the class struggle in our country are deepening and spreading. On the ability of the proletariat and its Party to bring the truth to the rural masses in order to build up an alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry depend the rhythm and the scale of the anti-imperialist liberation struggle.

S. ALVAREZ (Spain)

WITH Franco's victory in the Civil War of 1936-39, power passed to the landlord-finance oligarchy and the gains of the agrarian reform were wiped out. Not only was the land taken away from those who had received it from the Republic before the war and in the course of the national-revolutionary war, but thousands of peasant families were also deprived of land on the pretext that they were Republicans. Numberless tenant farmers and sharecroppers were either driven from their plots or made to pay several years of back rent.

On July 23, 1942, the Franco government's Lease Law established a sliding scale for farm rent, according to which, irrespective of the crop grown on the plot, rents went up automatically every time the government-fixed price of grain rose.

There are about 1,636,000 tenant farmers and sharecroppers in Spain and some 7,624,000 hectares (36.4 per cent of the cultivated land) are tilled in lieu of rent. Thus it is obvious that peasants

are greatly affected by laws regulating the conditions for the lease of land. (When we speak of tenant farmers, we also include the sharecroppers; 4,652,000 hectares — 22.3 per cent of the land — are rented and 2,972,000 hectares — 14.1 per cent — are cultivated on a sharecropping basis.)

As of November 1955 there were 1,970,195 farm laborers in the country.* They are forced to live the year round on the meagre wages earned during three months of work (when they never make more than 32 pesetas a day). The impoverished laborers are forced to emigrate and, as the large farms become mechanized, more and more of them leave the country. Hundreds of villages have lost nearly all their young workers. Between 1955 and 1960 some 300,000 people emigrated to Latin America.

The picture has become more gloomy since 1959 when the Franco government began to carry out the so-called economic stabilization plan imposed

*People registered as hired workers, who received forms (November 1955) when a census was taken of those engaged in agriculture.

by the Organization for European Economic Cooperation and international financial bodies as a condition for further aid. As a result agricultural credits were cut, prices of manufactured goods and rail and road transport fares went up.

In a report covering the past 20 years the State Grain Service was obliged to admit that the Franco dictatorship has had dire consequences for the countryside, and with the implementation of the stabilization plan these have been aggravated. The report classifies 1,500,000 peasant wheat-growing farms as follows:

91.92 per cent of the farmers (1,368,590 families or about 6,842,950 persons) cannot ensure for themselves the subsistence minimum obtaining in the countryside. The relative fall in grain prices threatens the very existence of these people;

7.63 per cent of the farmers (113,688 families, or 568,440 persons) who use oxen to cultivate their land also have low incomes which depend directly on the price of grain.

Thus the small grain-producing farms belonging to 1,500,000 peasant households (about seven million persons, or nearly 25 per cent of the population) do not bring their owners even the minimum wage of the farm laborer, i.e., 32 pesetas a day.

According to statistics issued by the Ministry of Agriculture, 1,102,546 peasants farm an average of 0.78 hectares each. These owners of small plots of poor land, comprising 74 per cent of the peasants engaged in grain growing, account for about 23 per cent of the area sown to grain. They are, in fact, semi-proletarians who are often unemployed. They own tiny plots (minifundia) which are still being parcelled up. Not only are the big latifundia impoverishing the provinces in which they predominate (Andalusia, Extremadura, New Castile and Leon), they are lowering the agricultural output of the country as a whole.

According to official data farm income per capita in 1957 was 8,000 pesetas for the year. But this average conceals the much more miserable conditions of millions of peasants.

The Franco authorities talk a lot about the average wheat crop of 10.47 quintals to the hectare. In reality it is less. There is an enormous difference between the yields on arid land and those on irrigated land — less than 10 quintals per hectare for the former and more than 21 quintals for the latter. Barely five quintals per hectare are obtained in the vast arid tracts. The per hectare yield in Spain is half the average for other West European countries.

The big latifundia have left their imprint on the country's economic development and its political evolution: they are responsible for the general backwardness of Spanish agriculture and for the social contrasts observed in the countryside,

for the prevalence of leasing and subleasing, for the millions of dwarf farms, the millions of poorly paid farm laborers, the chronic unemployment among the latter and the wholesale migration from the countryside.

What way out does the Communist Party of Spain propose?

The program adopted by the Fifth Congress of our Party set forth the following basic line on the agrarian question: "Confiscation by the state of the lands of the latifundists and big landlords and their distribution free of charge among the agricultural laborers and poor peasants who cannot make a livelihood on their present plots and whose property the distributed land will become."

Our present agrarian program, adopted at the Sixth Congress of the Party, calls for the expropriation, with compensation, of the latifundia of the absentee aristocracy and of the big estates badly run by their owners. Thus, compared with the past, our attitude has changed substantially in two respects. On the one hand, the measures we now propose are not aimed against all big landholders; on the other, we proceed from the premise that the owners of latifundia should be indemnified.

This stand is in keeping with the situation in the countryside. Not only is it aimed at abolishing the poverty and relieving the anxiety of the millions of agricultural laborers and poor peasants, but at indicating the prospects for hundreds of thousands of medium and wealthy landholders. The program is designed to raise agriculture from the state to which it has fallen under Franco, and to develop the productive forces in the countryside for the good of the people and the country. Our stand is in line with the urgent need to mobilize the vast forces in the countryside for the struggle, alongside the working class, against the dictatorship.

In drawing up its detailed agrarian program, the Party took into account not only the needs of agriculture, but also the character of the peasants' struggle at the present stage, and the need to influence it in every way. Backed by the peasants' demands the task now is to turn this struggle into action for agrarian reform, which we regard as our immediate aim.

The experience of Spain has shown that the peasants' struggle was instrumental in getting certain agrarian measures adopted. The experience of generations of peasants has had the effect of heightening the peasants' interest in politics and their opposition to the regime. It has influenced the struggle that has been developing during the past few years against the dictatorial rule of the finance-landlord oligarchy.

This struggle, which the Civil War and the Franco terror had for many years limited to economic actions, has in the past five years taken on a more political character. This was particularly noticeable during the anti-Franco action of May 5, 1958, in which thousands of farm laborers and peasants participated. Some 200,000 laborers in the latifundia provinces took part in the strike of June 18, 1959. The farm laborers' strikes and demonstrations during 1960 in the latifundia regions of Andalusia (Seville, Cordoba and elsewhere), suppressed though they were by the dictatorship, are evidence of the upsurge of the struggle waged by the agricultural laborers who head the movement in the countryside.

In the course of this struggle an alliance is being forged between the working class and the peasantry — the basis for the unity of the forces acting against the dictatorship and for the democratic development of Spain. The most reliable allies of the working class in the struggle for democracy at the present time are the semi-proletarian peasants and the two million farm laborers. The middle peasants and the rural bourgeoisie are also gradually being drawn into the fight. Development of the joint struggle against monopoly capi-

tal, against the absentee aristocracy and their agency — the Franco dictatorship — should lead to structural reforms in the countryside, and first and foremost to agrarian reform. The farm laborers and the peasantry have become more radical-minded in the past 20 years and revolutionary sentiment is growing among the rural masses. The Communist Party's influence is growing from day to day as is the number of Party branches and sympathizers among the millions of working people who, although they do not belong to any branch, support the Party's policy and regard themselves as Communists.

The worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the proletariat — the basis of popular unity in the struggle against the finance-landlord oligarchy — the radicalization of the masses in the countryside, the strengthening of the Communist Party, the vanguard of the working class, its organizational successes, rising prestige and influence — these are the guarantee that the struggle for vital structural reforms will gain momentum. And chief among these at the democratic stage of development will be the agrarian reform for which we are now working.

JORGE DEL PRADO (Peru)

IN Peru land reform is indissolubly linked with the problem of the oppressed nationalities (the Quechua, Aymara and other Indians) who comprise 65 per cent of the population and 80 per cent of the peasantry.

Only 1.2 per cent of the land area is cultivated, and a large part of that is in the mountainous Andean region. A pronounced and growing concentration of land is a feature of landownership. Approximately 73 per cent of the land is held by some 2,000 proprietors, each of whom has more than 500 hectares. The overwhelming majority of the peasants have less than 10 hectares. It should be taken into account, however, that the productivity and value of the land are not the same in all parts of the country. In contrast to Ecuador and Bolivia, there is much communal land in Peru where the number of Indian communities runs into thousands.

The latifundist oligarchy is the traditional ally of the imperialist enslavers who own many of the estates. Grace & Co., for example, operates in the coastal areas, buying up most of the cotton and sugar there. The Cerro-de-Pasco Corporation has monopolized zinc and lead mining

and is also a big landowner. Big forest concessions have been granted to the U.S. imperialists. Only recently they acquired 4,000 sq. kilometers of land in the Pucallpa region where they have set up a "state within a state." Peruvian Corporation, another imperialist company, has owned vast tracts in the tropical region since the beginning of the century. The Ford and Goodrich companies are shareholders in the Corporacion Amazonica which in the main cultivates rubber.

The latifundia produce raw materials for export (chiefly cotton and sugar) with the result that only 56 per cent of the country's food requirements are covered by home production. And this despite the law which makes it obligatory for the latifundists to sow 30 per cent of their land to food crops!

What kind of production relations obtain in the countryside? The fact that there are three natural zones — the coastal, the mountainous (Sierra) and the forest (Selva) — makes for uneven economic development and uneven agricultural production. The coastal zone, the most developed part of the country, is the main producer of cotton and sugar which are exported. Most of the

people engaged in raising food crops — chiefly Indians — live in the Sierra. Raw material for large-scale industry is produced in the Selva — rubber, more recently nuts, and furs. The importance of this area for the national economy increased during the First and Second World wars, but has declined recently.

Capitalist relations of a fairly developed kind prevail in the coastal region. There are wage-workers on the sugar plantations. On the other hand a semi-feudal exploitation predominates on the cotton plantations.* Prevalent here are the Yanaconas, tenant farmers of a special type who pay rent in kind, that is, in cotton. They are, moreover, obliged to sell the balance of the crop to the landowners at a price fixed by the latter before the sowing and therefore usually very low. The fact that as a rule no free trade is allowed on the estate, is further evidence of semi-feudal exploitation. The workers make their purchases at special stores and at prices established by the landowners. Bonds issued by the landlords are in circulation in some coastal regions and in most places in the Sierra.

