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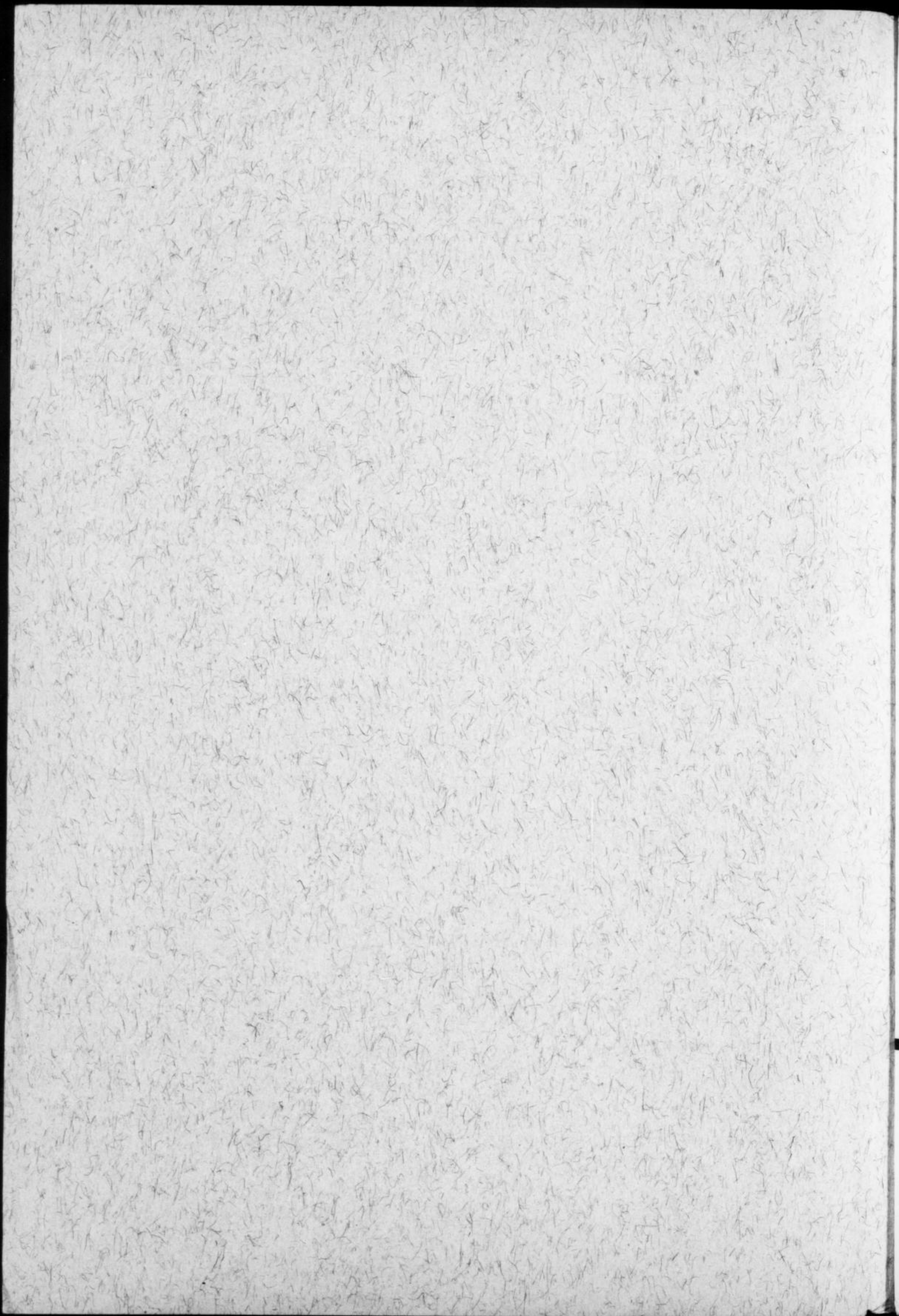
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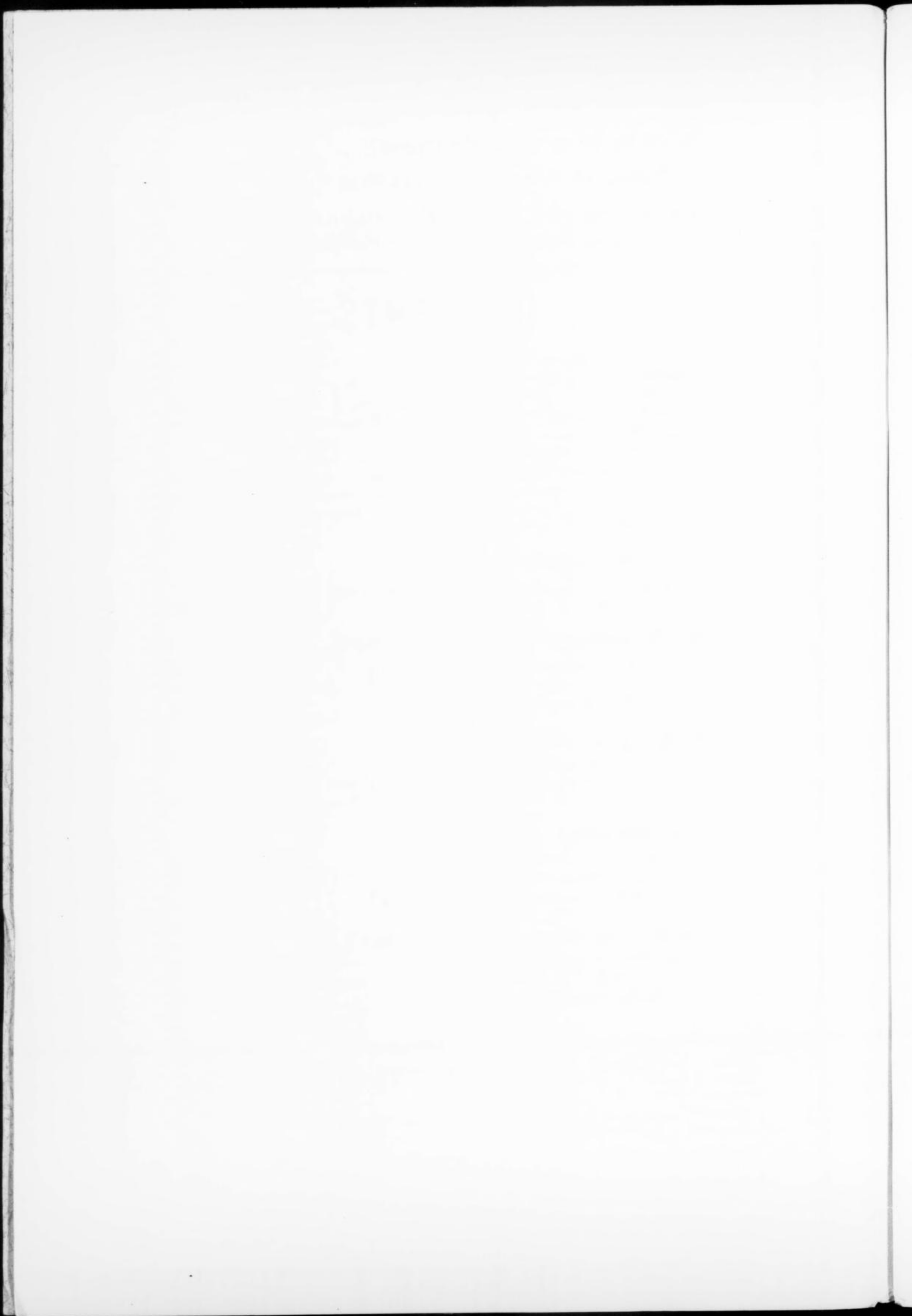
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Communism and the Cosmos

ON APRIL 12, 1961, humanity obtained a glimpse not only of outer space but also of its own future. Millions began to ponder on the role of communism and the Communists in human history. For years it had been drummed into people in the capitalist countries — and many believed it — that the Communists were the Huns of the 20th century, seeking to destroy the cosy civilization of the West and abolish “freedom of the individual.” Year after year people were told that the workers lacked the brains with which to master science, technology and culture, that they were incapable of running the country.

“Today the Russians have torn to pieces the tissue of lies of the past 40 years,” the Prensa Latina Agency reported a Panamanian unemployed worker as saying when he heard of the Soviet manned space flight. This was also the reaction of millions who had been subjected to systematic anti-communist brainwashing. The inertia of old conceptions came into collision with the dynamics of reality, the truth emerged from the collision and the old concepts were consigned to the rubbish bin.

While opening the eyes of those who had been the victims of deception, this achievement of the Soviet people at the same time imbued with new enthusiasm and redoubled the energies of those who, having freed themselves from the web of bourgeois lies, had joined the champions of progress.

What was it that made this, at first glance a purely scientific and technological matter, a social and political event of worldwide magnitude?

Many see only one of its aspects — the “space race” between the two great powers, the USSR and the USA, which has held the attention of everyone since the autumn of 1957. From this standpoint, April 12 once again showed that the Soviet Union is far ahead of the United States. Some measure its lead in months, others in years. But nobody doubts that the economic potential and scientific level of the USA will enable it sooner or later to repeat the feat of the Soviet cosmic Columbus. Commander Shepard’s up-and-down missile flight is a step in this direction, and the people of the United States, its scientists and the intrepid airman are to be congratulated on their success.

But to stop at this superficial aspect means to miss the true significance of the Soviet victory in outer space. The Soviet Union and the United States are not merely the two powers building rockets and spaceships; they represent two social systems. The competition in outer space is only part of the overall terrestrial competition between socialism and capitalism. Against this background the Soviet accomplishment assumes a new dimension, shedding new light on the historical destiny of both the two powers and the two social systems. One is not months or years, but an entire historical epoch behind the other.

This is evident if only from the fact that on its way to leadership in mastering outer space the Soviet Union had to traverse a much more arduous path. This path began in a country which after a long lag behind others in social progress, was laid waste by imperialist war and afterwards by civil war and foreign intervention. Even to many honest observers Russia’s future seemed to be wrapped in gloom. As for Russia’s enemies, they predicted the “complete downfall of every form of life in Russia, except village life,” as Churchill did in 1920. Then came the years of economic blockade and political isolation, and finally the life and death struggle of a war in which imperialism tried to make short work of socialism through the agency of the fascists.

The start, therefore, was made against heavy odds. But the social driving forces, too, were far from equal. The Americans complain that their rocket propellant is not good enough. And indeed, it is inferior, for it lacks the necessary social catalyst. The popular energy released by the revolution multiplied by the popular talent tapped by the revolution — this is what has enabled the Soviet Union to compress centuries into years and to catch up with and, in many respects, surpass, the countries which had led the race. Cosmic exploration, which presupposes commensurate terrestrial achievements, is, therefore, a yardstick of a country’s power. If it demands physical fitness, courage and emotional stability on the part of the cosmonaut, it demands from the economy a high level of all-round development, and creative maturity from society. Hence leadership in outer space has, by force of circumstance, become the touchstone by which people judge the merits of

social systems. And for the same reason the voyage of the spaceship Vostok was neither a surprise nor an impressive crowning achievement, but an earnest of more victories to come.

That is the crux of the matter. The Soviet Union's space achievements are, unquestionably, important in themselves. But what is even more important is the fact that they mark a new stage in the competition of the two systems. Socialism has demonstrated its superiority from the moment of its inception. It emerged from trials which capitalism could not have withstood. It has solved faster and more successfully than capitalism the economic, social and cultural problems inherited from the past. It has ensured incomparably faster progress in all spheres of life. But to perceive this, serious analysis was needed, a clear understanding of the adverse conditions in which the building of the new society was begun. And it was here that bourgeois propaganda wallowed in speculation and falsification in order to belittle the successes of socialism.

Now the situation has changed. The Soviet Union and many other socialist countries have basically solved the problems inherited from the past. The victory in outer space relates, as we have said, to a new stage in the competition of the two systems. It is there for all to see, and no propaganda can minimize its significance. Other victories will follow—in industry and agriculture, in science and culture, in raising living standards, in extending democracy, and in other spheres — not relative but absolute victories, greater than any that capitalism has produced.

This, then, is the "secret weapon" that will ensure the Communists victory throughout the world, by proving the superiority of their ideas and of the social system they have created.

The international Communist movement sees in the latest Soviet triumph confirmation of its correct course, proof that the principles of communism can lead any country to the full flowering of all its vital forces, and derives from them new inspiration. Every Communist considers the Soviet accomplishment his own, and, indeed, it could not have been achieved without the fraternal internationalist support rendered by the Communists of other countries to the first state of the working people.

"My flight into the cosmos was more than a personal accomplishment," Yuri Gagarin, the world's first cosmonaut, wrote in his

message to our readers. "The credit for it goes to communism."

These are not empty words, but a statement of fact. To appreciate this one need only examine the part played by the social factor in making man's first space flight possible.

The United States, too, has the men and the materiel of which success in cosmic exploration is compounded. But it is prevented from overtaking the Soviet Union by the anarchy of the capitalist economy and the contradiction between its technological potential and the social fetters shackling it.

America's best scientists work for the big corporations, not on behalf of society and humanity. The monopoly tycoons believe that what is good for General Motors is good for science. Committees of experts are set up to establish the sound of a slamming car door that would appeal most to the buyers. For this has a bearing on profits. But outer space offered no dividends until it was discovered that the armament drive could be extended there too. Thus is science debased, talent squandered, research largely geared to the interests of the monopolies. Subordination of research to profit disperses scientific forces among competing firms, leads to wasteful spending, and causes cardinal problems to be ignored unless there is a promise of quick returns. The unity of aim between science and society which inspires thought in the socialist countries is undermined. The substitution of this unity by purely utilitarian, commercial consideration to a great extent deprives the U.S. scientist of the joy of creation, and this, too, tends to slow down the pace. Although some progress is made, it is not nearly as great as it might be.

And when generals who dream of orbiting H-bomb space vehicles begin to drive the scientists, this cannot but evoke in researchers who are aware of their responsibility to society feelings of protest or at least revulsion. The militarization of science is one of those monstrosities spawned by capitalism against which the conscience rebels.

According to capitalist logic everything is for sale: love, allies, even the brains of the scientist. And guided by this, the U.S. Congress is lavish with funds for space programs, for not only the national reputation but also the prestige of the capitalist system is at stake. Yet no amount of money will buy the creative inspiration of the scientist who would rather dedicate himself to his people than serve the moneybags. Nor can money

compensate for the talent lost through an inadequate system of education. The Soviet Union's space achievements are in large measure due not to direct appropriations for space research, but to the funds so unstintingly spent on public education. The seeds of knowledge so liberally sown have yielded rich fruit. This is a guarantee also of future successes.

Not long ago capitalist propaganda still predicted that scientific thought would "degenerate" in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries inasmuch as socialism, allegedly, is the "negation of democracy." And today President Kennedy attributes the Soviet Union's successes in space exploration precisely to this "absence of democracy," which, in his opinion provides "short-lived advantages" by making it possible to concentrate on solving a particular task. True enough, the socialist system does make it possible to concentrate efforts at the decisive point at the decisive time, but this is no "short-lived" advantage enjoyed by a "dictatorship"; it is a feature of socialist democracy, which has rid society of monopoly domination and has made it possible to conduct economic endeavor according to plan in the interests of the people. Capitalist economy with its anarchy is denied this powerful lever.

Those capitalists who are not afraid to face the unpleasant facts of life, like Clarence B. Randall, of the United States, for instance, admit that, thanks to its planned socialist economy, the Soviet Union is already in a position to overtake any capitalist country in any sphere it chooses — whether it be smelting steel, drilling for oil, or making champagne. "The most ardent advocate of private capitalism must squirm uneasily when the facts come to him," Randall says in his book *The Communist Challenge to American Business*.

Planning presupposes priorities in satisfying requirements. Kennedy seizes upon this to argue from a purely philistine standpoint. Would it not be more important, he asks, for man to occupy himself with more down-to-earth things?

Only three years ago Kennedy's right-hand man, Vice-President Lyndon Johnson, publicly declared that the United States' immediate aim was to be the first to conquer the Universe. He who controls outer space also controls the world, he said. But now that the United States has finally become convinced that it is lagging in space research, doubts are being expressed as to whether it is really

worth while going on with it. The hypocrisy of Kennedy's doubts is more than obvious.

To pose the question in this way is wrong from all standpoints. Cosmic exploration is not wanton waste of economic resources. The lesson of history is that scientific discoveries and technological progress revolutionize the life of men, though not always at once. Often the discoverers themselves are unaware of their significance and consequences. Hertz, for example, had no idea that radio waves would find practical application. Rutherford could not foresee the revolutionary changes that were to come from the splitting of the atom. When Columbus set sail he was thinking primarily of India's spices. One has to climb to the top of the hill to see the other side. But today the practical significance of the mastery of space for weather forecasting and ice survey, relaying radio and television broadcasts, and for scientific research beyond the bounds of the earth's atmosphere, is sufficiently clear. According to the *British Financial Times*, space research has already resulted in the appearance of three thousand new manufactured articles suitable for everyday use. And Professor Lovell, the British astronomer, has said that the space achievements to date point to "the factors which in future will determine the wealth of nations." To put off space exploration would mean retarding progress.

Capitalism has its own priority list, a list determined not by concern for the public weal but by considerations of profit. In the United States, for example, more money is spent on cigarette advertising than on medical research. What is this if not wanton waste?

The capitalist comments on the greatest event of our day are in inverse proportion to its magnitude. In the magnificent accomplishment of a free society they see a Communist conspiracy, or at best a by-product of human discord. They suspect a cunning device to induce an inferiority complex in an ideological adversary so as to gain in psychological advantage. To cap it all, they seek to use the flight to outer space to poison the political atmosphere by claiming that Gagarin's feat was intended for a show of strength.

From the military standpoint only one logical deduction can be made from the flight: that the military approach is untenable. When any payload can be landed on any spot on the globe with pin-point accuracy, there is nothing left to do but disarm completely and exclude war from the life of society.

The day Yuri Gagarin orbited the earth, the Soviet Union again issued a peace appeal to the peoples and governments of all countries. For the U.S. militarists continue to regard outer space as another theater of war and its conquest as a step to conquest of the world. The Pentagon's conclusion from the first manned space flight was that a new strategy had to be worked out.

What the world needs is a strategy of peace. The President of the United States has spoken of this, but judging by the war cries emanating from Washington, the "new strategy" boils down to a speedy development of orbital bombers and acquisition of bases on the Moon. To get to the Moon in order to blast the world from there—such is the crazy dream of the moonstruck capitalists, such is their list of priorities!

This mentality is out of touch with life. Although the first space flight has extended the boundaries of human knowledge, not all have as yet acquired the breadth of vision which the times dictate. Now that man has penetrated to the cosmos it is still more obvious that there are occupations more useful and worthy than the destruction of humankind. As Prime Minister Nehru of India said apropos of the Gagarin flight, this victory of man over Nature should awaken people to the stupidity of war on our tiny planet. The flight, he said, was a triumph for the cause of peace.

After April 12, capitalist spokesmen still capable of sober thinking declared that the struggle between ideologies and systems

must be fought out anywhere but on the battlefield. Space exploration is a better form of ideological competition than military action, said the British newspaper *Observer*.

Truth emerges from comparison. People today are weighing the war threats against the calls for peace, the ignominious lagging against the astounding achievement. The Soviet breakthrough into outer space has made the ideas of socialism still more attractive to the peoples, especially the peoples of those countries whose economic development had been retarded by colonialism and which are now, as it were, at the crossroads. This is not a matter of Communist cunning, it is in the nature of things. The peoples can think for themselves. They can see that capitalism offers them no way out of their misery. With the socialist countries forging ahead in the van of human progress, there is little point in attaching oneself to the capitalist rearguard. As the *Ghana Evening News* pointed out, the fact that a formerly backward country was able to make the first manned space flight in a matter of forty-odd years after launching out on the highroad of truly free development is amazing testimony to the strength and effectiveness of the socialist system. This, it adds, is a good example for the African and all the other new countries.

The Soviet space flight has consolidated the position of the socialist countries as the decisive factor of social progress, a pledge of universal peace and the realization of man's every dream.

Socialist Reconstruction of Agriculture in Hungary

Janos Kadar

THE socialist sector in Hungary's agriculture now embraces more than 90 per cent of the total cultivated area. This, the result of the rapid growth of the producer co-operatives, together with the consolidation of the workers' government, is, unquestionably, the biggest development in our country since the suppression of the counter-revolutionary putsch in 1956.

Socialist relations of production now predominate both in industry and in agriculture, marking a new stage in the development of our socialist revolution. The way to this hard-won victory was long and arduous, and it may be useful to glance back over the path traversed and sum up the experience gained in the process.

I

Until the end of the Second World War Hungary was a capitalist country burdened with mediaeval survivals very much like tsarist Russia, like Poland before liberation, or like Spain today. More than 30 per cent of the land belonged to the landlords, who were only a thousandth part of the population; six per cent was owned by the church. One-third of the population were landless peasants and farm laborers. Hungary was known as a land of "three million paupers." The large-scale feudal land tenure was one of the main reasons for the general backwardness, for the poverty of the laboring classes and for the retarded development of capitalism.

A decisive turning point in the development of the country and the age-old struggle for land came in 1945 when the Soviet Army expelled the Nazis from Hungary. The capitalist-landlord system, which had leagued itself with Hitler, suffered a mortal blow.

The working class and its ally, the peasantry, established a new, democratic rule, which abolished the feudal system of big estates. With the agrarian reform law of March 1945, justice triumphed and the land became the property of the tillers. All estates over 200

holds* were divided up among the rural poor. The land reform was a lever of political, economic and social progress, for it launched the peasantry on the road to a new and better life.

The next few years showed, however, that small-scale peasant farming offered little opportunity for real progress in agriculture. It acted as a brake on economic development generally and hampered any further rise in the standard of living of the bulk of the peasantry. Grave contradictions arose in the economy. While industrial production in 1955 had trebled compared with 1938, agricultural output had risen by a mere one or two per cent. The only way the people's government could solve the contradiction between the rapidly growing socialist industry and the stagnant small-scale agriculture, and thus ensure well-being for the peasants and the people as a whole, was the way of producer co-operatives, large-scale socialist farms.

The socialist reconstruction of agriculture was begun in 1948 when the working class had taken full power into its hands, and industrialization, the basis for rebuilding the country along socialist lines, was underway at a rapid pace. The producer co-operatives, however, developed unevenly. The sectarian mistakes of the Party leadership as well as the revisionist attack in 1953 and the counter-revolutionary putsch of 1956 caused serious setbacks. By 1953 the co-operatives were tilling 30 per cent of the total cultivated area, but by the end of the year the percentage had dropped to 21, and by the spring of 1957, as a result of the counter-revolutionary putsch, to 10 per cent.**

An analysis of the growth and reverses of the producer co-operative movement shows that the advance has been due to the implementation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to the efforts of the Communists and the entire working class, while the setbacks were caused by distortion of the prin-

*1 hold = 0.57 hectares.

**Besides, 13-14 percent of the total cultivated area belonged to the state farms, i.e., the socialist sector.

ciples, by "left" sectarian mistakes which the class enemy and its revisionist accomplices seized upon to further their own ends.

II

Assessing the situation in December 1958, the Central Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party pointed out that the political and economic conditions had ripened for a step forward in the socialist reconstruction of agriculture and worked out a political program for carrying it out.

In the two and a half years since then this complex task has been solved in the main, chiefly because the Central Committee exposed and, in the difficult conditions of the fight against the counter-revolution, corrected the mistakes of the previous leaders in the sphere of agrarian policy, in forming the co-operatives and generally in worker-peasant relations.

The dogmatic mistakes of the earlier leadership derived from the incorrect concept that the growth of the co-operative movement could be accelerated only by a wholesale restriction of individual peasant farming. In practice this meant ignoring the needs of the individual peasant. Apart from combating profiteering and capitalist tendencies hardly anything was done. Relations with the individual peasant were seriously impaired, and this prevented utilization of the existing, albeit limited, potential of small commodity production.

The revisionists seized upon these mistakes in order to sow discontent among the peasants, to set back the co-operative movement and put off the reorganization of agriculture indefinitely. Both the "left" and the "right" distortions of the Party's policy in regard to the peasantry were used by the counter-revolutionaries to further their own ends.

In 1956, however, their hope of setting the peasantry against the workers' government was bitterly disappointed. With the exception of a few small reactionary groups, the peasants, far from supporting the counter-revolution, rallied solidly around the revolutionary workers' and peasants' government. Significantly enough, the members of the co-operatives, even the waverers, took an organized stand in support of the people's government.

In view of the situation at the end of 1956 and the beginning of 1957, when the key task was to reinforce people's rule, the Central Committee came to the conclusion that before pressing ahead with the co-

operative movement, it was necessary first to prepare politically for it. The organization of co-operatives on a countrywide scale was put off for the time being. But the Party made it clear that a new spurt in co-operative development would set in since this was vitally essential both for the country and for the peasants.

During 1957-58 the Party's policy gave a certain, limited encouragement to individual farming.

The system of obligatory deliveries to the state was abolished—a system which, owing to gross distortion by the previous leadership, deprived the producer of an incentive and thus retarded both co-operative and individual farming. Contracts for the purchase of farm produce by the state were introduced and became the main means of building up state stocks of products. These measures stimulated farm production, including private farming. At the same time the revival of capitalist tendencies was combated through taxation, price control, etc. Thus, in our relations with the individual peasants we combined support of their production efforts by giving them every incentive, with due restraints on profiteering. The aid given to private farmers and the scrupulous fulfilment of the promises made to them reinforced their faith in the Party, and this in turn provided the political and moral groundwork for a new advance in producer co-operation.

Besides aiding and encouraging the individual farmers, the Party and the government naturally sought to strengthen the existing co-operatives and state farms. These were already playing an important role in production for the market and it was imperative to transform them into a reliable base for the socialist reconstruction of agriculture in general.

Above all, the co-operatives were helped to increase production. In the course of 1957-58 they proved their superiority over individual farming by ensuring for their members a higher standard of living. The former agricultural laborers and poor peasants who formed the bulk of their membership netted incomes equal to and in some cases exceeding those of the middle peasant. As a result, part of the peasants who had left the co-operatives had rejoined by the end of 1958. The conditions had matured for a new advance in the co-operative movement.

The setting up of producer co-operatives throughout the country again became the order of the day. However, to ensure suc-

cess, the confusion in theory and the political uncertainty that still made themselves felt here and there in the Party had to be overcome; clarity on questions of theory was needed.

First, the survivals of sectarianism had to be uprooted. Some of our comrades, apprehensive of the private farmers getting firmly on their feet, felt that the incomes of these farmers should be kept down, for otherwise they would not join co-operatives. The Party denounced these erroneous views. Those who held such views failed to see the essence of the changes that had taken place. Whereas under capitalism the possible enrichment of a few small peasants is accompanied by the impoverishment of increasing numbers and the complete pauperization of some, in a People's Democracy the masses of smallholders are not threatened by ruin because they can rely on the help and the protection of the state. In other words, the socialist policy of our Party presupposes that the peasants should live better. To work for the reverse would be to trample on our own principles. We believe that the individual peasant making a decent living should be won for the co-operative not by reducing his standard of living but by ensuring him a still better life in the co-operative. Experience has fully proved that we were right. Nowhere has the steady rise in the standard of living prevented the peasants from joining the co-operatives. On the contrary, seeing for themselves that in advocating and organizing the co-operatives the Party is working for a better life for the peasants, they realize that its counsel is worth heeding.

Other comrades, fearing a repetition of the pre-1956 sectarian mistakes, tried to hold things back. They believed that a slower pace would produce better results. In addition to these fears, which arose from the best of intentions, revisionist views opposed to socialist development as a whole and the views of hostile bourgeois elements still made themselves felt in December 1958. The Central Committee had to combat both the "left" and the "right" and wage an ideological and political struggle against petty-bourgeois pressure and bourgeois attempts to block our progress.

Clarity had to be achieved in interpreting the Leninist principle of voluntary association in co-operatives. It is self-evident that strong co-operatives can be built only if the peasants, convinced of the advantages of co-operation, give it their full support. As it was,

however, many people confused voluntary association with spontaneity and preferred to let things simply drift. And this in spite of the fact that it is a Marxist-Leninist axiom that the peasant, being at once property-owner and worker, is bound to waver between the working class and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism.

Since the only consistently revolutionary class is the working class, this class is destined to lead the other classes, to guide the class struggle for the victory of socialism. The organizational efforts, initiative and all-round assistance on the part of the working class and its revolutionary Party were essential if the peasants were to be united in co-operatives and to take the path of socialism. Left to drift, years would be needed for them to overcome their hesitations. Therefore in December 1958 the Central Committee again called upon the Party, the working class and all progressives to help build the producer co-operative movement. The decisive thing in the victory of socialist production relations in agriculture was that the small and middle peasants found the strength to break with their small property-owning past and give up their old mode of life, hard though it was for them to overcome their doubts and prejudices. But behind it all was the consistent, purposeful leadership of the Party and the explanatory and organizational work conducted for years in the countryside by the hundreds of thousands of workers in industry, on the state farms and in the machine and tractor depots, by school teachers and other intellectuals, and by the peasant members of the Party.

The link between the material and the political prerequisites for the reconstruction of agriculture was another much debated issue in 1958. Some believed that the economic preconditions were most important and hence advocated forming co-operatives at a snail's pace. Others estimated the outlay per hold needed to cultivate land by large-scale socialist farming methods and, simplifying the issue, suggested that the funds available for investment be made the criterion of how large an area can be brought under co-operative tillage. Both views made everything depend on state outlays.

One can hardly visualize a co-operative being set up by first building cattle barns, pig pens and granaries in the middle of a village where all the land is privately tilled and only then inviting the peasants to join. Could the Party advise the working class to

put the thousands of millions of forints so urgently needed elsewhere into creating the economic foundations of future co-operatives in the hope that one day the peasants would join them? Moreover, to have done so would have excluded the peasants from a movement that is specifically their own. Their initiative would have been hamstrung and the revolutionary mobilization of the creative energies and the economic resources of the countryside retarded. In general, these views tended to overrate the role of the economic prerequisites, and to underrate the importance of the political prerequisites.

The Party could not accept these views. It held—as it had ever since the defeat of the counter-revolution—that of prime importance in the socialist reconstruction of agriculture were the political conditions: the correct political relationship between the Party and the peasantry, between the latter and the working class, their solidarity and alliance.

This, however, does not mean that we relegate the economic aspect to the background and think that there is nothing more to be done than to unite the peasants in co-operatives. Certain material reserves must be allocated in advance on a national scale for the purpose and every attention paid to consolidating the co-operatives from the day of their founding. The Party has never lost sight of this. For example, in the past three years more than 15,000 million forints have been invested in agriculture.

Setting the proper pace is of prime importance. Overestimation of the potentialities of small peasant farming and lack of faith in the leadership of the working class tend to slow down the rate of development, while any administrative compulsion to speed things up would only do harm.

To find the correct medium it was necessary to take into account the mentality of the smallholder and to overcome the pernicious sectarian tendency to regard the wavering of the peasantry as evidence that they were "reactionary" and "hostile." It was necessary to bear in mind that in the past the peasant lived in constant fear of the morrow; all his life he toiled to acquire a plot of land, for experience had taught him that existence depended on it. His very personality was split: one half of him reached out to socialism, which promised him a decent life, the other half gravitated to capitalism, which offered him the bait of "becoming rich" and rising above his fellows. Conscious of this, we

could not allow ourselves to be too impatient with the working peasant. We had to persuade him again and again, to dispel his doubts.

Our co-operative building campaign conducted from December 1958 to February 1961 was planned so as to make use of the winter months, when the peasants have more time to discuss things, for mass organizational work. From spring to autumn efforts were concentrated on consolidating the newly-formed or amalgamated co-operatives and helping them put the work on an effective footing. Experience has shown that this method of organizing co-operatives by stages was the correct one.

In the winter of 1958-59 some 343,000 peasants joined the co-operatives, and their land area rose to 34 per cent of the total.

The following winter the membership of the co-operatives increased by another 380,000 and their land area amounted to 56 per cent of the total.

Last winter yet another 340,000 peasants joined, bringing the total cultivated area of the co-operative sector to more than 76 per cent of the overall figure for the country. Only three per cent of the co-operatives are of the elementary type.

This method of staging enabled us to put the newly established co-operatives on their feet in their first year.

III

The rapid advance of the producer co-operative movement in 1959-61 was backed by a sound national economy and in particular by a rapid expansion of socialist industry. The three-year economic plan (1958-60) was overfulfilled, with industry in the lead with a 40 per cent increase in gross production. This made it possible to allocate to agriculture machines and mineral fertilizers over and above plan and to render assistance in building barns and other premises necessary for the large-scale expansion of livestock farming. Other aid was also given to the co-operatives to strengthen them organizationally and economically.

During the three-year plan period when most of the co-operatives were formed, agricultural production increased roughly by 11 per cent (one was a good crop year, one average, and one was a poor year). We still have much to do to strengthen the co-operatives, but for all that this advance shows that farm production can be increased simultaneously with its socialist reconstruction.

Although it is by no means a simple matter to introduce collective farming, the difficulties involved are of a transient nature, whereas the difficulties arising from the limitations of small peasant farming are insuperable and persist until the socialist reconstruction is completed. Having reorganized agriculture in the main, we can now concentrate on strengthening the co-operatives. As it is, we are creating the conditions for rapidly doing away with the lag in agriculture compared with industry, for making Hungarian farming in a number of branches second to none. This calls for hard work, but the reward will be worth the effort.

In addition to the correct policy of the Party, the practical steps taken to remove the obstacles to the development of the co-operative movement are of cardinal importance. One of these is a government decision entitling the co-operative members to receive a rental for the land turned over to the co-operative upon joining. This measure has acted as an incentive especially to the middle peasant. Last year the rent payment amounted to 7-8 per cent of the total income distributed by the co-operatives to their members. The sole exemptions in this respect are a few co-operatives which previously paid no rent and whose finances would be disrupted by introducing the system.

Important too was the extension of social security, including old-age pensions, to co-operative members. Fear of old age always haunted the peasant, who in the past often became a burden to his family when no longer able to work. No wonder that the decision entitling members of co-operatives to receive old-age pensions was warmly welcomed. This, as well as the payment of sick and disability benefits, was for the peasants an object lesson in socialist humanism and helped to bring them into the mainstream of socialist development.

Moreover, the leading positions in the co-operatives were again made elective and this, too, helped to strengthen the spirit of collectivism and improve the work of the farms. Instead of the district and regional authorities choosing the farm managers, as was the rule in the early 1950's, the co-operative members now elect them from among candidates best fitted for the job. The peasants rightly regard this as a token of trust in them.

The Party has carried out a series of measures aimed at consolidating the co-operatives economically, and a special decision of the Party and the government has systematized

the various kinds of state aid. Whereas formerly a sizeable part of the aid rendered by the state went to augment the income distributed by the co-operatives to their members rather than to expand production, this unsound practice has been ended. As a result, the co-operators pay more attention to improving their farms and are working more conscientiously. Indicative in this respect is that while the real income of the entire peasantry has gone up, the average real income per co-operative member exceeded that of the individual peasants by 12 per cent in 1957, 11 per cent in 1958, and 10 per cent in 1959.

The increased efficiency and better organization and management of the co-operatives could not but win growing recognition among the private farmers.

IV

Far-reaching developments such as the socialist reconstruction of agriculture inevitably change the balance of class forces and influence the course of the class struggle. In what way has the balance of class forces changed in Hungary?

The political situation is determined primarily by the relations between the two basic classes of working people—the working class and the peasantry. The importance of the alliance of the two for the victory of socialism was stressed time and again by Lenin. In the course of the struggle waged by the Hungarian working class the content of this alliance has varied according to the different periods of social development.

During Horthy's fascist regime the Party worked to rally the working class in alliance with the whole peasantry (the poor and middle peasants as well as the rich peasants) against the landlord-capitalist system and, later, against the Hitler occupation. After liberation, the working class was able in the class battles of 1945-48 to smash the landlord system, to overthrow the rule of the capitalists and landlords and to win power because, in addition to the favorable international situation, it enjoyed the support of the poor and middle peasants and had neutralized the rich peasants.