Semi-feudal exploitation of a somewhat different kind prevails in the Sierra, where the tenant is a sharecropper who usually gives the landowner half his crop in return for land and seeds. Labor rent is customary here (four and even five days a week), and is often combined with the payment of a wage to the tenant-sharecropper in the shape of food and a small sum of money. Owing to the expansion of home trade the peasants are insisting on being paid at least part of their wage in money. Some ranches are replacing serf-herdsmen by farm laborers.

Unpaid labor is common in Peru, especially in the Andes. In addition to peasants forced to work a fixed number of days per week for the landlord, each peasant family is obliged once a month to send a man and a woman to the country or town house of the landowner to perform the most menial of tasks for which they receive no payment. Peasants are often subjected to corporal punishment.

Class differentiation exists in the communities and land tenure is held by individuals or families. No peasant member of the community, however, has a personal or family right to own the land or to sell it. The community does joint work on public construction projects and for the Church.

The communities are established on democratic lines, have an elected leadership and play a big part in organizing the struggle against the latifundists. Some communities in the economically developed regions, chiefly in Central Peru, along

the main railway line, have begun to develop their own industry. One has become an industrial co-operative with its own electric station supplying power to the principal town in the department.

Semi-feudal and semi-slave latifundia are a feature of the third region, the Selva. As the owners have a monopoly of the local trade, the tenant farmer is left very little of what he and his family produce. For this reason laborers and tenants become increasingly dependent on the landowner who, if debts are not paid, sometimes acquires the right to the labor of the farm-hand's or tenant's family. The landlord has his own police and does not allow a debtor to leave the estate. This peculiar type of debt-bondage does not extend to the Indian tribes among whom the patriarchal-communal system still exists. Most of them are nomads and do seasonal work for the landlord.

The peasants in Peru are terribly exploited and oppressed. Most of them live in the conditions of a natural economy, grow their own food, make their own clothes, etc. Their annual income is less than 20 dollars.

The peasant struggle has never ceased in our country and inasmuch as most peasants are Indians, their actions are closely linked with national and civic demands. The fight for land is gaining momentum and often takes on the character of an insurrection. During the tenure of the present government five peasant actions have been suppressed with force of arms. A feature of the present time is that a beginning has been made in organizing and uniting the peasants.

The upsurge of the peasant struggle and other circumstances have led to all the political forces in Peru raising the question of land reform.

To hoodwink the progressive forces the U.S. imperialists are getting the government to carry through some agrarian measures. As big landowners holding the best land, the imperialist companies are opposed to a genuine agrarian reform. But like the latifundists, they take account of the experience of Cuba.

The U.S. imperialists and the ruling classes — mainly the latifundist cotton exporters who are represented in the government by Prime Minister Beltran (simultaneously president of the National Agrarian Society, a latifundist organization) — are trying to represent the settlement of the Selva as agrarian reform. The vast tracts of uncultivated land in the country, they say, can be developed by means of modern techniques and all the class problems of the countryside should be solved by opening up the Selva and irrigating the coastal area. The plans to settle the Selva pursue the aim of maintaining and strengthening

*Both kinds of exploitation are found on estates growing sugar and cotton simultaneously.

the property of the latifundists and landlords, of helping them to get a grip on still more land.

What is the attitude of the national bourgeoisie to agrarian reform? In addition to the traditional American People's Revolutionary Alliance (APRA) the national bourgeoisie is represented by new parties — the Popular Action, Christian-Democratic and Social-Progressive parties. Like the APRA, these parties favor an agrarian reform restricted to irrigation projects and settling the Selva. Their attitude is prompted by fear of a powerful upsurge of the peasant struggle, by fear that it may lead to the national regeneration of the Indian masses. The very idea, furthermore, of any encroachment on private property scares them. Racial prejudice also plays a big part.

Our Party is working for an agrarian reform envisaging: abolition of semi-feudal and capitalist monopoly of land in all parts of the country and

the transfer of the land to the peasants who till it; abolition of semi-feudal and semi-slave relations; the return to the peasant communities of the land of which they have been deprived; help to the peasants in the form of machinery, seeds and implements. In our view the fight for agrarian reform is closely linked with the struggle for national independence and against imperialist rule. We have found the experience of Cuba in this respect most useful.

These demands are supported by the National Confederation of Peasants and Yanacunas, which is now in the process of being established on a countrywide scale. It is already strong in the principal departments in the center and the south of Peru and its influence is beginning to be felt in the north. The confederation is preparing to hold a peasant congress and a unity congress of Indian communities.

PEDRO SAAD (Ecuador)

AGRARIAN reform is a dominant issue in the national-liberation movement. Our Party explains in its program that the enslavement of Ecuador by imperialism and the semi-feudal relations in agriculture are the main obstacles to progress. These two factors are closely interwoven in consequence of which one cannot fight for national liberation without striving to abolish imperialist domination and feudal survivals simultaneously. Hence this stage of the revolution in Ecuador should be defined as an agrarian anti-imperialist revolution.

Our country has practically no industry. According to official estimates, industry accounts for a bare 16 per cent of the national income, whereas agriculture provides more than two-thirds. The 1950 census revealed that roughly 70 per cent of the population live in the rural areas. Bananas, cacao and coffee make up 90 per cent of the exports, with the monopoly-controlled export of bananas constituting the bulk.

According to the 1954 census, 241 big farms (0.2 per cent of the total number) cover an area of 1.6 million hectares, or 25 per cent of the privately-owned land. This equals the area held by 329,000 small and middle peasants. The tens of thousands of peasants who have holdings of less than two hectares are every bit as poor as the semi-proletarians.

Imperialist companies are big landowners in Ecuador. United Fruit, for instance, owns some 150,000 hectares. A West German monopoly group

is appropriating one tract of land after another. Another big landowner is the Catholic church. Although the law does not allow it to have large holdings, the church, buying land by fraud and forgery, obtained the right to possess it.

Most of the land, chiefly in the latifundia, is not cultivated. In our opinion only some 10 per cent of the farm land is cultivated. On the aforementioned 241 big farms of 2,500 or more hectares each, only slightly more than 10 per cent of the area is cultivated. Farms of up to 50 hectares cultivate over 80 per cent of the area.

Production relations in agriculture are basically of a semi-feudal nature. In this connection we should mention the appalling conditions of the Indians in the central highlands. This is a major issue for Ecuador.

The Indians comprise 35-40 per cent of the population. The most widespread form of exploitation is what is known as the *huasipungo*, where a big landowner leases to an Indian a small plot of poor, usually not irrigated land ranging from 0.5 to two hectares. For this the Indian is forced to work four days a week for the landowner, receiving 0.75 sucre a day (=5 U.S. cents).

A certain Buitrol who investigated the conditions of the Indians-*huasipungueros* estimated the average annual income of the family at 941 sucres, or slightly more than 60 dollars, say 15 dollars per member of the family a year for a family of four. In other words, the daily earning of an

Indian family is less than three *suces* — the amount fixed by the government for the daily ration of one horse in the army. Over 1.2 million people live in these conditions.

For the Indians the agrarian problem is interwoven with the nationality question since racial discrimination is rampant. The language of the Indians — Quechua — is not recognized and their traditions and customs are ignored.

In examining the problem of the Indians we come up against the question of preserving their communities and the communal form of local government. Beginning from colonization and throughout the republican period, the Indian community has been subjected to blow after blow. The break-up of the community has gone a long way and today we can speak only about its remnants. The swelling *latifundia* continue to grab the lands belonging to these communities.

In the coastal areas the feudal survivals vary. Here we can find such a form of land rent as payment with part of the crop. There are also other feudal dues: the sale of the harvest to the *latifundists*, restrictions on movement, no freedom of trade. There is an area where the main form of rent is the so-called *aparceria*, i.e., sharecropping under which the landowner takes half the peasant's harvest.

What are the consequences of this feudal agriculture?

First and foremost the low standard of living. According to the Central Bank of Ecuador, in 1958 the annual per capita income was 185 dollars. Most of the people, however, have an annual income of some 50 dollars per head — one of the lowest in the world. The conditions of the Indians are even worse.

In the past 20 years agriculture has been developing along capitalist lines. This is due in large measure to the production for export: bananas, cacao, sugar cane, etc. But capitalism in agriculture gets along with the semi-feudal survivals.

Neither cotton growing nor the manufacture of textiles is encouraged. Agriculture is orientated on growing export crops. And the U.S. imperialists bent on undermining Ecuador's agriculture are exporting farm surpluses to the country.

There is one more reason for the conflict between the national agricultural producers and the imperialists — export restrictions. For instance, there is no official ban on export to the socialist countries, but there is a procedure which virtually excludes it.

In our agrarian policy we take cognizance of a number of problems.

First the feudal survivals. Feudalism is opposed above all by the peasants who directly suffer

from it, and by the workers who also feel the burden of the feudal relations.

Feudalism is also opposed by the industrial bourgeoisie which seeks to extend the home market. But this bourgeoisie has serious weaknesses since it is linked with the feudal interests. The industrialist is often a big landowner who resorts to feudal methods of exploitation. In other words, we do not have a sufficiently developed national bourgeoisie.

The second problem is one of prices and market relations. This is a source of conflict between the imperialist monopolies and even the rural capitalists. The urban and rural bourgeoisie, it is true, are forced to come to terms with the imperialists, and an equilibrium, though an unsteady one, is being established between them.

Conscious of these two vital problems, we consider that in Ecuador the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal aspects of the revolutionary struggle are closely interwoven and cannot be solved separately.

In recent years peasant actions have developed on a big scale. This is particularly true of the persistent struggle waged by the Indian peasants. Some of their strikes lasted 12-14 months. The tide of revolution is rising in the countryside and it is quite possible that it may spill over. Ours is the only party conducting serious work among the peasants.

What should be done to solve the agrarian problem?