At the end of 1956 and the beginning of 1957, the main task confronting the worker-peasant alliance was defense of the people's government. By the end of 1958, the immediate aim of this political alliance was, besides further consolidation of people's rule, the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. Today, with the overwhelming majority of the peas-

ants having taken to the socialist path, this alliance has risen to a higher stage, setting as its aim the building of socialism.

To understand the dynamics of this process it is essential to distinguish between an identity of interests and an identity of views, inasmuch as the two do not always coincide when social classes are in question. If we look to the past we shall see that the basic interests of the peasantry never differed from the interests and the aims of the working class. In keeping with its interests the working class stood for socialism also in the countryside, and it made this amply clear to the peasants. At the same time socialism was in the best interests of the overwhelming majority of the peasants. Seen from this angle, it is clear that the interests of the working class and the majority of the peasants were identical. Yet many peasants did not realize that only socialism could fully meet their interests, hence their views on socialism did not coincide with those of the working class. In other words, there was a divergence of views, despite the fundamental identity of interests. Now, however, the completion of the transfer of agriculture to co-operative lines shows that the working class and the peasants are united not only by community of interests, but also by identity of views on socialism. The peasants, conscious of their true interests, share the aims of the working class and are for socialism. Clearly, the worker-peasant alliance has risen to a higher level.

With co-operatives predominating throughout the country the former small and middle peasants have become co-operative farmers. The class of big farmers has been abolished. The former members of this class who sincerely wish to find a place for themselves in socialist society are free to join the producer co-operatives provided their fellow villagers agree to their admittance. After two years of honest work in the co-operative they acquire full membership rights and may be elected to leading posts.

The victory of the producer co-operative movement has put an end to the differentiation among the peasants, who have become a fundamentally united class. True, survivals of the former distinction still remain, but they are no longer decisive. The decisive fact is that we now have a basically united class of peasants living within the sphere of socialist relations of production. From this a number of important conclusions should be drawn.

For one thing, each member of a co-operative should be judged by his work for the

good of the collective, his ability and attitude, and not by the amount of land he used to own or whether he was rich or poor.

But we still have people who, with the best of intentions and citing what Lenin said about our attitude to the poor, middle and rich peasants, tend to classify the members of the co-operatives by these tokens. We have faithfully followed this Leninist precept throughout the long years of class struggle, but to apply this principle literally, in our conditions, as a ready-made pattern at the present time, would be a grave mistake indeed. Lenin never suggested that we should base ourselves on the *former* poor peasant, to form an alliance with the *former* middle peasant, or to combat the *former* rich peasant. If we, instead of furthering the coming together now under way, were to divide the peasants according to their former class affiliations, we would be setting one co-operator against another, reviving their old differences springing from past class distinctions. It is precisely in accordance with Lenin's teachings that we put the emphasis on the complete eradication of all vestiges of the old differences.

As a result of the reorganization of farming along co-operative lines the irreconcilable class contradictions—the contradictions between the exploiters and the exploited—have been abolished in the main. The class struggle is taking place in new conditions. In a sense it has entered a new phase and, since the economic roots of the basic contradictions have vanished, it need not take the same violent forms as before.

The people's democratic state, of course, vigilantly guards the inviolability of our system. But the focus of the class struggle is shifting more and more to the spheres of ideology and economy. The fight now is basically against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois views and tendencies (egoism, profiteering, deception, squandering of public property), to safeguard the socialist economy against criminal negligence, irresponsibility and sabotage. At the same time, especially in view of the object lesson which the success of the powerful socialist camp and our own success provide for all of us, it is fully possible to re-educate through labor at least some of the members of the former capitalist class, certainly their children, and make them useful members of the socialist society.

V

The socialist reconstruction of agriculture is a big step forward in building socialism. But important though it is, the development of mass co-operative farming is only a stage in the creation of a socialist agriculture. So far the roots of socialist production relations have not struck deep enough in our countryside. There still are in the co-operatives many survivals of small peasant farming which have to be eradicated, not at once, of course, but gradually, as the conditions ripen. For example, a considerable part of the commonly-owned cattle is still kept in the barns of the members of co-operatives since there are not enough co-operative barns. It will take some years to change the situation. There are still things in the co-operatives which cannot be described as socialist. Hence the task of the moment is to consolidate the socialist features and steadily to strengthen the socialist relations of production.

To a certain extent this applies also to the payment of land rent, justified and necessary though it still is. Rent is a constant factor, determined by the area of land, whereas the role of labor and its productivity are bound to grow with the consolidation of the socialist character of the co-operatives. Consequently the share of rent in the members' incomes is bound to diminish.

To reinforce the socialist character of the co-operatives their members must be educated in the spirit of socialism. Although the very act of joining a co-operative signifies a sharp change in the peasant's mode of life and cannot but influence his thinking, it would be a mistake to assume that people thereby completely rid themselves of the old ballast and that their attitude becomes socialist overnight. On the contrary, much of the old will persist for a long time, the negative features included. Those who have consistently believed in co-operation will work hard for socialism, for communism, and the success of the co-operative movement will but confirm their convictions. But those who have wavered will continue to do so, though in lesser degree. And the spivs will want to continue profiteering even in the co-operative. Not until all the pernicious habits and hangovers have been overcome will the obstacles hampering the formation of genuine socialist relationships be removed.

It will also take time for full democracy to be achieved in the co-operatives, i.e., for all members to acquire sufficient knowledge and experience to play a competent part in direct-

ing the affairs of the co-operative and effectively to assist the managers they have placed at its head. But this, too, must be done in order to consolidate the socialist production relations.

Our immediate task is to transform the co-operatives into highly efficient large-scale socialist farms. Farm work should be organized accordingly, the income distributed according to the work done so as to stimulate maximum production, and management improved. More experts should be trained, a conscientious attitude to labor encouraged and full use made of the great advantages of large-scale farming by employing the latest methods of cultivation. Our aim is to increase production with the utmost speed and in particular to raise yields far higher than those obtained by the individual small farmer.

Within the next few years socialist agriculture should fully satisfy all our basic food requirements, leaving a substantial surplus for export. Our class enemies often claim that the situation in Hungary has deteriorated, on the grounds that we now sometimes import them. But this argument will not hold water. The old Hungary was able to export large quantities of certain foodstuffs because the majority of her own people went hungry. Today home consumption has substantially increased. Annual consumption of pork, for example, rose from 136,000 tons in 1938 to 234,000 in 1958, that of fats, from 118,000 tons in 1938 to 188,000 in 1959, and sugar from 95,000 to 257,000 tons.

Our aim is to increase exports while meeting the increased requirements at home. With our favorable climatic conditions we can easily do this if we develop large-scale socialist farming.

Those who level all sorts of slanderous accusations against the Hungarian People's Republic and clamor about the absence of agricultural exports say nothing about the fact that 16 years ago the rulers of capitalist Hungary left us a backward, almost mediaeval agriculture. Our people and their government have already done much to overcome this backwardness. Take, for instance, mechanization. In 1935 there were only 7,000 tractors on Hungarian farms, but by the end of 1959 the figure had risen to 31,000, and by the end of last year, to nearly 40,000. In 1938 13.5 kilograms of chemical fertilizer was used per hold of land, in 1960 the figure was 81. Between 1946 and 1960 the people's state allocated 41,000 million forints for the construction of publicly-owned barns and other

farm buildings and for the purchase of farm machines. More than 6,000 crop and livestock experts were trained. The full benefits of this aid will be reaped in the coming years.

VI

In common with the other fraternal parties of the socialist camp, our Party is concentrating its efforts—in line with the Moscow Statement of 1960—on organizing and leading the economic development. It is our purpose to ensure an abundance of the good things of life for the people and thereby prove the superiority of the socialist system of economy over the capitalist system.

In promoting progress in agriculture we are not only working in our own interests; this is also our internationalist duty. We are fully aware that, in addition to our own efforts, the favorable international situation has been the decisive condition of the substantial successes we have achieved in a comparatively brief space of time. The socialist reorganization of our agriculture would have been impossible if our peasants had not had before them tangible evidence of the magnificent accomplishments of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp generally, on the one hand, and of the decline of capitalism, on the other. No little influence was exercised also by the

progress made in rebuilding farming along socialist lines in the other People's Democracies.

The Central Committee of the Party considers it its revolutionary duty to consolidate the newly-formed co-operatives and thereby ensure a rapid growth of agricultural output. This is necessary, on the one hand, because fast-growing farm production is essential for the further building of socialism and raising the standard of living. On the other hand, there are millions who will be convinced of the superiority of socialism over the old social system only when they see for themselves how much better socialist agriculture can provide for the nation's needs.

Strong, prosperous co-operative farms and the further development of the state farms—in a word, the complete victory of socialism in the Hungarian countryside—this is our aim. Its accomplishment will further strengthen our system politically, advance our economy and guarantee a prosperous life for our people.

Consolidation of socialist production relations in the countryside with a simultaneous increase in agricultural output will be a new victory hastening the completion of the edifice of socialism in the Hungarian People's Republic.

The Communist Party— A National Force

Leon Bohr

A FEATURE of the history of liberation movements is this: whenever the ruling classes have nothing with which to challenge a progressive idea mirroring the requirements of social development, they simply denounce it as alien to the national soil, and those who support it, as "foreign agents." In the Spain of the last century this label was first attached to the Liberals and then to the Socialists, in Italy to the supporters of Garibaldi, in Germany to the early Social Democrats. Nowadays, it is the Communist parties who are denounced as foreign agents.

In pamphlets, for instance, Communists are depicted with knife clenched between

teeth and with a foreign trademark on cuff or necktie; then there are forgeries and frame-ups; official statements; insinuations and ambiguities; streams of literature of all shades and hues. Whereas, for example, U.S. politicians have always claimed that the Communist Party there, like all other Communist parties, is directed and controlled by Moscow, politicians in India adopt the subtler approach—they regret that in its view and roots the Communist Party is linked not to India but to a foreign country. Whereas in Spain and in Pakistan Communists are jailed for being "foreign agents," in Morocco the Communist Party is banned on the pretext

that it is not in keeping with the national traditions and that it is incompatible with Islam. But no matter what capitalist country we take—from that of an overt fascist dictatorship to that in which there are still vestiges of parliamentary democracy — the ruling classes depict the Communists as Ishmaels.

This is the hobby of anti-communism, the foul device of an imperialism panic-stricken by the growing might of socialism. The noise and the ravings of an unhealthy imagination replace proof and argument. Anti-communism needs a bogey. But since those who fall for bogeys nowadays are relatively few, the anti-Communists are conscious of the need to provide an ideological basis for their slanders.

The Communists, the bourgeois propagandists say, proclaim themselves internationalists, and internationalism runs counter to the interests of the nation. Hence, the internationalist expresses alien interests. It cannot be said that this juggling with words produces no effect or is incapable of poisoning the minds of people.

The imperialist bourgeoisie has imparted to "national interest" a content which reflects its exploiting proclivities. It equates the national interest with the conditions which enable it to obtain super-profits, to oppress other nations or get the upper hand among them. Hence the fanning of national animosity and jingoism. For the imperialist bourgeoisie, national grandeur signifies colonial plunder, enslaving other peoples. But this policy has nothing in common with the true interests of the nation because a nation that oppresses other nations cannot itself be free. Moreover, countless facts—both ancient and modern—show that the bourgeoisie, in its own class interests, willingly opens the gates of its own country to foreign capital and to foreign military bases. "The nationalist demagoguery of the de Gaulle government is designed to conceal an anti-national policy," the draft resolution for the Sixteenth Congress of the French Communist Party points out. And the Twenty-Seventh Congress of the British Communist Party stated that "our flag-waving Tory profit patriots are literally sacrificing the national interests of Britain."

The Interests of the Nations

The monopoly bourgeoisie, cosmopolitan by nature, endeavors to monopolize such words as "patriotism" and "national interests." But

the true national interests are expressed by the working people, by the working class and, above all, by its vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist party, i.e., practically the entire nation with the exception of the handful of monopolists and their agents. In the underdeveloped countries oppressed by colonialism in both its "classical" and modern forms, the national interest calls for a fight against imperialism, for independence. The Communists have always been in the forefront of the struggle for these ends. Striking confirmation of this is the work carried out by the Communist parties of Syria, the Lebanon, Morocco, Algeria, India, Indonesia and other countries. But the aggressive imperialist states imperil not only the backward countries but even those more economically developed. Hence, defense of national sovereignty, of an independent home and foreign policy is a vital aspect of the genuine national interest. Everywhere the Communists are the most consistent force standing guard over the independence of their countries. The working class, in combating all forms of exploitation and oppression, is simultaneously striving for emancipation not only for itself but for the nation as a whole, for its unretarded advance. And what is more, the internationalism of the Communist parties, far from hindering them in expressing and upholding the genuine national interests, as bourgeois propagandists would have us believe, helps them do so in the most effective way.

Internationalism, which arose as part of the ideology of the proletariat which is interested in rallying the workers of all lands against the common enemy — international capitalism — reflects now not only the interests of the working class but of each nation as a whole. It reflects the objective march of history in the direction of rapprochement and closer economic and cultural ties between the nations.

If earlier it used to be said that the question of the nation being able to reach its fullest development only by taking the way of internationalism was an abstract ideological matter, this cannot be said today. The living reality of socialism is proof of the kind of inter-nation relationships which arise with the abolition of the exploiting classes. Many nationalities which under capitalism were literally doomed to extinction, have gained a new lease on life under socialism and in a brief space of time have made remarkable progress in economic and cultural development. The experience of the Central Asian republics and of the other socialist

republics in the Soviet Union shows that internationalism and friendship between nations facilitate rapid economic growth and spiritual enrichment. The progress made by all the socialist countries furnishes additional proof of this.

Bourgeois propaganda has always speculated on the fact that the Communist parties are linked with one another, that on many issues they make similar decisions and exchange experiences. It is the cherished goal of the bourgeoisie and its revisionist yes-men to counterpose one Communist Party to another. A special din is made about the role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the international communist movement.

Yes, each party feels its responsibility not only for its own country but for the destiny of socialism throughout the world, and is guided by the interests of the international Communist movement as a whole. And this is the source of the strength of the Communist movement. The Communists discerned in good time the danger emanating from the ideology of "national communism" invented by the revisionists with a view to disrupting the Communist parties. The common interests of the Communist movement, i.e., the interests of the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism, are expressed in the decisions jointly elaborated by all parties and the carrying out of which is regarded by the parties as their supreme moral duty. The November (1960) Meeting in Moscow can be taken as an example of how joint decisions are elaborated collectively. Each party thoroughly prepared for the Meeting and each made its contribution proceeding from both its own experience and the tasks of the movement as a whole. The decisions of the Meeting deal with the common tasks and by no means restrict the parties in working out policy suited to the specific conditions of their own countries.

In the international Communist movement there are no parties which give "instructions" and "directives" to other parties. The attitude of the movement as a whole to each party is determined solely by its experience, its contribution to the common cause and its genuine international stand. The decisions taken by any one party, no matter how big it may be or how great its services, are obligatory only for the party concerned. And if all the parties wholeheartedly reaffirmed at the November Meeting that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the vanguard of the world Communist movement, this

means that they see in it the most experienced and tempered Party, the Party blazing the trail to communism and whose experience is of the utmost significance for the movement as a whole, inspiring the other parties, facilitating their struggle and helping them to avoid mistakes.

In the middle of the last century when the Communist movement was in its infancy, the bourgeoisie, accustomed to judging everything from the cash nexus, screamed that Communists were supplied with gold from some mysterious sources. And if the legend about gold was already in circulation in those days when the working-class organizations were numerically weak, nowadays, on the surface of things, it might be argued that there are grounds for these figments. After all, if the U.S. administration officially appropriates hundreds of millions of dollars for subversive activities against the socialist countries, why not seek the millions which the socialist countries allegedly allocate for subversion against capitalism and, in particular, to finance the Communist parties. This slander is designed for those who still do not understand that a counter-revolution in any socialist country is unthinkable unless it is imported and financed from abroad, whereas socialism, the logical result of social evolution, can triumph in the capitalist countries thanks only to the action of the masses, as a system engendered by the people and not imported.

The anti-monopoly struggle is "financed," if we may say so, by the monopolies themselves which by adding daily to the numbers of the exploited and destitute, are stoking the fires of discontent. As for the "Moscow gold" it is aptly described in a document put out by the Spanish Communist Party: "The 'gold' that we are getting from Moscow is the mighty progress of the socialist camp, and the Moscow 'agents' are the Sputniks now circling the earth and the sun. This progress and the Sputniks are of greater help to the working class and the Communist Party of Spain than all the gold ever mined."

Aware of the weakness of the fables about foreign gold, bourgeois propaganda is now changing the tune. How can one speak, we are told, about the independence of the Communist parties when they all pursue the same policy? Does not this mean that they are guided by one and the same directive? But the identity of policy of the Communist parties derives from the community of inter-

ests of the working people of all countries. If the Communist parties have in Marxism-Leninism a common ideology, if they jointly work out common platforms in matters affecting the entire movement, and jointly analyze the situation in the world—and far from concealing this they widely publicize their decisions—is it any wonder that their policy, while in keeping with the genuine national interests, should coincide on cardinal points? By the same token is it any wonder that the Communist parties, which actively fight for peace and regard peace as the decisive condition for the existence of the nations, i.e., as the basic issue of national policy, support the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union? Is it surprising that the Communist parties in the dependent countries, fighting for the liberation of their peoples, support the Soviet proposals for ending colonialism? These proposals, incidentally, have been supported by bourgeois spokesmen in these countries. Coincidence in policy testifies not to any subordination or “directives” but to the fact that the foreign policy of the socialist state coincides with the interests of all who cherish peace and progress.

No matter what the Communist parties in the capitalist countries do, the anti-communists will always depict their actions as something prompted from abroad. For example, Charles-Henri Favrod in his book *The Algerian Revolution*, which pretends to objectivity and which is thoroughly documented, discusses the various aspects of the Algerian problem, including a national front. Unable to deny that the union of the national forces is a matter of constant concern for the Communist Party and that this union is one of the pillars of victory, he adds nevertheless: “While calling with growing frequency for a united national front the Party aims at directing the local movement into the channels of Soviet policy.” In this way slander is substituted for the main aim of the Party—the development of the anti-imperialist emancipation struggle of the people.

Larbi Bouhali, First Secretary of the Algerian Communist Party, gave this anti-communist “investigator” a worthy rebuff. The Party’s policy, said Bouhali, is of a national character, and irrespective of the forms or sources of the anti-communism, it will never succeed in making the Party abandon its patriotic line of consistent struggle for unity of the national and democratic forces, for national independence, peace, democracy and social progress.”

Each Communist Party works out its policy bearing in mind the interests of its country and working class. But these interests, if properly understood, are never at variance with those of the international Communist movement as a whole.

The identity of the policy of the Communist parties on fundamental issues does not mean that they coincide in details, in particulars or in the approach. Inasmuch as the conditions in which the parties work are not identical, different ways are taken to reach the common goal. We find a classical example of a different approach to one and the same problem in Lenin’s works where he posed the question of the right of nations to self-determination. In his *Socialism and War* (1915) Lenin explained why the Marxist parties in the oppressor countries should recognize and uphold the right of the oppressed nations to self-determination precisely in the political sense of this word, i.e., the right to political secession. In their turn the Marxist parties of the oppressed countries should, undoubtedly, fight for the unity of the workers of both oppressor and oppressed nations since unity is an important condition for the development of the nations.

The reality of everyday life offers any number of examples of different attitudes taken by Communist parties to specific issues. It is one thing when we have a party in power, responsible for foreign relations, and quite a different story when we have a party which is rallying the masses to fight for power. The Soviet government, for example, stands for normal friendly relations with the governments of all capitalist countries. But does this in any way hinder the Communists in these countries in heading the struggle of the working class? Each party works out its own policy, proceeding from the interests of the people.

Anti-communism tries to make capital out of the identity of the policy of the Communist parties. Nor will it miss any instance when that policy does not coincide, say, with Soviet foreign policy. This causes another uproar, true, of a different nature.

For example, when Khaled Bagdache, leader of the Syrian Communist Party, wrote an article against Nasser, the *New York Times* claimed that it had been “prompted” by Moscow and, it went on, was proof of the duality of Soviet policy in relation to the United Arab Republic. A sort of heads-I-win—tails-you-lose proposition: policy coincides — a Moscow directive; policy does not coincide — a Moscow directive again!

By clinging to the nonsense that the Communist parties have no independence, anti-communism gets itself tied up in knots. The realities of life shed light on its inner contradictions, its tendentiousness; and the unbiased see with ever greater clarity the true image of the Communist parties—steadfast champions of their peoples, wholeheartedly devoted to a common internationalist cause.

To Be the Real Force of the Nation

All the Communist parties, even the smallest as well as those which emerged only recently and have not yet gained any appreciable experience, express the interests of their people. In this they are helped by Marxist-Leninist analysis, by their devotion to the cause of the working class and the people as a whole. The truly national character of the Communist parties is manifested in their persistent struggle for peace, democracy and socialism, that is, for the supreme national goals. But by no means is every party as yet a force with a say in every aspect of life in the country.

Experience teaches that in capitalist countries the Communist Party gains recognition as a really national force only when, in addition to criticizing the existing system, it elaborates programs for every sphere of home and foreign policy, when it displays all-round initiative and when, in its struggle for socialism, it provides the answers to the questions agitating the masses.

In his *What Is To Be Done?* Lenin criticized those who wanted the Party to assume the negative role of an accuser of autocracy. He saw the task in training political leaders who would be able to guide all the aspects of the struggle, to produce a positive program of action for the various sections of the population.

One manifestation of sectarianism and dogmatism in the work of some Communist parties was that the struggle for the urgent problems of the day was put off until the victory of socialism.

It is the easiest thing to say that the anti-crisis measures undertaken by the bourgeoisie are doomed to failure because capitalism will beget crises as long as it lives. Or, to say in reply to the technological improvements introduced by the employers that this is none of our business since only the bourgeoisie has a stake in this. The Communist Party that aspires to become a truly national force cannot evade any of the burning questions of the day, it should be con-

cerned with everything, and on each issue its attitude should be crystal clear, based on the interests of the working class and furthering the victory of socialism.

An economic crisis is a catastrophe for the working people, and the monopolies, not the working class, should be made to pay for it. For this reason the Communist parties strive to elaborate genuinely democratic economic programs of curbing the monopolies and increasing the role of the public in economic matters so that all can take part in the struggle against crises. The same is true of technological progress. For the monopolies it is simply a means of obtaining super-profits, but the working class does not want the country to lag behind; its interest goes beyond guaranteed jobs and high wages. "The Communist Party," stressed the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria, "is an ardent supporter of technological progress. It regards science and technology as allies not only in building socialism but also in the fight for socialism." The parties, then, specify their attitude to the entire complex of questions associated with technological progress, automation, investment, research, vocational training, hours of work, labor protection, etc., linking all this with the struggle to curb the monopolies, extend democracy and improve the conditions of the working people.

It goes without saying that the measures proposed by the Communist parties are not socialist measures, they do not eliminate the exploitation of man by man. But as the Statement of the Meeting of the 81 Parties justly pointed out "if realized, they would limit the power of the monopolies, enhance the prestige and political weight of the working class in the country's affairs, help to isolate the most reactionary forces and facilitate the unification of all the progressive forces."

Recent years have seen a growing number of examples testifying that the Communist parties are playing an active part in such issues as taxation, housing, pensions, education, etc.; in this way they are demonstrating to the masses that they have at heart the needs of the people and the well-being of the country.

In Italy there is not a single issue, from nationwide problems, such as overcoming the backwardness of the South or agrarian reform down to local matters, that is not taken up by the Communist Party; it busies itself with such issues as urban improvement, research, etc., showing how to solve

them. Recently the Party has been urging its regional committees to pay more attention to local politics, to display more initiative in everything pertaining to the people. This will further enhance the role of the Party as a truly national force. That this role is growing was lamented by the reactionary press in connection with the outcome of the last local elections.

All the Communist parties are extending the range of their activity. But, as distinct from the "constructive" proposals of the reformists who claim to be able to "cure" the mortally sick capitalism, the programs of the Communist parties rally the masses for the struggles, and help them to grasp the need for the socialist revolution.

In working to extend the influence of the working-class struggle and Communist activity to all spheres of political and economic life, the Communist parties are turning more and more to those issues which for a long time had been the prerogative of the bourgeoisie and its ideologists. For example, in many countries bourgeois historians do not hesitate to distort the past of their people in order to make the interpretation fit in with the needs of the monopoly bourgeoisie. Interpreting the problems of literature and art has long been the domain of bourgeois ideologists. However, the Communist parties, the parties which are blazing the trail to socialism, cannot be indifferent to the history of their people, to their cultural heritage, their intellectual riches and progressive traditions; the Communist Party as a national force cannot but have its own Marxist-Leninist views on these problems. In the event of these important sectors of the ideological front being left to the bourgeoisie it will be difficult to develop the ideological offensive which the Meeting of the 81 Parties called for.

In recent years many Communist parties have published basic works which restore the historical truth about the past of their countries, about the rise of the working class and its role and also about economic problems. Mention should be made in this connection of the first two volumes of a twelve-volume *History of the American People* by Herbert Aptheker (USA); *Monopoly. A Study of British Monopoly Capitalism* by Sam Aaronovitch (Britain), and the numerous works by French Communists on economics, philosophy, literature and art.

More and more, the Communists are coming to the fore as the heirs to all that is

forward-looking in the intellectual life of the nation. Some instructive examples are afforded by the experience of the Communist Party of Chile. This Party has a number of committees handling ideological matters which are doing much fruitful work. The historians committee, for example, has put out a biography of the Communist leader R. Fonseca, and is completing an essay on the history of the Party. Other publications include studies on the penetration of foreign imperialism and the resistance to it, and works on the rise of the working-class movement. Much has been done to restore the truth about important events in the country's history and the role played by particular statesmen. The traditions of the war of independence and of its heroes are popularized, and the anniversaries of historical events are fittingly observed. The Party is opposed to these celebrations being restricted to military parades and divine services, and strives to make them truly national occasions. It rebuffed the Catholic hierarchy which tried to blacken the traditions of the war of independence and glorify the colonial institutions of Spanish rule. The Party explained the significance of the traditions of the liberation war for the struggle against imperialism. Communist writers have come increasingly to the fore in recent years; one cannot get a proper understanding of contemporary Chilean literature without reading their books.

These examples, of which there are many in the Communist parties, show that their activity is becoming more diversified, embracing politics, economics and culture and acting as a vital factor of national life.

Experience teaches how essential it is to have a big Party, strong enough to make the voice of the Communists heard everywhere—in factory and village, in parliament and municipal chamber, among clerical and professional workers, in the trade unions and in the streets. True, experience has shown also that even the numerically small parties are exerting a steady and revolutionizing influence on the life of their countries; they are solving problems of concern to the nation and forcing the bourgeoisie to reckon with them, especially now that socialism is making such headway throughout the world. Still, the opportunities available to a small party are always limited.

The Twenty-Seventh Congress of the British Communist Party held in April was proof of the role played by this relatively small Party in influencing the leftward swing of

the labor movement, especially the growth of the Left in the Labor Party. The Congress stressed that the Party had every right to be proud of its members, of their work and their achievements, but this should merely emphasize how much more could be done if the Party were a really mass Party. The political report of the Executive Committee said: "We cannot rest satisfied with any ginger group conception of the Communist Party. The tacit acceptance of this conception by so many of us and by the working class in general is a big obstacle to our further progress."

Many of the parties point out in their resolutions that should the members cut themselves off from the masses, engage solely in propaganda and hope for fair weather, the Party would not be able to play any appreciable role in national life. There is only one way for the Party to become a mass party and that is by taking an active part in solving all vital questions affecting the masses, by acting in such a way that the people will see that the Communists do not put off the solution of important problems until socialism has triumphed.

Without regular and persistent work among all sections of the population the Party cannot become a decisive force of the nation. The Statement of the Moscow Meeting of the Communist parties says: "Lenin's great behest—to go deeper among the masses, to work wherever the masses are, to strengthen contact with the masses in order to lead them—is the big task of every Communist Party."

The range of the Party's activity and its numerical strength are interrelated issues. The Communist parties of Uruguay, Japan and some others have stressed that the Party will not have an effective say in the life of the country if its membership is restricted merely to thousands. What is needed is tens of thousands of members. But at the same time the Party will be able to recruit more members only if it conducts vigorous activity and takes part in solving all the issues. The experience of the Communist Party of Japan which doubled its membership in the space of a year, and of many other parties, shows that the process of the Party becoming a mass Party, of its becoming a national force, is a single indivisible process.

The parties devote special attention to their social composition and to the age of their members, since these are indicative of its contact with particular sections of the

population. It is clear that the Communist Party, being the vanguard of the working class and herald of its interests and ideology, should be predominantly proletarian in composition. The factory and the working-class residential area are the base from which the Party carries out its work. But unless it establishes contact with all other sections of the population—peasants, students, intellectuals—and enlists from their midst people capable of fighting for communist ideals, the Party will experience difficulties in becoming a national force. Of particular significance is the recruiting of young men and women. In countries with a multi-national population the Communist parties see to it that their ranks include representatives of all national and ethnic groups.

Recent years have witnessed an accelerated process of the Communist parties becoming an important factor in the national life. The Statement of the Meeting of the 81 Parties points out that in the fight against imperialist reaction, for the interests of the working class and all working people, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, the Communist movement makes steady headway and becomes consolidated and tempered. This movement is now the most important factor of social progress.

* * *

And this process of the Communist parties becoming a real force in the national life of the capitalist countries cannot be "charmed away" by bourgeois propaganda. Even though some of the smears have an effect, sobriety will set in, it is setting in now, and even the anti-communists are forced to acknowledge this.

In the effort to prolong its life capitalism does not scruple to use any means. It will try to plug the idea that the Communists are alien to the nation, and will do everything it can to befuddle the masses. But the number of the gullible is rapidly diminishing.

The strength of communism is that it is not transplanted from without, it grows and flourishes on the native soil; not only does it meet the aspirations of the people towards freedom, democracy, peace, national independence and a higher standard of living, it is the condition and guarantee of their gains.

The strength of communism is that it is being fought for not by aliens or by a few individuals, but by ever greater numbers of people in each country; that with the monopoly groups finding themselves in greater iso-

lation, communism, in addition to being the social mission of the working class, becomes also a national task for the people as a whole.

The strength of communism is that, a product of the national soil, it enjoys the support of the international working-class

movement, and that the struggle to reconstruct society is headed by the Marxist-Leninist parties which combine consistent internationalism with wholehearted patriotism and fidelity to the best traditions of their people.

French Imperialism: the Present and Future

Henri Claude and Jacques Denis

THE present situation in France, indicative of the profound crisis of French imperialism, illustrates the conclusions reached by the Moscow Meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties about the decline of the capitalist world system.

The Second World War weakened French imperialism, while the uneven economic and political development of capitalism in the postwar years exacerbated its inherent contradictions. France's weight in the international arena has diminished noticeably compared with that of other capitalist countries, especially the United States which, untouched by the war, became more powerful. The French colonial empire, the second largest in the world prior to the Second World War, is disintegrating. The peoples of Asia and Africa who, naturally, expected the wartime promise of freedom and advancement to be honored, had no desire to live any longer in the old way. The growing strength of the working-class and democratic movement also signifies the weakening of the monopolies in France. Led by the Communist Party, the only political party that organized a resistance movement on our native soil, the masses played the decisive role in the struggle against the Nazi invaders. The people wanted to clip the wings of the trusts which, dreading the Popular Front, had delivered the country to Hitler; in a word, the people wanted far-reaching democratic changes.

In this situation the monopolies turned for help to their powerful international ally—American imperialism—hoping thereby to buttress their economic positions on the European market, consolidate their domination in France and retain their grip on the colonies.

The results of this policy were soon evident. France entered the orbit of the Marshall Plan and became a party to the Atlantic pact. The monopoly bourgeoisie thus dealt a grave blow to national independence, inveigled the country into the anti-Soviet coalition and began to prepare for a new world war.

Finance capital managed to shore up its positions somewhat. The ousting of the Communist ministers from the government in 1947 enabled the monopolies, despite the popular resistance, to steer a reactionary course. But French imperialism suffered a setback between 1947-58 and its internal contradictions sharpened.

At the Service of the Monopolies

The growth of state-monopoly capitalism and French imperialism's mounting difficulties led the finance oligarchy and the big monopolies to abolish bourgeois democracy in 1958 and instal an authoritarian regime which governs the country without any effective control by representative bodies.

Long before this, the Communist Party had warned of the danger of a regime of personal power. And it correctly assessed the nature of de Gaulle's role, established as a sequel to a revolt of the army chiefs and the ultra-reactionaries, and showed that Gaullism is an extreme form of big capital rule.

The Gaullist regime is not simply an accident of history. Big capitalists were talking about the need for one-man rule in France even before the Second World War. The same idea was aired in Gaullist circles during the war. The 1958 Constitution suits the top bourgeoisie down to the ground. For, the

Gaullist regime is the consummation of the efforts in which the monopolists and financial magnates had persevered since the immediate postwar years. It is clear that the military putsch in Algiers in May 1958 was simply the occasion, and de Gaulle the instrument whereby Big Business attained its objectives.

De Gaulle's regime reflected the evolution of French imperialism towards state-monopoly capitalism, the development of which was accelerated by the Second World War.

This regime has systematically handed over the levers of government (ministries, commissions etc.) to the financial oligarchy. The penetration of the governmental machinery by banking and industrial capital is not just a coincidence that can be explained by the personal contacts of de Gaulle and his milieu. No, the intention is to set up a system of government similar in many respects to that which has long obtained in the United States, where the financial oligarchy runs the country.

Gaullism rests upon the economic base of finance capital, i.e., the big banks (Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, Banque de l'Union Parisienne, Banque de l'Indochine, and the banks owned by Rothschild, Lazard and Worms) which control the companies exploiting the raw material resources of Africa and the major enterprises of the heavy and manufacturing industries in metropolitan France, including ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy and the chemical and engineering industries.

The anti-democratic constitution of 1958 and the Gaullist regime fully meet the requirements of Big Business, which for the bourgeois ideologists is "progressive, dynamic and competitive." Getting its grip on more and more wealth, the ruling group of the monopoly bourgeoisie wants to make sure of a free hand in the country by implementing a series of anti-democratic measures. The oligarchy wants to break the resistance of the working class and prevent united action in parliament by the representatives of the working people, the middle sections and those elements of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie which it wants to drive out of business. The de Gaulle regime, the product of a definite stage in the development of state-monopoly capitalism, clears the way for its further growth.

Albin Chalandon, one of the financial oligarchy's leading theoreticians, is an ardent champion of this trend. Chalandon, who is a director of the Banque Commerciale de Paris (bank of the Dassault aircraft monopoly), board member of the Rothschild-controlled

Francarep Petroleum Co., of the Bon Marché chain stores, and ex-secretary-general of de Gaulle's party, Union pour la Nouvelle République, has coined and given currency to the term "concerted economy," defined by him as "co-operation between private enterprises and the government for the purpose of elaborating and implementing a joint economic policy."

According to Chalandon, economic liberalism, once the sacrosanct doctrine of nascent capitalism, should be thrown overboard, the minimum planning compatible with capitalism introduced, and economic growth regulated by political measures.

"A concerted economy," Chalandon says in one of his articles, "implies co-operation between the government and the productive forces at all stages and in the spheres of planning and execution. . . . A new type of economy is being created in which the state and private enterprise are so closely interwoven that it is difficult to distinguish one from the other. In view of this, any counterposing of state and private capitalism is out of step with the times."

Thus the "concerted economy" concept is simply an attempt to provide state-monopoly capitalism with a theoretical foundation.

What exactly are the aims of this theorizing?

Monopoly capital hopes to achieve a number of objectives through a "concerted economy," paramount among which are intensified exploitation and plunder of the nation. According to the advocates of the "concerted economy," the state should take over all non-profitable undertakings and leave the profitable ones to private companies. That is what the monopolies conceive socialism to be. They are in favor of "socialization" of losses and "individualization" of profits.

The business journal *Enterprise*, advocating a "concerted economy" for the automobile industry, interprets these concepts to mean: more state credits and subsidies for the big companies for investment purposes, and more state orders for military equipment to replace that lost in the Algerian war. This, the journal points out, should help the automobile industry to weather its acute market problem.

To put it briefly, the "concerted economy" would give the green light to more arms spending. And "planning" is, in essentials, reduced to elaborating an extensive armaments program.

In compliance with monopoly demands, the de Gaulle government has drawn up a "five-

year plan" of military spending for 1960-64. Fifty-one per cent of the credits, or over 600,000 million old francs, will be used to build an "atomic striking force," i.e., to manufacture atomic and hydrogen weapons and the means of delivery. The Dassault monopoly group alone will get 100,000 million francs for the manufacture of the Mirage-4 aircraft which is already obsolete, and another 100,000 million or so for ballistic missiles. The remainder is to be shared among the four atomic-industry concerns grouped around the four big banks: Indatom (Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas), Caratom (the Rothschild bank), France-Atome (Banque de l'Union Parisienne), and Auxi-Atome (Banque de l'Indochine).

Propaganda in favor of the "concerted economy" figures prominently in the monopoly offensive against the small farmers and businessman which is connected with the accelerated concentration of capital. This is the major objective of the Committee of Experts* set up late in 1959 on the instructions of the de Gaulle government. The composition of the committee shows how close is the collaboration between directors of big monopoly concerns and top officials in the machinery of state. The activity of this committee is a typical example of the application of the theory of the "concerted economy."

The committee's job officially was to "study the de facto or de jure situation constituting an unwarrantable obstacle to economic expansion and to propose reforms designed to end this state of affairs." In point of fact the committee's recommendations aim at removing the obstacles to monopoly expansion and to bigger profits for Big Business. The talk about economic development is simply eye-wash to cover monopoly's onslaught against the non-monopoly bourgeoisie, the middle sections and the working class.

The Rueff report envisaged measures to force the small peasant farms and the independent industrial and commercial enterprises out of business as quickly as possible, to ensure rapid capitalist development in the countryside, and curtail the traditional privileges of the peasant wine-growers, small shopkeepers, millers, bakers, notaries, lawyers and chemists. It is clear that Big Business is anxious to lay its hands on the share of the surplus value appropriated by these sections.

*This committee is headed by Prime Minister Debre. Vice-Chairmen are: J. Rueff, reactionary financier, formerly economic adviser to the Poincare and Laval governments, and L. Armand, ex-director of the nationalized railways.—Ed.

Other measures would, if implemented, worsen the conditions of the workers. They envisage, for example, a more mobile labor force, an easier flow of immigration and more short-time working — which would make for more competition for jobs and reduce wages. Still others provide for university and technical education being brought under direct monopoly control.

Supporters of the "concerted economy" theory are trying to justify the creation of a Little Europe of the trusts. With this in view, Chalandon and those who think like he does are calling for a "common economic authority" for the Six, based upon a "common political authority." And they are plugging the idea of extending the alliance between monopoly groups on an all-Europe scale.

One can easily divine the reason which, apart from anything else, impels the big bourgeoisie to justify the de Gaulle regime. Having formed the Common Market and Eur-Africa, the monopolies need a government whose all-round aid and support would enable them to safeguard and, possibly, to extend their positions on the capitalist world market vis-à-vis other monopoly groupings. The French monopolists also want to utilize the capitalist state against the working class, against the middle sections and the non-monopoly bourgeoisie and to make them shoulder the burden of the compromise agreements concluded with their imperialist rivals both within and without the Common Market. Hence, too, the desire of the financial oligarchy to have at its bidding a reactionary state the executive bodies of which would be under its direct control and independent of Parliament.

The Monopoly Bourgeoisie and the Collapse of the Colonial Empire

A product of state-monopoly capitalism, the Gaullist regime is at the same time a weapon by means of which the financial oligarchy wants to bolster French imperialism's positions, weakened as a result of the disintegration of its colonial empire, a process intensified by the new stage of the general crisis of capitalism.

Conscious that their economic positions are not what they were, the French imperialists are intent on keeping the African peoples under their heel. By clinging to their colonies in Africa the French monopolists will, they believe, be able to play a leading role in Europe, strengthen their position vis-à-vis the American monopolies, and co-operate with the monopolies of other countries in the joint exploitation of Africa's riches.

But just when retention of its positions in Africa was so vital for French imperialism, the African liberation movement has jeopardized its domination in this part of the world.

This movement has become so powerful in recent years that there can be no question of French imperialism maintaining its former colonial rule. The colonialists, forced to retreat, are seeking ways and means of retaining their foothold in the new conditions.

In this the big bourgeoisie found itself faced with two major antagonisms. One of these was that, in attempting to keep their grip on Africa's raw materials, the monopolies encountered resistance from the ultra-colonialists—the French landowners, merchants, wealthy proprietors and some of the army officers. These sections want to preserve their privileges and have no intention of paying for the compromise agreements concluded between the monopolies and the local colonial bourgeoisie. This antagonism, which became apparent when the French bourgeoisie was forced to grant independence to Tunisia and Morocco, has made itself felt much more in Algeria, where there is a considerable European minority.

Another and more important circumstance was that the big bourgeoisie was forced to concede to demands advanced by the African liberation movement at a time when the democratic movement in France, in which the Communist Party played the decisive role, did everything to further the popular struggle for liberation. In this situation the monopolies were afraid of finding themselves unable to keep pace with events, for as things were, the slightest retreat from their dominant position in Africa would strengthen the democratic forces, while any defeat of the ultras would signify a victory for the French working class. It was clear to them that the working class, headed by the Communists, would not stand aloof from the conflict likely to flare up between the defenders of the "old" colonialism and the adherents of "neo-colonialism."

That is why the financial oligarchy brought de Gaulle to power and turned to an authoritarian regime. Fearing that the concessions forced from it in colonial policy might prove to be the source of its defeat, it was anxious to overcome as quickly as possible the contradictions engendered among the French bourgeoisie by the colonial problems.

One central idea stands out in de Gaulle's deliberately contradictory speeches and pronouncements: to save the basic positions of French imperialism, to retreat only when

there is no alternative, and, in doing so, to make use of every opportunity. De Gaulle's strategy and tactics in Black Africa and in Algeria are typically imperialist and have nothing in common either with a national or a democratic policy.

It was the pressure brought to bear by the popular struggle both in the colonies and in metropolitan France that forced de Gaulle to agree to concessions in Africa. The draft for the French-African Community, drawn up by him in July 1958, made the "overseas territories" even more dependent on the metropolis than did the previous constitution. But the African liberation movement forced de Gaulle to amend it twice and, ultimately, to recognize the right to secession. But the African territories in the Community continued to be politically dependent on France. The President of the Community—in this case de Gaulle—decided vital economic, financial and foreign policy matters on his own, while the armed forces and police of the Community nations were under his control. Big Business, interested in exploiting African resources, applauded. The mining and industrial companies made no secret of their hopes that the Community would afford new opportunities for unrestrained exploitation of African mineral deposits. However, all the African territories could not be kept in the Community. This political union breathed its last under the blows of the liberation movement. In 1960 the former Community nations acquired formal independence. And neither big capital nor de Gaulle could do anything to stop the march of events.

Twist and turn though it did, French imperialism had to retreat considerably farther than it intended. Part of the explanation is that it could not simultaneously exert pressure on the African peoples and continue the war in Algeria, where most of the French army is concentrated.

The Algerian Question

French imperialism was forced to retreat on the Algerian question too. But the situation is complicated by the fact that de Gaulle came to power as a result of the ultra-colonialist putsch in May 1958. And this gives the ultras the opportunity of bringing pressure to bear on the government. Hence the continuous zigzagging in its Algerian policy. But de Gaulle is firm in his intention to defend the interests of the big oil and mining companies.

The financial oligarchy hoped to bind Algeria to France by more flexible methods. The monopolists thought of establishing a union of the Maghreb countries, where they hoped to retain their dominant economic positions. Instead of relying on military strength, the local feudals and European settlers, as was the case in the past, the oligarchy attempted in Morocco and Tunisia to obtain the support of the national bourgeoisie, and form a so-called third force in Algeria which would stand half-way between the ultra-colonialists and the National-Liberation Front. The purpose of this "third force," which de Gaulle called the "grand party of Algerian progress," was to prevent the creation of a completely independent national Algerian state.

To forward this aim the de Gaulle government advanced the Constantine plan, which envisaged some expansion of Algerian industry and the building of schools and dwellings with the help of state subsidies to big capital. The construction of a number of industrial enterprises would, so the authors believed, bind Algeria to France economically, while the extension of education would lead to what the colonialists described as spiritual integration. At the same time technicians and workers would be trained, for industry now needs more skilled labor than agriculture.

Monopoly capital, and especially the big banks and the oil companies, obliged de Gaulle to do everything possible to prevent the creation of a wholly independent Algeria and, in the event of this being impossible, to protect the economic positions of the monopolies, even if this meant partitioning Algeria. The monopolies are determined, however, to keep the rich oil deposits in the Algerian Sahara. De Gaulle declared outright in September 1959 that "all measures will be taken, cost what it may, to guarantee the extraction, delivery and loading of Sahara oil in which France and the whole of the West are interested."

The Algerian people's valiant struggle, especially in December 1960, showed that the "third force" was practically non-existent, and that the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic enjoyed the confidence and support of the overwhelming majority of the people. This was further confirmed by the referendum of January 8, 1961, with which de Gaulle had hoped to secure the support of the French and some Algerians in order to impose his concept of "an Algerian peace," which, as we know, virtually rejected negoti-

ations with the Provisional Government and implied the surrender of the National-Liberation Army. By boycotting the referendum, despite the reprisals, the people of Algeria unequivocally demonstrated that they regarded the Provisional Government as their sole authorized representative.

The referendum results in France also testify to the difficulties which the Gaullist regime is experiencing in solving the Algerian problem. The number of those voting against increased and so did the number of abstentions. It should be noted that the demagogic character of the referendum-plebiscite enabled de Gaulle to mislead many people who long to see peace in Algeria. It was hoped to make the French people believe that by voting for de Gaulle they would be voting for early negotiations. There was talk about the chaos which would ensue in the country if not enough voted "Yes."

A feature of the campaign was intimidation by talking about the danger represented by the ultras. But as the Communist Party warned from the outset, the ultras comprise an insignificant minority of the population, and if they are strong it is only because they are supported by the Gaullist regime, with which they are bound by a common hatred of genuine independence for the oppressed peoples.

This was reaffirmed by the events of April 1961, when the group of rebel generals who had been rewarded and decorated by de Gaulle for their part in the putsch of May 1958, tried to organize another putsch in Algiers. They wanted, on the one hand, no negotiations whatsoever with the Provisional Government, and on the other, they hoped to see installed in France an overt military-fascist dictatorship.

The revolt was supported by some army regulars, settlers, people of European origin resident in Algeria, and by small fascist groups in France. But the rebels sensed at once that in the united working class, in the working population generally, and also among the regular soldiers and the Algerian people they were up against a force strong enough to repel them. The gravity of the situation was determined not by the strength of the rebels but by the fact that the authorities were favorably disposed towards them.

The de Gaulle regime, as was made clear in January 1960, is still held captive by the forces which helped to establish it. And although the interests of the monopolies do not coincide with those of the ultra-colonialists, de Gaulle is nevertheless prolonging the Al-

gerian war so as to impose on the Algerian people the conditions laid down by Big Business. And this colonial war is the fountain-head *nourishing* fascism and compelling the Gaullist government to come to terms with the military-fascist clique. The monopoly government, furthermore, regards the broad mass movement, the working class and its Party as its main enemies. These are the factors which explain the government's extreme weakness and irresolution at the time of the putsch, its refusal to turn to the people for support, and its connivance with the rebels.

At the same time the various political forces, including Social Democracy, advocated wait-and-see tactics and blind faith in de Gaulle.

The events connected with this latest putsch show once again that the Communist Party is the decisive force in the popular struggle. Because of this the maneuvers of those who advocated wait-and-see tactics proved useless when confronted by the unity and the powerful sweep of the popular struggle. The unanimous opposition of the people finally brought about the surrender of the rebels. Of decisive importance in achieving this victory was the massive working-class action on April 24, the biggest general strike France has ever known, in which over 12 million people took part, and the vast public demonstrations of the working people which took place in the face of government prohibition.

In the course of these developments the political awareness of the people sharpened and their understanding of the reactionary nature of the Gaullist rule deepened; their attitude, too, toward such questions as the need to combat the fascist menace and end the Algerian war became more mature. Thus a big step forward was made towards dispelling a firmly entrenched and widespread illusion. Highly significant was the people's demand for the means with which to combat the fascist elements, especially the demand for arms to the anti-fascist committees and the people's militia which were formed in many parts of the country.

De Gaulle, of course, will try to use the emergency powers which he has granted himself to intimidate the working people who are fighting for their demands, to strike at the democratic press and prohibit freedom of assembly. This is another sign of the steady weakening of the Gaullist regime, although de Gaulle depicts himself as the savior of France and claims the people's

victory for his own. That is why more and more voices are calling for punishment for the rebels and restoration of democratic freedoms. The working people are demanding peace in Algeria through immediate negotiations with the Provisional Government on the basis of self-determination for Algeria.

The generals' putsch showed that the monopolies and the Gaullist regime—who have been resorting to all kinds of tricks and devices over the past few years to evade negotiations—have nothing in common with the country's genuine interests. All the talk of the bourgeois and reformist leaders about the so-called "progressive," "liberal" and "national" nature of the de Gaulle regime and of that section of the financial oligarchy backing it, is disproved by the facts.

It would be a big mistake, however, as the Communists tirelessly explain, to conclude that de Gaulle will never negotiate and that an Algerian peace cannot be achieved as long as de Gaulle is in power. Quite the reverse. The Communist Party has always called for a broader popular movement to force de Gaulle first to negotiate and then to stop the war in keeping with the interests of the people of Algeria and France.

The latest events show that de Gaulle is being forced to reckon more and more with the Algerian people's struggle, with the international solidarity movement, and the sweep of the peace movement in France. He has had to recognize the principle of self-determination, to start talking about an "Algerian Algeria," and about negotiations. Having at first cold-shouldered the idea of negotiations and subsequently broken off the meeting in Melun with the representatives of Fighting Algeria in the summer of 1960, de Gaulle finally, for the first time, declared in March his "desire to see official negotiations begin concerning the conditions of self-determination for Algeria and related problems."

This new retreat on the part of the Gaullist regime is an important victory for the peace forces. Negotiations with the Provisional Government can lead to an Algerian settlement. But, as recent developments have shown, the colonialist maneuvers of de Gaulle have torpedoed negotiations in Evian once. So that success can be achieved only if the peace fighters constantly strengthen their unity and step up the struggle.

Contrary to Popular Interests

The anti-national character of the Gaullist regime is also apparent in other spheres of foreign policy.

"For us," said Maurice Thorez at a meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in January 1961, "the contradictions between the imperialists arise from the development of the monopolies. These contradictions are inseparable from imperialism. De Gaulle's policy is an expression of the interests of these monopolies who are fighting for a leading place on foreign markets, in international cartels, the Atlantic alliance and the various other imperialist alliances.

"This struggle does not run counter to the nature of the monopolies. On the contrary, it is because they are monopolies that they are fighting in the international arena for a better place for themselves. This does not prevent them, as the Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties underlined, from ceding place to a more powerful imperialism, from opening the doors for an influx of American investments and from retreating, despite de Gaulle's feeble resistance, before the demands of the bosses—the American monopolies."

Reflecting the financial oligarchy's expansionist aspirations, the Gaullist regime when it came to power in 1958 proclaimed its ambitions in the sphere of international politics. It wants to play a major role in the Atlantic bloc, in the Little Europe of the Six, and in NATO, and if possible, to get other European countries to follow in its lead (Spain and Greece, for instance). One of its first acts was to issue a memorandum suggesting an "Atlantic triumvirate" to consist of the U.S., Great Britain and France. At the same time the arms race was given a new impulse, testing of atomic devices was conducted in the Sahara and a new program elaborated for a French "atomic striking force."

But as the sphere of imperialist domination narrows and as the antagonisms in the capitalist world sharpen, French imperialism's ambitions encounter growing hostility from the other powers, primarily from the USA, Great Britain and West Germany. The French imperialists have been given to understand by their Atlantic allies that their claims do not take cognizance of the real balance of forces in the imperialist camp.

This is true also of the relations between Paris and Bonn. The two allies want to play leading roles in the imperialist bloc. But despite all the French efforts it is crystal clear that U.S. policy in Europe gives preference to its West German partner who, by virtue of his economic and military strength, occupies a leading place in this area.

For their part the West German monopolies place great weight on consolidating relations with the United States. They want to see a stronger NATO, and they want to see American troops kept in West Germany. They are clearly alarmed by the increasing might of the peace-loving German Democratic Republic, which is a growing center of attraction for the democratic forces of the German people. West Germany plays an ever greater role in NATO, where it is gradually filling many key posts. Under cover of the Atlantic alliance and its "European" adjuncts, aggressive militarist forces are being revived in West Germany.

The Federal Republic, cashing in on the differences between the imperialist nations, has made the most of de Gaulle's political maneuvering. The West German monopolies now feel themselves strong enough to scoff at the Gaullist government's pretensions.

French capitalism has not succeeded in gaining a privileged position in the Common Market where West Germany is much stronger.

The French imperialists were encouraged by the fact that they had been able to consolidate their positions somewhat after the war by the discovery and exploitation of Sahara oil and by a number of other factors (some modernization of industry and relative progress in important branches of the economy). But their ambition to play a special role is not matched by their possibilities. What is more, the attitude of the French ruling circles is determined by the joint interests of world imperialism. And this is understandable. Monopolies, essentially cosmopolitan, remain cosmopolitan even when their representatives play on the national sentiment of the people in order to go ahead with their policy.

De Gaulle's nationalist demagoguery cannot disguise this policy. Not only has his government failed to break with the anti-national aggressive Atlantic foreign policy of the preceding governments, it is, on the contrary, going much farther along this fatal road. This is a consequence of the curtailment of democratic freedoms, for with the establishment of arbitrary rule, national interests are increasingly renounced. That is why the government is acceding to increasing American demands on important policy matters; why it has made unprecedented concessions to Bonn, why it ignores the German Democratic Republic, why it has agreed to Speidel's coming to Fontainebleau, and why it has granted to the

West German Wehrmacht bases on French territory in addition to the already existing American bases.

The Communist Party constantly reminds the people of the danger of confusing a genuinely national policy with nationalist demagoguery. Everything goes to show that the positions of French imperialism are weakening, that it can lay no claim to real independence.

Gaullism's foreign policy is one of abjuring the national interests, of prolonging the cold war and heightening international tension. It obviously runs counter to the basic trends in international relations.

This policy cannot but evoke wonder and disappointment. It did just that late in 1959 when, thanks to the peace initiative of the Soviet Union, encouraging progress was made in relaxing tension. De Gaulle was upset, for this was a step towards ending the cold war. He was even against Khrushchov's visiting the United States. And it was only not to be at the tail of events that he invited Khrushchov to France. The reception accorded the head of the Soviet government by the French people swept away all the obstacles erected by the regime of personal rule with a view to belittling the importance of the event. The repercussions of the visit were considerable, for it stimulated the people's struggle for universal peace and friendship between the nations.

The visit showed too that even top capitalist circles were not indifferent to the possibilities of better relations, especially trade, with the socialist countries. This is demonstrated by the importance attached in France to the French exhibition expected to be held in Moscow and the Soviet exhibition in Paris. Only too often, however, does the cold war policy get the upper hand. It is common knowledge that a few weeks after the Franco-Soviet negotiations in Rambouillet, de Gaulle helped Eisenhower to torpedo the summit meeting.

International developments are dealing Gaullism telling blows. And now that the nation is demanding a reorientation of foreign policy towards peaceful coexistence, top French circles, because of the regime of reaction and militarism, appear to be poorly prepared to meet this development.

Communists Are in the Van of the Anti-Monopoly Struggle

The Gaullist regime, product of the exacerbated contradictions of French imperialism, is not only incapable of overcoming these contradictions, it is aggravating them.

Its economic policy is proof of this. The regime has intensified the domination of monopoly capital over the people. The working class and the middle sections are carrying a heavier burden than they did under the Fourth Republic—including the cost of maintaining the domination of monopoly capital, of manufacturing atomic weapons, of trying to keep the African peoples in subjection and of accelerating the process of concentration and centralization of capital. This policy is deepening the antagonistic contradictions and widening the gap between the monopolies and other sections of the population.

And it is not surprising that it is meeting with growing opposition from the various social sections exploited by monopoly capital.

Foremost in the anti-monopoly struggle is the working class. Strikes have been more frequent in recent years, rising from 1,137,741 man days lost in 1958 to 1,938,427 in 1959. The struggle waged by workers in the nationalized enterprises and by office workers gained in scale in 1960. Powerful actions in the countryside embraced over 400,000 peasants. The most diverse categories of the population—from students to war veterans—are participating in the anti-monopoly struggle. This popular movement has forced de Gaulle to retreat, despite his principle that "authority never retreats."

The victims of monopoly capital are becoming increasingly conscious of the need to join forces for common action to end the political course imposed by the financial oligarchy and to open up another perspective, one in keeping with the times.

This perspective was expounded at the Fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party, in the Party's program for restoring and renovating democracy. This program was re-affirmed at the Party's recent Sixteenth Congress.

The Communists declare that the regime of personal rule, which carries with it the threat of fascism, must be ended. And it is to this end that the democratic forces are directing their efforts, although their methods differ. The Communists are working for unity of action of these forces.

The Communist Party explains that the dictatorship of capitalist monopoly must be abolished before democracy can be established, that a renovated democracy presupposes nationalization and the democratic management of the banks and insurance companies, of the atomic, chemical, oil, gas and iron and steel industries and shipping.

In addition to the nationalization of the monopolies, the Party's program envisages a number of democratic measures: transfer of supreme power in the republic to people's representatives elected by universal and direct suffrage, with proportional representation; a single National Assembly which will form a government responsible to it; electors to have the power to recall deputies; purge of the police and abolition of the professional army; restoration and extension of local freedoms; measures guaranteeing a material base for the independence and the grandeur of the country and the development of a modern economy; a higher standard of living; democratic reforms in education and genuinely secular education.

The program points out that "peaceful co-existence should be the basis of foreign policy which will re-establish the independence and sovereignty of our country, lost through dependence on the Atlantic pact and subjection to Little Europe. This policy envisages the prohibition of nuclear weapons, calls for disarmament and resolute opposition to restoring German militarism."

In submitting this program to the democratic forces, the Communist Party emphasizes that its points are not conditions which must be either accepted or rejected, but proposals which should be jointly discussed and jointly implemented. This program is all the more important in that moves are being made to put across the idea that personal rule should be reinforced by establishing a "presidential regime," which would abolish the already greatly curtailed rights of parliament and ensure the election of the head of state by plebiscite. This campaign, supported by some of the "Left" is aimed at strengthening monopoly domination on the pretext that the 1958 Constitution is but a half measure and that the authoritarian regime needs strengthening.

Supported by a majority of the working class and broad sections of the working peasantry and intellectuals, the Communist Party is again acting as the defender of the interests of the people and of the nation.

Firmly resisting the monopoly policy which is leading the country into an impasse, the

Communists are working hard for an alliance of the anti-monopoly forces.

They fully appreciate that a difficult battle will have to be waged against a rule which has at its disposal all the resources of the authoritarian state and relies on the military bureaucracy and on the ultra-reactionary elements. But the struggle is broadening and gaining strength. Diverse sections of the people, advancing their particular demands, are joining in the battle, thereby creating the conditions for uniting the efforts of all the victims of the monopolies.

Ideological struggle is vitally important in this movement. The Communist Party puts the facts before the people, explains in each instance the purpose of the struggle, its tasks and the road that should be followed. As, for instance, when it analyzed the nature of the de Gaulle regime, or when it explained to the people that peaceful coexistence, far from weakening the class struggle, furthers it.

The fight against one-man rule and monopoly dictatorship paves the way to the struggle for socialism. The working class is now coming forward as the guide of the whole people. The alliance now being forged among the forces working to restore and renovate democracy is gradually winning all sections hostile to the financial oligarchy over to the side of the working class. And these people are becoming increasingly conscious of the fact that the working class is the force that is shaping the future of the country.

The abolition of personal rule and the establishment of a democratic system in which the working class and its Party would play a part corresponding to their political weight, and the implementation of bold economic measures, would greatly weaken the positions of the monopolies and further the fight for socialism. One blow after another is being inflicted on world capitalism. The powerful socialist camp, the prototype of the future society, has tremendous achievements to its credit.

The outlook for French imperialism is bleak. And although there is hard fighting ahead, quite another future awaits our people, whose struggle for a free, strong and happy France is headed by the Communist Party.

Portugal at the Crossroads

Alvaro Cunhal

PORTUGAL, a small country, has colonial possessions of 2,090,000 square kilometers, or nearly twenty-three times its own territory. But while exploiting vast territories, Portugal is a colony itself, exploited and dominated by foreign imperialists. This duality should be kept in mind in order to appreciate Portugal's place in the world today and the support, both open and concealed, rendered by the United States, Britain and other colonial powers to the colonialist policy of the fascist Salazar.

Salazar's Legal Sleight of Hand

Some years ago, to evade the stipulations of the United Nations Charter concerning colonial powers, Salazar hastily substituted the term "overseas provinces" for "colonies" in the Portuguese constitution and proclaimed these provinces an integral part of Portugal. The Portuguese, who had been told from childhood that their country was the "third greatest colonial power in the world" and had heard the colonies talked about all their lives, suddenly discovered that it was forbidden to call them colonies. The very word "colonial" disappeared from billboards and office signs, was proscribed in the schools and in the press, and retained only in the names of some of the bigger companies in deference to their rights. According to the fascists, Portugal had ceased to be a colonial empire, the "third greatest colonial power," and overnight had become a multi-national country, a far-flung "unitarian state" extending to all quarters of the globe.

By means of this legal trickery, a country that had been admitted to the United Nations sought to get around the provisions of the U.N. Charter concerning colonial and non-self-governing territories. And for years the United States, Britain and their associates in colonial exploitation backed this maneuver, enabling the Portuguese colonialists to plunder other people with impunity.

The Fifteenth U.N. General Assembly, and especially its Declaration on Independence for Colonial Countries and Peoples, marked a turning point in the struggle to abolish colonialism. One of the U.N. resolutions directly qualified Portugal's so-called overseas prov-

inces as *colonies* and called on the Salazar government, in conformity with the Charter, to supply the United Nations with information on them.

For all its inadequacy, this resolution is of fundamental importance for the liberation struggle in the Portuguese colonies. It upsets Salazar's plans to win recognition of his right to have colonies by the simple device of calling them something else.

Hitherto enjoying the support of the United States, Britain and his other NATO partners in the United Nations, Salazar counted on it also at the Fifteenth General Assembly. The charge of colonialism levelled at Portugal was described as a "Communist maneuver," and as such bound to collapse. But only five governments openly sided with Salazar: three colonial powers (France, Belgium and Spain), the racist Union of South Africa, and Brazil. Some of Portugal's NATO allies—Denmark, Norway, Greece and Turkey—voted against him. The United States and Britain preferred to abstain so as not to unmask themselves. Salazar found himself isolated.

At home the Salazar government tried to organize "demonstrations" in support of its policy and against the U.N. debate, declaring that "twenty million Portuguese would rise as one." But although every effort was made to muster people (school-children, fascist militia and civil servants) the turnout failed to fill even the narrow ten-meter streets. Despite the high-pressure jingoist propaganda, the people openly declared against the colonialist policy of the government.

The "Civilizing Mission" of the Colonialists

The fascists have seized upon the Henry the Navigator commemoration this year to eulogize Portugal's "glorious past" and in particular its "civilizing mission" in the "overseas provinces." The object is to assert their right to continue to exploit the colonial peoples.

The people of Portugal, naturally, are proud of the epic voyages of discovery made by their forbears. They are proud of the

bourgeois-peasant revolution of the end of the 14th century which dealt telling blows at feudal rule. And they are proud of the endeavors of their compatriots that led to the discovery of previously unknown lands in Africa and the charting of sea routes to India and Brazil, that made Portuguese navigators the first Europeans to reach China, Japan and the islands of Oceania, and also the first to circumnavigate the globe.

But at the same time the people cannot give their approval to the monstrous crimes committed by the ruling classes which followed up these discoveries with plunder and violence. They cannot reconcile themselves to the continued exploitation of the colonies, to Negro slavery and the slave trade, and the predatory wars. Nor can they accept a situation where the people of the colonies are kept in ignorance and darkness, where nothing is done to combat hunger and disease, and all rights are denied.

On the contrary, the Portuguese people condemn the colonialists for their crimes and wholeheartedly support the African peoples' striving for freedom.

According to Salazar statistics, Angola has 4,000,000 "uncivilized" and only 30,000 "civilized" Africans. The corresponding figures for Mozambique are 5,647,000 and 4,500, and for Portuguese Guinea, 502,000 and 1,500. In Timor there are 435,000 "uncivilized" Malaysians and only 1,541 "civilized." If after five centuries of colonial rule a mere 36,000 of the 11,000,000 people in the African colonies can be classified as "civilized," then the talk about a "civilizing mission" and the claim that the colonial peoples are no less Portuguese than the inhabitants of the mother country and share the same rights and national feelings are, to say the least, the height of mendacity.

Equally outrageous is the claim that the Portuguese rulers do not exploit their colonies. Typical of this type of argument is the statement of M. Caetano, former minister for the colonies and a stockholder in colonial companies, that Portugal is not interested in "profits or in retaining its markets" in the colonies.

Actually, the bourgeoisie garners huge profits from colonial exploitation. The capital (reserve capital included) of the ten biggest Portuguese colonial firms more than doubled between 1945 and 1958, increasing from 495 million escudos* to 1,115 million (or from 17 to 38 million dollars). Big capital operates

mainly in the colonies. The Banco Atlantico controls the production of cotton, electric power, meat and glass in Angola, while the Banco Espirito Santo does the same for cotton and sugar in Mozambique and oil in Angola. Olive oil production in Guinea, and indeed the entire economy of the colony, is in the hands of the CUF concern, as is copper mining in Angola. The M. Pinto de Azevedo and Banco Borges & Izmao group have a monopoly of cotton production, Somer that of cement, and so on. No sooner does a capitalist rise above the middle levels than he invests in the colonies in order to rake in super-profits.

The Portuguese colonies are also exploited by the British, U.S., Belgian, West German and French capitalists. In Mozambique the basic industries (coal mining in Moatize and the production of cotton, tea, etc.) are controlled by a British-owned company. The uranium deposits of Tete belong to the British South Africa concern and the coal of Moxico (Angola) to Krupp. The Benguela railway is owned by the British- and U.S.-controlled Tanganyika Concessions. Diamond mining in Angola is in the hands of U.S. trusts. Oil development (mostly in the exploratory stage) has been farmed out to international monopolies: in Guinea to Standard Oil; in Mozambique to Gulf Oil; in Angola to Gulf Oil and Petrofina, and in Timor to the Australian Oil Drilling concern. Angola manganese is exported to the United States and iron ore to Federal Germany; its bauxite deposits are in French hands.

In some branches only the leftovers remain for the Portuguese colonialists, but even the leftovers are fairly substantial. On the whole, Portuguese colonialism serves as a screen for the big international monopolies, which explains the backing Portugal gets from the imperialist powers. But although it depends largely on handouts from the international monopolies, Portuguese finance capital makes ample profits on its own.

When it comes to the colonies, "patriotism" is directly correlated to profits. Every colonial exploiter is an ardent "Portuguese patriot." Even foreigners thump for the "national interest."

The colonies are more than an auxiliary source of wealth for the Portuguese capitalists—they enable big capital and the Salazar government to balance the country's finances.

Portugal's economy has long been parasitic. The annual foreign trade deficit exceeds 5,000 million escudos (178 million dollars),

*28.75 escudos = 1 dollar

amounting to roughly two-thirds of the total state revenue. Why, then, has the economy not collapsed under the weight of this chronic deficit? Partly because of the tourist trade, because of the remittance from Portuguese living abroad, and the influx of capital from other imperialist countries, though this in turn undermines the country's independence. But most important are trade between its colonies and other countries, the "concealed" investments, and the trade between mother country and colonies. Portugal sells (cement, tanning materials, textiles and resins) to the colonies at prices above the world market levels and pays less for its purchases from them (cotton, hides, ground nuts and sugar).

Salazar has declared that Africa is an "essential prop" for the European economy, and that the "might of Europe may well be undermined in Africa." The precarious balance of Portuguese economy and finances is maintained both by the exploitation of the people at home and by the outrageous plunder of the colonies. There is nothing else to prevent complete bankruptcy.

Salazar Prepares for Colonial Wars

That the fascist government is determined to suppress the liberation movement of the colonial peoples by force has long been evident from its preparations for colonial wars and from the reign of terror in the colonies.

In recent years wholesale arrests, prosecutions, physical violence, murder and deportations have assumed fearful proportions. This terror campaign is headed by the political police, which is made up of a gang of professional killers. Not long ago Dr. Agostinho Neto, a leader of the Angola national movement, who had previously spent two years in a Portuguese prison, was arrested near Luanda, capital of Angola, beaten and flown to Lisbon. After detention in solitary confinement in the Aljube prison, he was exiled to the Cape Verde Islands. Pinto de Andrade, a Negro clergyman who protested against Neto's arrest, was likewise arrested and sent to Lisbon, and when the inhabitants of the village of Scalo Bengo, where Neto was born, gathered for a protest meeting, they were surrounded by troops and brutally beaten, and their homes razed. Such crimes are common.

For the fascists police terror is but one of the forms of suppressing the colonial peoples. Salazar is well aware that the time will come when police action will not suffice to

keep the liberation movement in check. Hence the systematic preparations for colonial wars.

In recent years the military policy of the government has been geared to serving the militarist aims of the United States, building up armed strength for use against the democratic movement inside Portugal, and preparing for military action in the colonies. The declarations for readiness to fight to hold on to the colonies are not empty threats. In accordance with a plan adopted a year ago, paratroops, aircraft, cavalry, police, signal troops, etc., are being sent in a steady stream to the colonies; troops specially trained for jungle fighting are being rushed to the "critical areas" of Angola and Mozambique; the army is being reorganized and the air and other arms modernized to increase their efficacy in colonial warfare; officers are being trained by British military with experience in suppressing the national movement in Kenya and by French who have fought in Algeria; all graduates of military schools are going through two years' training in the colonies.

Particularly serious from the standpoint of the fascist rulers is the situation in Angola, Portugal's biggest colony with a territory of 1,246,700 square kilometers and a population of over four million; the national-liberation movement in Angola is developing rapidly, and the impact of the struggle of the neighboring peoples, primarily the Congolese, is making itself felt. Besides the measures taken in other colonies, air forces and large contingents of troops have been concentrated here, mobile paratroop brigades have been formed and the white settlers armed.

Ideological preparation for colonial war is being intensified at home — through the press, radio and television, as well as through diverse cultural organizations, and in army barracks and schools. In this Salazar has the support of the Church hierarchy. For instance, Cardinal Cerejeira has written a "soldier's prayer" exalting Salazar's militarist policy as the Christian ideal and declaring that in the event of war the Savior would be on the side of the fascists. On the whole, the colonialist policy of the Salazar government follows a pattern laid out in the United States and is fully backed by the latter, as well as by the British and other colonialists.

Unleashing a colonial war would be a monstrous crime not only against the colonial peoples but also against the people of Portugal. Our youth do not want to die in an unjust war, nor have our people any desire

to suffer privation for campaigns in Africa. Colonial war would spell disaster for Portugal and increase its dependence on the big imperialist powers. But this will not be, for the merging of the struggle of the Portuguese people with that of the colonial peoples, as well as the weight of the socialist camp and the world's peace forces, will frustrate Salazar's criminal designs.

Colonial Power and Dependency

Portugal is an underdeveloped country. It vies with Spain and Greece for last place in Europe for level of development of the productive forces. How then, one might ask, does it dominate and exploit vast colonial possessions? How has it been able to retain these possessions in the epoch of imperialism, when the big capitalist powers are at each other's throats in all corners of the world?

The point is that while the Portuguese colonialists exploit the colonies, the people of Portugal are in turn exploited by the foreign imperialists.