The feudal landlords, nervous about the growth of the peasant movement, have had to agree in words on the need for land reform. The political groups and organizations expressing the views of the big landowners, such as the Agricultural Chamber, distort the essence of the reform. They suggest the problem should be solved by way of turning the state-owned land to the peasants and settling the barren eastern areas, where it is almost impossible to make a living. They would like to leave the *latifundia* intact and not to hamper the penetration of imperialism into the countryside. They want to drive the Indian population to the coast and eastern areas.

The bourgeoisie is seeking a way out in settling new areas, in sacrificing at least the *latifundia* in the uplands. But it has no intention of touching the big estates of the imperialists and even protects them.

Another way out proposed by the bourgeoisie is the sale of the *latifundia* to the peasants by dividing these into small plots. We reject this solution although it finds support among part of the peasants. These peasants do not as yet see the perspective of an early democratic agrarian reform and are so anxious to acquire land that

they are willing to purchase small plots. If we explain the perspective of an early agrarian reform, the peasants will no doubt realize their mistake and reject the solution imposed on them by the bourgeoisie.

We are telling the peasants that the sale of the latifundia land can result in the peasant at first becoming the owner of this land, but that without credits and technical aid it may well be that he will not be able to carry on and his plot will fall into the hands of the rural capitalist. The tactic of the bourgeoisie is to sell the latifundia land in small plots to the peasants, then take them by the throat and appropriate their lands, thus creating conditions for the development of agriculture along capitalist lines. In this we cannot agree with the national bourgeoisie, though we side with it on other issues (fight against imperialism, the question of prices, market, etc.).

We are for a democratic agrarian reform along the following lines: a ceiling on landholdings in private hands, transfer of the land free of charge to the peasants, abolition of the feudal survivals, transfer of the *huasipungos* to the Indian tenants whose plots should be enlarged and improved, granting credits, supplying implements, etc.

While we can see the point about settling new lands, we regard it as secondary. Development in this respect is, of course, necessary, but it is

not the main thing. The main thing is the struggle against the latifundia and imperialism. We wholeheartedly support the peasant squatters who have settled on the land.

We hold that the way to agrarian reform lies through the struggle for the vital demands of the peasants, including the Indian peasants — rent reduction, an end to the evictions, and all the other demands. By fighting for these demands we can gradually lead the peasant movement to a general democratic agrarian reform.

A firm worker-peasant alliance should be the core of the struggle for this reform. The working class is interested in agrarian reform because the moment the parasitic feudal lords disappear the price of food will fall. That is why explaining the link between the agrarian reform and the growth of employment and industrial development can be the basis for establishing the worker-peasant alliance. What we have in mind is not a conversation about pure theory, but explanation based on concrete examples. For instance, we explain how the transfer of land to those peasants who grow rice will result in the price of rice being reduced by 25-30 centavos a pound, which the landowner now appropriates in the form of rent. This is the best way to prove that agrarian reform is a matter of vital concern to the working class as well.

V. MALINSCHI (Rumania)

BEFORE becoming a People's Democracy, Rumania was an economically backward, predominantly agrarian country with a poorly-developed industry shackled by Western imperialism. The working people were doubly exploited — by their own ruling classes and by foreign capital. And although capitalist forms of agriculture had been adopted the feudal survivals persisted, and the landowning class was the chief obstacle to progress not only in agriculture but in the economy of the country as a whole.

The history of Rumania is a long record of peasant uprisings. The uprising of 1907 was a major event both in scope and implications. By that time the working-class movement had appeared on the arena, and this imparted a far-reaching significance to the peasant action. The 1907 uprising was Rumania's response to the 1905 bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia. Its dimensions can be surmised from the fact that 11,000 peasants were massacred before the rebellion was crushed.

The peasant movements of those days invariably ended in failure. And this was inevitable since they lacked the guiding hand of the proletariat and its party. The peasants' struggle for the land could be victorious only when merged with the struggle of the working class in a single revolutionary flood powerful enough to sweep away the capitalists and landowners and win social emancipation.

It was to prevent such a contingency at a time when, under the impact of the October Revolution in Russia, the revolutionary ferment was rising that the exploiters in Rumania sought to delude the peasants by introducing the semblance of an agrarian reform in 1917-21.

Fearful of losing not only their estates but their factories and banks and the whole economic and political power besides, the ruling classes were forced to turn over to the peasants part of the land of the big landlords. The underground Communist press described the agrarian reform of 1917-21 as "... a well-considered act on the

part of the Rumanian bourgeoisie who are giving away today what would be taken away from them tomorrow in any case and are ready to take back tomorrow all that they are giving away today out of fear."

And indeed a study of the results of this "reform" shows that allotments were granted to only one-third of the peasants officially entitled to them. Only half of the land earmarked for expropriation was actually distributed among the peasants. The lion's share was seized by landlords and rich farmers. In 1930, less than ten years after the reform, 12,000 landlords owned almost as much land as 2,460,000 peasant families. The bulk of the peasants remained landless even after the reform.

On the eve of the Second World War there were 700,000 landless peasants. To this should be added approximately 1,710,000 peasants with an average of less than 1.5 hectares, which, under Rumanian conditions, was not enough to live on. In order to keep themselves and their families from starvation nearly two and a half million peasants were obliged to work all or most of the year for the landlords. Rumanian agriculture at this period was rapidly declining, a process that was further accelerated by the 1929 crisis.

The semi-feudal survivals in the countryside were one of the chief reasons for the technical backwardness of agriculture. In 1935, for instance, Rumania had only about 4,000 tractors, or one tractor to more than 2,000 hectares of ploughland. There were only two million ploughs, a third of them the primitive wooden type, to four million peasant farms. Nearly 37 per cent of the farms had no draught animals. Harvests were consequently meagre and the peasantry was faced with ruin.

Ruthless exploitation by the capitalist and landowners forced the working class and the peasants to fight for social emancipation. The working class began to take more and more vigorous action against Rumanian and foreign capitalists, while the peasants waged a persistent struggle against landlord oppression and for the land and a better life. Hence the community of interests and the militant unity of the working class and the working peasantry. The founding of the Communist Party in 1921 was the decisive factor in strengthening the alliance of workers and peasants and in working for the solution of the agrarian problem in the interests of the peasantry.

The Fifth Congress of the Communist Party in 1931 was a landmark in the revolutionary struggle of our country. The Congress, noting that Rumania was now faced with the necessity of completing the bourgeois-democratic revolution, laid down the political line of the Party on the agrarian ques-

tion, corresponding to the demands of the period, and pointed out that the cardinal strategic task in the struggle for a workers' and peasants' government was to "establish a militant alliance of workers and peasants headed by the proletariat under the leadership of the Communist Party."

When the bourgeoisie and landlords proceeded to gear the country to fascism and to prepare for and subsequently unleash the criminal war against the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Rumania concentrated its activities on combining the struggle of the peasants for their demands with the struggle against fascism, against Rumania's entry into the war against the Soviet Union, and later, for withdrawal from the war in which Hitler had embroiled her. The fight for the land was part and parcel of the national struggle against fascism.

The victory of the armed uprising of August 23, 1944, carried out under the leadership of the Communist Party, opened up new prospects for strengthening the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry, as the only social force capable of establishing a people's-democratic government.

The agrarian reform carried out in 1945 under the new conditions, as distinct from past "reforms," assumed the character of an agrarian revolution. It was implemented by the proletariat and the working peasantry in the interests of the working people as opposed to the interests of the bourgeoisie and the landlords. The profound revolutionary nature of the reform was expressed in its results: it eliminated the landlords as a class, abolished the feudal survivals in agrarian relationships and gave land free of charge to 918,000 poor peasants.

Another notable feature of this reform was the active participation in it of the peasants and the urban workers under the leadership of the Communist Party. In the fight for the agrarian reform the worker-peasant alliance grew stronger.

Having sealed that alliance, the working class, headed by its Party, intensified its offensive against the exploiters. In this struggle the people won important victories in rehabilitating the economy, reviving industrial and agricultural production, and abolishing the financial chaos and inflation. In the political sphere, the people defeated the parties of the exploiters in the 1946 elections. On December 30, 1947, the monarchy, the last bulwark of reaction, was abolished, Rumania was proclaimed a People's Republic and a proletarian dictatorship was established. Simultaneously, as part of the uninterrupted revolutionary process, our Party proceeded to the next stage of the revolution, namely, the socialist reconstruction of the economy.

In June 1948 the principal means of production were nationalized. This abolished the bourgeoisie as a class. A powerful socialist sector was created. The transition to socialist industrialization and the creation of a powerful industry producing the means of production was a necessary condition for developing the economy as a whole and reorganizing agriculture along socialist lines.

In March 1949 the Central Committee of the Party examined the basic problems of consolidating the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry at the new stage of the revolution. The report delivered by Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej, and the resolution which was adopted, serve as an example of the creative application in our country of Lenin's co-operative plan for establishing socialist relations. These documents contained a broad program for the socialist reconstruction of small commodity production in agriculture and the further consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance.

The Party's policy in the countryside at this stage was founded on Lenin's slogan: To come to an agreement with the middle peasant, while not for a moment renouncing the struggle against the kulak and at the same time firmly relying solely on the poor peasant.

The Central Committee meeting stressed that in our conditions the main lever of socialist reconstruction in agriculture was socialist industrialization and priority development of heavy industry with its backbone, machine-building. Industry alone could give agriculture the material and technological base essential to the socialist society. The Party pointed out that the socialist reconstruction of the countryside was possible only parallel with the growth of socialist industry, and the training of specialists capable of organizing and directing socialist agriculture; this could be done only when the working peasants themselves came to understand the advantages of large-scale

socialist farming and to see the advisability of organizing collective farming on a voluntary basis.

At the present time our agriculture is equipped with a truly modern technological base which is expanding from day to day. By the end of 1960 our farms had some 63,000 tractors (in 15 h.p. units) and substantial quantities of other machines. By the end of 1959 there were 28,000 farm experts, more than 13,600 with a higher education. The number of tractor drivers is upwards of 33,000.

Our experience in the socialist reorganization of agriculture is striking confirmation of the Marxist-Leninist principle that Communist Party leadership and all-round aid — political, organizational, material and financial — to the working peasants by the socialist state are decisive for building socialism in the countryside.