Portuguese finance capital, both at home and in the colonies, is closely linked with foreign capital. More than that, it is outweighed by the latter, which controls the basic wealth of the colonies and holds the key positions in the economy of Portugal itself. As a result Portugal has been reduced to a dependency, a country subordinated to foreign interests. Paradoxical though it may seem, it is precisely this circumstance that explains how it has been able to retain its colonial possessions. For the forces that have helped to preserve this colonial empire are the co-exploiters, with Portuguese finance capital, of the people of both Portugal and the colonies.

Portugal's dual status as a colonial power and a dependent country is strikingly revealed in the structure of its foreign trade.

The colonies supply at low prices 60 per cent of the cotton, 80 per cent of the sugar cane, 20 per cent of the hides and all the necessary essential oils and seed of oil-bearing plants. The mineral wealth, timber and agricultural produce of the colonies are looted by the Portuguese imperialists without any regard for the requirements of these countries after they have won their independence. At the same time Portugal's uranium, iron ore and pyrites are rapaciously mined for export to the imperialist countries and its future development jeopardized by depletion of the natural resources.

The Portuguese capitalists compel the colonial peoples to sell them raw materials for a song. On the other hand, the foreign imperialists buy up Portuguese raw materials at low prices. Portuguese employees of the big colonial firms are paid on the average 30 times as much as Africans. The foreign imperialists, in turn, fix the wages of Portuguese workers at a quarter or a third of the wages of workers in their own countries.

Portugal plunders the colonies by forcing on them at high prices goods which it cannot sell elsewhere. Wine, of which more than one million hectoliters has been exported to the colonies since 1955, is a case in point. Apart from being a source of substantial profit, excessive consumption of alcohol is encouraged in order to corrupt the African peoples morally and undermine their militancy. In turn, the foreign imperialists flood the Portuguese home market with goods the country really does not need and imports which compete with home products, with U.S. films, journals and television programs which corrupt the youth.

Foreign trade in the colonies is monopolized by the Portuguese and other colonialists. At home in Portugal the export trade is basically in the hands of foreign imperialists. An example of how the latter injure the country's economy in their greed for profits is afforded by the cork industry. Here the inroads made by the Mundet and Armstrong firms have created a critical situation, placing Portugal, which is the world's biggest cork producer, completely at the mercy of U.S. cork-processing interests.

Portugal pays its colonies ridiculously low prices for their raw cotton and charges them exorbitant prices for the textiles made of the very same raw material. Other imperialist countries, in turn, import iron ore from Portugal at low prices and overcharge it for metal goods. The Portuguese imperialists dictate to their colonies, while foreign imperialists dictate to Portugal purchasing and sales prices and freight rates, netting a tidy profit from each operation.

Such, then, is Portugal—on the one hand a dependent, semi-colonial country, and on the other, a dominant, imperialist power. And this feature makes itself felt not only in foreign trade.

Foreign Imperialism in the Saddle

Although every effort is made to camouflage foreign capital as "Portuguese" and "national," the basic branches of the country's

economy are in the hands of foreigners. Mining is almost completely foreign-owned: the Urgeirica uranium, Panasqueira tungsten and S. Domingos pyrite mines belong to the British; Borralha tungsten to the French; Moncorvo iron ore to the Germans; the Aljustrel pyrite mines as well as collieries to the Belgians; tin to the Americans, and so on. The telephone and telegraph services and the transport system in Lisbon are foreign-owned. Foreign interests own a substantial part of the power industry (Companhias Reunidas de Gas e Electricidade and Electrica del Lima) and practically monopolize the electrical equipment industry (General Electric, Standard Electrica, Philips, Atelier de Construction Electrique de Charleroi). Three of the six ship-building yards and one of the two dominant groups in the ceramics industry are likewise foreign-owned, as are a tire factory, aluminum and steel cable works, the railway rolling stock, oil refineries and the tanker fleet, seven of the nine biggest cork producing and exporting firms, the country's biggest sugar refinery and the leading dairy trust. Foreign monopolies also own numerous textile and paper mills, canneries, match and pharmaceutical factories, a soda works, one of the biggest fertilizer works, and the explosives plant in Barcarena. Trade and insurance as well as hotels and the entertainment business are largely lost to national capital. Even the production of port wine is mostly in British hands. Foreign capitalists are literally bleeding the Portuguese economy white.

The foreign monopolies have established strong links with Portuguese finance capital through agreements and take-overs, and share spheres of operation with them.

The Portuguese big bourgeoisie on its part offers no resistance to foreign capital. So closely indeed are the two interwoven that there is not a single industrial or financial group that can claim to be exclusively Portuguese or that its interests are not connected with foreign capital in one way or another. Of the total registered capital of all corporations listed as Portuguese about one-third is foreign-owned or controlled, more than one-third is Portuguese linked with foreign capital, and only the remainder is independent capital.

To secure the backing needed to continue his colonial policy, Salazar is making one concession after another to the foreign imperialists. In the economic sphere he is handing Portugal's natural wealth over to them on a growing scale, and in the political and

military spheres he has fallen in with the militarist policy of the United States, granting the USA military bases on Portuguese territory and contributing to the NATO armed forces. In exchange for imperialist support, he is acting as an agent of the international monopolies and imperialist powers both in Africa and at home.

The domination of the international trusts over those groups in the country which determine the political face of the fascist government has subordinated Portuguese policy to the interests of the British, U.S., West German, French, Belgian and other billionaires. The Salazar government is simply the agency of these monopolies and of Portuguese finance capital; hence its overthrow is the first step to be taken in order to free Portugal from the imperialist yoke.

The Only Patriotic Policy

The interests of a considerable section of the Portuguese bourgeoisie are so interwoven with those of the international monopolies with which they jointly exploit the colonies that they are hard put to it to define their attitude to the fascist dictatorship. Owing to the duality of Portugal's position as a country exploiting colonies and herself virtually a colony, many Portuguese look upon it with mixed feelings. Exploiting old traditions and the continued existence of vast colonial possessions, the fascist propaganda machine is whipping up jingoism. This has had its effect on considerable sections of the liberal bourgeoisie, blinding them to the fact that Portugal is actually a dependency. As a matter of fact, jingoism is now probably the biggest political obstacle to united mass action against the fascist government. At the same time, the growing dependence of Portugal upon foreign powers, the inevitable and fast approaching liberation of the colonies, and the dangers inherent in the reckless policy of Salazar are so obvious that more and more people are beginning to realize that national liberation is one of the prime democratic tasks that must be tackled. Even more widespread is the feeling that the government should give up its present ruthless line for a new policy and display "understanding" in regard to the colonial peoples.

The fascist rulers, however, even after the voting in the United Nations, have refused to budge. "We are a unitarian state and not accountable to anyone," the Portuguese U.N. delegate declared. "Portugal's resolve on this score cannot be shaken." But in one way or another the government will have to give in.

"We shall die rather than leave Portuguese Africa," Professor J. C. Moreira, a rabid colonialist, has said. But the colonialists will not have their way: the peoples of the colonies will make them get out of Africa. The peace forces will not allow them to stay.

The struggle for national liberation is stiffening in the colonies. In April a conference of organizations fighting for freedom for the Portuguese colonies, attended by representatives from Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, the Cape Verde Islands, Sao Thome and Goa, was held in Casablanca to discuss the next steps in the struggle. In Angola a genuine people's war against colonial rule is spreading. The events here have taken so serious a turn that the government has had to resort to emergency measures, rushing 25,000 troops and thousands of tons of arms and equipment by sea and air.

The attitude of the Communist Party of Portugal was recently stated by its Central Committee. The Party stands for immediate recognition of the right of all Portuguese colonies to complete independence, supports their heroic struggle, condemns the fascist government's policy of exploitation and terror and its preparations for colonial wars, urges an immediate amnesty for the imprisoned freedom fighters and the granting of basic freedoms in the colonies. The Party points out that Portugal can achieve greatness only "if she ceases to oppress other peoples and rids herself of foreign imperialist domination."

The true measure of patriotism is the attitude to colonial rule over the less developed countries and to the domination of more developed countries over Portugal herself. While the fascists eulogize the colonial system, they place their own country under a foreign yoke. The Communists, on the contrary, recognize the right of the colonial peoples to independence and fight ceaselessly to free Portugal from imperialist domination. To win genuine independence Portugal must stop exploiting colonies and put an end to her own exploitation by foreigners.

Patriotism presupposes love of country, readiness to defend it, while recognizing the right of others to love and defend theirs. We shall

carry on the fight for the freedom and independence of our country and support other peoples in their struggle for their own freedom and independence. To be a champion of the true interests of one's own nation, a genuine patriot, one must be an internationalist. Portugal has no greater patriots than the Communists.

In the conditions of the fascist dictatorship he who fights against the fascist yoke and Salazar's continued surrender to foreign interests, against colonialism and for self-determination and independence for the colonial peoples, in support of their national movements and denounces the policy of terror and preparations for colonial wars, lays himself open to charges of "treason" and to ruthless persecution. It takes strength and courage to carry on the struggle and spend long years in the underground to evade the police dragnets without losing heart. This Julio Fogaca and Candida Ventura did for more than eighteen years, until their arrest last year. Now their lives are in danger. For to fall into the hands of the Salazar police means torture or even death in the dungeons, trials by political tribunals that do the bidding of the secret police, and imprisonment for years, perhaps for life, as in the case of Francisco Miguel and Manuel Rodriguez da Silva, two patriots who have already spent over twenty years in prison. Moreover, the police can, as they have done in many cases, hold a political prisoner indefinitely even after he has served his term. And this outrageous flouting of the law is described as a "security measure." But despite the persecution, the Portuguese Communists are battling for their country's liberation from imperialist domination, to uphold the right to freedom and independence.

This is the only truly patriotic attitude. Portugal's greatness derives not from the possession of colonies, but from herself, even though she is small and not too lavishly endowed with natural wealth. The task confronting her people is to free the country from the foreign imperialists and the handful of their fascist agents and accomplices who oppress it. Portugal must grant independence to her colonies and at the same time win independence for herself.

Co-operation of the Socialist States with the Economically Underdeveloped Countries

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AT THE time when capitalism still held undivided sway, when the ideologists of "free enterprise" predicted a brilliant future for it, and when socialism was but a theory, Marxist thinking discerned in the faint rumblings of the national-liberation movement the shape of things to come. Already then Marxism foresaw that *the liberation of the peoples from colonial exploitation and national oppression would be inextricably linked with the struggle of the working people against exploitation and oppression of any kind.*

This prediction has been fully borne out. The success of the national-liberation movement, of which our generation is the witness, is in large measure due to the victories of socialism, to the support which the working people of the socialist states and the international Communist and working-class movement are rendering the peoples who are fighting for national independence.

From the moment of its inception the Soviet state, unswervingly adhering to Lenin's counsel, has invariably supported the liberation movement of the colonial and dependent nations and has sought a close alliance with them. Soviet Russia, surrounded by hostile capitalist countries, was unable to render appreciable economic assistance to the newly-developing states. At that time it could give little more than moral and political support.

After the Second World War, however, with the victory of the revolution in China, the establishment of people's democracies in Europe and Asia and the consolidation of the world socialist system, the influence of socialism on the course of history grew immeasurably and the help extended by the socialist states to the peoples who were fighting for national liberation increased accordingly. As the Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties points out, "the socialist system has become a reliable shield for

the independent development of the nations who have won freedom."

The power and prestige of the socialist countries, their firm stand in defense of peace are now the chief obstacle to imperialist "export of counter-revolution" and the guarantee of the political independence of the newly-emerging countries.

Principal Form of Support for the Liberation Movement in Present Conditions

In the struggle to consolidate their independence, the peoples of the former colonies can today draw not only on the moral and political strength of the socialist countries but also on their material aid as expressed in economic co-operation with the socialist camp. *At present, economic co-operation is becoming an increasingly important factor of support for the national-liberation movement by the socialist camp.*

What are the reasons for this? In the first place, the successes achieved by the socialist states in the sphere of economy, science and technology have enlarged the opportunities for broader economic relations with other countries. On the other hand, the problems facing the nations which have but recently gained their freedom make it imperative for them to broaden economic co-operation with the socialist countries. This co-operation is now becoming one of the decisive conditions of national regeneration and genuine independence for the former colonies and semi-colonies.

Although not all the colonial peoples have won political independence — and a bitter struggle still has to be waged in this sphere — the disintegration of the colonial system under the impact of the national-liberation movement has already entered its final stage. The main efforts of most of the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America which have won national independence is shifting to the sphere of the economy. It is here that colonial-

ism is making a last-ditch stand, clinging with particular tenacity to its positions. Taking advantage of the economic and cultural backwardness of the former colonies, their unequal and dependent position in the system of the capitalist world economy, the monopolies are continuing to appropriate the fruits of the labor of hundreds of millions of people, to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign states and to impose their *diktat* upon them.

But the Asian, African and Latin American peoples did not suffer the privations and sacrifices of the liberation struggle in order to go on slaving for the oppressors and serving as pawns in their political gambles. The peoples of the former colonies want to be genuinely free, they want to be masters of their wealth and to build for themselves and their children a life worthy of human beings. The road to this life lies through developing industry, establishing a multi-branch economy, raising living standards and freeing the country from the economic stranglehold of imperialism. The complete emancipation of the economically underdeveloped countries is hampered by imperialism and internal reaction, by antiquated production relations which act as a brake on socio-economic progress. In the final analysis, the success of the struggle for freedom and independence in the former colonies will depend on whether the healthy forces in these nations are able to break the resistance of the reactionaries and imperialism, effect broad social and economic reforms and put an end to the survivals of pre-capitalist relations in agriculture and thus open the way for the development of the productive forces.

The economic co-operation of the socialist states with the economically backward countries gives rise to new factors accelerating the development of the latter, augmenting the forces of progress and facilitating their struggle for a better future.

Viewing the prospects of economic development in the colonial countries 45 years ago, Lenin wrote: "No development, either independent or any other kind, is possible in a commodity-producing society without capital . . . The colonies have no capital or almost none of their own, and only through political subordination in a situation where finance capital dominates, can a colony acquire it."*

Lack of capital is still an obstacle to the economic development of most of the Asian,

African and Latin American countries. In our times, too, the imperialists are using credits and loans to achieve their political ends. But the new and significant aspect of the situation is that the industrially developed capitalist countries have lost their monopoly position as creditors.

The Soviet Union has extended to the economically underdeveloped countries large credits to help expand their national economy and make it independent. India, for example, has received Soviet credits totalling more than 720 million rubles (in the new currency). The United Arab Republic (the Egyptian Region alone) has received 450 million rubles; Iraq, about 165 million, and Cuba, 90 million rubles. Considerable financial assistance is rendered these countries by the other socialist states. In 1960, Czechoslovakia extended credits to Cuba (40 million dollars), to Iraq (12 million dinars), and to Indonesia and Ethiopia; the Chinese People's Republic to Cuba (about 21 million pounds sterling), to Guinea (25 million dollars), to Nepal (100 million rupees); Poland to India (143 million rupees), to Tunisia (10 million dollars), etc., and in January this year Rumania signed an agreement with Cuba for a loan to the latter of 15 million dollars.

But financial assistance alone is not enough to establish a modern industry. Most of the Asian, African and Latin American countries suffer from a grave shortage of industrial experts and skilled labor. The imperialist monopolies are none too anxious to give these countries the benefit of their industrial know-how and the services of their specialists are extremely costly.

Co-operation with the socialist states offers the underdeveloped countries the opportunity quickly to assimilate the latest scientific and technical achievements and to train their own skilled personnel. Thousands of scientists, engineers, and technicians from the socialist countries go to the economically underdeveloped countries every year to act as consultants on questions of economy, science, and public health. These specialists work in close contact with local personnel all the way from the blueprint stage to the construction site, thus giving the latter the full benefit of their knowledge and experience. Engineers, technicians and workers from many Asian, African and Latin American countries are being trained at the colleges, laboratories and industrial enterprises of the socialist countries. In Poland students from 45 countries and in Rumania from 43 coun-

*V. I. Lenin, *Summary of Discussion on Self-Determination*.

tries studied at higher educational institutions last year. A major event in this respect was the opening of the Friendship University in Moscow, now named after Patrice Lumumba. Between three and four thousand students will be studying there within the next few years. It will train specialists for the Asian, African and Latin American countries.

Research and designing institutes in the USSR, Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries are designing industrial enterprises, power stations and other projects for the underdeveloped countries.

Seeking to perpetuate the backwardness of these countries, the imperialists are hindering the development of a heavy industry there. *The socialist states, on the other hand, are helping them to build major industrial enterprises and installations which will serve as the basis for their further independent development.* Some 350 industrial projects, including 30 enterprises of the metallurgical, mining and coal industries, 20 machine and metal-working plants, 15 oil refineries and chemical works, about 20 large power stations, etc., are being constructed in the economically underdeveloped countries with the help of the Soviet Union.

An iron and steel works with a capacity of one million tons of steel annually (to be subsequently increased to 2.5 million tons) has been built in India. Major machine-building, electrical equipment, precision instrument plants, power stations with a total capacity of more than 1.5 million kwt., coal mines and open-cast workings, concentration plants with a capacity of 2.5 million tons of coal a year, two oil refineries with a combined capacity of four million tons of crude oil, medical equipment factories, etc., are going up, and prospecting work is being carried out.

The Soviet Union is helping the United Arab Republic to build about 100 industrial projects, including iron and steel, machine-building plants, oil refineries, chemical works, power stations, etc. The completion of the Aswan High Dam project will bring water to an additional 800,000 hectares of land in the Nile valley which will make it possible to increase the agricultural output by 50 per cent in the Egyptian Region. The Aswan power station, with its capacity of over two million kwt., will generate four times as much electricity as is produced in the whole of Egypt at the present time.

In Iraq some 80 industrial projects, including an iron and steel works, an agricultural-machinery factory and a number of chemical plants are being built with Soviet help.

Soviet organizations are assisting Cuba to reconstruct iron and steel works and to build a new plant, as well as an oil refinery, power stations with a total capacity of 300,000 kwt., and two engineering plants.

The German Democratic Republic is financing 20 industrial projects in the Egyptian Region of the United Arab Republic. It is helping Cuba to build 15 industrial enterprises, including two machine-tool plants and a radio equipment factory. Czechoslovakia is taking part in the construction of a cement factory and other works in Ceylon, engineering plants and power stations in India, a cement works in Afghanistan, a coal-dressing plant in Argentina and a food-industry complex in the Syrian Region of the United Arab Republic, etc. Poland is assisting Iraq, Iran, Argentina and other countries in the construction of sugar refineries, is supplying equipment to a number of Indian enterprises, and technical aid to Ghana for two electrical equipment plants. Bulgaria is helping to build reservoirs and other projects in the Middle East. Rumania is rendering technical aid to several economically underdeveloped countries in prospecting for oil, building oil refineries and training specialists for the oil industry. Several industrial enterprises have been built in Yemen, Burma, Ceylon and other countries with the aid of the Chinese People's Republic. China is also helping Cambodia to erect four industrial enterprises, including an iron and steel plant. In accordance with an agreement signed in March last year, the Chinese People's Republic is to help Nepal to build power stations, paper and cement factories, irrigation installations, etc.

In an attempt to poison the friendly relations between the socialist states and the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, imperialist propaganda alleges that the socialist camp is "thrusting" industrialization on the underdeveloped countries to the detriment of the latter. This assertion is made, for example, by the French bourgeois economist Lucien Laurat. That the imperialists consider the industrialization of the Asian, African and Latin American countries to be premature and inexpedient is an old story. Their arguments have long since been demolished by the statesmen, scientists and journalists of the economically underdeveloped countries who know where the true interests of their

peoples lie. As for the socialist states "thrusting" industry on the underdeveloped countries, while this may be a new angle, it is none too convincing. *The socialist states do not impose industrialization on anyone, they merely assist it, in deference to the wishes of their partners.* Even the former U.S. Secretary of State Herter could not but admit that a feature of the aid rendered by the socialist states was the obvious desire to promote projects in which the underdeveloped countries themselves are interested.

Restricted markets is another obstacle to the development of the Asian, African and Latin American countries. With their traditional branches of industry and agriculture constantly at the mercy of the periodic slumps in the imperialist states, they find the prices of their commodities slashed and part of the burden of the crises thus shifted to their shoulders. Technological progress in the capitalist countries is replacing many types of agricultural and other raw materials with synthetic products with a resultant shrinkage in the market for the traditional exports of the underdeveloped countries. In the period between 1928 and 1955-57 world industrial production rose by 146 per cent, while the exports of the underdeveloped countries (not counting oil) increased by only 23 per cent. Development of new branches of industry is retarded by the restricted home market — the result of the general economic backwardness and foreign monopoly competition.

Under these circumstances, trade with the socialist states acquires particular importance for the economically underdeveloped countries. By giving them a market for the sale of their produce it enables them to increase production and obtain the additional financial and material means necessary to spur their development. As distinct from the imperialist monopolies, the socialist states do not confine their purchases in these countries to the traditional exports — raw materials, fuel, food products; they also buy the products of the new national industries, thereby stimulating their growth and helping them to revise the structure of their economy.

The New Countries Are No Longer Economically Dependent on Imperialism

There is a fundamental difference between the co-operation of the socialist states with the economically underdeveloped countries and the relations existing within the capitalist world economy, where the strong oppress

the weak, the rich rob the poor, where anarchy prevails and the economic relations between nations are constantly being disrupted. In the socialist countries the working people hold the reins of government and their relations with other countries are naturally free from exploitation and enslavement and are permeated with the spirit of genuine equality and friendship. The socialist states have no interest in seizing foreign markets. They supply other countries only with the commodities that are not produced by the industry of the country concerned. This makes for the fuller and broader utilization of the national wealth and resources of the economically backward countries. Unlike the imperialist monopolies, the socialist states do not demand any share in the profits or in the administration of the enterprises built with their assistance. Hence the credits extended by the socialist countries have nothing in common with the export of capital.

The relations of the socialist countries with the economically backward countries are free of any taint of haggling or profit-making.

The Soviet Union grants credits and renders technical aid to the underdeveloped countries on the most favorable terms. The interest rate on Soviet loans to these countries is less than half that usually charged by the capitalist states, banks and firms. Soviet credits are repayable as a rule in 12 years beginning one year after delivery of the equipment for a given enterprise or upon completion of a construction project, i.e., after the enterprise or installation has been put into operation. In this way repayment of credits and interest is covered by the returns yielded by the enterprise, with a surplus left over for investment in the national economy. Moreover, payment on Soviet loans is made as a rule by deliveries of staple exports, a system which obviates the need for the recipient countries to look for foreign currency, ensures them a market for their commodities and at the same time serves to expand those branches of industry and agriculture in which they specialize. This helps to increase employment and to raise the living standard of the local population.

A feature of this technical assistance is that all the necessary blueprints, designs and technical specifications are turned over free of charge; the recipients pay only the cost of duplication and mailing.

The ideologists of imperialism are often puzzled (or pretend to be) by these concessions, interpreting them as evidence of some

sinister political motives. And the clearer the disinterested nature of socialist aid to the underdeveloped countries becomes, the more the imperialists seek to vilify it. The American economist Clarence B. Randall, for example, in his *The Communist Challenge to American Business* writes that in co-operating with the economically backward countries the Soviets are counting on "purchasing their subservience for the furtherance of . . . political objectives."

But there is nothing remarkable in the fact that normal relations between the socialist states and other countries are regarded by the ordinary bourgeois as "subtle maneuvering." These relations have nothing to do with the social system or the policy of the economically underdeveloped countries with whom the socialist states co-operate. "Our experience with the Soviet Union has convinced us of one great truth," writes the *Rosa El Youssef*, a weekly published in the United Arab Republic, "the Soviet Union does not allow its political relations with other countries to affect its economic relations with them. If it happens to be in disagreement politically with the country receiving its aid, it does not cancel the aid, but continues to fulfil its obligations as formerly. The UAR knows this from its own experience. . . ."

As Khrushchov has pointed out, the aid which the USSR and the other socialist states extend to the countries that have won independence "has but one aim — to help strengthen the position of these countries in the struggle against imperialism, to further the development of their national economy and improve the life of their peoples." It carries but one condition, namely, no conditions. This is fully appreciated by the peoples of the underdeveloped countries who, through their statesmen and official spokesmen, some of them far from sympathetic to communism, have repeatedly expressed their sincere and profound gratitude for this aid.

The fact that the growth of the socialist economy is a continuous, uninterrupted process, free from painful fluctuations, creates a reliable and ever-widening basis for the development of economic ties between the nations. Of course, the scale of economic co-operation is determined not only by the potentialities of the socialist states. Much depends also on their partners, on the understanding they have of their own interests, and how resolutely and consistently they counteract the forces of imperialism and internal re-

action which are out to frustrate this co-operation.

In 1958 trade between the socialist camp and the economically underdeveloped countries amounted to 2,600 million dollars, i.e., a more than twofold increase over 1952. This shows that the countries in question are taking advantage more and more of the new opportunities for accelerating the economic development afforded them by the consolidation of the socialist world economy.

The planned nature of socialist economy introduces the planning element into its economic relations with non-socialist countries as well. The credit and technical aid agreements fix definite dates for loans, for delivering equipment and materials, compiling technological specifications, building and commissioning enterprises, training personnel, etc.

Similar terms and conditions can be found in the agreements between the underdeveloped countries and Western capitalist firms. The difference, however, lies in the fulfilment. Even if some capitalist firm or company were to undertake the construction of a big project like, say, the Aswan High Dam in Egypt, in all likelihood it would be unable to fulfil its obligations faithfully and within the specified time owing to a periodic depression or some other "objective circumstance." This at any rate is the conclusion suggested by India's experience in the construction of metallurgical plants with the assistance of the West German Krupp concern and British firms — to cite but one of many similar examples. The socialist countries, on the other hand, enjoy a reputation among business circles all over the world for being scrupulously exact in the fulfilment of their commitments.

The planning element is found in foreign trade as well. A feature of the trade agreements between the socialist states and the economically backward countries is that, besides general provisions, they stipulate the volume of trade, the amounts of goods for reciprocal deliveries, etc. Take the agreement concluded between Poland and Morocco, for example. It set the volume of trade between the two countries for 1960 at 3,600 million Moroccan francs. Poland undertook to export to Morocco 60,000 tons of coal, machine tools and other merchandise and to purchase 300,000 tons of Moroccan phosphates, 5,000 tons of citrus fruits, canned goods, cotton, ore, etc. Czechoslovakia concluded similar agreements with the United Arab Republic,

Turkey and Morocco; the Chinese People's Republic, with Tunisia, and the United Arab Republic and Indonesia; Rumania with Turkey and other countries.

Beginning with one-year agreements, the socialist states and the economically backward countries are now going over to long-term agreements. The Soviet Union, for example, has concluded long-term trade agreements with India and Indonesia for the period 1961-1963.

The planned, stable character of the economic co-operation with the socialist countries ensures the underdeveloped countries a reliable market for their goods, a guaranteed source of the funds, technical assistance, machinery and equipment without which their further development would be impossible.

The socialist world economic system, its might and its influence on all aspects of life, the nature of its relations with other countries opens new prospects to the peoples of the economically underdeveloped countries in their struggle to consolidate their national independence. When world development was governed by the laws of capitalism, the underdeveloped countries could free themselves from the grip of economic dependence and imperialist exploitation only by bringing their productive forces up to the level of the leading industrially developed countries. Inasmuch as this could only be a long-term proposition, since the gap between the industrialized and the backward countries, far from diminishing, had for many decades been steadily widening, it is quite obvious that with the undivided domination of capitalism many of the latter were doomed to eternal bondage.

This is no longer the case. On the basis of extensive co-operation with the socialist countries, the economically backward countries now have the opportunity to break the fetters of the international capitalist division of labor and end their economic dependence on imperialism long before their productive forces reach the level of the more advanced countries.

This is made possible not only because their economic ties with the socialist world system accelerate the economic development of the underdeveloped countries. Broad contact with the socialist economy enables the backward countries to rescue their economy from the pernicious effects of the capitalist market. A United Nations survey for 1958 noted that the trade with the socialist countries has a beneficent influence on the econ-

omy of a number of countries like India, Indonesia, Burma, the United Arab Republic and others. It alleviated the grave consequences of the 1957-58 economic crises. The more industry and agriculture in any economically underdeveloped country take part in this co-operation and the higher the degree of that participation, the less painful the effects on that country of the economic upsets in the highly developed capitalist states.

In the conditions of today the capitalist international division of labor which had long kept the underdeveloped countries in an unequal, dependent position, no longer possesses absolute power. Monopoly capital of the imperialist states can no longer impose its economic and political *diktat* on these countries.

The loss by imperialism of its economic positions in the underdeveloped countries strengthens the latter politically, enables them to play a more active role in international life and to resist the attempts of the imperialists to entangle them in aggressive blocs and thus restrict their sovereignty. This enables them to pursue an independent peaceful policy, one that corresponds to the interests of all the progressive, anti-imperialist forces and helps to improve the international climate.

The Socialist System—Bulwark for the Progressive Forces of the Nascent Nations

The newly-independent countries are the arena of acute conflict between diverse social forces. Patriots are anxious to eradicate the consequences of colonialism as quickly as possible, to get rid of the influence of foreign monopolies on the economy and put an end to imperialist exploitation. Imperialism and the internal reactionaries, on the other hand, are obstructing the independent economic growth of the underdeveloped countries and would like to perpetuate their economic and political subjugation. Each of these social forces offers its own program, its own way of development, each seeks international support. The reactionaries have the backing of the imperialists who in defiance of elementary standards of international behavior are shamelessly interfering in the affairs of these states, aiding and abetting the reactionary elements both politically and economically. The socialist states faithfully observe the principle of non-interference in the affairs of other states. *The existence of the socialist system in the world today cannot but exert a progressive influence on the internal processes of economic and political development*

in the economically backward countries. The extension of relations with the socialist camp helps the patriotic forces of these countries to cope speedily and successfully with their national problems.

Let us take one example. In a number of underdeveloped countries where the state-capitalist pattern is being followed, the state owns part of the means of production, participates in financing the national economy, controls the trade in some of the key products, and endeavors to introduce an element of planning into the state sector.

Fully aware of the danger which the state sector bodes for the local and foreign monopolies, the imperialists, in league with the internal reactionaries, are doing their utmost to impede its growth. They boycott state organizations and fight them tooth and nail. In some cases United States loans to the underdeveloped countries have been made conditional on the abolition of state interference in the economy.

The socialist countries trade with both the private and the state sector. The lion's share of the operations of the Indian State Trading Corporation, for example, is accounted for by the socialist countries. Credits and technical aid, however, are extended mainly to governments.

With the imperialists doing their best to obstruct their independent development and to strangle the state sector, it is hardly surprising that the newly-liberated countries should turn for support to the socialist countries. The character of the co-operation itself is a contributory factor in this respect. And since the technical and financial aid is used primarily for heavy industry — large power and irrigation installations, which in the economically underdeveloped countries are primarily state undertakings — the co-operation naturally develops on an inter-governmental basis.

This type of economic co-operation serves to strengthen what is one of the progressive tendencies in the social-economic development of the backward countries. The state can provide the necessary funds faster than private capital can, and is in a better position to protect the national industry from foreign competition. The consolidation of the state sector restricts the freedom of the foreign monopolies and bars their access to the key branches of industry. To a certain extent it is an obstacle to the growth of local monopoly capital — the economic base of the reactionary forces which tend to ally

themselves with imperialism and feudalism. The growth of the state sector constitutes a step forward in the economic and social progress of these countries.

Co-operation with the socialist countries is above all in the interests of the working people in the underdeveloped countries, where unemployment and poverty are rife. Stimulating the development of the productive forces, it makes for more employment and a higher standard of living. In India, for example, a completely new town with a population of 100,000 has sprung up around the Bhilai Iron and Steel Works. Construction of the various enterprises and installations which Iraq will be erecting with Soviet aid in 1962-65 will provide jobs for about 30,000 people, which approximately equals the total number of building workers employed in that country in 1958.

The bulk of the national bourgeoisie, despite its duality, is also interested in this co-operation inasmuch as it offers local manufacturers and merchants new opportunities for selling their output as well as a source of new machinery, equipment and raw materials. The economic relations with the socialist countries, moreover, help the national bourgeoisie to squeeze out foreign capital and entrench itself more firmly in the economy and trade.

The need for economic relations with the socialist countries is fully appreciated by broad sections of the population in the Asian, African and Latin American countries. *No one who has the interests of independent national development at heart can fail to see the advantages of friendship and co-operation with the socialist world.*

The attitude to friendship and co-operation with the USSR, the Chinese People's Republic and the other socialist countries is the measure by which the peoples of the underdeveloped countries judge the various social forces, parties and personalities contending on the political arena. The movement for "trade with the East" helps the masses in these countries to appreciate their national interests, is a school of political education, and a broad platform for uniting all the patriotic forces against the pro-imperialist elements.

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The victory of the national-liberation movement in the Asian, African and Latin American countries is inseparably bound up with the successes of the socialist system.

Thanks to the moral, political and economic support of the socialist states, the peoples of the economically backward countries are able to preserve and consolidate their newly-won freedom.

But the significance of the socialist system for the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America goes beyond that. In the preface to the first edition of *Capital*, Marx wrote that "the country that is more developed industrially only shows, to the less developed, the image of its own future." Forty years ago that image was associated in people's minds with the luxury of the aristocratic quarters of Paris and the smoke-blackened suburbs of London, the glitter of New York's shop windows and the endless queues outside the labor exchanges in all the "civilized" countries of the world. And seemingly the only prospect was that of a "free enterprise society" with its social and national oppression, and its brutality and barbarism in the colonies.

The October Revolution opened wide to man the portals of a new society. The building of socialist society in the USSR, and the rise of socialism in other countries in Europe and Asia have immeasurably enriched the social experience of the peoples and extended their political horizons. The success of socialism in peaceful competition with the capitalist countries and the victories of the new social system in this historical duel fire the imagination and the hearts of the millions oppressed, plundered and humiliated by the imperialists. This is evident in the popularity which socialist ideas enjoy among the masses, in the growth in numbers and

influence of the Communist and Workers' parties in these countries. In vain does imperialist propaganda see in this the "hand of Moscow." The spread of these ideas is the logical outcome of the times, the result of the long and bitter experience of peoples whom capitalism had nothing to offer beyond poverty and degradation. The American sociologist Adam B. Ulam, an avowed anti-communist, has had to recognize the real reason for the attraction of communism for the people in the underdeveloped countries. "Without having read a word of Marx or Lenin," he writes in his book *The Unfinished Revolution*, "an illiterate peasant who is being squeezed economically or forced to give up his land and work in a factory experiences almost instinctively the feelings that Marxism formulates in a theoretical language." To such people, he goes on, communism is "a systematic expression of their own feelings and reactions, something which again makes sense out of an apparently senseless world."

The Communists have profound faith in the righteousness of their cause. They do not hide their views and convictions. They have no need to impose their will on anyone. They are confident that sooner or later their own experience and the example of socialism will bring all the peoples into the ranks of the fighters for communism.

And when the backward countries choose this path, their economic co-operation with the developed socialist countries will continue to play its historic role in the struggle for a better future. It will ease the birth-pangs of the new society.

State Capitalism in the Argentine. Its Essence and Forms

Jaime Fuchs

A mirror reflecting the struggle of the national forces ★ Who is for the development of state capitalism? ★ Peron and his policy ★ The reason for the influx of foreign capital ★ The road to economic independence.

THE evolution of state capitalism in the Argentine is a kind of mirror reflecting the struggle waged by the national forces in our country against monopoly capital. This is a struggle into which ever larger masses of the people are being drawn, a struggle in which the leading role is played by the working class. In the conditions of the Argentine, which in a way are typical of a number of Latin American countries, the efforts of the progressive forces to establish a state sector in the economy have acquired an anti-imperialist character.

Structure of the State Sector and Its Development

The appearance of state capitalism in Latin America has a history of its own. The first shoots appeared at the turn of the century in transport, municipal services and in communications. The most important step in this respect was the formation of Yacimientos Petroliferos Fiscales (YPF), a state-owned oil company which now controls nearly nine-tenths of the oil output. But the growth of the state capitalist sector was most pronounced during the Second World War and in the immediate postwar years. By 1948 there were about 529 state-owned enterprises, accounting for 7.4 per cent of the industrial output and employing 94,500 workers, or nine per cent of the total labor force (as against 28,500 in 1935).

State capital was mainly invested in the engineering, iron and steel, textile, building, oil and power industries and transport. The state also began to play an important part in trade and finance.

The state sector was formed in a variety of ways and, largely, under the pressure of the popular struggle against the foreign-monopoly domination to safeguard the national wealth — oil — and to nationalize transport, the municipal services and other

branches of the economy. The state took over some enterprises by nationalizing the property owned by foreign monopolies and indigenous big capital, subsequently paying compensation. Other enterprises became state property (later they were denationalized) through the confiscation effected during the Second World War of the property owned by the Axis powers. And, lastly, a number were built largely by state capital.

The class forces favoring the establishment of a state capitalist sector are as heterogeneous as the causes impelling them towards this path. The national bourgeoisie, whose political influence has grown considerably, utilizes state intervention in the economy in its struggle against the foreign monopolies. It is interested in expanding the home market, lessening the country's dependence on foreign concerns and in developing foreign trade.

The masses, first and foremost the working class, regard state capitalism as an important step towards an independent national economy which would help to improve conditions for the working people. Then there are those among the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie who hope to get rid of their unprofitable concerns at the expense of the state, to shift their losses on to the shoulders of the people and to add to their profits by means of state capital.

These factors influenced Peron's policy, which in the immediate postwar years (Peron became president in 1946) added to the government's role in the economy and extended the state capitalist sector.

Among the major economic measures of the Peron government we would mention first the nationalization of the Central Bank, the government monopoly of some sectors of foreign trade, purchasing the railway shares held by foreign capital and the at-

tempt at state "planning" (Peron's "five-year plans").

Peron's economic policy did not pursue the aim of changing the backward structure of the national economy. His government did not take a single step towards ending the domination of imperialism and the landed oligarchy. In Peron's time, on the contrary, North American capital consolidated its positions in the Argentine economy. Our country continued in the main to be dependent on the British and U.S. markets, although some inconsistent steps were taken to expand trade with the socialist countries. The government attitude towards nationalization was often influenced by foreign capital. The decision to nationalize the railways, for example, was in keeping with the interests of the British capitalists who wanted to withdraw their capital from the railways, which were in a sorry plight.

The economic changes envisaged in Peron's plans were designed to further capitalist development, and did not affect the privileges of either the latifundists or foreign monopoly capital. The compilers of the "five-year plans" had the backing of the big industrial and merchant bourgeoisie and the rancher-oligarchy associated with the foreign monopolies through common interests.

Comrade Victorio Codovilla pointed out at the Fifth Conference of the Communist Party in December 1946 that:

"The government's plan does not provide for a solution of *three fundamental problems*, and without this it is impossible to effect reconstruction on a scale that would clear the way for a steady and independent economic advance. These three problems are: *agrarian reform, the return of the national wealth held by the imperialist monopolies, and financing of the positive measures envisaged in the plan by reorganizing the tax system in such a way that the main burden would be borne by the rich.*"

The result of Peron's policy was that the partial nationalization of industry and state control of foreign trade and bank credit—powerful levers in reconstructing the economy if held by a genuinely democratic government—did not basically change the economic structure. In the final analysis Peron's economic measures benefited only some cir-

cles of the bourgeoisie, who began to compete with the pressure groups of the landed oligarchy and compradore capital.

The Peron government paid out vast sums to both home and foreign firms for the means of production—often run down and obsolete—it nationalized. This was the case with the railways belonging to British capital and the telephone exchanges and power enterprises owned by U.S. monopolies. The government paid more than their real value for the sea-going vessels owned by the influential Dodero family which was connected with government circles and was at the time experiencing financial difficulties.

Basically, Peron's economic policy was a policy of demagoguery. And although in words he opposed the foreign monopolies and favored the development of a national economy, Peron actually adopted a defeatist attitude vis-à-vis expanding North American monopoly capital. Still, the measures taken by him did have a certain effect on the economic and political life of the Argentine. They point, above all, to the growing role exerted by the people on government policy, and show that the government had to maneuver and, in a number of instances, to grant popular demands. In the process of building the state sector the popular struggle to strengthen Argentina's foreign trade and political positions, and especially relations with the socialist countries, was intensified. Moreover, during Peron's rule, antagonisms sharpened between the national bourgeoisie, which wanted to see state capitalist measures implemented more consistently, and the compradore bourgeoisie; a clear-cut division could be observed between these two groups within the capitalist class.

Nor did the Argentine by-pass the "classical way" of establishing the state capitalist sector. We have in mind, for example, the war industry, in which the state has always played a leading part. Through the War Production Board, the Army controls 17 industrial enterprises; the Air Force—13; and the Navy, the dockyards and a number of munitions works.

State Sector in the Argentine Economy (per industry)

	Annual volume of production	% of total production
Electric power*		
(kilowatt hours, millions)	3,037	40.0
Oil extraction		
(cubic meters, millions)	6.4	90.0
Oil refining		
(cubic meters, millions)	8.5	55.0
Pig iron (thousands of tons)	35	100.0
Steel (thousands of tons)	40	20.0
Sulphuric acid (thousands of tons)	50	35.0
Cement (thousands of tons)	200	10.0
Coal (thousands of tons)	280	94.0
Tractors** (units)	800	6.5
Trucks and other motor vehicles (units)	4,500	20.0
Shipping (export, import)		10.2
Rolling stock		100.0
State bank loans (national, provincial and municipal) (millions of pesos)	63,500	45.0

The relatively rapid rate at which state capitalism developed during the immediate postwar years soon slowed down. Symptoms of a reverse process—denationalization—are now in evidence, the causes of which will be mentioned later. Nevertheless, the state sector was still playing a considerable part in the economy at the end of 1959.

A total of 465,000 workers were employed in state-owned enterprises at that time: 280,000 in transport; 150,000 in industry, power enterprises and mines; 35,000 in trade, insurance companies, banks, etc.

Monopolies' Counter-Offensive

The growth of the state capitalist sector did not take place without continual, direct or indirect intervention by foreign monopoly capital, chiefly North American. On the one hand, the monopolies endeavored to use the state as a means of penetrating the national economy. On the other, they tried to weaken its influence on economic life, to discredit the state-owned enterprises and to get them denationalized. The foreign monopolies were perturbed by the concentration of labor and

economic resources in the state-owned enterprises, by the latter's close links with the national bourgeoisie; and above all they were worried by the thought that in the event of the political situation changing, these enterprises would play the decisive role and would be beyond the sphere of their control.

One of the ways in which foreign monopoly capital infiltrates the national economy is through the so-called mixed enterprises. The private capital invested in these undertakings is usually guaranteed a number of privileges, including a stipulated rate of profit. State capital investments in these enterprises are often used as ordinary subsidies to private companies. It is not surprising, therefore, that monopolies seek by hook or by crook to infiltrate into the enterprises in which the state is, in fact, the guarantor. By participating in "mixed enterprises" the foreign concerns control big national capital and shift their losses onto the Argentine government.

"Mixed enterprises" are common in machine-building, in the war industry and in other branches. A case in point is the Sociedad Mixta Siderurgica (SOMISA)*, formed with state and private capital. This mixed society was established with the object of building an iron and steel plant in San Nicolas (Buenos Aires Province) with an annual output of 600,000 tons. A contract was signed in 1948 with the U.S. Armco and the Arthur McKee Co. to build and run the plant. Subsequently, in 1956, the Export-Import Bank became a party to this agreement and granted a loan of 60 million dollars on which 31,695,384 dollars will have to be paid in interest. This bank, furthermore, has obliged the Argentine to spend another 90 million dollars in the United States and 50 million in Europe. The nature of the purchases has in each case been indicated by the Bank.

The plant will use imported coal and iron ore. Orders for raw materials have already been placed with North American firms up to 1963, although our country has vast coal and ore deposits of its own. The intervention of U.S. concerns has brought the cost of the plant up to 300 million dollars, barely 1.5 per cent of which is private capital.

An overt policy of denationalization was pursued during the last years of Peron's rule. Foreign trade was no longer regulated, bank deposits were denationalized and other measures taken to "liberalize" the economy, in other words, to encourage private enter-

*Between 1946-57 the state-owned Agua y Energia Electrica increased the capacity of its power stations by 350 per cent, while the private SOFINA trust did not build a single new unit.

**Output of state-owned enterprises only. Output of mixed enterprises not taken into account.

*Mixed iron and steel company.

prise. This policy was carried further under the militarist government of Aramburu-Rojas and has found its most striking expression under the present Frondizi government. The latter has gone back on the election promises which brought it to power and is helping the U.S. trusts to penetrate deeper into our economy.

The foreign monopolies have launched an offensive not only against the state-owned enterprises in the Argentine but also against those in Brazil, Uruguay, Chile, Mexico, and other Latin American republics. The attack is being made in various directions and by various means: when the credits agreement with the Argentine was signed late in 1958, the International Monetary Fund and the U.S. Treasury Department demanded a reduction in state investments in basic industries, dismissal of part of the personnel, denationalization of industrial enterprises, no state intervention in foreign trade and less state influence on bank credits and other spheres. This is what the government has to do in exchange for credits to be used for the purchase of U.S. goods and to facilitate penetration by the U.S. monopolies.

The latter's main objective in the Argentine is to denationalize and get a grip on the oil, metallurgical and electric power industries, for not only are these important branches of the economy, but they are the main sphere of state capital investment (between 1955-59 alone the state invested over 1,200 million dollars in these industries). Should the Americans gain control of these industries state capital would become a source of profit for the foreign monopolies.

U.S. imperialism is now seeking to accelerate the process of denationalizing the oil industry. The monopoly group headed by Standard Oil of New Jersey recently obtained a concession on 37,000 sq. kilometers of oil-bearing territory, and the Royal Dutch-Shell Company one for 30,000 sq. kilometers. As a matter of fact, foreign monopolies have been granted the right to hold under their control, for a period of 25-30 years, the oil deposits discovered by Argentine geologists, and to play the decisive role in the home oil market. For the oil extracted from her territory by foreign concerns, Argentina has to pay more (in dollars) than the capitalist world market price fixed by these monopolies.

The concessions were granted at a time when there was every prospect of the state-owned Yacimientos Petroliferos Fiscales

fully satisfying the oil and oil-product requirements of our economy in a few years' time. Thus the objective is to obstruct, cost what it might, the development of an independent oil industry which could obtain equipment from the socialist countries, in particular the Soviet Union and the Rumanian People's Republic.

The Frondizi government also granted electric-power concessions to the U.S. monopolies. Under the new power law, concessions may be granted to private capital.

A bill to denationalize the Sociedad Mixta Siderurgica (SOMISA), and to transfer the shares owned by the state to private capital, has also been passed. Private companies will be guaranteed a definite profit, while any losses will be borne by the state.

The state-owned DINIE industrial association is undergoing a profound crisis. In the space of one year the personnel in the DINIE enterprises has been cut by more than 2,700.

In transport, foreign technical experts have prepared a number of projects for the government envisaging the transfer of repair shops and other units to private capital. Part of the city transport has already been transferred to private capitalists.

In addition to their efforts to abolish or to subordinate to themselves state-owned and mixed enterprises, the foreign monopolies are utilizing the administrative apparatus to protect their investments and privileges. The state-owned Agua y Energia, for example, which distributes electric power, has to purchase it from foreign trusts. The consumer, consequently, has to pay for the high electricity charges imposed by the foreign monopolies on the state enterprise.

One of the arguments used, especially by the International Monetary Fund, to justify partial or total denationalization is that state-owned enterprises do not pay, that they are inefficiently run.

Cases of inefficient management of the state-owned industries are to be explained first and foremost by the imperialist intrigues, by the fact that the workers, engineers and technicians have no say in running them. And yet many of the nationalized industries have important gains to their credit. The profits of the YPF Company, for instance, totalled 6,644 million pesos in 1959, while between 1950 and 1955 the DINIE group increased production in some branches by 40 or 60 per cent.

The aid rendered by the socialist countries to the underdeveloped countries through

trade enables the latter to expand such industries as power, iron and steel. This, in its turn, can have an influence on other industries.

The financial needs of nationalized industries are also exaggerated. This is done to justify foreign-monopoly intervention in their affairs on the pretext of extending financial aid. The subversive activities of the monopolies are facilitated by the fact that the imperialist concerns and the landed oligarchy are widely represented in the administrative organs.

Utilizing the state administration in its own interests, monopoly capital extracts substantial profits from the nationalized enterprises. And yet it seeks to destroy state ownership and to discredit the state as an employer. Why? The answer is that the growth of the state capitalist sector undermines the "sacred principle" of private property; it shows that social production can be carried on without the bourgeoisie.

Nationalization and the Working Class

The working class and its militant vanguard, the Communist Party, have a clear-cut attitude towards the state-capitalist sector. The workers support state measures aimed at undermining the domination of the monopolies, strengthening an independent national economy and industrializing their country. And they are against the state-owned industries being used to bolster the capitalist system, to give economic support to the monopolies at the expense of the state.

There is a fundamental difference between the functions of state capitalism in the highly-developed and in the economically backward capitalist countries. State-monopoly capitalism in the advanced capitalist countries is a weapon wielded by the industrial-financial oligarchy to strengthen its political and economic positions, to intensify its exploitation of the working class and the working people generally and secure fabulous profits. In some imperialist countries state-monopoly capitalism, closely linked with the militarization of the economy, is a weapon widely used by the militarists. But even in the imperialist countries the growth of state-monopoly capitalism paves the way to the expansion of the social base of the anti-monopoly movement. The ever-widening gap between the handful of monopolies who subordinate and use the capitalist state for their own ends and the rest of the popula-

tion helps the working class to unite broad sections of the people under the banner of the anti-monopoly struggle. Opportunities arise in the course of this struggle for utilizing state-capitalist measures to restrict the sway of the monopolies and benefit the overwhelming majority of the people.

The possibilities are even greater in the underdeveloped countries, where state capitalism is often progressive. It should be stressed that in many economically backward countries state capitalism helps to win political and economic independence. That is precisely why the people of Argentina have before them the task of turning the state-capitalist sector into a means of support for the national-liberation movement and of reconstructing the country along democratic lines. The draft theses issued for the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of Argentina state in part:

"The agents of the landed oligarchy, big capital and foreign monopolies are attacking the nationalized sector not because nationalization is incompatible with capitalism but because in a dependent country such as ours, it is a lever which, if held by a genuinely democratic and popular government, could be used to develop the economy and liberate it from imperialist plunder. That is why, in the national interests, gains must be safeguarded and the nationalization of other basic branches continued."

Latin America is the object of the policy of "neo-colonialism" pursued by U.S. imperialism. It is doubtful whether Washington could exercise political control in the countries south of the Rio Grande were it not for the domination of the foreign monopolies in the Latin American countries. When we speak of our countries achieving complete independence, we do not visualize independence without a sound national economy, without abolishing the domination of the imperialist concerns. But a stable national economy capable of resisting the foreign monopolies can be created only by mobilizing all the national resources with the help of a government which uses progressive measures to combat monopoly rule. We have before us the example of Cuba, where the revolutionary government, radically reconstructing the economy, has already done away with monopoly rule and has placed the state sector in the service of the revolution. The struggle for nationalization, spearheaded against the foreign monopolies, the compradore capitalists and the landed oli-

garchy is an important part of the *economic platform* around which broad sections of the population can be rallied—from the working class to the national bourgeoisie. The anti-monopoly movement has a very broad social base, as the experience of our country and other Latin American countries shows. The political maturity of the working class as a force capable of mobilizing large sections of the people to carry out far-reaching political and economic reconstruction is put to the test in the fight against the foreign monopolies.

The draft program of the Communist Party of the Argentine envisages the nationalization and expropriation, without compensation, of the big foreign monopoly undertakings and companies in the oil, meat packing, iron and steel, and mining industries and other branches. At the same time it points out that foreign capital promoting independent development of the economy within the framework of Argentine law will not be expropriated. The Communists also pose the question of nationalizing the foreign banks and insurance companies. Due regard, however, will be paid to the interests of private organizations and persons whose capital is deposited there. Bank capital will be invested in industries vital to the development of the national economy. "Export and import operations" the draft reads, "will be carried out directly by a democratic government or through co-operative or private organizations under its control."

Why are we aiming the blow in this direction? Firstly, because owing to the economic backwardness and dependence of the Argentine, the imperialist concerns, chiefly North American, the agricultural and rancher oligarchy and the big compradore capitalists are amassing vast profits. Their economic and political domination helps to preserve the semi-feudal survivals in the countryside and to keep the country dependent on a foreign trade based on the export of three or four staple products and the import of foreign machinery and raw materials. This means that vast sums are pumped out of the country in profits, thereby retarding the growth of production, keeping down living standards, and preventing expansion of the home market and accumulation of national capital. Between 1900 and 1959, a tribute of 33,200 million dollars — in 1950 prices — was paid to foreign capital. This figure includes the export of profits, and the unfavorable (for the Argentine) dif-

ference between export and import prices, etc.

One can get an idea of the vastness of this sum when we say that it is about double the fixed capital invested in industry, mining, transport, communications, the power industry and agriculture. Had there been a progressive policy, this money could have been used for productive capital investment and the country would now have its own heavy industry, big power stations and modernized transport facilities. We could have got rid of our shanty towns by building the 1,500,000 dwellings which our people need so badly.

Secondly, the weakness of national capital, particularly industrial, not linked with the landed oligarchy or the imperialist monopolies, makes investment in the basic branches of the economy difficult. We know that priority growth of industry producing means of production is vital for extended reproduction. Hence the importance of state investments in heavy industry the development of which makes for the growth of the productive forces and greater employment. State-owned enterprises enable capital to be invested productively.

Thirdly, an important aspect is the sources from which the state derives the funds for investment. Clearly it cannot rely on foreign capital. Long-term foreign investments in 1959, despite the privileges enjoyed by foreign capital, amounted to no more than 31.7 million dollars, whereas the state — although it reduced its investments — invested 310 million dollars in the nationalized enterprises.

Wages are so low that further cuts are ruled out, taxes are so high that any further rise is out of the question, nor can the national debt be increased. The financing should be done at the expense of the profits obtained by the oligarchy and foreign-monopoly capital and by reducing the military expenditure and the cost of maintaining the machinery of repression, which now amount to 40 per cent of the state budget. Considerable resources could be obtained by nationalizing the banks which, in Lenin's words, "are the centers of modern economic life, the main artery of the entire capitalist economic system."*

The rise of state capitalism in the under-developed countries does not, of course, mean that the essence of capitalist produc-

*V. I. Lenin, *The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It*.

tion relations has changed. But the creation of a state-capitalist sector and the implementation of other economic and political measures are part and parcel of the struggle for complete national liberation and an independent democratic state. Another important task confronting the working class, in addition to nationalization, is to carry out a radical agrarian reform, paving the way to the industrialization of the country and the expansion of the home market.

But to pursue a democratic economic policy within the framework of the measures outlined, we must have a representative popular government which would implement

an anti-oligarchy and anti-imperialist program. All the progressive and democratic forces without exception should be represented in this broad coalition government.

Working-class unity, a close alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry, for which our Party is consistently working, and an alliance with all the national forces will be an insurmountable barrier to the policy of colonialization and poverty. Backed by a broad national-democratic front, the Argentine will be able to win economic and political independence and establish friendly relations with all countries.

Crushing Defeat for Exporters of Counter-Revolution.

First Lessons of the Events in Cuba

Vadim Zagladin

"CUBA si, Yanqui no!" This fighting device which arose from the midst of the Latin American people has today acquired profound meaning. Heroic, revolutionary Cuba has inflicted a crushing defeat on U.S. imperialism.

A legion of mercenaries formed on American territory, trained by American instructors, equipped with American weapons, directed by American Intelligence and with the blessing of the American President, landed on April 17 on the coast of Cuba from American ships and was smashed by the Cuban army and militia in a matter of three days.

The Cuban Revolution and Its Place in History

The significance of the events which occurred in Cuba in the latter part of April and which touched off an explosion of public opinion cannot be properly appreciated without taking into account the place the Cuban revolution occupies in the history of our times.

The overthrow of the pro-American Batista regime in January 1959 was the first anti-

imperialist revolution on the American continent to end in complete victory.

The Cuban revolution did away with the "geographical fatalism" which half a century of U.S. domination had instilled in some sections of the Latin American public. Prior to 1959 many Latin American political leaders, even those who had no illusions about the disastrous consequences of Yankee rule, seldom ventured to oppose it openly, owing to a blind belief in the omnipotence of their northern neighbor.

For decades, beginning with the time of Bolivar, the countries of Latin America have actively resisted the aggressive colonialism of the United States. Still fresh in memory are the anti-imperialist battles fought by the peoples of Mexico, Nicaragua and Guatemala. Nevertheless the hypnotic power of American might, coupled with the permanent threat of armed intervention by the United States to some extent inhibited the national-liberation movement in Latin America. These two factors were a serious obstacle to the development of solidarity among the peoples of

Central and South America in the struggle for freedom.

The victory of the Cuban revolution and its immediate support by world public opinion, primarily the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp, opened a new chapter in the struggle of the Latin American peoples. It showed them that the American Goliath could be resisted and that national independence could be won.

In the two and a half years since the victory of the Cuban people there has been a marked livening up of the struggle against imperialism in the Western Hemisphere. One of the significant recent developments is the militant solidarity of the Latin American peoples, most strikingly manifested in the Pan-American Cuba Defense Movement.

In other words, the Cuban revolution has *invigorated the struggle against imperialism in the Latin American countries*. Not only has it proved that national liberation is possible in the Western Hemisphere today, it has demonstrated that the far-reaching social changes close to the minds and hearts of every working man and woman on the American continent can be effected under the very walls of the citadel of world imperialism. In this sense the Cuban experience is of the utmost importance both for the Western Hemisphere and for the entire world liberation movement.

Major Defeat of Imperialism

The objective of the American political leaders in engineering subversion against Cuba and arming gangs of invaders was to restore the colonial order and wipe out the revolutionary gains of the people.

This was frankly proclaimed in a document published by the headquarters of the mercenaries in Florida on the eve of the invasion. It declared that the task was to safeguard the system of "free enterprise," that the land would be returned to the private owners, and their property restored to "those who had been unjustly deprived of it." The leaders of the counter-revolutionaries announced their intention of "settling" the question of American monopoly property and offered "full guarantee to all private capital, national and foreign."

American businessmen in their turn made no secret of their preparations to regain possession of their factories and plantations in Cuba. An Associated Press dispatch of April 18, quoted the vice-president of United Fruit as saying that he planned to present

the counter-revolutionary government with a claim for 70 million dollars and hoped to play a part in the Cuban economy again.

Highly symptomatic, too, was the active participation in the U.S. anti-Cuban operations of prominent members of the Batista regime. On April 17, *I. F. Stone's Weekly*, for example, reported that the list compiled by the CIA of politicians to be installed in Cuba after Castro had been overthrown consisted mainly of prominent financiers who had been active under the old regime, including the sugar king Julio Lobo, as well as Felix Gutierrez, a former Batista military intelligence officer.

But the plans of the U.S. political strategists were not confined to restoring the reactionary pro-American regime, Washington aimed farther than that; it hoped by crushing Cuba to strike a telling blow at the entire national-liberation movement, weaken the peace forces and consolidate the position of the cold-war men.

The defeat of the intervention foiled this long-range plan.

The revolutionary regime in Cuba is stronger today than ever, a fact which is recognized by the whole world. The fight against the invaders has cemented the unity of the Cuban people, shown that they are ready to lay down their lives for their revolutionary gains.

Cuba's victory has given new strength to the fighters for national liberation in Latin America and all over the world. It has fortified the positions of the peace champions and dealt a heavy blow to the cold war "warriors."

The United States has suffered a *major political defeat*, a defeat, moreover, all the more painful because it was inflicted on a battlefield situated on its very doorstep, in an area it had been accustomed to regard as its own bailiwick.

And inasmuch as the United States is the leading force in the world imperialist system, we can say that in Cuba *imperialism as a whole has met with defeat*.

Export of Counter-Revolution Yesterday and Today

Imperialist propaganda has often sought to discredit the Communist movement and its ideology by accusing it of "exporting revolution." The Communists emphatically reject this slander.

The choice of social system is the exclusive prerogative of the people of every country. Revolutions are not imported, they cannot

be imposed from without. They are the logical result of internal development.

History has fully confirmed the correctness of this Marxist theory and the utter groundlessness of all talk about "export of revolution." On the other hand, history offers not a few examples of the export of counter-revolution. The record shows that attempts have been made time and again by reactionary forces to interfere in the internal affairs of other nations with the object of suppressing revolutionary movements and destroying revolutionary gains. The part played by Prussian troops in 1871 in crushing the Paris Commune, the actions of the Entente in stifling the revolutions in Hungary and Germany after the First World War, the Italo-German intervention in Spain on the eve of the Second World War—all are typical examples of the export of counter-revolution.

American imperialism has long since been an exporter of counter-revolution. One has but to point to the repeated interference by American Intelligence in the internal affairs of many foreign states at crucial moments in their history. Instances of such interference were recently cited with cynical frankness by no less an authority than the *New York Times* commentator Sulzberger. "The Central Intelligence Agency," he wrote in the April 22 issue of the paper, "performed brilliantly in Iran during the Mossadegh crisis. It cased the 1958 French situation better than did the State Department. It was crudely effective in Guatemala, unsure in Laos and fell flat in Hungary, Suez and Iraq."

So long as imperialism was the dominant force in international affairs, the export of counter-revolution often yielded its organizers the desired results. But things have changed. The victory of the revolutionary system in Cuba is the latest and clearest proof of the bankruptcy of this policy at a time when socialism is playing an increasing role in world politics, when the international working class and national-liberation movements have become a colossal force, and when the power of imperialism, while still a source of grave danger to the cause of peace, has been seriously shaken.

Two or three decades ago Washington might have found a much simpler solution: in all probability the Marines would have been dispatched to Cuba at once on some more or less "plausible" pretext.

But now, although the U.S. government has engaged in active subversion against the Cuban revolution from the very outset, it

made a great pretence, right up to the April events, of having nothing whatever to do with it. Even when the fighting was already going on in Cuba, Washington continued to protest its innocence.

It was only after world public opinion came into possession of a mass of facts showing exactly what assistance, and when, was given the Cuban counter-revolutionaries by U.S. organizations, after the Cuban army had captured U.S. heavy weapons from the invaders and an American pilot with American identification papers had been shot down over Cuban territory—only when confronted with this evidence did the Washington authorities admit that *they and they alone were responsible for the invasion*. Once again, as in the case of the U-2 spy flight last year, American diplomacy was caught red-handed.

Why, one might ask, were the U.S. authorities so anxious to cover up their tracks? Why did they try to conceal their part in the affair? Why did they not decide on open armed intervention? Because they knew that the Cuban people were prepared for armed intervention by U.S. forces, and would fight to the last. They knew that open intervention would evoke a powerful rebuff from the peace forces everywhere, and primarily from the socialist camp. They were well aware that in the present conditions any attempt to swallow up Cuba might trigger off a world conflagration in whose flames the imperialist system might well be destroyed.

In our day the "export of revolution" is a policy fraught with disastrous consequences for imperialism. The arsenal of imperialist policy is shrinking drastically. Imperialism is no longer free to do as it pleases. It is compelled to watch its step, to act with caution. It is forced to retreat, and to do so more and more as time goes on. It is losing one position after another in all parts of the globe and it is powerless to win them back.

Imperialism, the cornerstone of whose policy is war, finds itself forced to retreat in this sphere as well. The very atmosphere of our revolutionary age, the impact of the laws of history, embodied in the strength of the camp of socialism, are compelling a social system based on the negation of any moral code to reckon more and more with moral standards in international relations.

U.S. Imperialism Self-Exposed

Under pressure of events, the policy-makers and spokesmen of U.S. imperialism are beginning to understand which way the wind is

blowing in the modern world. They cannot fail to be aware of the growing desire of the masses for revolutionary change, and they view with concern the increasing popularity of socialist ideas in all countries.

Hence the spate of "theories" that have appeared of late to the effect that capitalism has changed its nature and has now become "progressive." Apologists for the U.S. monopolies have recently come up with a brand new "theory" to the effect that, with the advent of the Kennedy administration the character of American imperialism has changed; it has discarded the crude, violent methods of the past and become liberal."

Closely connected with this "theory" is the hypocritical explanation of the motives behind U.S. interference in the internal affairs of Cuba. A booklet on Cuba put out by the State Department shortly before the invasion, declares that the United States is by no means the enemy of the Cuban revolution; it is for the revolution, but the fact that "Communists are operating" in Cuba is causing it deep concern. In the opinion of the State Department, the presence of Communists in Cuba is in itself sufficient grounds for interfering in her internal affairs.

Needless to say, such a position is fraught with the gravest consequences for world peace. For if the United States considers the mere presence of Communists in one or another country to be sufficient excuse for interfering in the internal affairs of that country it is thereby assuming the right to intervene in the affairs of any country.

As a matter of fact President Kennedy said as much in his speech on April 20 in which he declared pointblank that the American government reserves the right to intervene in any country unilaterally, even against the objections of its own allies.

Kennedy's "doctrine of intervention" has evoked the deepest indignation both in the Western Hemisphere (the Canadian public, for example, has vigorously protested against it; "Kennedy Doctrine Applies to Canada," wrote the *Globe and Mail* on April 22), and throughout the world. The British weekly *Tribune* rightly pointed out on April 21 that Kennedy's "doctrine" is a declaration of war not only against Castro, but against people all over the world.

We should like, however, to draw attention to another aspect of the question, namely, that Kennedy's announcement of his "doctrine" (a modern rehash of the Monroe Doctrine), and to an even greater degree the

exposure of America's direct participation in mounting the aggression against Cuba have exploded the myth about the changed nature of U.S. imperialism. The whole world now sees that in the struggle between the reactionary, ultra-aggressive and "liberal" groups in the American ruling circles the aggressive elements are clearly taking the upper hand at the present stage. It is not by chance that Kennedy's advisers at this time are Eisenhower and Nixon, Nelson Rockefeller and Barry Goldwater.

Its self-exposure has gravely damaged American imperialism both morally and politically. Newspapers all over the world have referred to the Cuban events as "the American Suez." "That indefinable substance known as American prestige," wrote the *New York Times* on April 22, "has shrivelled. We look like fools to our friends, rascals to our enemies and incompetents to the rest."

Moreover, from the standpoint of American policy the April events could not have occurred at a worse time. American imperialism has passed its zenith and its star is clearly on the wane. The drop in the value of the dollar and the long chain of failures that have dogged the footsteps of American foreign policy are all signs of this decline.

Only a year ago U.S. positions in the world arena were badly undermined by its torpedoing of the summit conference. Then followed the setbacks in South Korea and Japan, in Europe and Africa, in the assembly hall of the United Nations and on the battlefields of Laos. Washington has by no means recovered from these reverses. Under the circumstances the latest blow—a particularly painful one—delivered by heroic Cuba had an effect little short of a catastrophe.

Its impact has already been felt on the international position of the United States which is finding itself increasingly isolated on the world arena. Its policies are being criticized from all sides. Its position in the entire former colonial world and especially in Latin America has been seriously undermined. It has spoiled relations even with its own European allies. The British and French governments are voicing dissatisfaction at Washington's failure to consult with them before "embarking on the affair," and there has been a good deal of caustic comment about the "youthful zeal" and clumsy bungling of the new President.

"... U.S. imperialism is the bulwark of world reaction and an international gendarme ... an enemy of the peoples of the whole

world," says the 1960 Moscow Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties. The U.S. policy-makers seem to have gone out of their way to demonstrate the truth of this appraisal.

Solidarity among the Freedom Fighters

In analyzing the causes of the ignominious defeat of the U.S. policy of "exporting counter-revolution," the American press concentrates attention on minor, technical details. As a rule, the chief reason for the debacle is put down to the blunder made by the CIA in assessing the opposition to Castro.

That a blunder was made is obvious. American propaganda has for a long time fed on rumors circulated by so-called "emigres"—in reality, fugitive criminals—who spread all sorts of cock-and-bull stories about "terror, poverty" and "widespread discontent" in Cuba. Having swallowed these stories hook, line and sinker, the Washington rulers found themselves caught in their own trap.

It would, however, be wrong to attribute the failure solely to a mistaken view of the situation in Cuba. The roots of the trouble lie much deeper—in the utter failure of the U.S. political strategists to appreciate the realities of the world situation today, their erroneous assessment of the correlation of forces on a world scale. This has been evident in everything: the very timing of the invasion five days after the historic flight into space by the Soviet citizen and Communist Yuri Gagarin, was a colossal error of judgment. In the eyes of the world Gagarin's flight became, as it were, a symbol of socialism and its success; while the aggression against Cuba has come to be regarded by people everywhere as a symbol of imperialism and its policy.

In the language of Marxism this is called class narrow-mindedness. Speaking of the inability of Guizot, the French bourgeois historian, correctly to understand and appreciate the significance of the revolutionary events, Marx wrote: "... even the most brilliant men of the *ancien regime*, even those who undeniably possessed certain talents as historians, were so bewildered by the fatal February events that they lost all sense of history, including the ability to understand their own past actions. . . . Truly, it is not only *les rois s'en vont* but also *les capacités de la bourgeoisie s'en vont*."*

*Marx, Guizot. Why was the English Revolution Successful? Discourse on the History of the English Revolution.

Today even the more farsighted members of the capitalist class appear to be incapable of understanding the cardinal political changes taking place in the world today.

"All the revolutionary forces are rallying against imperialist oppression and exploitation," says the 1960 Moscow Statement. "The peoples who are building socialism and communism, the revolutionary movement of the working class in the capitalist countries, the national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples and the general democratic movement—these great forces of our time are merging into one powerful current that undermines and destroys the world imperialist system." The storm of protest against American aggression in Cuba which swept literally every country of the world was a striking illustration of this process.

All the countries of the socialist camp took a firm stand against this aggression. Their governments lodged strongly-worded protests with Washington and expressed their readiness to help the Cuban revolution should the need arise. The significance of this stand taken by the socialist countries as a serious warning to the aggressor and a factor mobilizing the masses throughout the world cannot be overestimated.

The aggressive Cuban policy of the Kennedy cabinet aroused the indignation also of the progressive sections of the U.S. public. A vigorous protest against the invasion was voiced by the Communist Party of the United States. "There is no higher, patriotic duty before Americans," wrote *The Worker* on April 23, "than to compel our government, to compel Kennedy to stop this aggression!" Hundreds of messages from various organizations and individuals expressing similar sentiments were addressed to the government and the President. Even in the top circles in Washington the fiasco caused considerable embarrassment and brought some harsh criticism of the new cabinet from a number of prominent spokesmen.

Indignation spread throughout the South American continent. There was hardly a single Latin American country whose public remained indifferent to the Cuban events. The Communist parties in these countries were in the front ranks of the supporters of Cuba. The Sixth Conference of the Consultative Committee of the Latin American Socialist parties vigorously condemned the invasion and called for the formation of international brigades of socialist volunteers to fight for Cuba. Many bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalist

organizations in the Western Hemisphere joined in the solidarity movement.

Today all political observers admit that the Cuban events have set in motion deep-going changes in Latin America. The important statements made under public pressure, mainly working class, by the governments of Ecuador, Mexico and Brazil and the parliaments of Chile and Venezuela were evidence of this, as were the protests by the Latin American public against Kennedy's "intervention doctrine."

The reaction outside America—the immediate and active response to the invasion by the working class and national-liberation movements in Europe, Asia and Africa—has been another bitter pill for the imperialists.

A most encouraging sign was the participation in this solidarity movement of the most diverse political and social groups. That all the Communist and Workers' parties published statements in defense of Cuba is only natural. But many Socialist parties, too—in Italy, Japan, Belgium, Canada and Austria, for example—took part in the movement. Groups of members of the British Labor Party denounced the U.S. aggression and congratulated the Castro government on its victory. Big demonstrations in defense of Cuba took place in Japan. Several thousand young Italians announced their readiness in case of need to go and fight for Cuba's just cause.

The newly independent countries of Asia and Africa also raised their voice. The U.S. intervention was censured by the governments and public of India, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Guinea, Ghana, the United Arab Republic and many other states.

In short, only a few hours after the invasion began, a spontaneous and truly international movement of solidarity with revolutionary Cuba sprang up. Men and women fighting for freedom in all parts of the globe regarded Cuba's cause as their own. This was a truly magnificent example of popular solidarity, of the unity of all peoples fighting for freedom and independence, for world peace.