As a result of our Party's policy, characterized by the steady advance of socialism, the reorganization of agriculture along co-operative lines has in the main been completed.

"In the process of these revolutionary changes, which have radically altered the appearance of our villages," said Comrade Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej in his report to the Third Congress of our Party, "a new class is coming into being, a class of collectivized peasants who are the staunch friend and ally of the working class; the socialist consciousness of the peasant masses is growing, and the alliance of workers and peasants is rising to a higher level."

Noting the successes won by the working people since the establishment of the people's democratic system through a consistent policy of industrialization, socialist reorganization of agriculture and the cultural revolution, Comrade Gheorghiu-Dej declared that *the economic base of socialism had been created in the Rumanian People's Republic*. This is a big victory for the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia.

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Reviews

An Exploded Myth

TODAY, illusions about the "changed" nature of capitalism are again being vigorously spread by the reformists. In fact so widespread have these become that at the beginning of last year the Dutch social democrats organized a special international conference in Utrecht to discuss the "changed" nature of capitalism and the latter's spontaneous development towards socialism.

Crosland—an Apostle of 'Post-Capitalist Society'

To the Utrecht ideological gathering of Right-wing Socialists there came, representing the British Labor Party, Mr. C. A. R. Crosland, M.P., close friend, confidant and confederate of Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, and one of the leading exponents of British reformism. To Mr. Crosland's utter satisfaction, he found, as he put it later, that he and Mr. Gaitskell were not alone in stating that the classical theory of socialism was outmoded and did not meet the requirements of the mid-twentieth century. He was proud to announce that today all the social democratic parties were "especially . . . defining socialism increasingly in terms other than the public ownership of all the means of production; they explicitly accept a mixed economy and a private sector; and they treat nationalization as being merely one possible means to certain ends under appropriate circumstances" (*Encounter*, March 1960).

Mr. Crosland is known in Britain for his reformist theories which he has put forward, over a number of years, in books, pamphlets, lectures and speeches. He is particularly proud of the role he has played in combating the influence of Marxism in the British Labor movement. The "semi-Marxist analysis of capitalism," proclaims Mr. Crosland, "has now given way to a more subtle theory of the post-capitalist society" (*Spectator*, October 24, 1958).

Mr. Crosland and his colleagues, Mr. Douglas Jay, Mr. John Strachey, Mr. Roy Jenkins, Mr. Woodrow Wyatt, etc., have, ever since the end of the Second World War, been busily engaged in presenting contemporary capitalist society as something "new," something which differs "fundamentally" from the "old" capitalism. Already in 1952, in his contribution to *The New Fabian Essays*, which sets out the opportunist theories of the group of "new thinkers," Crosland states specifically that the capitalist era has now passed into history" (p. 39).

British economy, Mr. Crosland would tell us, is no longer controlled by the owners of capital, while the driving force in the productive system is no longer profit; we must accept "for the foreseeable future" a "mixed economy" in some form. According to him, the state—an alleged independent force—controls this "post-capitalist society" and guides the economy in a social direction. Moreover, the insecurity which made so strongly for social discontent had gone with the creation and development of the Welfare State, which embodies in itself "most of the aims and aspirations of the Labor movement" in the field of social reform. The strong reforming tendencies of the Welfare State, Mr. Crosland goes on, will ensure "a high level of social investment in the social services, such as housing, education, health," etc.

From this "analysis" of modern society Mr. Crosland drew a number of political conclusions reeking of pure bourgeois liberalism. The middle class and many working-class families, he complains, no longer vote for the Labor Party. This is because their "prosperity" is such that they no longer regard themselves as working class. They reject nationalization and are scared of socialism. If the Labor Party is again to be returned to power, its over-riding aim during the next period must be "to adapt itself, without in any way surrendering basic principles, to the realities of social change, and to present itself to the electorate in a mid-twentieth century guise." In view of this Mr. Crosland entered the lists against the "outmoded" Clause 4 of the Labor Party's Constitution, which calls for the "common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange." "I think that ownership is no longer the vital determining factor," he said shortly before the Scarborough Conference, "and I would therefore give nationalization a markedly lower priority" (*New Statesman*, October 1, 1960).

In short, the very economic changes which must be carried through if socialism is to be built, including the nationalization of the means of production, are to Mr. Crosland not the basic principle of socialism at all and must be replaced by a "mixed economy" in which capitalist forms of economy will exist side by side with the public sector. In many ways Crosland's views are reminiscent of the theoretical concepts of Galbraith, Rostow and other American bourgeois economists, views

which were reflected in the Democratic Party's platform in the 1960 presidential election. In effect, Mr. Crosland and his friends want to turn the Labor Party into a Liberal-Radical Party, eventually a mere political twin of the U.S. Democratic Party, on British soil. His fellow thinker Woodrow Wyatt thinks that Britain needs "an alternative government rather less doctrinaire than the Labor Party appears to be today and more on the lines of the Democratic Party which has just won the American elections."

Mr. Gaitskell and Co. are said to hold Crosland particularly close to their hearts precisely because of his rare gift to justify by supreme theoretical and ethical considerations any political opportunism of the Labor Party's Right-wing leadership, any compromise with the ruling class. Mr. Crosland has made another attempt to back up this reputation in a fairly new pamphlet of his in which he portrays his ideological associates headed by Mr. Gaitskell as pursuing the "ethic of responsibility" in politics, whereas their opponents in the Labor movement are described as followers of the irresponsible "ethic of ultimate ends" (see *Can Labor Win?*, 1960).

However, before giving final evaluation to the Crosland concept of pseudo-socialism, let us examine, at least in general features, the facts of the political and economic situation in Britain as it exists today. Let us see what this "post-capitalist" society looks like. Let us see who is the master and who is the servant, and whether the "new" capitalism is not the "old" capitalism writ large and showing all its warts.

The Public Sector in British Economy

It is maintained that we are living in "post-capitalist" society because capitalism is now "managed." The state's interference with the economy, Mr. Crosland proclaims, has already nullified, or almost nullified, all the vices and ills of capitalist production (free-play competition in the market, economic crises, unemployment, etc.), while having sensibly preserved all its virtues (material incentives, free enterprise, etc.). Instead of the economic system dominating the producers, it is the state which now controls and "manages" the producers.

But these claims of the latter-day reformists can hardly hold water. Lenin said that far from the new stage of imperialism abolishing or weakening the basic contradictions of capitalism, they were enormously sharpened, that competition was now between the giant monopolies, between rival states, since *under imperialism the state became the executive committee of the monopolies*, and that its interventions were in the interests of monopoly capital and capitalism as a whole developed into a

system of state-monopoly capitalism. Indeed the very factors of change quoted by Crosland to strengthen his theoretical conclusions actually strengthen Lenin's analysis of imperialism.

No one will deny that there have been some new features in the development of capitalism since the war. Some of these are the postwar boom, the nationalization of a number of industries in many countries, the increased role of the state in economic affairs, militarization of the economy as a permanent feature, the development of new techniques and of automation, and a further extension and strengthening of monopoly. But these features, far from "nullifying" the basic principles of capitalism, represent a kind of "superstructure" above these principles and underline the laws of development of capitalism in its monopoly stage.

Indeed, the very "public sector" on which Crosland lays so much store in his mixed economy in this "post-capitalist" system is run in the interests not of socialism but of monopoly capitalism. *It is not the size of the public sector but its function that constitutes the main thing.* The structure, price and investment policies of the concerns nationalized by the capitalist state, have been so designed as to strengthen the position of the monopolies both through the re-equipment of those semi-bankrupt industries which were nationalized at public expense, and through the provision of cheap goods and services to the private industries. Capitalist nationalization, as we know it in Britain today, has not affected the production of surplus value.

The nationalized industries serve the monopoly capitalists also in other ways. Because a considerable portion of the increase in capital equipment and capital for reorganization at nationalized enterprises has to be financed by borrowing, the capital debt and the interest burden have reached enormous heights. The profitability of the public sector to the financiers and to big business can be gauged from the fact that in ten years, between 1948 and 1958, the nationalized concerns paid out £1,419 million in interest alone, and by the mid-sixties, it has been estimated that these industries will be paying out between £2,500 and £3,000 million in interest.

Between 1951 and 1959, the "rentier" income (rent, interest and dividends) received by the bourgeoisie increased by nearly £1,000 million: from £1,245 to £2,191 million. Out of the total profits of private firms, which were £2,822 million in 1959, more than 50 per cent went to the 500 of the big firms which have net assets of over £2.5 million each; one quarter of the country's wealth is owned by about 5,000 people. Such is the real picture of "post-capitalist" Britain, a picture that differs drastically from the illusions Crosland is trying to spread.

The Role of the State

The economic apparatus of the British state is extensive. It includes bodies like the Boards of the nationalized concerns; the Board of Trade; the Ministry of Power, etc. The state controls the Bank of England, the Capital Issues Committee and the Exports Credits Advisory Committee. It is found that, in effect, these bodies are exclusively peopled with the representatives of big business.

The positions of economic power are occupied by men like Keswick, director of the Bank of England, British Petroleum, Alliance Insurance, the Hudson Bay Company, Jardine Matheson and Co., etc. He is the gentleman who, at the Bank Rate Tribunal set up by the government to investigate the premature "leak" of the bank rate, told the tribunal that he had advised one of his concerns to "switch more into American bonds" and he added in his letter of advice, "it is anti-British and derogatory to sterling, but, on balance, if one is free to do so, it makes sense to me." And it is with people like this that the Croslands claim that the "impartial" state controls and "manages" the economy. No wonder monopoly capitalists, being, in the words of Keswick, left "free" to do what they like to the economy, welcome this sort of reasoning and of "control."

As an example, take Crosland's view that the state is restricting the right to the management of capital. The Capital Issues Committee is supposed to sanction or refuse permission for new issues of capital. But what sort of capitalists do these measures affect? Not the Keswicks and not the big monopoly concerns, for they have enough money retained from profits which they can, and do, invest in new capital equipment without any kind of control. On the other hand, these measures seriously affect and restrict the smaller capitalists. As a consequence the field is left clear for monopoly capitalism. Imperial Chemical Industries, for example, has in the last 15 years ploughed back about £300 million from its profits. What need has this giant chemical monopoly to go to the Capital Issues Committee?