It is this solidarity which today imparts an indestructible power to the liberation struggle of any country, however small. Nowadays no country stands alone in its fight for freedom, independence and social progress.

Cuba may look very small indeed compared to the North American imperialist giant. But with the present balance of forces, when the mighty socialist camp and the millions of fighters for peace, democracy and socialism

in all countries are standing guard over progress, the incommensurate becomes commensurable. From the moment it began, the struggle of the Cuban people has been an international struggle in the literal sense. And having won the powerful support of millions, Cuba overpowered a seemingly invincible adversary.

The backbone of this solidarity of the champions of freedom is the proletarian internationalism of the working class of the world. The working class was the first to rise in defense of Cuba, thereby once again proving itself to be the leading force of social progress.

As always, the Communist parties were in the van of the working class, the organizer of its struggle against aggression. *"The Communist parties, guided by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine,"* says the Statement of the 1960 Moscow Meeting, *"have always been against the export of revolution. At the same time, they fight resolutely against imperialist export of counter-revolution. They consider it their international duty to call on the peoples of all countries to unite, to rally all their forces, to act vigorously and, relying on the might of the world socialist system, to prevent or firmly resist imperialist interference in the affairs of any people who have risen in revolt."*

* * *

The victory of the Cuban people and the defeat of American imperialism in its attempt to export counter-revolution is one of the most significant international developments of our time.

The Cuban events prove beyond all doubt that the process of imperialist decline is progressing. It is growing increasingly harder for world reaction to maneuver, to impose its will on other nations.

The defeat suffered by the United States in Cuba is added proof of the tangible possibility of isolating the forces of war, of forcing them to retreat and ensuring the victory of the peaceful nations.

And lastly, the failure of the attempt to export counter-revolution to Cuba shows that the opportunities for the world revolutionary liberation movement are immeasurably greater than before.

This, of course, does not mean that the peoples can afford to relax their struggle. Imperialism will try to take its revenge. The world press is full of reports about preparations for renewed aggression against Cuba. The reactionary press in the United States

has revelled in accounts of schemes by means of which Washington hopes to be able to find a pretext for direct U.S. intervention. Hence, now more than ever it is necessary to be on guard, to be ready to repulse all manner of reckless and aggressive sallies. Now more than ever before solidarity is needed, the unity of all who stand for freedom of the

nations, for the peace that is menaced by the U.S. warmongers.

But let the imperialist forces rage as they may, one thing is certain: the effect of the Cuban events on the development of world politics cannot be obliterated. Nothing can erase the significance of the heroic victory of the freedom-loving Cuban people.

Pages from History

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia In the Struggle for Socialism

Jiri Hendrych

IN May 1961 the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia rounded out the fortieth year of its work and struggle for socialism. The working class and all the other working people of Czechoslovakia joined with the Communists in celebrating this glorious anniversary. It was observed also by the fraternal Communist parties all over the world. In these 40 years the Czechoslovak Communist Party has led its country to socialism, and today the peoples of our Socialist Republic are bending their efforts to complete the building of socialism and thus pave the way for the transition to communism.

In this historically brief span the working people of Czechoslovakia, under the leadership of the Communist Party, overthrew the power of the bourgeoisie and freed themselves from fascist bondage, gained and consolidated their national freedom and state independence, put an end to the exploitation of man by man and established that socialist Czechoslovakia of which all true Communists, inspired by Lenin's ideas and the victory of the October Revolution, had dreamed ever since the inception of the Party.

Looking back over these 40 years, we seek primarily to draw the main lessons from the experience gained by the Party in order to equip ourselves better for the even more momentous tasks that lie ahead.

As Communists and internationalists, we have always seen our own activity as a component of the struggle of the international Communist movement. We have therefore always striven to further the development of this greatest and

most progressive movement in human history. At the same time we are profoundly grateful for the substantial assistance rendered us, throughout our Party's existence, by other Communist parties, and particularly by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the vanguard of the world Communist movement.

Without the Communist Party Socialism Could Not Have Won in Czechoslovakia

It can be said with full justification that our Communist Party in the 40 years of its activity has inscribed the most important chapter in the modern history of the Czech and Slovak peoples. Not a single class battle of the Czechoslovak workers was fought without the direct participation of the Communist Party, and hence the history of the Czechoslovak people cannot be fully understood apart from the history of the Communist Party.

Without the Communist Party the working class of Czechoslovakia could not have defeated capitalism. The events of 1918-20 are proof of this. At that time, under the impact of the October Revolution in Russia, the working class, together with all the Czech and Slovak working people, rose against the Hapsburg monarchy and imperialist war, against social and national oppression, for peace, national independence and a socialist republic. This nationwide movement culminated in the establishment of an independent Czechoslovak state. But, because of the Right-wing Social Democratic leadership, the bourgeoisie and not the working class became the dominant force in the

national-democratic revolution and, contrary to the will of the masses who wanted a socialist republic, Czechoslovakia became a bourgeois-democratic republic; the revolutionary period of 1918-20 ended in the temporary defeat of the working class.

But the class-conscious proletarians quickly perceived the main reasons for the setback. They realized that they had been defeated because they did not have a revolutionary party boundlessly devoted to the interests of the workers, a party like the Bolshevik Party in Russia, which had established the dictatorship of the proletariat in the biggest country in the world. And so in 1921 the revolutionary workers in our country formed their own Communist Party. The founding of this Party, which at once joined the Communist International, was a landmark in the history of the Czechoslovak labor movement, of our nation and our state. It marked the beginning of conscious and consistent struggle by the working class for the victory of the socialist revolution in our country. The Communist Party grew and matured as a party of a new type, founded on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The CPC developed as a militant revolutionary Leninist party in bitter and unrelenting struggle against social democracy, reformism and revisionism. The triumph of Leninist principles, secured in less than ten years by the Bolshevik core led by Klement Gottwald, enabled the Party to chart the correct political line, revolutionary strategy and tactics corresponding to the alignment of world forces, the international situation and the specific conditions in Czechoslovakia. It was this that enabled the Party to weather the storms of February 1948 and seal the victory of the working class over the bourgeoisie. History has confirmed the correctness of the main thesis advanced by the Fifth Congress of our Party in 1929, namely, that "the role of the Communist Party in the overthrow of capitalist rule is decisive. Without the Communist Party the bourgeoisie cannot be defeated."

To this, as experience has taught us, might be added: without the Communist Party there would be no People's Democratic Republic, socialism would not have been achieved nor the way cleared for building a mature socialist society.

Within 15 years, under the leadership of the Party, the material and technical base of socialism has been created and the balanced development of the entire national economy ensured. The Party has consistently followed Lenin's counsel on socialist industrialization. Fully conscious that only by a rapid expansion of socialist industry was it possible to advance the entire economy, reconstruct agriculture along socialist lines, raise the

standard of living and strengthen the country's defense capacity, the Party has bent every effort to ensure rapid rates of industrial growth. Today Czechoslovakia is one of the most highly-developed industrial countries in the world.

In the sphere of agriculture, a significant achievement of the party—the result of its correct policy and its efforts to strengthen the alliance of the working class and the peasantry—was the transition to large-scale socialist co-operative farming in a comparatively brief space of time. In the spring of 1949 the Party at its Ninth Congress pointed out that we could not have socialism without taking the socialist way in the countryside, and that this could not be done without an alliance of the working class with the small and middle peasant.

The Party's work in the villages consisted in demonstrating to the peasants by practical example the advantages of large-scale co-operative farming and the need for their active participation in reorganizing rural life. The Party resolutely combatted the use of administrative methods in setting up the co-operatives. At the same time, it rejected the theory that the peasantry if left to themselves would automatically turn to socialism. On the contrary, the Party considered it essential to conduct systematic political and organizational work among the peasantry, regarding this as the only way to establish the co-operatives and place them on a firm footing. Now that socialist production relations have gained the upper hand in the countryside, the Party has moved on to the next objective, which is to bring agriculture up to the level of industry by 1970. It sees the development of socialist agriculture, based on the latest scientific and technical achievements, as the principal condition for the gradual eradication of the distinction between town and village. This truly historic task, an essential prerequisite of the transition from socialism to communism, naturally presupposes steady improvement of agricultural management, and still better organizational work by the Party and state bodies.

Of tremendous significance in the history of our Party, in all that we have accomplished and to which we aspire, is the period beginning with 1954. This was a time of unprecedented upsurge in our Party, of extraordinary activity on the part of the masses, a time of remarkable socialist victories in our country. It was marked by the rapid expansion of productive forces, the consolidation of the Party's contact with the masses, the deepening of socialist democracy and the strengthening of the moral and political unity of the people.

The Party waged a resolute struggle also against some bad influences, primarily those engendered

by the personality cult. Of invaluable assistance in this respect was the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU. Our Party applied its decisions widely and vigorously in order to make full use of all the advantages of socialism, to root out all the shortcomings that were hampering the activity of the Party and retarding the development of socialism. The application of the Twentieth Congress decisions to our conditions evoked an upsurge of political and labor enthusiasm on the part of the masses, increased their participation in running the country and in economic management. The leading role of the Party in all spheres of life was felt more tangibly than ever before.

This is a matter to which we attach the greatest importance. We resolutely reject any assertion that there is no need at this stage to strengthen the role of the Party inasmuch as it has become an indispensable factor of daily life. The high level of social development, the new demands and more complex tasks call for a higher level of mass consciousness, a deeper understanding of the laws of social development and the need to combat any tendency to let "nature take its course." Like any other social process, building a mature socialist society and the transition to communism take the path of overcoming contradictions and of conflicts between the old and the new. Many of the features of modern social organization and forms of superstructure, essential and common at present, will be superseded by new forms, new organization.

All this will give rise to complex problems which it will be impossible to solve without the constant guidance of the Communist Party. We understand this not as a general principle but as a practical task of combining the development of the Party and its leading role with the activities of every Communist and every Party organization. At the present stage, with the territorial reorganization of our state completed, and the rights of the national committees, the enterprises and all economic organizations extended, the Party organizations cannot live solely on the reputation of the Party as a whole. They should display the maximum initiative and activity in carrying out the tasks entrusted to them, creatively apply and implement the policies and decisions of the Party.

Every Party organization, every Communist must be able to cope with the practical problems of everyday life—this is one of the principal objectives of our Party at the present time.

Marxism-Leninism, the Solid Foundation of Party Policy

The strength of the Party is that at all stages in the struggle for socialism, Marxism-Leninism has been its guide to action. Moreover the Party

has always stressed the two inter-related principles: creative application of Marxist-Leninist theory to our conditions and consistent struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, for adherence to its general principles, which constitute the sum of the experience of the international Communist movement. The Party has never approached Marxism-Leninism as "pure theory" detached from the practical revolutionary struggles of the working class. On the contrary, from its very inception the Party has understood and applied Marxism always in relation to the specific demands and tasks of the class struggle. That is why in the history of Czechoslovakia ours has been the only party that has proved capable of scientifically analyzing and assessing the new social phenomena and, on this basis, elaborating its own proletarian policy.

The Party has always linked its theoretical activity directly with the political and economic struggle of the working masses, thus combining theory with practice. That explains why, apart from the difficult initial period of struggle for the Bolshevization of the Party when the ideological heritage of social democracy had to be overcome, there have been no serious deviations in the history of our Party involving any appreciable sections of our membership. Under the most adverse circumstances and at times of the worst persecution (even during the fascist occupation) the Party never lost its influence among the masses, which is convincing proof of its creative Marxist-Leninist policy, its close affinity with the people.

This creative assimilation of Marxist-Leninist theory helped our Party to solve the chief problem facing the Czechoslovak working people in the historic struggle for social emancipation, namely, the socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in a complicated situation when the very existence of the Czech and Slovak peoples depended upon the outcome of the struggle.

How was the Party able to pursue the correct policy in solving these vital matters, how did it win the support of the majority of the working class for its policy, how did it prepare the masses for the revolutionary struggle for the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat? By resolute, unremitting and consistent defense of the vital class interests of the proletariat and all working people, by applying the tactics of the united front. These tactics were based on the principles set forth by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International. Guided by these principles, the Party repeatedly stressed that the struggle for democracy and national liberation and the struggle for socialism were closely interlinked. These same principles formed the basis of the Party's policy

during the occupation and the subsequent years, when the democratic revolution developed into the socialist revolution.

In the early 'thirties most of the workers in Czechoslovakia were under the influence of their class enemies—the bourgeoisie and the Right-wing Social Democratic leadership. At the same time illusions of bourgeois democracy, petty-bourgeois ideas and prejudices were still strong among the workers. The Party made a careful study of these views and sentiments in order to find a way to bring the Party closer to the masses and, by means of convincing arguments, to help them overcome their petty-bourgeois prejudices.

In this work the Party demanded of its members that they take due account of the political level of the masses, their strength and weakness, that they be prepared to work among the masses at all times, helping the latter to discard their erroneous views, and drawing them into active struggle for socialism.

The Party took up the cudgels on behalf of the day-to-day demands of the masses, rallied them and organized their struggle. This is how the united front was created from below. The Party did not confine itself to merely proclaiming its leading role, it effected its leadership in struggle, by valiant defense of the class interests of the proletariat. In fighting for working-class unity of action, the Party made no secret of the difference in principle between its own views and those of the Social Democrats. On every possible occasion it explained to the Social Democratic workers the basic issues of the class struggle. This, of course, was not easy. To obtain a hearing from the Social Democratic workers, to get them to see the Communist point of view on questions such as the attitude to the state, to the revolution, the Soviet Union, etc.—all this required careful and patient work. Experience showed that only in the process of joint struggle, of joint united front action was it possible to extricate the Social Democratic workers from the web of false ideas and illusions in which they were enmeshed.

In fighting for unity of action, the Party strove to lead mass activity from economic demands to the higher political forms of struggle. Combining the different forms of class struggle, the Party displayed considerable skill in using the economic struggle to advance political slogans and linking these with the economic demands. Experience confirmed the statement made by Gottwald during his first speech in the bourgeois parliament in 1929. In the course of the daily struggle, he said, the working masses were bound to see that accounts could and should be settled with the bourgeois regime. On behalf of the Party he told the bourgeoisie and its Right-wing Socialist accomplices

to their faces: "We shall wage this struggle whatever the cost, resolutely and stubbornly, until your rule is swept away."

After fascism rose to power in Germany in 1933 and Czechoslovakia was directly threatened with invasion, the Party successfully linked the fight for democracy and socialism with the fight for national freedom and independence. The basic line of the Party on this question can be summarized briefly as follows: we held that the Party should develop the democratic movement of the working people, the movement for national independence and ensure the dominant role of the working class in this movement. In short, the Party pursued a proletarian line.

This line of action consisted in defeating the ultra-reactionary group of finance capital, breaking its economic and financial power and thereby weakening the position of capitalism as a whole, strengthening the position of the working people, extending their participation in affairs of state and working for the establishment of a people's government which would organize the defense of the country against fascism. The Party believed that such a government would be a good school for the people, enabling them to acquire the experience needed to replace the existing system with a truly people's government.

In the sphere of foreign policy the Party stood for alliance with the USSR, and support of its peace policy. The chief result of this consistent struggle, which enjoyed the support of the broad masses, was the conclusion of the Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty of mutual assistance in 1935.

Although the political slogans advanced and widely propagated by the Party did not yield immediate results at that time, the consistent struggle for them left its imprint on the majority of the working people and prepared them politically, as it were, for the coming battles.

On the principal issue of the moment—the defense of the Republic against Hitler fascism and its internal allies—the Communist Party alone pursued a policy conforming to the interests of the working class and the masses. It stood for united action by all the socialist parties and democratic forces, for the creation of a Left government, and demanded that defense of the Republic be entrusted to the people. The danger threatening their country awakened the political consciousness of millions of people, who rallied in increasing numbers around the Communist Party, the only political force on which the nation could rely in its hour of need.

The Party called upon the people to rise in defense of the country in the event of a Hitler invasion. But at the decisive moment the people were betrayed by the bourgeoisie whose class

interests, interlocked with imperialist circles in the West, outweighed all patriotic considerations. The bourgeoisie trampled upon the banner of democracy and national freedom; fear of their own people was greater than their fear of Hitler; the result was Munich. Munich also spelled the end of the reformist parties, which even in that fateful hour were unable to break with the bourgeoisie. At the same time Munich showed the Czechoslovak people the true nature of international imperialism and brought home to them the fact that their only true friend was the Soviet Union.

Both during the Munich days and in the darkest period for the Czechoslovak peoples — the period of national enslavement (1939-1945) — our Party was in the forefront of the struggle for the restoration of national freedom and state independence. The Communist Party, which the Czech big bourgeoisie persecuted as an anti-national party, was the only party which, in spite of dangers and sacrifices, fought consistently for the liberation of our people. Hence the peoples of Czechoslovakia, having completely lost faith in the big bourgeoisie who formerly ruled the country, placed their confidence in our Party and gave it their support.

During the Second World War our peoples saw for themselves who their true friends were and who their enemies. The victory of the Soviet Union over Hitler Germany, the arrival of the Soviet troops bringing liberation to Czechoslovakia and foiling the plans for imperialist intervention—all this made it possible to realize the people's demand that the Republic should not be restored as a state of the bourgeois type, but established from the very outset as a people's democratic state with the working people at the helm.

The Communist Party, guided by Marxist-Leninist teaching, successfully linked the struggle for national freedom with the struggle for social emancipation. While the national-liberation struggle was still in progress it created the conditions for the emergence of a new, people's democratic Czechoslovakia. In this way it laid the natural foundations for the gradual transition from the people's democratic revolution to the socialist revolution.

The basic demands of the people's democratic revolution were expressed in the Kosice Program, drawn up by the Party in 1943 and published in April 1945 as the program of the National Front government of workers, peasants, small employers, intellectuals and some sections of the Czech and Slovak bourgeoisie. The leading force in the National Front was the Communist Party.

The Kosice Program gave broader democratic and social rights to the people and established the new power based on the national committees

that had been born out of the national-liberation movement. This changed the entire character of the state system. It not only gave the state power a new organizational form, it invested it with a new class content. The bourgeoisie was deprived of its dominant positions and its bureaucracy was abolished. "In the specific conditions of the anti-fascist revolution, the Communist Party, by democratizing the state government, creatively elaborated one of the basic tenets of Marxist-Leninist teaching, that the old state machine of oppression must be swept away and replaced by a new one, born of revolution."^{*}

The demands and objectives of the people's democratic revolution were reflected in the government program in a series of measures directed against the big bourgeoisie who had betrayed the Republic. Neither the middle bourgeoisie in the National Front, nor the bourgeois emigres in London ventured to give open support to their class ally and were obliged to agree to these measures, although the positions of the bourgeoisie as a class were substantially weakened thereby.

The property of the German fascists and that of the collaborators and quislings was confiscated. The banks, basic industries and mineral wealth were nationalized and became the property of the state in 1945. Land belonging to the landowners (i.e., the leaders of the traitorous Agrarian Party) and all other collaborators was confiscated without compensation and turned over to the working peasants and farm laborers. The land reform, effected through the national committees and commissions of peasants and farm laborers, was an important factor in cementing the alliance between the workers and peasants. The Kosice program of the people's democratic revolution mobilized the masses and cleared the way for the further development of the socialist revolution.

In carrying out the anti-fascist democratic revolution, the Party leadership concentrated on consolidating the unity of the working people. It stressed that "notwithstanding the favorable conditions, our immediate goal is not the establishment of Soviets or socialization, but the completion of the national-democratic revolution so as to pave the way to new objectives, at the same time preserving as far as possible the broad National Front and remaining at the head of the people" (K. Gottwald).

A peculiar situation arose: though the working class held the dominant position in the government, the bourgeoisie was also represented, and both these opposing class forces were obliged to work together. Yet this was not class conciliation; on the contrary, it was a continuation of the class

^{*}History of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

struggle in a different form. Developing the democratic revolution, the Party linked the national and democratic demands of the people as a whole with the socialist interests of the working class and the majority of the working population. The Party, as the leader of the broad National Front, constantly strengthened and developed the socialist elements in the revolution and combatted the narrow interests of some sections of the bourgeoisie, by means at once peaceful and consistently revolutionary.

With the development of the democratic revolution into a socialist revolution, the Party found a new solution also for the problem of allies, in particular, the peasant problem. Thanks to the efforts of the Party in 1948, the working class formed a firm alliance not only with the small peasants but with the bulk of the middle peasants as well.

The final victory of the working people over the forces of reaction was in large measure due to the Party's skilful use of parliamentary forms of struggle. During the bourgeois republic the Party acquired rich experience in using parliament to defend the interests of the masses and to expose the bourgeoisie. After 1945 it took advantage of its key position in the new government to further the cause of the working class. It was this that enabled the Party to carry out the revolution both from above and below.

Our Party's experience in building socialism in an industrially developed country is a valuable contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory. The bourgeois and Social Democratic opponents of Marxism-Leninism all over the world have repeatedly declared that Marxism-Leninism — and especially its cornerstone, the dictatorship of the proletariat — cannot be applied in an economically developed country. In their opinion, Marxism-Leninism is suitable only for economically backward countries. But the experience of our working class and our Party affirms the universal character of the basic Marxist-Leninist principles. It is precisely because of her high economic level and her socialist development that Czechoslovakia was able in such a brief space of time to overtake and surpass the most advanced capitalist countries in level of industrial production.

Our Party has always maintained close contact with the masses. Even before the war, hundreds of thousands of workers voted for us and thousands joined the Party's ranks. When the war ended thousands of branches were formed in a matter of months around the core of older members, who had experienced the horrors of the fascist occupation. By the beginning of 1946 the Party numbered a million members. The February 1948 events, when the reactionaries tried to

turn the country back to capitalism, showed how after three brief years of class struggle the young Party members had become tempered, how they had matured politically under the leadership of our Central Committee. In those historic days the entire Party from top to bottom was in command of the situation. The working class and the entire working population, led by the Party, took state power into their hands and built socialism in a single decade.

International Character of the Party's Activity

Our Party has always adhered steadfastly to the principle of proletarian internationalism. It has constantly learned from the experience of the other Communist parties, and primarily the C.P.S.U. Without the inviolable friendship of the Party of Lenin, without its ideological wealth to draw upon, the Czechoslovak Communist Party could not have fulfilled its mission as the vanguard of the working class of Czechoslovakia. But, while benefiting from the experience of the other fraternal parties, we have endeavored to make our own contribution to the international Communist movement. The act of founding our Party as an international mass party in a multinational state was a manifestation of the profound international consciousness of the Czechoslovak proletariat.

The internationalism of the Czechoslovak Communists was strikingly demonstrated in their long struggle for the recognition of the Soviet Union by the bourgeois government, in their fight to frustrate the preparations for war against the first socialist state, and in the growth of Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship.

The struggle against armed attack on the Soviet Union and popularization of its peace policy formed an integral part of our struggle against fascism, for national independence and peace. The Party's efforts in this sphere have had the effect both of increasing the sympathy of the people of Czechoslovakia for the Soviet Union and of enhancing the Party's prestige, because in upholding the Soviet Union it was simultaneously upholding the interests of the working class and the cause of freedom for the peoples of Czechoslovakia.

The Party honorably fulfilled its international duty by rendering support to other contingents of the international proletariat. In 1923 it came out in defense of the revolution in Germany; in 1925 it organized help to the British miners' movement. When Hitler came to power in Germany it helped the Austrian workers to fight the treacherous policy of Dollfuss. During the anti-fascist struggle of the Spanish people the Party's slogan was: "The Battle for Prague is Being Fought at

Madrid!" It organized help to the Spanish democrats and sent its members to fight in the international brigades. The Party helped many leaders of other fraternal parties to find refuge on the territory of our Republic. The underground central committees of the Polish, German and Hungarian parties functioned in Czechoslovakia with the help of our Party.

In this way our Party not only supported the just struggle of the international Communist and anti-fascist movement, but at the same time cultivated and developed the feeling of international solidarity among the working people of Czechoslovakia. Only in joint struggle and fraternal co-operation with the other Communist parties could the Czechoslovak Party have become a truly revolutionary party of the working class, a party of the Bolshevik type. Co-operation with the other Communist parties and work in the Communist International brought to the fore outstanding leaders, like Klement Gottwald. With the help of the Communist International, the Party at its Fifth Congress in 1929 exposed and defeated the opportunist "Jilek group." It was then that the Leninist line and the Bolshevik trend triumphed in our Party. At the same time the Party preserved its mass character. That victory enabled the Party to perform its international duty with even greater success.

During the national-liberation struggle, the people of Czechoslovakia, educated by the Party in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, knew that the only way to full national and social emancipation was to march in step with the Soviet Union, with the people of the other countries fighting Hitler fascism. The years of anti-fascist struggle were not only a school of patriotism but of class consciousness and internationalism as well.

After our country was delivered from the fascist occupation, recognition by the masses of the people of the part played by the Soviet Union in the liberation became, thanks to the Party, the foundation of the indestructible friendship between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union and the cornerstone of our entire state policy. The working people of Czechoslovakia have always recognized the important fact that the future of people's democracy, of our revolutionary gains, indeed the very existence of our people and their statehood are closely associated with our co-operation with the Soviet Union. Our relations with the Soviet Union after 1945 have served as a model for the

development of friendly relations with the other people's democracies.

Guided by the example of the C.P.S.U., the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is strengthening co-operation between the Marxist parties of the socialist camp, since this is the guarantee that the international proletariat will win still greater victories and that its influence on the entire course of the mass struggle against capitalist exploitation and colonial oppression will continue to grow.

In the interests of effective anti-imperialist struggle and in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, our Party is extending its relations with the Communist parties in the capitalist, colonial and newly-independent countries. The Party proceeds from the firm conviction that the co-operation and mutual aid of the Communist parties and working class throughout the world are a basic condition for the victory of peace, democracy and socialism.

The period of upsurge in the activity of our Party coincides with a new stage in the development of the world Communist movement which began after the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. Our Party and its Central Committee have striven creatively to apply the ideas of the Twentieth Congress to the life of our own Party and state. If our Party was able to react quickly and correctly to the complex situation that arose in the autumn of 1956 this was not only because its members were educated in the spirit of proletarian internationalism but also because it was able to draw the correct conclusions from the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. and to adapt them to our own conditions.

An important element of our international policy is the implementation of Lenin's principle of peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems. It is our Party's aim to make the most effective contribution to the international prestige of the socialist countries; that our home and foreign policies should more actively foil the aggressive designs of the imperialists. The stand taken by the Communist Party and the working people of our country with regard to United States imperialist aggression against Cuba shows that the Communists and all the people of Czechoslovakia staunchly uphold the cause of peace and friendship between the nations, that they will not retreat a single step in the face of imperialist machinations. True to the principles of proletarian internationalism, they are ready to do their duty in the struggle for the victory of the great ideas of communism.

**In the Communist
and Workers' Parties**

Build the Party Numerically and Organizationally

Now that new sections of the population are joining in active class struggle in the capitalist countries, the conditions are favorable for transforming the Communist parties into militant mass organizations capable of uniting the majority of the people for the struggle for peace and socialism. This idea is stressed in the recent documents of the Communist parties which show how they are winning new members and how their prestige and role in the socio-political life of the different countries are growing.

John Gollan:

URGENT TASK OF THE DAY

In his political report to the Twenty-Seventh Congress of the British Communist Party John Gollan, the General Secretary, said: "The task of winning the British Labor movement and the British working class for socialism is a political task which requires, above all, political organization. That organization is and can only be the Communist Party, and nothing can replace it in the labor movement . . .

"It is no good we Communists talking about our indispensable role without being conscious of the fact that the still small size of our Party, our lack of parliamentary representation, hinders us in fulfilling this role.

"The transformation of our Party into a mass organization is bound up with the urgent need of Communist parliamentary and local government representation. The problems here are difficult and well known. But they have to be faced and solved. We have to end this contradiction between the Party's influence, its ceaseless political activity, and its electoral weakness . . . It is vital not only to increase the membership of the Communist Party, but to extend its electoral role, and develop its municipal and parliamentary representation.

"This is the indispensable basis for carrying forward the present informal co-operation of all the left forces to the stage of a definite alliance of Communist and non-communist forces in the

movement. For nothing less can match up to the needs of the political situation . . .

"During the past three years Party membership has increased. At the beginning of 1958 our re-registered membership was 24,900. Today it is 28,770 . . .

"We have now reached the stage where, influential though our membership and connections may be, we must achieve a big expansion of our membership if we are to fulfil our role on the scale needed. This is particularly necessary if we are to carry the present widespread demand for a change of policy in Britain to the level of socialist understanding . . .

"Big new possibilities for transforming the political position of the Party are arising. The growth of mass action and campaigning of all kinds, the developing political situation in Britain and the revolt against Tory policy, the increasing difficulties of the cold war, the tremendous sweep of world developments to socialism and national liberation are all bringing about increased political consciousness among the people and especially among the youth. This is the new basis on which to build the Party."

Gollan then proposed a year of Party building. "It is not enough," he said, "to point out the necessity for the Party, the new possibilities for its growth—our task is to take the necessary steps to clinch these new possibilities.

"Our main slogans for the year will be 'Build Britain's Party of Peace and Socialism—the Communist Party'; 'Build the Communist Party for a Socialist Labor Movement'. The main public direction of this drive, therefore, will be twofold: to convince the people as a whole of the need for the Party, and to convince the active workers in the Labor and Trade Union movement. While directed to the active militants in the movement, we have in mind, too, the ever-extending masses of people, especially younger people, coming into political activity of one kind and another for the first time, to convince them to come directly into the Communist Party. To do this we will need the best organized public campaign ever, a veritable Party crusade—with big rallies, small meetings,

public materials, posters, pamphlets, films and the systematic use of the press. Our aim should be to involve every Party branch and every single Party member in some way or another.

"A special feature should be individual recruitment — every Party member a Party builder. We will need concentration on the factories and the main industries with the aim of forming dozens of new factory branches. We are a Party of a new type, organized to wage the class struggle, to win political power and socialism. For us, the center of the struggle, the main basis of Communist organization must be the factories. And it is here that we want to score our greatest successes in the year. While, naturally, there will be a big effort in the places where the Party is already established, we should give particular attention to establishing the Party in new areas in new towns and villages.

"We will not get the results we want without particular efforts devoted to winning women members, and this would require not only campaigning on the issues in which women are particularly interested, but consideration of the Party's whole public appeal to women . . .

"A long overdue overhaul of the Party's literature distribution machine is needed; the aim must be to make it something for getting our material to the public, instead of, as is so often the case, only to the Party members and close sympathizers. The time is ripe, too, to mobilize all the talents to extend the Party's cultural work on films and the theatre. Great possibilities exist here . . .

"As a result of our combined efforts, the last two years have ushered in a new period of Party growth and expansion. Only the beginnings have been made. But let us understand that it is a new situation, and go forward boldly to fulfil our responsibilities and grasp the new possibilities with both hands."

French Communist Party:

NEW WAYS

The discussion of the pre-Congress materials for the Sixteenth Congress of the French Communist Party concentrated on building the Party organizationally, consolidating its unity and recruiting tens of thousands of those workers by hand and brain who are active in the fight against the continued decline in living standards and against the attack on democracy launched by the government of the monopolies. The leadership urged each member to find a new approach and new methods.

The Party press featured items telling about the varied activities carried out among the people and the work of the Party organizations for winning new members.

The Le Cellophane Factory in Bezons, for example, employs a thousand workers who are a militant and well-organized body; about 90 per cent of them vote for the General Confederation of Labor delegates, and many agree with the Communists. But although the Party had some members in the factory, the numerous attempts to establish a branch there ended in failure. The members thought that since there was a strong and militant trade union in the factory the support of the workers was assured.

And only the developments in connection with the January 2 referendum helped these Party members to realize in full the difference between the vanguard and organized political force and the trade union; to see the Party's specific role in the life of the country, in the struggle for united action by all sections of the working class.

At this stage it was decided to hold meetings in all shifts. Each of the meetings was attended by a dozen workers including one Communist. These meetings yielded 17 applications for membership. A branch was formed, a branch committee elected and now a branch bulletin made its appearance. The contents of the first issues were determined by the events of the day — "the character of the deGaulle regime and the intensification of labor in the factory," etc., etc.

Last November in response to the call issued by the local peace council in Sainte-Geneviève-des-Bois, a public meeting was held outside the town hall; the meeting adopted a resolution calling for negotiations with the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic. The proposed text, however, contained only a slight mention of "fraternal peace." During the discussion the Communists present gave their point of view which coincided with the attitude of the peace movement, and it was adopted. Afterwards the non-Communist peace supporters were grateful to them for helping to clarify this matter. Today whenever they have difficulty in assessing a particular situation they themselves come to the Communists for advice.

The card-exchange meetings in the same town at the end of last year were attended by many sympathizers who were anxious to get a better idea of the Party's policy; the result was that 51 people of whom 17 were women applied for membership. Most of the Party branches in the town have increased their membership. One reason for this is the excellent work done by Communists in the local municipal council.

Experience shows that if Party organizations do not turn inward, if they invite non-members to

their public meetings, good results can be obtained. Many meetings were held in the rural areas during the summer and autumn in connection with the referendum; thousands of leaflets were distributed, papers sold and much explanatory work done. But sometimes it happens that Party members in rural areas have the feeling that they are not sufficiently trained to explain the Party's policy to the peasants. To help these comrades the Party publishing house has produced a series of slides on the following subjects: the Communist Party and the peasant question, history of the Communist Party, information about the Soviet Union, stages in the history of the Party, the struggle for secular education.

The population of Ermont (Seine-et-Oise Department) has grown substantially in recent years. In the past two years there has been a steady influx of new members into the Party, mostly young people. Why are the young people attracted to the Party? This question is answered by *France Nouvelle*, the Party's weekly.

The young people have the feeling that only the Communist Party can give them a truly humane ideal and the lofty aim of serving society. They see how the Communists go from door to door at weekends selling *Humanite* and other Party publications and never miss a chance to start a discussion.

The work carried out by the Communists and their selfless struggle on behalf of the people has fired the imagination of the youth in Ermont. This explains why 34 young men and women have joined the Party. Another interesting point, at a meeting in connection with the election results in Italy, eight Italian emigrant workers also joined the Party.

Forming a branch, however, does not yet solve all matters. What is essential is that the branch should conduct regular work and this, in turn, presupposes thorough knowledge of local affairs and vigorous activity by each member. There was no branch in Montlignon before May 13, 1958. But after the putsch in Algiers and the installation of one-man rule, a number of men and women came to the district committee and volunteered to help the Party. They formed the backbone of the new branch and their two years' efforts — circulating leaflets and local bulletins, etc. — yielded fruit: there were 10 per cent more "noes" in the recent referendum than in 1958.

The experience of Vendée, Mayenne and other departments is somewhat similar.

The reaction to the recent generals' putsch in Algiers showed that at times of acute political crisis the people actively join in the struggle, as can be seen from the strike in which 12 million

workers participated — the biggest in recent years. Thousands of Defend the Republic Committees were set up on the basis of unity. For example, the defense committee at the Chenard factory in Gennevilliers included 40 workers who were representative of the Communist Party, the General Confederation of Labor, the Confederation of Christian Working People and also non-Party workers. Groups of people's militia appeared in each shop, ready to repel any fascist sally or sabotage. The committee secured the permission of management to use the automobiles and telephones of the enterprise.

"The putsch failed thanks to the all-round mobilization of the people, a mobilization which was aided by our Party when it called for unity, the establishment of anti-fascist committees, a people's militia and organized action," Maurice Thorez said recently.

The resolute stand taken by the Communist Party has added to its prestige. Hundreds of active fighters have joined its ranks. When the news of the putsch came some 270 people applied for membership and three factory branches were formed in Paris alone.

Now that there are favorable opportunities for rallying the masses against the power of the monopolies, the Communist Party will be able to cope with the difficult tasks confronting it only if it extends its ranks and intensifies its activity.

Communist Party of Canada:

EACH MEMBER SHOULD BE DRAWN INTO ACTIVE WORK

The growth of the Party and its greater weight among the masses will be achieved only if all the members are active in their Party organizations, if everyone does his bit for the common cause. To emphasize this idea Comrade A. Dewhurst, secretary of the Communist Party organization in Toronto, Canada, writes:

"Last September (1960) the Metropolitan Toronto Party convention characterized the people's struggle for Canadian independence and neutrality, peace and disarmament, economic needs and social welfare as being of a broader character. These struggles, finding expression in a variety of forms, embrace growing bodies of workers, women, students and intellectuals.

"Yet, viewed in the context of this broadening front of people's struggles, the Party membership and readers of the Party press increased all too slowly.

"It is important to note that the Party's propaganda work is fairly extensive. The issues raised by the Party are reflected in the columns of the press in a number of languages in addition to English. The Party puts out a number of shop papers which are sold at factory gates. It is now issuing a municipal paper (a quarterly).

"Leaflets and tracts get a fairly good distribution. For instance, a recent policy statement of the National Committee, *Let's Be Masters in Our Own House*, was distributed in 50,000 copies in Toronto. This work helps to shape the thinking of the working people. But our task lies in passing over to mass actions.

"The Toronto Party leadership has been tackling the problem of strengthening its contact with the masses. As yet, it must be acknowledged, the complete answer has not been found, although it lies in skillful combination of independent work by the Party and united front activity among the masses at the place of work and residence. Successful application of the united front tactic which does not conceal the face of the Party, will help to bring more Party members into mass political activity.

"The swing in our work will not come about by itself or only as a result of favorable objective factors. It requires also a thorough-going ideological preparation and painstaking clarification of the Party's aims among the membership at the branch level. To the degree that the membership is drawn into working out and assimilating policy and tactics, to that degree can we measure our success in our practical work.

"Each year the Party in Toronto holds a workers' Festival which is always addressed by a leading member. Last year (1960) over 10,000 people attended. These people are left-wingers. At the Festival they meet their friends, hear the Party policy elucidated by the speakers, buy Communist literature and contribute to the Party financially.

"Better work in united front forms of activity results in greater interest on the part of the working people in the Party. An example of the above, though modest but in keeping with the political environment prevailing, serves to bring out the point. The Toronto Party organization decided to conduct a drive for new members and readers for the press in connection with Comrade Tim Buck's 70th birthday.

"With the members of the Toronto metropolitan committee taking the lead, pledges were taken in all branches for definite numbers of new members and subscribers to the press..

"In the case of new readers many branch members pledged two, three and more. Branch sec-

retaries checked up on progress made every week for the four-week period of the campaign. In turn they reported each week to the section secretaries who reported every Monday to the metro organizing secretary. The weekly check-ups plus the thorough reviews at the branch meetings, and meetings of the sections and metro committee, helped to guarantee fulfilment of the pledges. In one month 40 new members were recruited and 190 readers won for the press.

"This first success owes much to the work conducted by the members among the people. The following examples give an idea of the character of the work the Communists participate in: in the second half of April there took place in Toronto a big meeting of the Toronto Disarmament Committee, a peace parade, a concert meeting in Massey Hall organized by the Peace Congress, a demonstration against the invasion of Cuba, a Lenin meeting and a May Day meeting; the unemployed sent a lobby to Ottawa."

Communist Party of Algeria:

IN THE INTERESTS OF THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Working in the difficult conditions of the national-liberation war, the Algerian Communist Party is cementing its ranks and conducting extensive ideological work among the masses, popularizing its policy and the aims of the national movement. One of the recent Party publications which has found a response among the working people is the pamphlet *Our People Will Win*. The Party papers *El Djazair el Djadida* and *Liberte*, which report the developments in the popular struggle and help to spread confidence in its ultimate victory, are eagerly read. The journal *Realites Algeriennes et Marxisme*, devoted to a deeper discussion of theoretical and political problems of prime importance for both embattled Algeria and the free Algeria of tomorrow, is another publication put out by the Party.

Recently the Central Committee issued a directive to all Party organizations stressing the need to campaign for new members. The document reads in part:

"The working people, the youth and women included, know that Algeria needs a strong Communist Party to ensure the victory of the national democratic revolution, an agrarian reform, the return to the peasants of the lands seized by the colonialists, nationalization of the basic industries, better conditions for the masses who are bearing the brunt of the war, respect for democratic free-

doms, and an end to neo-colonialism. Critically examining the social gains of the Afro-Asian countries that have won freedom, Algerian patriots are coming to see that everything depends on the role played by the Communists in these countries and on the general democratic nature of the movement. Patriots are aware that the guarantee of Algeria's advance towards independence and full sovereignty, to the abolition of exploitation of man by man and to socialism, is her Communist Party . . .

"Algerians, both men and women, are eager to join the Party. Many have already done so, and with others contact will be established as soon as the present practical and organizational obstacles are removed. Everywhere—in town and village, in factory and at construction site, in office, college and university—it is the duty of the Communists, regardless of whether they belong to the local organization or not, to work among patriots who wish to join the Party. The growth and consolidation of the Party and, hence, the impact of its activities depend on how quickly we are able to recruit new members. Here, as in all our work, we must display initiative and not wait for directives from above.

"Party groups should take up this question at every meeting and contact the sympathizers and friends of the Party who render it financial assistance, and all those among their acquaintances, relatives, fellow workers and neighbors who agree with the policy of the Party. Communists who cannot be associated with one or another organization can thus form their own groups. Even if those were to be temporarily cut off from Party organizations, they would augment the number of functioning groups connected with the masses and respond to both their ultimate aspirations and their immediate demands, initiate activity and find solutions to the countless problems that arise in connection with the war and the need to render constant aid to the National Liberation Army. Boldness should be the motto in recruiting new members, while taking every precaution to prevent enemy infiltration. Each application for membership should be discussed in the groups. We must work in a Communist way, assigning definite tasks to members and strictly checking up on their fulfilment, while taking stringent measures to safeguard the underground organization.

"All leading bodies are obliged to develop this activity and improve their contact with the Party units, especially at times of mass actions and important developments. Strengthening the Communist Party of Algeria will enable it to become a prime factor in the nation's political life."

Palmiro Togliatti:

CLOSER CONTACT WITH ALL SECTIONS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

The need to strengthen the Party's contact with all sections of the working population is discussed by Palmiro Togliatti in an article dealing with the annual exchange of membership cards in the Italian Communist Party. He writes:

Our policy of broad alliances, movements and struggle embracing all spheres of social life can only be implemented through a ramified system of contacts and ties with all sections of the working population. The most important of these is a steady and abundant influx of new members; let it not be thought that what was correct in the period of upsurge immediately after the war is incorrect now.

As a result of this policy many people joined our ranks prompted by elementary impulses, by the sympathy won by our activity, a desire to find an answer to vital questions, and not—at least not yet—because of a high degree of political consciousness or of any profound knowledge of our policies and program. If for this reason we had refused to accept those who wanted to join with us, our development as a mass party would have been jeopardized. At the same time we knew—and said so time and again—that this made it imperative for us to work incessantly to raise the political level of the new members.

The whole Party became a school for Communists; it made better Communists of its members in the course of its activity and political struggle. Indeed, this schooling is an integral and sometimes basic element of our activity and struggle. Our new members became good Communists in the process of working to carry out the tasks advanced by the Party—the struggle for wage increases, for land, for democracy, for social reforms, for socialism. In this way we combatted both the tendency merely to enroll new members and carry out "directives" and the tendency to indulge in abstract discussion and pure propaganda of general principles and programs divorced from the day-to-day reality.

It is not precluded that wherever there is any lag today it is due to one or another of these erroneous approaches, i.e., either to the desire to hand out membership cards and enroll new members without conducting any political work, or to a predilection for discussing problems and elaborating political lines of action without due attention to recruiting members and the practical work connected with it. Both of these positions are

erroneous and should be combatted since either can act as a brake on our development.

Correct methods of building the Party and correlating political, propaganda and organizational activities have been practised by various organizations at different times and in varying forms, and it would probably be worth while to study the past record in order to see what valuable experience has either been forgotten or is not utilized simply because of inertia or one-sided criticism.

The simplest, most elementary and most widespread form is the annual exchange of membership cards, that is, the issuing of new cards to old members. The idea is to arrange conferences or smaller meetings of the members, or to hold individual talks with them, which makes the whole procedure an occasion for renewing political contact rather than a purely administrative operation. And since hundreds of thousands of people are involved, it should be started in good time and decentralized as much as possible, i.e., a great number of centers set up to conduct it . . .

It is not enough to re-elect one or another leading committee or pass a decision making the section leaders responsible for enrolling new members and exchanging cards, or even to set up zonal committees. If the decisions are not followed up with practical measures and their fulfillment not verified to ensure that the sections, branches and zonal committees do their job properly, the results will be nil.

Indeed, they might even be the reverse of what is wanted. For the general rule that new cadres acquire capacity for leadership in the course of practical work holds true here too. The process, however, should be closely followed and guided.

All the more so since the exchange of membership cards and recruiting new members should, increasingly, take the form of political campaigns. The meetings at which the cards are exchanged (as well as the individual talks for the same purpose) should be made an occasion to discuss a particular political question, not an abstract one but a pressing, vital issue.

But it would be equally wrong to hold this discussion first and then pass on to the admittance of new members as something secondary, with the unit secretary hurriedly issuing membership cards after the applause for the main speaker has died down, no matter how timely the issue he has raised. The same criticism can be levelled at meetings of the federation committees that take up important political problems but forget the exchange of cards and recruiting, or relegate these questions to the "any other business" at the end of the agenda.

While under way, the card exchange and recruiting should be the pivot of all Party work, with due emphasis on the political content of these campaigns, which is to urge the working people to join the Party in order to tackle and solve the problems arising in the factories, in the countryside, in the schools, in civic life generally, in relations with our Socialist comrades, etc. This applies equally to the card exchange and the recruiting, since the two usually do not greatly differ in purport, not to speak of the fact that those who have slipped away from the Party may have grounds for criticism and hence their complaints should be examined and discussed.

The Communist Party is confronted with many new problems in the political sphere, due to the fact that, as we have pointed out at our congresses, the traditional economic set-up is faced with a crisis caused by the development of monopoly capital. We should pay heed to these new problems and examine them so as to bring our activity into line with the objective conditions.

The decisions of our last two congresses are the background on which the members should base their work in order to forge ahead, and it must be said that in many cases this is being done, and with good results. We should, however, be on guard against the discussion and the definition of aims becoming divorced from our organizing work. Otherwise we might find our heads crammed with wisdom and our arms too stiff and weak to grapple with the new reality and press ahead. It should be borne in mind that there are many aspects to the changes now taking place, and if some of these are not in our favor there always are others that are favorable.

I should like to mention by way of example the crisis that has gripped the countryside. The symptoms of this crisis are the decline in the number of agricultural laborers and the flight of considerable numbers of smallholders from the land. This may cause certain difficulties for our Party organizations in some districts. Yet even if a sizable part of the old-type agricultural laborers disappears, its place will be taken by new categories of specialized farm workers of another type to whom our ideas are far from alien. The main thing is to establish close contact with them and to understand their problems, which differ greatly from those of yesterday . . .

Moreover, we should be on guard so that our awareness of the new does not become a stereotype pattern or a fetish. The new in the capitalist world, which is dominated by the monopolies, does not do away with the old completely but in most cases allows it to continue to exist, creating, however, deep-seated contradictions, new causes of

crisis and, not infrequently, more favorable conditions for our work.

Let us take as another example the notable changes that have taken place in the status of women. Because of these changes the percentage of women who go out to work has risen substantially. In this sphere there have been major actions and important demands have been advanced (for instance, the demand for equal pay for equal work), but, because of shortcomings in our work, we have not yet had a corresponding success in the matter of recruiting women into the Party.

The exchange of membership cards and the enlistment of new members help to preserve and broaden the mass character of our Party and for this reason are a component of and the starting point for all our political activity. New conditions and new problems have arisen, they spring from new situations, and each has to be examined, discussed and solved without divorcing the analysis and defining of political tasks from the analysis and defining of organizational aims. Moreover, the

decisive thing is recruiting of new members and activists. Consequently, the Party must achieve a success in its political work that will enthuse our activists, our new members and our sympathizers in the same way as we made a tremendous leap forward, both in numbers and in quality, after emerging from the underground. The situation demands this and makes it possible, as is evident from the salient developments of the past year from the July battles to the latest strikes, the new orientation of the youth, etc. This truth, then, should be brought home again to each member: that without constant attention to practical work and its correct appraisal no real progress can be made and, indeed, what has been gained may be lost. To become the masters of the situation and to guide the march of events, the working class and the working masses generally need organization as their main weapon. And for us at the present time organization begins with the exchange of membership cards and enrollment of new members.

The Work of the Problem Commissions of the Polish United Workers' Party

THE problem commissions which have been functioning successfully in the Regional Committees for three years now, deal with specific economic and cultural matters and with the ideological work of the Party. The Central Committee's organizational department recently studied the experience of these commissions. The subject of the study mainly covered their methods and forms of work, their co-operation with the departments of Regional Committees, their role and composition, and similar matters. The conclusions drawn by the organizational department are published below.

The Role of the Problem Commissions and Their Structure

The problem commissions, which include members of the Regional Committee and a large body of activists, were set up to enable the membership to participate in carrying out the decisions of the Central Committee and Regional Committees.

The commissions function as auxiliary bodies in solving the key problems of the region. With their help the Regional Committees have not only created a broad basis for co-operation with many activists but have also overcome those difficulties

which arose when the staffs of the Party apparatus were cut.

The work and the composition of the commissions have changed somewhat during the past three years. At present there are 44 different types of specific problem commissions in the eight regions in which the C.C. instructors conducted their investigations. Their number varies — from 11 in the Wroclaw Regional Committee to 25 in Opole and 26 in Lublin.

In setting up the commissions the Regional Committees take into account the specific character of their region and the importance of the problems involved. Thus, a coal commission was established in Katowice; ship-building, shipping and fisheries commissions in Gdansk, and commissions on higher education in the larger university centers (Wroclaw, Gdansk, Lublin).

The work in the 136 functioning commissions is carried on by 2,191 comrades, among whom are 470 members and alternate members of Regional Committees and 326 full-time functionaries (including secretaries of District and City Committees and secretaries of Factory Committees).

The number of members in the commissions varies from 13 to 18. Only the economic commis-

sion in Wroclaw and the agricultural commission in Gdansk have respectively 47 and 49 members.

Initially the commissions had a larger membership which included extremely busy comrades such, for example, as the directors of industrial amalgamations. This hindered the normal work of the commission, made it one-sided. The number of members has now been cut to the minimum. Comrades enjoying prestige in their community and who are specialists in their particular sphere were appointed.

Each commission has its own chairman and secretary. The chairmen are, as a rule, members of the Regional Committee or, sometimes, its secretaries. In Kielce, in addition to chairman and secretary, each commission elected a presidium consisting of from three to five members; this presidium is the executive body.

Some commissions are divided into several sub-commissions, groups or branch sections. The economic commission in the Wroclaw Regional Committee, for example, is divided into six groups. The transport commission and the mechanization and agricultural investments commission in Kielce have each four sections.

Forms and Methods of Work

As a rule, the problem commissions work on the basis of plans which, in a way, supplement those of the departments of the Regional Committee. The plans are co-ordinated by the respective secretaries of the Regional Committees and endorsed by the Committee Executive.

Most commissions meet once every four or six weeks, more often if occasion warrants it. Minutes are kept to which are attached the materials pertaining to the subject discussed, thus ensuring continuity of work and facilitating control over the implementation of motions adopted.

A number of commissions have begun to make closer contact with the local organizations. Some in Opole, for example, hold meetings in the localities. After familiarizing themselves with the work of the local enterprises, the commissions discuss on the spot the basic political and economic problems of the factory, with the participation of factory activists. In recent months the commissions have held meetings of this kind in the agricultural machinery Factory in Lewin Brzeski, the lime works in Gogolin, the Rafament and First of May factories in Raciborz. This work has proved to be very effective. Things in these enterprises clearly improved within a few months as a result of the implementation of the commissions' recommendations.

When working on a specific problem arising from the plan, the commissions draw extensively on Party and non-Party activists. For example,

the economic and transport commissions in Katowice enlisted the help of a large number of activists when examining labor-consuming operations in loading and unloading. Sixty activists took part in preparing material on technological problems in Opole.

The commissions do not make decisions. They prepare the material and, after consultation with the respective departments of the Regional Committee, submit it, together with suggestions, to the Committee secretary concerned.

The function of checking on implementation of decisions passed by the Regional Committee is usually carried out by its departments. In some cases, however, problem commissions are assigned this task and that of submitting relative information.

Problems Handled

Most commissions work efficiently and have considerable achievements to their credit. They have done useful work in the economic, social and cultural spheres and some of their suggestions were later reflected in the resolutions of Regional Committees. The commissions have also helped to translate these into life.

At first the commissions frequently gave attention to details and secondary matters which were more the prerogative of the administrative bodies. They have now stopped doing this, although traces of this style of work are still to be found here and there.

What problems do the commissions handle? Here are a few examples.

Economic commissions. The coal commission in Katowice drew up a detailed plan with the aim of ensuring fulfilment of the 1960 targets by the coal industry. This plan, subsequently endorsed by the Regional Committee Executive, outlined the tasks devolving on the Party organizations, the administration of the mines, mining institutes, etc. The plan is being successfully carried out and there is every indication that it will be overfulfilled, although it is broader in scope than last year's plan.

In pursuance of the Executive decision to combat air pollution in the Katowice Region, the commission is now working on the problem of extinguishing slag heaps. Jointly with a group of experts it has made recommendations which have been accepted by the Regional Committee Executive and are already being realized in co-operation with institutes of the Academy of Sciences.

The shipping commission in Gdansk submitted a report to the Regional Committee Executive on the "Situation in the Polish Ocean Lines," as

well as a draft resolution on this matter. The Commission is now working on proposals for changes in the shipping administration. If adopted by the Regional Committee Executive, the suggestions will be submitted to the economic department of the Central Committee and the Ministry of Shipping.

Ideological commissions. The education commission in Wroclaw reported to the Regional Committee Executive on the collection of contributions to the public school-building fund and on the progress of school building. It is now drafting a five-year education plan for factory workers.

The education commission in Katowice has worked out measures to secularize schools, dealt with the assignment of Party functionaries and the work of the Party branches in educational institutions.

The commission on history of the Opole Regional Committee has drawn up an extensive program of popularizing facts about the Opole Region and its Polish character. With this end in view it is arranging for exhibitions to be held in a number of counties.

Administrative commissions. The Wroclaw public health commission, on the basis of detailed investigations on the spot and with the participation of a large body of activists, prepared a report on shortcomings in the health service to the population. This material was the basis for an appropriate resolution adopted by the Regional Committee Executive. In carrying out the decisions, the Presidium and the health department of the Regional People's Council have taken measures to improve the health service in the Region. The health commission, too, is seeing to it that the decision is carried out.

Organizational commissions. The group of commissions with which the organizational departments of Regional Committees cooperate closely, contains the largest number of Committee members as well as Party functionaries. These commissions also include activists, Party members of many years' standing and familiar with the problems of Party work. Of this group commissions on youth affairs are active in six Regional Committees; on trade union affairs in three; on work among women in two; and organizational and rules commissions in three. The latter have done useful work in strengthening Party units organizationally. They deal with questions of inner Party structure; the allocation of members and candidate members in enterprises; recruiting members; the state of documentation in the District Committees; the experiences of the work of District Committees with the Party apparatus; work with the candidate members, etc.

Youth commissions. These commissions are relatively numerous. Some of them, as for example in Opole, are sub-divided into two sections—one dealing with the affairs of working-class youth and the other with rural youth. They include teachers, technicians, agricultural experts, and functionaries from the Regional and District youth organizations. The youth commissions aim at helping Party and youth organizations to educate the young people in the spirit of socialism, to look after their needs, and to foster among them a proper attitude towards society. In working for these ends the commissions meet with a number of difficulties stemming from a lack of co-ordination between the work of the youth commissions and other Regional Committee commissions.

Co-operation with the Regional Committee Departments and Party Organizations

In accordance with the Party Rules, the commissions are bodies of the Regional Committee with the same status as departments. Nearly 70 per cent of Regional Committee members participate in the commissions (in Lublin, the percentage is 97). The ways in which the commissions co-operate with the departments vary in different regions, and the degree to which they are independent of the departments also varies. However, the correct principle is that the work of the commissions should be based upon the plans and decisions of Regional Committees and be directed and co-ordinated by the secretaries of the Regional Committees. The commissions co-operate with the Regional Committee departments but are not subordinate to them.

One of the tasks of the Regional Committee commissions is to examine the work of respective lower-level commissions (district or city) and to help them. The Region-level commissions should also be a forum for the exchange of experience of forms and methods of work. Not enough is being done in this sphere, but where the work is done the results are good.

The functions of the specific problem commissions are, for the most part, somewhat one-sided. They concentrate mainly on helping the Regional Committees in collecting and working on materials which are subsequently discussed at their meetings and sometimes passed on to the Executive or plenary meeting of the Regional Committee for consideration. Problems of Party work of the factory committees and of Party committees in institutions, and of workers' self-governments, etc., are mainly dealt with by the organizational and rules commissions. The remaining commissions or groups confine themselves chiefly to economic matters, or to the work of the administration or institution.

This division of functions is basically incorrect. Each commission should be interested also in the work of the Party branches in its own field of activity. For it is there that the program of activity of the Party as a whole matures and is implemented. That is why, in addition to dealing with specific problems, the commissions are assigned the task of effectively helping the Party branches.

As the investigation shows, the commissions help to improve the work of the Party branches. Thanks to these commissions many new activists have come to the fore, a deeper knowledge has been acquired of the problems of the regions, and contact between the Regional Committees and the specialists and scientists has been strengthened. By overcoming a number of weaknesses, conditions will be created for still better and even more fruitful work by these commissions.

The Party of Labor Is at Its Post

(Letter from Guatemala)

SEVEN years ago, in June 1954, a counter-revolutionary coup was engineered in Guatemala by the American monopolies and the big latifundists. The working people lost most of their gains, and arbitrary rule and U.S. monopoly domination again became the order of the day. The reactionaries shouted far and wide that "communism had been uprooted in Guatemala." But despite the terror, the Guatemalan Party of Labor, illegal though it was, preserved its militant spirit, built up its strength and is now working successfully to unite all working people in the struggle against U.S. monopoly rule and for democratic changes. The following abridged letter from Guatemala tells of the ups and downs of this struggle.

* * *

... Let me tell you something about my life during the past few years, as in your letter you ask me to do. You will understand, of course, that it has all got to do with Party work and experience.

I remember our last meeting very well. It was on July 3, seven years ago, the day Castillo Armas entered Guatemala City. Those who collaborated with him were howling with joy over their "glorious victory," as John Foster Dulles called this unparalleled treachery! Then I went to keep our new appointment, but you weren't there. I could not wait very long in case I should arouse suspicion. Only now have I learned why you were unable to come. Believe me I sympathize with you greatly. You must have suffered deeply from the terrible loss. Although belated, please accept my profound condolences. I have never seen you since. I simply did not know what to do. I was at a loss. Everywhere I went I heard about revolutionaries being arrested, of trade unionists being thrown out of their jobs, of the brutalities of the

"liberators" . . . (how cynical these mercenaries and traitors are when they talk about "national liberation"). I, too, was sacked and, to avoid arrest, went into hiding for a time. Then I began to come out at night and soon became used to the new life, to the thought that the revolution had come to an end, that we were again under a tyranny. I was young then, and could imagine no other life than the one I had lived in the preceding ten years. But worst of all was the defeatism. There was utter confusion, and all around me people were saying: "We have returned to the times of Estrada Cabrera and Ubico! Guatemala is not meant to live free!" Imagine how I suffered: I knew that Estrada Cabrera had oppressed the country during the first twenty years of the century and that then Ubico rode roughshod over the people for fourteen years. Needless to say this lamentation brought no comfort . . .

... With the help of relatives I began to study. There was a tailor living near us, remember Ramon? I couldn't quite make him out at first, and so was most uncommunicative whenever he came to see me on some pretext or other. It never entered my head that this comrade was working hard to reorganize the Party. But he was. When he became sure that I had remained loyal to my ideas, he spoke to me frankly and put me in touch with other comrades — two stonemasons, a university student and a printer. I joined their group. One of my first assignments was to distribute leaflets at night. The others were cool and calm, for they had had experience of this work, which included distributing the statement issued by the Party's Political Commission on July 15, 1954. That meant that less than three weeks after the fall of the democratic government, when the reactionaries were yelling that "communism had

been uprooted in Guatemala," our Party made clear its position on the situation in the country.

I soon became accustomed to working in the new conditions. It was no easy job to get out leaflets, so that sometimes we chalked slogans on the walls. This might appear to be a small matter at first glance, but when I remember the conditions then prevailing in Guatemala, I know that what we did was no mere trifle, for those hurriedly scrawled slogans and the leaflets we distributed were the first swallows which helped to restore confidence to the people, helped them to understand that no matter how difficult things were, they could and should fight the Armas dictatorship.

If no propaganda is conducted, if the word of the Party is not brought to the people, then the latter cannot be expected to defend, conceal and follow you. I remember that one comrade, who always boasted of having read a lot, used to say in those days that chalking simply meant exposing the Party unnecessarily to the blows of the police, and that our task was to "build up strength" for the future. We did not know then how to answer him appropriately, although, of course, we did not share his views. Now I know we cannot even think of "building up strength" if the Party goes underground and gives no sign of life. We certainly should not make ourselves an easy prey for the police, but just as certainly the Party's activities should never be concealed from the people. Actually we did a great deal to "build up our strength," as the man who knew all the answers liked to say. And who, to put it plainly, got the jitters. Now I shall tell you about some of our experiences, which I am sure will interest you.

The Party leadership insisted on re-establishing the trade unions. Much effort was required before we understood how important this was. We preferred dangerous assignments to speaking to the workers about reviving the unions, for they would not hear of it: some because they feared victimization—don't forget that each worker had a family and was finding it hard to make ends meet; others because they thought that unions could do nothing under a tyrannical regime. Still others said that we should not play into the hand of the dictator, because he might allow some unions to function in order to depict his government as a "democratic" one. We had a hard time in putting the workers right, for we tended to think as they did. The unions should be revived, we believed, but illegally. And then, we thought, they would become genuinely revolutionary organizations.

Helped by one of the Party leaders, we gradually realized our mistake and began to work to re-establish the unions. Only a few hundred work-

ers demonstrated on May 1, 1955. Although the government had gone all-out in preparing for the demonstration it did not succeed in winning over the workers and May Day was a blow at the tyranny. This experience encouraged us. We then won a victory in the factory where you worked when you came to Guatemala. Don Rafael (he is still the boss) sacked an expectant mother. The labor disputes judge refused even to listen to her defense committee. But as it was December, when the demand for clothing is at its highest, we decided, on one pretext or another, to go slow, to use up more material than was really necessary and in general resorted to a thousand and one stratagems to do a disservice to the boss. Don Rafael raved, but it didn't help him. At length the truth began to dawn on him. He found out everything from one of his stooges. Without saying a word, and with a pretence of being magnanimous, he re-instated the woman. This victory also encouraged us. I suppose you will find this funny, but after all we had to make a beginning. The workers recently succeeded in signing a collective agreement which stipulated better conditions and a 20 per cent wage increase — certainly an achievement in Guatemala in these hard times.

And so in one way or another the trade unions were revived. It is true that in many of them the leadership is not what it should be, but in others the position has changed and the workers elect fine people, sincere revolutionaries. If they work well the workers protect them from the police and the government of that old scoundrel Fuentes. This is what "building up strength" means; in other words, it means strengthening the Party by extending its contact with the masses. The Communist Party, which has to work in the difficult conditions of illegality, cannot exist without this contact. At best the Party would be just a small group suffering from the disease of sectarianism.

. . . This is the lesson taught us by the reign of Armas. Those who opposed his government sought contact with our Party, for they knew that it was the only revolutionary political organization in the country (they themselves were merely the usual opposition groups). At first they simply asked us for support. Our position was so difficult, they reasoned, and the blows which had rained upon us so hard, that the Party, these "allies" believed, would unhesitatingly give them the support they needed, irrespective of what their plans might be. It is also within the bounds of possibility that they thought, things being what they were, that we ought to be grateful to them for seeking to contact us! . . .

Then the situation changed. I perceived this clearly for I had often acted as liaison officer between the Party and these representatives of

the democratic opposition. Their plans went awry one after another. Meanwhile, the Party had reorganized itself and its action proved that its line was politically correct. Then the "allies" changed their tune, and realized that they had to negotiate with our Party in the way that was usual between organized political forces.

Do not imagine, please, that this alliance was something complete or stable. No, it was a *de facto* alliance, i.e., at times it brought us really close together, at others it was sterile, without substance; and sometimes it took the form of personal contacts. The point I want to make is how important is that prestige and respect which the leaders of our Party have won by their sterling qualities and political ability; this facilitates relations with political leaders of other democratic trends, especially in times of trouble. You know these people and can draw your own picture of them. . . .

. . . After the rigged elections, the conditions matured for the overthrow of the government. The "liberators" thought that things would turn out in the way predicted by one of their heralds in June 1956: "The liberation government will rule for 20 years." Sustained by this hope, so brazenly did they act in installing Ortiz Passarelli in the saddle vacated by the murdered Armas that the people were ablaze with indignation. And not only the people, who had barely recovered by that time from the blows of the previous three years. The reactionary circles who supported Fuentes, the victor in the 1957 general election, reacted the same way. These circles were the first to go on to the streets, which is exactly what should have happened in view of the situation at the time. The Party soon joined the popular demonstrations protesting against the gerrymandered elections, for it saw that the reactionary Fuentes elements were taking advantage of these actions to get results the opposite of those for which the people were striving.

As you see, everybody, from the reactionary Fuentes supporters to the Communists, were united in the streets during these actions. And this concentration of forces spearheaded against the "liberation" government resulted in its downfall. The Party, which had to work in underground conditions, was able—thanks to its flexible and correct tactics, and to the fact that it seized on every opportunity to wage a legal struggle—to increase its strength ten-fold! . . . But, like the other democratic circles, it did not have enough forces to permit it to go further. That is why the imperialists were able to maneuver and save the reactionary regime from total collapse. Nonetheless, the fall of the Gonzales Lopez government paved the way for a frenzied presidential election campaign. . . .

. . . From what I have told you about the various aspects of the election struggle in those days, we can draw the following conclusion: the Party did everything to get closer to the masses, to popularize its program and utilize the new forms of legal struggle. Not only did the Party take part in this election campaign, it was active in the subsequent elections too.

So you see that although it is underground, the Party is participating in the political struggle. And the enemy, despite having the machinery of repression at its disposal, cannot prevent us from doing so. For to the people the Party is not something alien; among its members are workers, peasants, students, mothers. . . . And as Communists, its members take part in the trade union movement, are active in the university and residential quarters, etc. They merge so closely with the other workers, students, mothers and peasants that any blows at the Communists are simultaneously blows at the people.

You can now draw your own conclusions from what I have told you. There is, as you know, a close link between legal and illegal activity, between work conducted among the masses openly, and underground activity. The connection is not always the same: if reprisals are severe, illegal work is stepped up, but when reaction is compelled to retreat, legal work is extended. It is therefore important to watch out for any change in the situation, for otherwise we would keep on with forms of work which would no longer apply in the new situation.

The connection between legal and illegal work can vary in different parts of the country. For example, at present the reprisals are so severe in the countryside that legal activity among the masses is at a minimum; but the position is different in Guatemala City, where the masses often come out on to the streets, organize protest meetings, etc.

Contrary to what the reactionaries say, the Communists prefer to act in the open. One of the norms of conduct in our Party is—engage in legal work at every opportunity.

You will appreciate, of course, that I am not giving you all the details. If you come to Guatemala, we will have a good talk about the experience accumulated during the rule of the anti-communist governments. And, of course, I want to know what life has taught you. If you can, please write. I am ending now and hope to hear from you.

Wishing you the best of health and success in your work,

Cordially yours,

S. SANCHEZ

Exchange of Views

What Are the Changes in the Structure of the Working Class?

In this issue we publish a review of a conference on this subject held at the Czechoslovak Institute for Marxist-Leninist Research and Education, and a letter from the French economist and sociologist A. Barjonet.

INSTITUTE FOR MARXIST-LENINIST RESEARCH AND EDUCATION

(Czechoslovakia)

THE MATERIALS published in *World Marxist Review* on the structure of the working class in the capitalist countries were discussed at a conference held in Prague in March by the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Research and Education. The conference was attended by research workers from the institutes of the Academy of Sciences, the Higher Party School, and the departments of Marxism-Leninism of higher educational institutions. The speakers stressed the timeliness and significance of the journal's initiative in raising this question and unanimous agreement was expressed with some of the conclusions, viz.: the relative decline in the number of production workers in the developed capitalist countries, the rise in the numbers employed in transport, distribution, in services, the administrative apparatus, and also of personnel serving the production processes (accounting and organizing production, technical designing, etc.).

Discussion centered mainly around the composition of the working class, its economic and social boundaries, or in other words, the place of the office workers and intellectuals in the class structure of capitalist society.

In their approach to this key problem and to other social consequences of the changes in modern capitalism, the speakers proceeded from the definition of classes given by Lenin in his work *A Great Beginning*. There was some difference of opinion, however, in appraising the significance of certain class features (relationship to the means of production, place and role in social labor, ways of appropriating part of the national income and

the share in its distribution) and in their application to the social structure of capitalist countries today.

One View: White-Collar Workers, a New Middle Section

Some of the speakers (Svamberk, Husek, Kuklik and Dzedzinska) held that the bulk of the white-collar workers could not be classified as working class. M. Husek, who presented this view most fully, believed that the conclusions concerning the proletarianization of the salaried workers and their growing tendency to merge with the working class were too one-sided. This point of view, according to Husek, underestimated the substantial differences between the place and role of the factory and office workers in social production.

Husek maintained that "if the two basic features of the working class, i.e., non-ownership of the means of production and wage labor, are sufficient to differentiate between the working class and the bourgeoisie, and between the working class and the petty bourgeoisie (the so-called old middle sections), they do not suffice to determine the social boundaries between the working class and the white-collar workers, between the former and the intellectuals. . . . The basic criterion in defining the boundaries of the working class is not the part played in realizing surplus value but in creating it; in other words, the direct labor in material production, which is still largely manual labor."

If we accept this definition, then the statistical data for the developed capitalist countries will show that the working class is declining. Husek, however, and several others who shared his views,

For previous contributions to the discussion see *World Marxist Review*, Nos. 9 and 12, 1960, and Nos. 4 and 5, 1961.

believed that this conclusion would be incorrect, inasmuch as the labor force in the developed capitalist states could not be considered apart from the labor force in the underdeveloped countries. The claim made by bourgeois economists that the working class is diminishing was disproved by its growth in the capitalist countries in general and in the underdeveloped countries in particular.

The criterion in defining the salaried strata, in Husek's opinion, was their role in organizing social labor, which he illustrated by citing the example of the technical personnel as follows: "The position of the vast majority of engineers and technicians under capitalism is of a dual nature—they are wage workers in the sense that they do not own the means of production and, with the exception of the top personnel, are subject to exploitation, but at the same time they are in an objectively antagonistic position with regard to the working class, acting as they do in the capacity of 'non-commissioned officers of capital,' organizers of production in the interests of the bourgeoisie, and serving to intensify the exploitation of the working class." Husek assumed, further, that the function of "non-commissioned officers" was manifested even more strikingly in the case of other groups of salaried workers, e.g., those engaged in bookkeeping, in the distributive sphere, in the political, military-police and the juridical apparatus of the capitalist state, etc.

Husek and several others saw a close connection between this antagonistic aspect of the relationship of the salaried workers to the working class and the gulf between mental and manual labor. The opinion was expressed that most of the points under discussion essentially boiled down to the question of the relations between mental and manual workers. Since complete automation is impossible under capitalism salaried workers will never become completely proletarianized. Hence it could only be a matter of degree.

But what is the social status of the salaried workers? Husek maintained that besides the old middle sections, which include the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie, with the development of capitalism new middle sections have appeared, namely, white-collar workers and professionals, whose socio-economic status is of a dual nature, determined both by their status as wage workers and by the specific functions imposed upon them by capitalism. "These categories belong neither to the working class nor to the petty bourgeoisie; they are social categories of a specific intermediate type. . . . The new processes at work in capitalism do not alter their socio-economic characteristics, nor do they eliminate the antagonism between their status and their functions in relation to the working class. If the essential differences between the

working class and the new middle strata are forgotten and the duality of the status and functions of the middle strata ignored, the wrong tactical conclusions are liable to be drawn by the Communist parties in the developed capitalist countries, the revolutionary labor movement may be divided and the need to combat the reactionary elements of these strata overlooked. The interests which the working class and the new middle strata have in common—interests which in the light of the new processes loom ever larger for the majority of salaried workers and intellectuals — can be upheld in the struggle against the common enemy, for social progress, for democracy and socialism only by fighting at the same time to prevent these strata from serving capital, the bourgeoisie, the monopolies."