Crosland also points to the control of the distribution of profits by the state. In actual fact there is no control, but only demagogic propaganda against increasing dividends. In any case, such control, where it does exist, is regarded by the monopolists with favor. The big capitalists are at the present moment more interested in retaining profits in the monopoly concerns for capital expansion than in distributing profits. The reason is very simple. Money which is received as dividends is very heavily taxed. Big capitalists, by leaving the profits in their concerns, avoid taxation and at the same time conserve the funds for further expansion of the monopoly; this in turn raises the market price of

the shares and makes it possible, if they want ready money, to sell shares at a considerable profit which is not taxed. Thus, any sort of state control becomes a mere fiction insofar as monopoly capital is concerned.

Monopoly capital is keen to maintain such control. It leaves the commanding heights of the economy in their hands. They can manipulate the economy according to where their interests lie.

There is a sphere in which the state intervenes with awful majesty, and that is when it intervenes in order to "strike a balance between different social groups and classes." But this intervention, despite all that Mr. Crosland might say, is for one purpose only, and that purpose is to keep down the working class for the benefit of the capitalists. This is seen time and again whenever a body of "impartial" investigators is set up by the government to enquire into a strike, or a fiercely contested wage claim. In almost every case the finding of these "impartial" bodies is that the men are wrong and the employers right, and that either wages cannot go up, or else the "discontent" in the industry is due to Communist agitators.

Professor Richard Titmuss points out in his Fabian pamphlet, *The Irresponsible Society*, that if there have been any shifts of power in postwar Britain, it is in the direction of monopoly capitalism, and more especially, of the huge insurance companies, which, in the last decade, have grown enormously. In these companies, in the hands of the few men in each concern over whom no one can exercise control, crucial decisions of social policy are regularly taken. Referring to these men, Titmuss shows that they are of the same class from which are taken the men who dominate the government boards and committees of the "impartial" state. "Of 126 directors of 10 leading British (insurance) companies in 1956, one half went to Eton and six other public schools; most of them belong to a small circle of clubs among which the Carlton is the most popular; a high proportion are titled; and most have extensive connections with industry, finance and commerce. Democratic pleas from such quarters on behalf of voteless shareholders remind one of la Rochefoucauld's maxim that 'hypocrisy is the tribute which vice pays to virtue'." At the end of 1959, the Insurance Companies had between them the tremendous sum of £6,000 million invested in Britain. As investors they dominate the City. Behind closed doors and motivated only by their own greed for ever greater profits, they are in a position to take decisions that affect the homes, the jobs and the very lives of the British people.

Whether it was his intention or not, the fact is that Professor Titmuss's pamphlet refutes Crosland. Unlike Crosland, Titmuss does not see a develop-

ment towards an equitable society in this "post-capitalist" society. On the contrary, he holds that economic and political power in this society is inimical to equality and liberty.

"Managed" Capitalism

Mr. Crosland claims that the statesmen in the West now know how to "plan" and "manage" the economy through the application of Keynesian techniques.

All this talk of "planned" and "managed" capitalism is totally at variance with reality as the economic crisis in 1958 and the current recession in the USA prove. The United States is a country where Keynesian techniques—state expenditure (especially in colossal outlays for war of 40 billion dollars annually, not to mention the vast sums paid out to farmers not to grow anything, foreign-aid grants, etc.)—have been applied on a tremendous scale. Yet, as we see, the capitalists are unable to prevent the onset of the slump.

State expenditure, increased investment, can, under certain conditions, temporarily boost the economy, reduce unemployment and delay the onset of a slump. But it cannot do so indefinitely. Arms expenditure has to be paid for in increased taxation, cuts in social services, etc. Thus one aspect of the Keynesian techniques (increased state expenditure) nullifies the other (increased demand arising from increase in social service grants and social services in general). Britain's economy, because it is part of the capitalist world economy and because it is linked with U.S. economy, is affected enormously by the economic situation prevailing outside Britain. Thus the crisis which gripped the USA in 1958, meant the stagnation of British industry and a growth of unemployment. Today it affects the motor-car industry. How can there be planning under such conditions?

The failure of capitalist planning can be seen by what is happening in the fuel industries. The National Coal Board drew up a splendid plan for the development of the coal industry in Britain. Where is this plan now? It lies shattered because of the deliberate cut-throat competition by the oil monopolies who have set themselves the task of grabbing the traditional markets of the nationalized coal industry, and the government does nothing at all about it, except to put up barriers for the National Coal Board when it tries to meet this competition.

It goes without saying that even under capitalism nationalization can be of positive significance. But a vital condition for this is democratic, working-class control over the nationalized enterprises and those belonging to the private monopolies. But it is on this working-class concept that Crosland declares war. To the democratic call for workers'

control he counterposes the paternalist, reactionary slogan of "profit-sharing." Crosland's idea, evidently, is to replace the class struggle by struggle on the Stock Exchange floor, with the big capitalist concerns carrying on their profit-making without effective controls.

The essence of capitalist "planning" is that the capitalist state intervenes in the economy at the expense of the working class and in the interests of the capitalists. This is expressed even in policy statements of the Labor Party to the effect that the government should establish priorities for various types of investment. First defense, then industry and, a long way behind, the social services.

Who Profits by Redistribution of Income?

Mr. Crosland maintains that one of the features of this "post-capitalist" era is that there has been a considerable redistribution of income, that the rich are less rich and the poor less poor. Indeed he spends a great deal of his time "proving" that the working class is rapidly becoming a new middle class, spending more of its time at home watching television rather than in the Trade Union Branch. As a consequence, the old class divisions of society have become blurred, and the traditional working-class loyalties have become weakened.

Again when the facts are studied, this claim is shattered. As for the relative "prosperity" of some sections of the working class, (i) it is the outcome of the working-class struggle in the immediate post-war years when the monopoly bourgeoisie, weakened by the war and fearing any social change, was forced to make concessions to the working people; (ii) another source is the unequal goods exchange with the underdeveloped countries a trickle of which finds its way to the working class; and (iii) much of it is based on hire purchase. In July 1960, for example, the hire-purchase debt in Britain was over £19.0.0 per head, the highest in the history of the country. This means that the workers have mortgaged their future incomes years ahead in a society where there is absolutely no security, and it needs only a sharper competition on foreign markets, a small spell of unemployment to bring this alleged prosperity crashing down, as thousands of miners have regrettably enough proved. But there are more significant facts than this. In 1959 wages and salaries rose by 3.5 per cent over 1958, but dividends were up by 13 per cent, and profits rose by 10 per cent. A strange way of equalizing incomes.

But, Crosland might argue, there are high death duties in Britain. It should be pointed out, however, that capital gains on stocks and shares are such that, in many cases, the estate recoups what is lost in taxation in a few years after payment of the

death duties. In any case, the formation of limited companies and huge gifts which are not taxable if given five years before the death of the donor, are ways in which the ruling class avoid payment of death duties. Suffice it to say that between 1951 and 1959 the market values of ordinary shares of companies rose from £9,600 million to £21,400 million.

It goes without saying that in the past fifteen years the forms and techniques of exploitation have undergone a certain change. Now that the militancy and solidarity of the working class are stronger, the capitalists in attacking working-class conditions can no longer resort on each occasion to the old tried means of the past: cuts in wages, mass dismissals, longer hours. What is more, they have had to make such concessions as a shorter working week, etc. But the outlay is recouped a hundredfold through intensification of labor, inflationary processes, redistribution of the national income by the state by way of heavier taxation of the working people and by granting subsidies to the monopolies.

Over half of the working population of 24 million have, in Britain today, incomes of £10 a week or under. Worst of all are the conditions of the old-age pensioners. Many of the old people, for whom capitalism has no further use as a source of extracting surplus value, are slowly dying of malnutrition, despite the Welfare State. As to the pension of £2.10s.0d a week, we have it on the authority of a magistrate who in a case where an old-age pensioner was caught stealing food, stated that "it is impossible to live these days on £3 a week."

Thus, a feature of the notorious "post-capitalist" society is the worsening conditions of the poorest section of the population about whom Crosland has never spoken or written. Some Labor Party theorists, more careful with their facts than Mr. Crosland, have had to acknowledge this. Thus, in a booklet, entitled *Casualties of the Welfare State*, the author, Audrey Harvey, shows the realities beneath the tawdry tinsel of Crosland's "post-capitalist" society. According to this booklet, there are today between seven and eight million people in Britain on the verge of destitution, and their treatment by the Welfare State is in some respects "harsher in allowing relatively smaller payments for sick pay than in 1904 under the then existing Poor Law." Here is the measure of progress for the poorest sections in the Welfare State.

There are more than five million people waiting for a council house, their only chance of getting a decent house at about one-quarter of the wage earner's income (this proportion was fixed by judges hearing housing cases in the British courts). Of these five million, two million are urgent cases.

To Mr. Crosland's annoyance, most of the organized workers have rejected his views. He writes: "Anti-revisionism is fortified in Britain by two special factors. The first is the dogged persistence of an underlying class antagonism. To the militant minority (and not such a minority—H.F.) the employer is still, even if only subconsciously, 'the class enemy'; and nationalization, much more than high taxation or government controls, or the strength of the Unions, symbolizes the determination to defeat or extirpate him. To suggest that it is no longer the ultimate aim seems, to the militant worker, simply a betrayal of the class struggle." Mr. Crosland is not the first opportunist to bewail the magnificent class consciousness of the British working class.

Workers Versus Reformists

Reformism has always pursued the aim of weakening the class struggle or of diverting it into channels acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Hence the fight for socialism demands the most intensive struggle against reformist ideology and the widest popularization of Marxist ideas.

This underlies the activity of the Communist Party, the purpose of which is to expose the class nature of the state; to explain that the advance to socialism does not mean a coming to terms with capitalism, but the expropriation of the big trusts and the bringing about of the replacement of the monopoly capitalist state by a socialist state.

The attack on Clause 4, which sparked the furore in the Labor movement, was launched in an article in the now defunct Right-wing Labor journal, *Forward*. In this article, which purported to "analyze" the reasons for the defeat of the Labor Party in the last general election, Mr. Jay came to the pre-arranged conclusion that the only way by which the Labor Party could again win the confidence of the electorate and become the alternative government, was by throwing away every socialist principle, beginning with nationalization. He therefore proposed not only that the aim of nationalization and the demand for the re-nationalization of the steel industry should be dropped from the Labor Party's program, but that the "working-class image" of the Labor Party should be changed into an image more acceptable to the middle class. In order to achieve this desired aim, the Labor Party should change its name to "Labor and Radical" or "Labor and Reform."

Two days later, Mr. Frank Cousins, the general secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, sharply counter-attacked and the battle was joined between the "Fundamentalists," as those who stand by the socialist aims of the Labor Party are called, and the "Hampstead Group," as the advocates of a revision round Mr. Gaitskell are

known. Crosland's endeavors to substantiate his idea of abandoning Clause 4 were rebutted by Barbara Castle, a prominent member of the Labor Party, in the columns of the weekly *New Statesman*.

Last year's annual conferences of the National Union of Mineworkers and the National Union of Railwaymen stood solidly for Clause 4. By 66 votes to 11, the delegates to the Railway Workers Conference, representing 333,000 workers, turned down Mr. Gaitskell's "new" declaration concerning Clause 4, a declaration which the National Executive Committee of the Labor Party had endorsed. The miners' resolution read: "This Conference of the National Union of Mineworkers demands that Clause 4 of the Labor Party Constitution shall remain unchanged. Conference also declares its undiminished faith in the principles of common ownership in the belief that only a socialist society can guarantee peace and prosperity."

Because of the fierceness of the struggle, some of the revisionists themselves began to wobble, and began to change their opinions. Mr. R. Crossman, M.P., who contributed his share of "rethinking" in *The New Fabian Essays* of 1952, in his pamphlet *Labor in the Affluent Society* attacked Crosland and his colleagues who "base their whole case on the assumption that the contradictions of prewar capitalism have been resolved."

Mr. Crossman emphatically denies that this is so and maintains that the "affluent society," so praised by Crosland, has within itself "the seeds of its own decay and degeneration." He stresses that public social investment (education, health, housing, pensions) is being subordinated to private profit; that the social needs and wants of the community are being sacrificed to the interests of the great monopolies. Crossman maintains that it is the monopolies, and not the state, which determine the economic priorities of present-day capitalist society,

and that the government dares not challenge these mighty economic organizations. And he insists that the economic success of the Soviet Union has demonstrated "in the most decisive way possible, the victory of nationalization over free enterprise."

It is highly significant that the 1960 Annual Conference of the Labor Party rejected the Gaitskell-Crosland proposal to kill Clause 4 and opted for a program of extended nationalization. The Conference also condemned the policy of nuclear armament, of granting the U.S. missile launching sites on British soil and of military blocs as being at variance with the interests of the people.

All this means that the policy of the "Hampstead Group" of advocates of a revision of the Constitution, who have been peddling their reformist ideas in the ranks of the Labor movement for some years, has suffered a severe reverse.

Our Party is urging for the unity of all militant forces—socialist and communist—in the labor movement, the abolition of all the proscriptions against the militants. This unity is essential not only in the struggle for pressing demands but also in the fight for socialism.

The line of our advance to socialism is laid down in our program, *The British Road to Socialism*, which sums up the results of the forty-year experience of the Communist Party. There is in Britain the possibility of achieving the transition to socialism by peaceful means. But the transition can be effected only through struggle against monopoly on a broad front, only if there is unity of the working class and of all progressive forces of the nation, a unity which will isolate the monopolies and their Tory henchmen. In this way Parliament and the machinery of state could become instruments of the genuinely popular will. As for the big monopolies, they should be nationalized and turned into public property.

Hymie FAGAN

Communications and Comment

The Struggle Grows Sharper

Letter from Venezuela

VENEZUELA is rich in oil, with a daily output in the neighborhood of three million barrels. But this wealth is in the hands of U.S. monopolies. The North American monopolies have invested in Venezuela more than one-third of their total Latin American investments, and their annual profit here is more than half of the total obtained by the imperialists in all Latin America. Hence the special patronage accorded by the U.S. monopolies to all the governments of national betrayal from which we have suffered.

Our country also has large deposits of rich iron ore, but nearly all of these, too, belong to North American interests. The steel companies do not process a single kilogram of this ore locally. What is more, the U.S. monopolies are preventing the construction of iron and steel mills in Venezuela, thereby forcing us to pay exorbitant prices for steel produced from the ore plundered from us. The share of our national treasury in the profits obtained from exploitation of our ore deposits amounts to the value of a single razor blade for every ton of ore! This comparison, incidentally, was made by a conservative journalist.

But Venezuelan patriots are waging a resolute fight for freedom under the leadership of the Communist Party and other political parties and revolutionary groups unified in a broad Left front. They are confident that, like the people of Cuba, they will win freedom from foreign oppression. The Left front is gaining ground among the masses with amazing speed. Only a year ago the Communist Party stood alone. Today the Left Revolutionary Movement and the Republican Democratic Union have joined it under the banner of national liberation. These parties have the backing of the majority of the working class, tens of thousands of peasants, the revolutionary intellectuals and students. The overwhelming majority of Venezuelans condemn the capitulation of the ruling clique to the imperialists and denounce the repressions against unarmed citizens—police terror, raids on homes and outright looting. The majority of the people are resolved to carry on the fight for democratic freedoms just as they fought the Perez Jimenez tyranny, which was overthrown by the joint efforts of the people and the army.

In 1958, after the overthrow of the tyranny, when the provisional government headed by Larrazabal was in power, the people enjoyed greater civil rights than ever before in their history.

In that year huge demonstrations were held in defense of Venezuelan sovereignty, against imperialism and the reactionary militarists who were plotting a coup. Notable were the May Day demonstration, the May 13 demonstration against the Nixon visit, another on July 23 in protest against the attempted coup headed by Defense Minister Castro Leon, and the September 7 demonstration against an attempt by a reactionary military junta to seize power. Finally, the general election of December 7, 1958, was preceded by a highly active campaign during which the Democratic Action Party, the Republican Democratic Union, the Christian Democratic COPEI Party and the Communist Party held thousands of public meetings.

The Democratic Action candidate, Romulo Betancourt, who contested the election with a program of social reform and anti-imperialist struggle, was elected President. The Democratic Action Party enjoys wide support in the countryside, but is less influential among the urban factory and office workers. For instance, in Caracas and the adjoining metropolitan zone, where the population runs to a million and a half, as well as in other leading centers, Betancourt failed to muster a big vote. But areas remote from the capital ensured his victory. It is noteworthy that in the capital the Communist vote was second only to that of the Republican Democratic Union.

Some thirty years ago Betancourt was a member of the Communist Party for a short period. Today, like most renegades, he is a vindictive anti-Communist whose hatred of Communists, the Soviet Union and the socialist camp as a whole borders on frenzy. He and his associates in the leadership of the Democratic Action turn a deaf ear to the voice of the rank and file—an attitude that led to a split in the party shortly after the elections.

The strong Left forces in the party, to whom Betancourt is indebted for his electoral victory, took a resolute stand against his defeatist policy. Today this Left has been expelled by the Right-wing leaders, such as Betancourt, Raul Ramos

Jimenez, Luis Augusto Dubuc, Luis B. Prieto, Carlos D'Ascoli, Salon Meza and others.

The purge affected sixteen Members of Parliament and one Senator, many members of the state legislatures, municipal councillors and leaders of the revolutionary workers, peasants, the youth, women and professionals. With the shift of this group into the opposition, the Democratic Action Party lost its majority in the Chamber of Deputies and became dependent on the support of the Christian Democratic Party, the leader of which was made speaker of the Chamber although it has only 19 seats out of a total of 133.

The Left group in the Democratic Action Party was headed by Dr. Domingo Alberto Rangel, and when he was expelled the younger members left the party wholesale. Rangel and his supporters formed the Left Revolutionary Movement, which soon found popular support. Hounded by the government, it moved closer to its natural allies, the Communist Party and the other progressive forces.

The Democratic Action Party has been greatly weakened by the split. The military conspirators are well aware of this, and so are the Christian Democratic leaders, who are capitalizing on the fact and doing their utmost to bolster up the unpopular alliance with the Democratic Action.

The Republican Democratic Union, founded in 1946 by Dr. Jovito Villalba, polled the second largest vote in the 1958 election, receiving nearly half the votes in Caracas and winning two seats in the Senate and half the seats in the Chamber of Deputies. Until recently, the party was represented in the government as well. One of its leaders, Dr. Arcaya, former Foreign Minister, refused to sign the Costa Rica declaration directed against Cuba. Despite his opposition, however, the Betancourt government embarked on a course of stabbing the Cuban revolution in the back. This deepened the crisis in the government.

The victory of the Cuban patriots over the U.S. imperialists and their local stooges found widespread response in Venezuela, especially among the youth, and exerts a very big influence on our people. No political leader in the country enjoys a prestige comparable to that of Fidel Castro. And this is by no means due to any press or other propaganda in favor of Cuba; on the contrary, Cuba's influence is growing despite the efforts made to counteract it by the U.S. monopolies and their stooges.

In August last year the people, protesting against the government's betrayal of Cuba, fought fierce battles for several days against the police in the streets of Caracas. In September, too, there were protest actions that ended in clashes with the police in Caracas and other cities.

By October the situation had become tense. The arrest of three newspapermen belonging to the Left Revolutionary Movement sparked off demonstrations, first of all of students, in Caracas, and also in Maracaibo, Barquisimeto, Valencia, Cumana, Barcelona, Coro, Cabimas and other towns; the people poured into the streets to protest against this encroachment on the freedom of the press. The movement spread when the government refused to retreat and announced that the arrested men would be put on trial. Clashes with the police became more severe. After seven days of fighting between the people and the police, now reinforced by infantry and paratroops, the government announced that what it described as a foreign-inspired conspiracy had been defeated.

In reality it was forced to release the three journalists. Forty people were killed in the clashes, hundreds were wounded and thousands arrested. Punitive detachments raided and looted more than 15,000 homes. About 100 motor-cars were burnt during the fighting. Unbridled terror was unleashed against the inhabitants of the poorer districts of Caracas. It must be noted, however, that many officers refused to fire on the people and disobeyed Betancourt's orders to take reprisals against the population.

A month later another clash between the people and the government forces broke out and lasted seven days. This time the cause was general indignation at the unconditional acceptance by the government of demands presented by the International Monetary Fund which insisted on the devaluation of the bolivar, freezing wages and abolishing price controls as a condition for a short-term loan at a high interest rate to cover non-productive expenditures. A contributory factor was the preparation by the government, together with the U.S. Navy and Organization of American States, of a new scheme against Cuba.

Denouncing the popular movement as an "international conspiracy" to undermine "stable" government, the Betancourt administration ordered it to be crushed by fire and sword. In reply, the students of the Central University built barricades in the streets and stopped Betancourt's U.S.-made tanks. After a week of fighting in which scores were killed, more than 300 wounded and thousands arrested, the government appeared to have won. Trade union leaders and members of the opposition parties, primarily of the Communist Party and the Left Revolutionary Movement, were persecuted. But another month of action was still to follow, and in the end the Minister of Finance, Dr. Jose Antonio Mayobre, an agent of the International Monetary Fund, had to resign. The Republican Democratic Union withdrew from the government to join the opposition. The government was com-

pelled, temporarily at least, to refrain from implementing the plans worked out by the International Monetary Fund.

Having overcome the popular rising with the help of the Christian Democrats, the church, the militarists and the U.S. embassy, the government annulled constitutional guarantees and closed the Communist newspaper *Tribuna Popular*, the Left Revolutionary Movement weekly *Izquierda*, the satirical weekly *Dominguito* and the Republican Democratic Union weekly *El Pueblo*.

Armed gangs consisting of members of the government parties and using fascist methods wrecked and set fire to the headquarters and other premises of the Communist Party, the Left Revolutionary Movement and the Republican Democratic Union in many towns and villages. Bandits broke into private dwellings in fulfilment of orders issued to raid the homes of Communists and members of the other Left parties, including those of Senators and members of the Chamber of Deputies.

Once again police terror set in. Thousands of revolutionaries are in prison. The police have been mobilized for reprisals against the people.

These harsh measures, however, can but aggravate the problems confronting the government. The Right wing of the Democratic Action Party, the members of which were persecuted by a dictatorship up to January 23, 1958, have become the oppressors of the people who enabled them to gain freedom of action.

In their efforts to crush the popular movement by means of terror the ruling clique are supported by militarists belonging to the group standing behind ex-dictator Perez Jimenez, by the imperialists, the latifundists, the reactionary clergy and other pro-imperialist elements. Nor could it be otherwise. For the government has sabotaged the implementation of an agrarian reform and the establishment of a national oil company; it has handed over the national airlines to Pan-American Airways and given a free hand to the Reynolds Metals aluminum monopoly. The long and short of it is that Betancourt's Venezuela is a paradise for the U.S. investors thanks to the servility of official policy and the absence of patriots in the government.

The government is continuing its policy of kowtowing to the U.S. monopolies, trampling on its own program and betraying its people.

In less than two years police terror has taken a toll of nearly 100 lives. The armed forces have been used against the people. Thousands of citizens, especially young people and workers, have been

arrested and many are still in prison. Hundreds have been wounded and subjected to outrageous treatment. These infamies have aroused the wrath of the people against the Betancourt government and the ruling clique as a whole.

But the problems of an imperialist-oppressed country of seven million people, 300,000 of whom are jobless, cannot be solved by terror. They can be solved only by a democratic and patriotic government enjoying the support of the people and pursuing a program of national liberation; the country needs a government that would take vigorous measures against the imperialists and the latifundists, against unemployment and the high cost of living.

As the Central Committee of the Communist Party predicted, the three-party government was bound to suffer defeat. And an even more shattering defeat awaits the present two-party (Democratic Action-Christian Democrat) set-up. Even if Betancourt ventures to rely on his own party alone, his government is bound to fall. The issue is not the number of parties in government or a change of faces in it, but a change of policy, a new orientation, the implementation of a program of national liberation.

* * *

For thousands of Venezuelan workers 1961 will be a year of grim struggle. Most of the collective agreements will expire this year, and many employers have already announced that they will not increase wages. Yet the cost of living has soared and the worker just cannot make ends meet. Their wages are not enough to live on, but the employers nevertheless hope that the government will introduce a wage-freeze and clamp down on the trade unions.

By the time this letter appears in *World Marxist Review*, new developments may have taken place in Venezuela, where the fight will not cease until the problems facing the country and the people have been solved. The Left front has drawn up a program of national salvation; the Communist Party holds that the need of the moment is a democratic government that would vigorously carry out this program. Venezuela's crisis can be solved only by a democratic and patriotic government including representatives of the working class, the peasantry, the intellectuals and the students and above all the Communist Party, the Left Revolutionary Movement, the Republican Democratic Union, part of the Democratic Action—in a word, all the forces that are fighting for the victory of the revolution, for a prosperous, democratic Venezuela.

Caracas, January 1961

J. D.

Against the Persecution of Democrats

THE CONGO TRAGEDY

TEN years ago the colonialists fondly believed that in Africa they had their last and most reliable stronghold. And of all the African colonies the Belgian Congo was thought to be the "safest."

Today Africa is a raging conflagration in which the last hopes of the colonialists are going up in smoke. And in the heart of the flames, where the heat is most intense, is the former Belgian Congo.

Imperialism is now fighting a desperate battle in the Congo. It is not only the fate of that one country that is at stake. The outcome of the struggle will affect the whole of Africa, the entire former colonial world.

The colonialists are staking everything on this struggle. There is no crime too base for them to perpetrate in the Congo. Shootings, wholesale torture, concentration camps, the destruction of villages and towns—all are part of the score already chalked up by the "civilized" bandits of the Western world and their brutalized lackeys.

But the crowning imperialist infamy in the Congo was the dastardly murder of the outstanding leader of the African national-liberation movement Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba and his comrades-in-arms—Joseph Okito, President of the Senate, and Maurice Mpolo, Minister of Defense.

Who murdered Lumumba and his comrades? The colonialists' thugs, aided and abetted by the Union Minière du Katanga, the Belgian and American industrialists and bankers and their puppet Moïse Tshombe. Dag Hammarskjöld has besmirched the flag of the United Nations by using it to cloak the treacherous murder of the Prime Minister of the Congolese government who had called on the United Nations forces to protect his country from the Belgian aggressors.

Why was Lumumba assassinated? Lumumba became a national hero because of his ardent love for his people, his understanding of their interests, his patriotism and his hatred for the colonialists; it was precisely for these qualities that he was murdered by the imperialists.

The tragic events in the Congo, the fate of Patrice Lumumba, are a bitter lesson both for the African peoples and for all nations fighting for their liberation. These events show that the colonialists will stop at nothing.

In the struggle against the people of the Congo the colonialists have virtually acted in a united

front. The NATO powers encouraged the Belgians to use armed force against the people and their leaders. The "unity of the Western world" now stands before the world in its true colors—it is the unity of colonialists, of oppressors.

At the same time it was the absence of unity and a certain hesitancy on the part of the young African states in the face of the unbridled imperialist brigandage that enabled the colonialists and their puppets to violate the freedom and independence of the Congo. This is a painful lesson which should not be forgotten. It is a challenge to the African peoples to cement their unity in the joint struggle, and to realize that the colonialists and their allies are a grave danger not only to the people of the Congo but to all Africans.

Until recently the African peoples cherished certain illusions with regard to the present apparatus of the United Nations and its role in the Congo's struggle for freedom and independence. Now these illusions are being dispelled. Is it possible now in all sincerity to separate the U.N. Secretary-General Hammarskjöld from the ringleaders of the gang of colonial marauders! The political maturity of the African states, the ordeals they have experienced cannot but have a salutary effect on the political make-up of the United Nations.

The tragedy of the Congo people which culminated in the murder of Lumumba and his comrades, has demonstrated once again that nowadays any act of colonial aggression, any attempt to crush the liberation struggle by force of arms inevitably extends beyond the boundaries of a single country, a single continent and assumes an international character. The crime in the Congo is additional evidence of the urgent need to put an end once and for all to colonialism, that disgrace to humanity.

In Patrice Lumumba Africa has lost one of its most courageous sons. Millions all over the world have wrathfully condemned the foul crime. But the death of the Congo's national hero has awakened the new and mighty forces latent in the national-liberation movement on the African continent. Hundreds and thousands of freedom fighters will take his place and carry on his noble cause to the end. The name Lumumba has become the banner of that grand army of liberation, a symbol of the fight against colonialism.

K. M.

SLANDER AGAINST THE MOROCCAN COMMUNISTS EXPOSED . . .

AFTER the banning of the Moroccan Communist Party as a result of an arbitrary decision of the Rabat Court of Appeal in February 1960, a group of lawyers published a collection of documents relating to the trial and entitled *The Moroccan Communist Party Is Fighting for Legal Status*.^{*} The book includes statements issued by the Party and by legal experts, newspaper articles, comments and messages from all parts of the world.

In addition to exposing the frame-up, the book answers a host of questions pertaining to Morocco's policy and examines such general problems as the attitude of the Communists to the monarchy and to Islam.

* * *

The preface, written by Ali Yata, General Secretary of the Party, shows why the Communists are persecuted and clearly sets forth the position of the Communist Party. Although formally Morocco has been an independent and sovereign state for five years now, says Ali Yata, complete national liberation is far from having been achieved. Foreign troops are still stationed on our territory. Foreign domination in the economy is becoming more pronounced. In fact, no substantial changes have taken place since the abolition of the Protectorate. The public sector which was negligible under the Protectorate has been extended somewhat, but is developing not independently but in "co-operation" with foreign capital. Far from promoting the liberation of the national economy, this "co-operation" only deepens its enslavement. Those responsible for the destiny of the country are opposed to an agrarian reform that would confiscate, without compensation, the land owned by the colonialists and feudal sheiks.

As was the case under the Protectorate, the people are prevented from taking part in managing national and local affairs; freedom of speech, association and assembly are trampled upon.

"The representatives of the bourgeoisie," writes Ali Yata, "who at one time headed the struggle against the foreign yoke, a struggle which resulted in the abolition of the Protectorate, are now incapable of leading the country towards national liberation."

The Communist Party, which in the past waged a valiant struggle against the colonialists and the Protectorate, considers it a sacred duty to continue to work for the "complete victory of

the national cause and in defense of the working people." The Party fought for universal and direct elections with secret ballot to the Constituent National Assembly, the municipal and communal bodies. It was the first to demand withdrawal of the foreign troops. It has fought tirelessly for an independent national economy, for the abolition of unemployment and better conditions through industrialization and agrarian reform. The Party has worked wholeheartedly for peace, co-operation with other peace-loving nations and solidarity with the peoples fighting for their liberation.

This clear-cut and realistic policy enhanced the Party's influence among the people, and this alarmed the feudal elements and other reactionaries who have always placed their vested interests above the interests of the people. These, then, were the reasons that impelled the Rabat Court of Appeal to ban the Communist Party.

* * *

Although they are the rulers, the reactionary forces were powerless to ban the Communist Party with a stroke of the pen. After all, to ban a Party which had won immense prestige, acknowledged even by its enemies, in the years of the national-liberation struggle was not an easy matter. The Prosecutor said at the trial: "If we are to speak about the Resistance period I know what the Communist Party did. . . . What it did was fully justified from the national point of view. . . . I would say that everything it did for the liberation and national independence was agreed with the other parties in the Resistance and the National Liberation Army. . . ."

In instituting court proceedings the reactionaries wanted to give more weight to the act of banning the Party by attaching to it the stamp of a court decision.

But these maneuvers were immediately exposed by the Party leadership. A statement issued on September 16, 1959, says: "We resolutely protest against these unlawful decisions which gravely infringe democratic liberties, violate the charter of civil rights and mark the beginning of a series of acts which tend to strengthen imperialism and feudalism. This blow against the Communist Party is aimed against all the progressive and democratic forces in Morocco. . . . The impression is created that what we have here is not so much a legal case as a specially designed trial."

The Communist Party was accused of, first, trying to overthrow the monarchy and, second, opposing Islam.

^{*}*Le Parti Communiste Marocain lutte pour son existence légale. Recueil de textes et documents relatifs au procès intenté au Parti Communiste Marocain en 1959, 396 pp.*

The Party leaders and the lawyers of varying political views who came from different countries to defend the Party had little difficulty in refuting the charges.

The defense lawyers declared that the Communists adhered to the Marxist-Leninist theory which expresses the cherished aspirations of the people. The basic principles of this doctrine, they said, require that the Communists take cognizance of the specific feature of each country, the degree of its economic and political development, the national traditions, the educational level and political consciousness, etc. The Communist parties approach the question of the forms of political power in one or another country on the basis of all these peculiarities. They hold that the conditions necessary for mass action to solve the national and social tasks can be created even under a monarchy.

Read out at the trial was the text of an interview given in 1955 by Ali Yata and Abdeslam Bourquia, secretaries of the Party, to the Tunis newspaper *Petit matin*. It said: "As Communists faithful to the Marxist-Leninist theory which is not a dogma, as political leaders who realize the importance of the events taking place in the country and as patriots who take cognizance of the national traditions, we stand for the constitutional monarchy. It is our desire that the people should, in the framework of such a regime, enjoy sovereignty, should conduct their affairs through a national assembly elected on the basis of universal suffrage and through a government formed by this assembly."

On examples from the history of France, Italy and Arab countries in the Mediterranean area, the defense conclusively refuted the charges brought by the prosecution.

The Paris lawyer, Rolland Weyl, declared at the trial in Casablanca:

"I would like to cite an example of a country (France) which, 130 years before the birth of its Communist Party, was the first in the world to overthrow the monarchy, a country which, 45 years before the birth of its Communist Party, prohibited the royal family from residing on its territory . . . a country whose Communist Party is proud, however, that it was the only party in France which together with the other Communist parties fought for three years first against the dethronement and then for the return of His Majesty King Mohammed V (the King of Morocco)."

This and other statements made nonsense of the absurd charge that the Communists generally, and the Moroccan Communists in particular, always advocate the immediate overthrow of the monarchy; they showed that monarchies disappear from the

scene only when they come into conflict with the new forces.

* * *

With no less conclusiveness the Moroccan Communists and their defense refuted another argument of the prosecution, namely, that the Communist parties fight against religion, persecute Islam, etc. The defense proved that the Communists, being adherents of the scientific materialist outlook, are at the same time staunch fighters for democracy, and in particular for freedom of conscience. They hold that the emancipation of people from views that are not scientific cannot proceed by way of compulsion and victimization. Emancipation from such views is a matter of time.

Depending on the situation in the different countries the Communists admit believers into their ranks. It is important that these believers wage a consistent struggle for the aims of the Communist Party and do not propagate views alien to communism. Article 2 of the Party Rules says: "In accordance with the law, Moroccan nationals, irrespective of race, religion . . . can be members of the Moroccan Communist Party."

It is worth noting that many Moslems spoke at the trial for the defense of the Communist Party. One of them, Alami, a member of the Bar in Casablanca and a member of the Istiqlal Party, said: "When the Moroccan Communist Party asked me to undertake the defense I agreed without hesitation though I live, and I hope the Prosecutor will not be angry with me, in a palace of pink marble. I am sure that in defending the freedom of opinion of the Moroccan Communists I am defending my own freedom of opinion, freedom of opinion for all."

Eloquent and convincing was the speech by Ben Mustapha, a barrister from Tunis. "The charge," he said, "that the 'doctrine (Marxist-Leninist) envisages struggle against religion everywhere' is not only groundless but even contradicts reality . . ."

"One of the first acts of the October Revolution in the Soviet Union was the government decree of January 23, 1918, on the separation of church from state. This decree prohibits the adoption, on the territory of the republic, of laws or local ordinances infringing freedom of religion or granting privileges to citizens because of their affiliation to any religious group . . ."

Ben Mustapha then referred to the Appeal of the Soviet government to the Moslems of Russia dated December 3, 1917, which reads in part: "Moslems of Russia, Tatars of the Volga and the Crimea, Kirghiz and Sarts of Siberia and Turkestan, Turks and Tatars of Transcaucasia, Chechens and the mountain peoples of the Caucasus, all whose mosques and prayer houses were destroyed and

whose faith and customs trampled underfoot by the tsars and oppressors of Russia!

"Henceforth your faith and your customs, your national and cultural institutions are proclaimed to be free and inviolable. Build your national life freely and without restrictions. It is your right. Know that your rights, like the rights of all the peoples of Russia, are safeguarded by the entire might of the revolution and its organs, the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies."

Ben Mustapha stressed further that these laws are carried out undeviatingly. These principles are applied in all socialist countries. "Freedom of conscience, religion and worship," he went on, "is guaranteed in all countries where the Communists are in power—in the Soviet Union, in People's China, in Moslem countries such as Albania or in the countries where Islam is professed by a minority; this freedom is not only recognized but is also written into their Constitutions. Any victimization on religious grounds is punished, there is no discrimination against believers."

These cogent arguments utterly exposed the anti-communist slander and brought out the true, genuinely democratic attitude of the Communists to religion and on all other issues of public life.

* * *

The Prosecutor also accused the Communists of suppressing personality, of intolerance, etc. Replying to these hackneyed accusations, Rolland Weyl said: "We are told that we crush personality. But did Monsieur Prosecutor think when discharging his arrows that they would hit the Communist Paul Langevin, the pride of French science . . . who liked to repeat that the more knowledge he acquired the more he became a Communist and the more he became a Communist the more knowledge he picked up?"

"Did the Prosecutor think when discharging his blunt arrows that they would hit the glorious French Communist, Joliot Curie, a man respected all over the world, who said about three years ago at a congress of his Party that he had never felt himself so free as when he became a Communist?"

"You accuse us of hatred. Does not this remind us of the charge brought yesterday against those Moroccans who out of love for man fought for the liberation of their country?"

"You reproach us with denying poetry, trampling upon blossoming fields . . .

"Ask the Moslems in the Soviet Union what they think about this, Moslems who would indignantly cut short the first of your insulting remarks that the Soviet Union is imperialism; ask these Moslems whom communism helped to write their poems, to whom it gave an alphabet, schools and universities, things they never had in old Russia."

"Ask those whom Soviet science helped to turn deserts into orchards."

The points made by the defense were such that even the specially selected court in Casablanca dismissed the Prosecutor's charge as groundless and refused to investigate it. This was a victory for democracy.

The decision of the Casablanca court was welcomed by all progressives in Morocco and elsewhere, but it did not stop the Moroccan reactionaries. The correct policy and the growing influence of the Communist Party alarm the reactionaries. The government, bent on banning the Party, appealed the case in order to force a decision.

* * *

The trial of the Communist Party has not been won as yet by its sponsors. In a letter addressed to the King the Party leadership stated: "... Strong by virtue of the support of the forces standing for democracy and progress, we inform you that we shall appeal to the Supreme Court."

"True to our sacred cause, we deem it necessary to let you know of our firm resolve to continue, be the circumstances what they may, our struggle on behalf of the country, the nation, the working class and all working people."

The government and its accomplices have tried in vain to crush the Party of Marxist-Leninist ideas, the ideas to which the future belongs, the ideas of freedom and peace. But they have failed. History and the sympathies of progressive people everywhere are on the side of the Moroccan Communists. The book tells the truth about the trial framed by the reactionaries against the Communist Party. It will be a useful weapon in the hands of those fighting against the victimization of the Communists, against the anti-communist intrigues of the reactionaries, the enemies of peace and the freedom of the people. It shows most convincingly that the Communists in all countries are consistent and noble fighters for the people, for peace, democracy and socialism.

Abdelkader E. O.

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