Another View: Wage and Salaried Workers Draw Closer as Sphere of Production Expands

The view expressed by Husek and some others was criticized. E. Kadlecova, for example, regarding the bulk of the salaried workers as a component of the working class, held that in the Leninist definition of classes the principal factor is the relationship to the means of production, that "other factors as, for instance, the place in the social organization of labor, can only serve to differentiate various groups within a given class."

Several speakers pointed out that the expansion of the boundaries of the working class was an historical process associated with the changes in commodity production, and was most clearly manifested in the highly-developed capitalist countries. In this connection it was noted that Husek had overestimated the antithesis between mental and manual labor. J. Pleskot emphasized that "automation, the technological revolution, leads also to certain changes in the allocation of labor — some functions that were formerly separated from production are becoming an integral part of the production sphere. From this standpoint, 'it is, I believe, correct to say that a part of the administrative personnel becomes a component of the working class. . . . They no longer perform the administrative functions in the old sense of the word, because the type of work they do has changed. It is now a matter of servicing or regulating and repairing machines which are becoming an essential part of production and inseparable from it.'"

Similar views were voiced by J. Nedved who stressed that in estimating the place and role of the different social strata in capitalist society it was necessary to proceed from the changes in the methods of production itself, in the development of the productive forces. In Nedved's opinion, entire branches of industry are disappearing and

being replaced by new ones in which the bulk of workers can no longer be regarded as "classical proletarians." "Salaried workers should be regarded as the new form of the working class directly associated with the development of new forms of capitalist production. This does not mean that political orientation on the classical form of the proletariat is incorrect. Political orientation must, as before, continue to be based on the revolutionary kernel of the working class, namely, the proletariat, the manual workers. However, to stop there and not to seek to deepen the political consciousness of the exploited strata of salaried workers would be a one-sided, sectarian approach."

This question was dealt with by other speakers, particularly by M. Kalab, Director of the Institute. "The sphere of material production," he said, "grows in proportion to the expansion of the production sphere. The labor of engineers, technicians and planning personnel is becoming an essential element of material production. . . . Under capitalism we observe a logical tendency towards closing the gap between mental and manual labor, although in a distorted way conditioned by the capitalist nature of production. Automation, on the one hand, makes heavier demands on the worker: more knowledge, closer attention, a higher sense of responsibility, etc. On the other hand, it brings an increasing number of technicians and engineers into direct contact with production. Under capitalism the narrowing of the gap between mental and manual labor is bound up with the proletarianization of the so-called free professions and greater specialization which turns the worker into an adjunct of the machine, degrades rather than develops him, adds to his dependence on capital and finally robs him of his skill. . . . With the rise in labor productivity as a result of mechanization and automation, the labor of workers in the sphere of distribution becomes more and more an organic component of capitalist production as a whole. The higher the productivity of labor, the greater the significance of the entire service sector which is drawn into the sphere of the production of the material wealth of society, and becomes an integral part of it."

Kalab observed that the Editorial Comment published in No. 5 of *World Marxist Review* for 1960 correctly noted the main tendencies of contemporary capitalism leading to the growth of the proletariat, to the proletarianization of the salaried workers and to the growing tendency on the part of the latter to merge with the working class. This offered broad opportunities for extending the class struggle in capitalist society and created the theoretical foundations for the struggle against political sectarianism.

At the same time Kalab emphasized that inasmuch as the differences in the secondary, subsidiary class features, however temporary and transient, nevertheless play an important political role, it would be wrong to regard this general tendency as something of purely contemporary significance. Although the bridging of the gap between clerical and industrial workers should not be lost sight of, it would be a mistake to ignore the present distinctions between them. While recognizing the tendency of the working class to grow, it was essential at the same time to define more accurately the different strata within the working class. Various sections of the working class differed as to political views, cultural level and attitude to other classes and social strata. If recognition of the proletarianization of salaried workers as a general trend guarded against narrowness of views and sectarianism, the differentiation between office and industrial workers, between the different sections of the working class was at every stage of great importance in combating opportunist adjustments to the backward sections of the working people, and in overcoming their political and ideological backwardness.

Narrowing Down of the Labor Aristocracy

The question of the aristocracy of labor was also touched upon at the conference, and in particular in the paper submitted by Hirsl. The labor aristocracy, said this paper, is that section of the wage earners whose wages are above the average; their higher wages, not the result of open class struggle, are obtained through agreement with the employers; these wages exceed the value of labor power (not only in the course of an economic cycle, but throughout the lifetime of a generation).

The paper dwelt at length on the trends among the labor aristocracy in modern conditions. Its numbers and influence in the period of the general crisis of capitalism tended to decline. This was caused primarily by the decrease in the number of countries dominating in the capitalist world and the disintegration of the colonial system. The monopoly bourgeoisie in the countries which were losing their privileged positions could no longer maintain such a large strata of highly paid workers. This, according to the paper, is especially true of France and Britain.

Another factor contributing to the shrinking of the labor aristocracy and bringing their conditions closer to those of the main mass of workers was the change in the role and the status of the skilled worker. During the past few decades the number of operatives who had undergone training courses had risen sharply, while the number of skilled workers had declined. The average wage

of the trainee was rapidly approaching that of the skilled worker. Stepping up its reactionary policy and expanding its machine of oppression, monopoly capital was, politically, relying not so much on the declining labor aristocracy as on the labor bureaucracy.

The decline of the labor aristocracy, according to Hirs, was due also to the growth of the revolutionary communist movement and the consolidation of the socialist world system. The skilled workers in some countries who belonged either actually or potentially to the labor aristocracy, were beginning to realize that collaboration with the bourgeoisie did not help them to protect their interests. In these circumstances, the bourgeoisie itself lost all interest in maintaining the labor aristocracy in the traditional form.

The wages of skilled workers in these countries could remain on the former high level, not however as a handout from the monopolists but as the result of anti-capitalist struggle. In Hirs's opinion the French comrades from *Economie et Politique* were right in assuming that a considerable section of the highly-skilled workers who were now taking an active part in fighting the capitalists could no longer be classified as labor aristocracy.

In conclusion, Hirs noted that the basic tendency towards the narrowing down of the labor aristocracy could be counter-balanced by a tendency to expand. After the Second World War,

for example, this tendency was manifested primarily in the United States, but also in Sweden, Canada and Australia — countries where the bourgeoisie had amassed fortunes out of the war.

The monopoly bourgeoisie in most West European countries was unable to afford to maintain the labor aristocracy in its old, classical form (i.e., by granting privileged conditions to skilled workers), and for this reason was seeking to increase its influence among the working class by other less costly methods. After the Second World War the European monopolists organized a systematic study of the American methods of blunting the class consciousness of the workers by means of "human relations," paternalism, workers' share in the profits, and by encouraging "industrial patriotism." This was an attempt to establish cadres of "loyal" workers at the bigger monopoly enterprises and had no direct bearing on skills. While formerly their privileged position gave the labor aristocracy an interest in preserving the capitalist system and upholding the national monopoly bourgeoisie, it was now a matter rather of tying up the interests of one or another group of workers with those of one or another group of finance capital. The old labor aristocracy was to some degree united. The factory aristocracy, on the contrary, were now divided among the various enterprises.

The discussion sponsored by the Institute was most fruitful, all the speakers urging the need for a deeper study of the problems. G. P.

ANDRE BARJONET

(France)

I HAVE been following with close interest the discussion in your magazine on the question of the structure of the working class.

The conclusions set forth in the First Comment published in No. 5 (1960) are on the whole correct: the progressive absorption by the working class of the bulk of the office workers, engineers and technicians, the rise in workers' skills with the advance of automation (which must on no account be confused with ordinary mechanization), the disappearance of the "labor aristocracy" in the traditional sense of the term and, along with this, the application by the employers of new methods aimed at the "bourgeoisification" of certain sections of the working class.

I should like to dwell in detail on these three aspects and, moreover, I shall touch on a few political problems arising from the structural changes in the working class.

New Times—New Factors in the Proletarianization of Salaried Workers

Office workers, like factory workers, are completely deprived of ownership of the means of production. Like factory workers, they too are obliged to sell their labor power to earn their living. Hence for them as for the factory workers, wages are only the price of their labor power.

However — and here is where the basic difference lies — the labor of the office worker creates neither value nor surplus value, and merely enables banking and commercial capital to appropriate part of the surplus value, which is created, as before, exclusively in the production sphere. This difference, while highly important from the purely theoretical standpoint, has little significance in practice, inasmuch as office workers, like factory workers, are exploited by capital and

commercial and banking profits are extracted from their labor.

The office workers may thus be classified as proletarians together with the workers directly engaged in productive labor, who form the kernel, or core, of the working class. To avoid confusion we can define this core as the "industrial proletariat."

Of course, the same could have been said 30 or even 50 years ago. But today some additional and highly important factors have appeared which place the office workers in the category of working class. In the first place, as even bourgeois statistics show, the living standard (wages, housing, etc.) of the vast majority of office workers approximates to that of the working class; second, and this is most important, the labor of the office workers tends to approximate to that of the industrial worker. With the introduction of more and more mechanical devices into the offices and managerial apparatus of industrial enterprises, mental labor is becoming increasingly mechanized. Today many office workers are engaged in operating machines, and from this standpoint their labor conditions approach those of the industrial worker.

I believe one can draw even more far-reaching conclusions. Marx showed that the labor of the transport workers like the labor of the steel workers or the miners, is productive, it creates value, although at first glance it does not seem to.

In this connection one might ask: does this apply only to the purely "material" part of transport (hauling of freight in trains and trucks), does it not apply also to communications?

Of course, there is nothing productive in a love letter going through the mails or a notification of death being transmitted by telegraph. But neither is there anything productive in transporting an idle bourgeois to a health resort. . . . However, these are details, and we must concern ourselves with the main issue. And the main thing is that the widely ramified network of communications is vitally essential to any more or less developed economy.

Hence I believe it is a mistake in this day and age to regard the labor of the post and telegraph employees as "unproductive." The fact that some of the workers are sometimes employed by the government does not alter the substance of the matter (in the United States, for example, the telegraph services are privately owned).

Office workers, clearly, should not be arbitrarily lumped together with all civil servants. A certain section of the latter (judges, for example) can on no account be classified as productive workers and in fact have a more or less direct hand

in ensuring the smooth functioning of the capitalist machine of exploitation.

As regards technicians and engineers proper*, these undoubtedly belong to the working class, and not to the middle strata, inasmuch as they not only live by the sale of their labor power, but directly create value and surplus value.

It is true, of course, that because of their way of life some of them are drifting farther away from the working class. Moreover, some engineers, besides engaging in productive labor, also perform certain managerial and even disciplinary functions, which are essentially the functions of the employer. Hence it would be unwise to include all engineers unconditionally in the working class. Most of them, however, are gravitating more and more towards the working class. This gravitation is conditioned by a twofold movement. On the one hand, the rank-and-file engineers (we do not include the small number of highly paid specialists) are becoming "proletarianized" in the sense that their conditions are deteriorating, both relatively and sometimes absolutely. Automation, for example, sometimes results in their being reduced to the status of machine minders. On the other hand, the rising skills of the workers bring the more technically trained workers closer to the level of the technicians, and the technicians, in their turn, to the engineers. We feel that these are sufficient grounds (although this does not mean that we are against further study of this question) for disagreeing with the claim that the numerical growth of the working class has ceased. Of course, we share the opinion of the *Economic et Politique* that the numerical growth of the proletariat "is not an essential condition for verifying the soundness of the Marxist concepts, or for assessing the political perspectives of the working class. (See *World Marxist Review*, No. 12, 1960, p. 68.) However, we should tread cautiously here: at the present staggering pace of technological progress the whole of industry (I am deliberately exaggerating) might conceivably be operated by a few thousand "workers." This would mean that all hope of revolution would have to be placed on a steadily declining minority of workers. It would signify also that from the day all of industry is automated only the machines will be exploited.

This is how a dogmatic attitude based on a distorted idea of loyalty to Marxism can lead to vulgar reformist and revisionist concepts of the "affluent society."

*We use the term "engineers proper" in order to draw a distinction between engineers actually engaged in production and the diverse pseudo-specialists in the "personnel relations" sphere, etc., who are parasitic elements, products of the moribund capitalist system.

Obviously the machines will never work "by themselves," as some authors of science fiction would have it. Machines will always be made and operated by the labor of workers. But the new type of worker will differ radically from the worker we have known hitherto.

The Problem of Downgrading: a Real and Imaginary Danger

A few years ago the industrial worker typical for most of the capitalist countries was the highly-skilled worker of considerable ability and with a sense of pride in his work. As a rule he had a laborer to help him, and as far as the organization of his work was concerned, he was his own boss.

The development of mechanization, however, and particularly the introduction of the production line and semi-automated machines after the First World War, led to the emergence of a new type of industrial proletarian — a specialized worker (but not a specialist, as he is often mistakenly called). This type of worker, as distinct from the skilled worker, performs only certain elements of the labor process, hence the term "parcelling of labor"—division of labor carried to the extreme, to the point where labor ceases to be creative and simply exhausts the physical energy of the worker.

Many ill-informed people, including some economists, believe that technical progress has accelerated this process of downgrading of skills and parcelling of labor (one might even call it "dehumanization" of labor). Undoubtedly, automation does reduce the labor of the worker to little more than the reading of light signals, etc., which can hardly be called inspiring. But it would be a mistake to think that the factories of the future will be run merely by pushing buttons. Of course, much of the supervision and control may be performed (and is in fact already being performed) by special devices. On the other hand, and this is the chief thing, the need to manufacture, adjust and maintain extremely complicated automated machinery is bound to give rise to skills of a new type and of a very high standard. Besides the usual technical training, the worker of the future will have to know something about electronics. Hence there is no need to be afraid that the worker's skill will be downgraded. The figures cited in the First Comment and in R. Medvedev's contribution (which incidentally I found most convincing) are the best proof of this.

But there is another danger, namely, that the employer will try to utilize technical improvements and changes in the production process to introduce new wage rates and to lower the categories of the workers and, consequently, wages.

In France, for instance, the capitalists have for years past been endeavoring to shift part of the skilled workers into the specialized category. The employers are trying to force the more capable specialized workers to do the work of the skilled worker, without however promoting them to the skilled category and paying them accordingly.

The Source of Mistakes Lies in the Methodology of Examples

I believe some of the confusion on these questions in the minds of some contributors is due to the failure to distinguish between mechanization (the production line) and automation, whereas these are two qualitatively different things.

Part of the trouble lies in incorrect methodology, the so-called "methodology of example."

One can prove absolutely everything by citing examples. But then, every example can be counterposed by another which completely refutes it. Hence *examples* should not be used as a substitute for *proof*. Proof can rest only on the *sum of the facts*, not on isolated instances. Of course, when the point has been proved, it is perfectly legitimate to illustrate it by one or a few typical examples, which serve to hammer home the point. I must say that those of your contributors who contest the view that automation is accompanied by growth of skills have, unfortunately, taken the line of least resistance by presenting examples as proof.

This goes for the example cited of the Renault Works which our German friend Kurt Tessman, in his contribution, mistakenly considers one of the most highly automated in the world. As a matter of fact, automation at the Renault Works is only in embryo: electronics and automation are used only in a few shops (the painting shop, crank-case line, automatic presses, automatic welding machines, etc.). But on the whole, Renault is still at the stage of simple mechanization (the labor of narrow specialized workers on the conveyor). In this connection all the conclusions drawn on the basis of the Renault example and the equivalent "example" of the iron-ore mines in Lorraine* (see *World Marxist Review*, No. 12, 1960, pp. 67-68) regarding the tendency of capitalism to downgrade skills are absolutely erroneous, inasmuch as they rest initially on a false method of reasoning.

If we wish to study the consequences of automation we should turn to enterprises where automation really exists. I refer to plants which have introduced automatic adjustment and control with

*Machinery (loading conveyors, heading machines, multiple drill sets, etc.) have taken the place of the pneumatic pick at these mines. But this can no more be called automation than when a bulldozer is used on a construction site to replace a squad of laborers. Incidentally, the labor of the man who operates the bulldozer is more skilled than that of the laborers he replaces.

electronic programming. It is easy to see that these plants cannot function without a high proportion of skilled workers, technicians and engineers.

Technical Progress Within the Limits of the Capitalist System

For capitalism, obviously, the growth of skills caused by technological progress is the source of further serious contradictions. It implies a wider general and professional training for the workers, and the more workers in need of such training, the greater the number of highly skilled instructors and modern study appliances required. This, however, is not feasible under capitalism, where the funds allocated by capitalist governments for education and professional training are, as a rule, negligible as compared with military expenditure and other non-productive outlays.

Hence within a few years there will be a shortage (relative, at any rate) of highly-skilled workers, while more and more semi-skilled or unskilled workers will find themselves redundant. True, in some cases the abundance and cheapness of semi-skilled labor may induce the capitalists (chiefly in branches with a low concentration of production) to use these workers to fight against the technically more developed enterprises. In the final analysis the law of profit will decide everything.

Although technological progress and automation in themselves make for higher skills and narrow the gap between manual and mental labor, it is only under socialism that this process can be accomplished on a stable and broad basis; under the capitalist system it is bound to remain in an embryonic state.

From Labor Aristocracy to Labor Bureaucracy

The labor aristocracy of which Lenin spoke was inseparably linked with colonial exploitation. The British labor aristocracy, for example, was the fruit of the British imperialist exploitation of India. Today, when the colonial system is in its death agony, the conditions for this aristocracy no longer exist, either in France or in any other imperialist country.

This, however, does not mean that the employers have abandoned all attempts to corrupt a certain section of the working class. This takes the form not only of relatively high wages, but also of bringing the workers' representatives (trade union functionaries in particular) into diverse co-management schemes of the type that exist in West Germany, for example. A sort of labor bureaucracy is thus created, which is divorced from the proletarian masses and whose

existence sows confusion and defeatism among the workers. Sometimes these bureaucracies dominate the trade unions, a fact which leads to a certain "bourgeoisification" of the worker. This is particularly true of the United States, West Germany and the Scandinavian countries. However, the roots of the "labor bureaucracy" are not the same as those of the "labor aristocracy". Its significance is limited, especially in countries like Italy and France where the existence of strong Communist parties and revolutionary trade unions checks the development of labor bureaucracies, even in the reformist unions. In France, for example, shortly after the war some workers' representatives in the Factory Councils, upon being given offices and leather brief cases, began to imagine themselves national executives; but the General Confederation of Labor quickly debunked them and taught the workers to be on their guard against all such forms of bureaucracy.

Some Political Conclusions

To sum up, I should like to say that the discussion has a significance extending beyond the boundaries of economic and sociological analysis and has posed some highly interesting political problems.

If it is true that categories of working people usually classed as middle sections should be included in the working class, then the Communist parties must concern themselves directly with the demands of these categories.

At the same time, we should bear in mind that these categories do not merge with the core of the working class, the industrial proletariat. Moreover, if today these strata are approximating to the working class, this implies that in the past they stood considerably farther away from it than they do today. Despite their growing proletarianization, many office workers, technicians and engineers by no means consider themselves as belonging to the working class. Some of them, in fact, are convinced that they belong to the bourgeoisie. It is obvious, then, that the needs of these categories do not always coincide with the needs of the proletarians proper, and their demands differ from those of the factory workers.

The basic economic demand of the proletariat as a general rule is for higher wages. As the office workers become more proletarianized, this demand begins to acquire prime significance for them as well. However, there are other demands, such as promotion on the job, for example, to which this group of working people, including engineers and technicians, attach great importance, but to which the production workers are indifferent.

The revolutionary trade unions and Communist parties must work to draw these strata into the

general struggle of the proletariat against the capitalists. Of course, this by no means implies "inventing" some new recipes based on abstract reasoning. This is all the more impossible, since the new sections of the proletariat differ in the various capitalist countries, which, by the way, to a certain extent explains some of the differences that have arisen in the course of this exchange of opinions. Moreover, each country has its own national traditions which should be taken into account.

The best way to study the specific demands of the working class is through investigation and by circulating questionnaires among truly representative groups. We advise Communists engaged

in sociological research in study centers to devote more attention to these problems.

On the other hand, we feel that the compiling and publishing of detailed studies on the subject ought not to present great difficulties. There are many Marxists in the capitalist countries, from sociologists to students, who could do this. If a dozen or so papers on the subject were published in each of the main capitalist countries, the labor movement would soon be better equipped to grasp this complex problem, to ascertain more accurately the needs and aspirations of all groups of workers and, consequently, to formulate demands which the masses would understand and for which they would be prepared to fight.

Communications and Comment

The Ruhr Protests

LAST year, following the example of the Aldermaston March organized by the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, thousands of Hamburg citizens, opponents of nuclear weapons, held a protest march to the rocket range of the West German Bundeswehr in Bergen-Hohn. This was the first action of its kind in West Germany. This year Easter marches against arming the Bundeswehr with nuclear weapons took place all over West Germany: in the north, from the rocket range in Bergen through Hamburg to Bremen; in the west—from Bochum and other parts of the industrial Ruhr, to Dortmund; in the south-west from the missile base in Miltenberg to Heidelberg, and in the south, from Ingolstadt to Munich and Nuremberg.

People of all ages and all political persuasions took part in the march, united by a single desire—to end the threat of nuclear war. Many Social Democrats and members of trade unions took part in the big demonstrations against nuclear weapons, in defiance of the bans imposed by the Social Democratic and trade union leadership. Marching together with the Germans were supporters of nuclear disarmament from France, Britain, Holland, Denmark, Sweden and other countries.

The organizing committee for the Easter marches included the writer Stefan Andres; Herbert Faller, youth leader of the Friends of Nature Society; Hilpert, director of the German Theater in Goettingen; Mrs. Born, wife of the Nobel Prize

winner; Dr. Kloppenburg, senior church councillor, and Dr. Bodo von Manstein, physician.

Columns marching from 10 cities in North Rhine-Westphalia converged on Dortmund. The Bonn militarists are building a network of missile pads around the Ruhr. In the event of war, which Adenauer, Strauss and Co. are doing their best to precipitate, this area would be reduced to a desert. We set up our own Easter March Committee in Dortmund, with the participation of various trade union and production council officers, the chairman of the Socialist Youth Organization "Falcon" and the chairman of the Friends of Nature Society, as well as several clergymen and intellectuals.

Shortly before Easter, the committee issued an appeal to the local population which stated, in part: "Stocked in the vicinity of Dortmund, the center of the Ruhr, the heart of Germany, are weapons of wholesale annihilation which at any moment could bring death and destruction to millions of men and women. . . . This danger must be counteracted by the universal abolition of nuclear weapons and by a realization of the imperative need to take a different path. Every citizen should register a vigorous protest."

Naturally the chief opponents of our anti-nuclear march were the militarists of the Adenauer-Strauss type who have made nuclear intimidation their political weapon. Indignation was evoked, especially among the working class, by the action of the

Right-wing leaders of the Social Democratic Party and the chairman of the West German Trade Union Federation Richter in falling in line with the Bonn militarists and urging members of their organizations not to take part in the marches. However, the attempts to prevent the demonstration failed. On the contrary, more people applied to take part in it. The committee members stood firmly by their convictions and took part in the march.

Early on the Sunday morning when I went with some friends to Essen to join the column marching from Duesseldorf to our city, I found the columns held up. On orders from the Minister of the Interior (a member of the Christian Democratic Party), the chief of police in Essen refused to allow the marchers to pass through Holle-Platz, the main square, and so the column was obliged to head for Essen-Steele. But if the Christian Democratic leaders and the police had hoped to discourage the marchers they were doomed to be disappointed. Despite the difficulties, and despite the pouring rain and bitter cold, more than a thousand people marched from Essen via Bochum to Dortmund.

The youth carried home-made banners with the inscriptions: "Security Through Disarmament and Mutual Understanding!" "For an Atom-Free Zone in Central Europe!" "Down with Missile Bases!" "Better Co-existence than Non-Existence!" "More Bread for the World Instead of Nuclear Weapons!" Many of the marchers displayed the emblems of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The women carried posters with the words: "Mothers, the safety and the future of your children is at stake!" In one part of the march the procession was led by war invalids on crutches carrying a banner saying: "Now You Know Why We Are Marching!"

On the way to Bochum we had a talk with a 64-year old trade unionist named Becker from Duesseldorf. He told us that the Duesseldorf column had been given an enthusiastic welcome in the working class district of Derendorf. As they passed one of the restaurants a crowd of about a hundred people had rushed out to cheer them. We witnessed similar expressions of sympathy elsewhere along our route.

At Bochum our column joined up with marchers from Recklinghausen, Herne and Wuppertal. A joint meeting was addressed by a dignitary of the Evangelical Church. The Easter marches, said this speaker, were essential in the Federal Republic because it was from here that the danger to the whole of Germany emanated. They were necessary also because the Right-wing leaders of the Social Democratic Party had abandoned their opposition to nuclear arms. "We are marching,"

he said, "because we cannot accept this, because we do not want to die."

After a religious service held for the Christian marchers on the station square and conducted by the Reverend Wandersleb, a member of the board of the German Peace League, the two thousand marchers set out for Dortmund. The procession was headed by the chairman of the "Falcon" youth organization, the chairman of the regional Friends of Nature Society, a number of evangelical ministers, members of production councils, and members of the board of the German Peace League. At the head of the column marched a group of young Christians who had joined us after the religious service. They carried a black banner with the words: "The H-Bomb is Blasphemy."

Shortly after leaving Bochum some members of the youth organization of the Christian Democratic Party began handing out anti-Communist leaflets urging the demonstrators to "continue their march to the missile bases in the Soviet zone." One elderly worker, supported by all the marchers around him, took the young men up on this. "Why should we go any farther?" he said to them. "Where are the missile bases? They're here, and not in the Democratic Republic. Who is the man advocating wiping the Soviet Union off the earth with H-bombs? It is Defence Minister Strauss! And who is it that has proposed complete and controlled disarmament? It is the Soviet Union! The danger, then, comes from the Federal Republic. Here the government is in the hands of the old bosses. Over there the workers and the peasants are in power. Can you believe they want war? Have you ever met a worker or a peasant who wanted war? And lastly, the GDR is calling all the time for lessening world tension. But the Adenauer government keeps turning down those proposals. Go home, boys. Or better, stay and march with us." The leaflet distribution was a flop.

We went over to a trade union official from our town whom we knew to be a Social Democrat and asked him how he explained the participation of so many Social Democrats in the march after the Party leaders had openly opposed it. "I am one of the many members who disagree with this policy," he said. "We are as much opposed to nuclear armaments as ever. We haven't forgotten that in 1958 our Party urged us to combat rearmament and not to rest as long as the threat of atomic death hung over us. For us these decisions were not mere scraps of paper." A metalworker, also a member of the Social Democratic Party, added that he and his workmates, Social Democrats, Communists and Christians alike, stood by the decisions of their trade union congress calling

for all-out resistance to the nuclear armament of West Germany.

We had a chance to interview another marcher before reaching Dortmund. This was an official of the "Falcon" organization who knew us to be members of the Communist Party. "Well, how does it feel to be marching in the same column with Communists?" we asked him. "The Communists and Social Democrats were together in concentration camps too," he replied. "Why must we only keep together when the water is up to our necks?" This led to a brief discussion about the banning of the Communist Party. It was easy to see that the outlawing of the Party was the first step towards abolishing democratic rights in West Germany, to harassing the peace champions. Everyone agreed that in order to create real democratic conditions in West Germany the legal status of the Communist Party must be restored.

At the approaches to Dortmund a group of friends carrying flowers met our column. As we

marched through the city we shouted: "Down with the missile bases!" "H-Bomb, No — Democracy, Yes!"

Despite the rain, thousands had gathered on the square in front of the Trade Union building, where the columns converged, and gave a rousing welcome to the marchers. "We have carried the slogan 'Our Resistance Is Growing'," said the Secretary of the "Falcon" organization from the North Rhineland in his speech. "Yes, it is growing. It is growing because we stand for a good cause, for the best and most noble cause in the world — peace. We shall go back to our homes convinced that you and many others will be with us again the next time we call on you for action."

Our Easter March was a demonstration of the forces which together with our brothers and sisters from the GDR, together with the peace supporters all over the world, can stay the hand of the Bonn militarists and safeguard peace.

Gerhard SCHREINER and Kurt BREUER

Against "Atomizing" Norway

THE scale of the peace movement in Norway today indicates a significant step forward in the struggle of the Norwegian people.

It is not by chance that anti-war sentiment is so strong in our country at the present time. It has been evoked primarily by NATO's insistence on stationing nuclear weapons on our territory. Under pressure of its stronger NATO partners, the Norwegian government has already taken steps that are fraught with grave danger to peace.

In the spring of 1959 the West German militarists obtained the consent of Parliament and the government to quarter their officers in the Northern Europe NATO headquarters in Oslo district. Then, under pressure from their American partner in NATO, the ruling circles agreed to a plan for NATO military bases in the north of our country, and American Honest John rockets have already arrived there. Moreover, General Norstad has announced that atomic weapons will be delivered to Norway by the end of 1963.

The aggressive plans of the U.S. and West German militarists have been unconditionally approved by the reactionary circles of Norway. The yellow press and influential members of the Conservative Party actively support the militarization of the country. Nevertheless the anxiety caused by the concessions made by the Social Democratic government to the arms-drive advocates has been

spreading to growing sections of the public in recent years.

The exposure by the Soviet Union of the U.S. spy flights over Soviet territory and the trial of the spy pilot Powers gave added impetus to the peace efforts of the Norwegian people. When the public learned that air bases in Northern Norway were to be used for their flights and that, had he not been shot down over Sverdlovsk, Powers would have landed at the airfield in Budoie, all sober-minded Norwegians realized what a shameful role had been assigned to their country in the U.S. "brinkmanship" plans.

But instead of drawing the obvious conclusions from the dangerous game in which NATO had embroiled our country, instead of doing his duty to the nation and safeguarding it from any repetition of these provocations, Foreign Minister Lange came out with the slanderous allegation that the USSR was threatening Norway.

The government's attitude, clearly, is at variance not only with the demands of the people but with official decisions adopted in the past.

During the first years after Norway joined NATO, the government was obliged to heed the popular demand for no foreign troops and military bases on Norwegian territory. This implied also that there would be no nuclear weapons in Norway.

This demand was recognized by all the political parties during the 1953 and 1957 general elections. Declarations of a similar nature were made also at the Social Democratic Congress in 1957. In defiance of the Party leadership, the delegates adopted a clear-cut resolution against nuclear weapons, which was considered binding both on the Social Democratic members of parliament and the government.

Recent developments indicate that under pressure from NATO circles the Right-wing leadership of the Labor Party is looking for an excuse to gain a free hand in deciding the question of nuclear bases on our territory.

In this connection Lange, supported by Prime Minister Gerhardsen, last year proposed that parliament and the government be empowered to decide this question at their discretion in the event of a "basic change in the world situation."

At the recent Thirty-Eighth Congress of the Labor Party, its chairman Prime Minister Gerhardsen declared that the attitude of the government and the Party to stationing nuclear weapons in Norway had not changed. He stressed that Norway was a member of NATO and for this reason her military policy should be co-ordinated with the general military plans of that body. A clause was introduced into the Party program making it possible in the event of a "threat to Norway's security" to adopt further measures in the matter of nuclear weapons. This point virtually nullifies the previous wording of the program which stated that the Party was categorically opposed to nuclear weapons being introduced into Norway.

For a long time the Communist Party, numerically small though it is, was the only political party with an alternative to the official foreign and military policy. It resolutely opposed turning Norway into a NATO base, and denounced the arms drive. Only a few pacifist organizations and a small but very active Left-wing Social Democratic opposition took a similar stand.

Today the situation has radically changed. The people, seriously alarmed, are urging the need for drastic measures against the atomic threat. This was the main topic of the debates held recently in the schools and universities, at meetings and in public organizations, in the press and over the air. Everywhere the policy of the government and the Right-wing Social Democrats is being severely criticized.

More and more people are being drawn into the movement against the nuclear danger. In the course of the struggle new leaders, men and women who had formerly taken little or no part in political life, are coming to the fore. Young scientists, members of the Church hierarchy, college professors, writers and artists are joining in the struggle.

On December 6, 1960, a thousand men and women — personalities in science and the arts — submitted a statement to parliament protesting against the plan to bring nuclear weapons to Norway. The signatories included six bishops, 32 pastors, 75 people prominent in the medical world and other branches of science, 44 professors, 115 educationists, 120 trade union officials, and many writers and artists. They appealed to parliament to take the initiative for international agreement to prohibit nuclear weapons.

This statement was supported by thirteen public leaders who voiced a vigorous protest against any attempt by the government to abandon its decision not to allow nuclear weapons in Norway. "We are resolutely opposed to any weakening or change in Norway's unequivocal 'No' on the question of nuclear weapons or nuclear bases on Norwegian territory," said the thirteen.

The members of this group appealed to all Norwegians, to all political and public organizations actively to join in the struggle against nuclear weapons. Their appeal was heard and immediately taken up.

Many trade union, co-operative, youth, women's and student organizations joined the movement. Mass meetings were held all over the country. Local committees of the Movement of Thirteen were set up in most places; thousands of leaflets explaining the movement's aims were distributed. The first issues of the newspaper *No Nuclear Weapons* appeared. On March 19 the new movement held rallies and protest marches in Oslo, Bergen, Trondheim and other towns.

The Committee's proposal to launch a signature campaign to the following petition to parliament and the government met with an eager response:

"We call upon Parliament and the government to stand firm on the positions which have until now determined Norway's policy: no nuclear weapons and no nuclear bases in Norway.

"Norway should use her influence in the United Nations, in NATO and elsewhere to counteract the spread of nuclear weapons to more countries or groups of countries. Use of the nuclear weapons shall be condemned as a violation of international law and of all human standards. Active support of the struggle for total disarmament is essential.

"No atomic bases and no nuclear weapons on Norwegian soil!

"Nuclear arms must not be given to other countries or groups of countries.

"For complete nuclear disarmament!"

Thousands of signatures have been collected.

The reactionaries and their press have unleashed a virulent campaign of slander alleging that the Movement of Thirteen is sponsored by the Communist Party. But these old, threadbare arguments

have little effect. All sober-minded Norwegians are unanimous in saying: "We do not want the H-bomb dropped on us or on any other nation! We want peace and friendship with all nations."

Significantly, opposition to the government's policy of "atomizing" Norway is gaining ground among the rank and file of the Labor Party. A resolution adopted by the Congress of the Labor youth organization called for a definite stand against nuclear weapons in Norway and for reducing the term of military service; the resolution wanted these points reflected in the Party program.

For several years various opposition groups in the Labor Party have been criticizing the foreign policy of the leadership and Norway's participation in NATO. There has been considerable friction of late between the Right-wing leaders and the opposition. Attempts were made to stop criticism of government policy by expelling many of the opposition members.

A break-away group has formed a new party, the Socialist People's Party. The policy statement, announced at its inaugural meeting, declared that the new party stands for a non-militarized Norway, for an active peace policy, Norway's withdrawal from NATO, and against stationing nuclear weapons on Norwegian territory.

The significance of the anti-nuclear movement that has spread throughout the country, its inconsistencies notwithstanding, cannot be overestimated. It is evidence of the deep changes taking place in Norway. For the first time people who

for years have seldom ventured beyond public debates and polemics in the press are engaging in more active forms of struggle — meetings, marches and demonstrations. And this in turn is confirmation of the soundness and validity of the Appeal to the Peoples of the World adopted by the Moscow Meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties.

The Communist Party of Norway is consistently working for peace and disarmament, for peaceful coexistence, for friendship between the nations and for genuine sovereignty.

The tasks facing the Party in the struggle for peace and security were thoroughly discussed at its Tenth Congress in March. The resolution in connection with the general elections scheduled for September outlines the foreign policy which the Party will present to the electorate thus: "A categorical 'No' to nuclear weapons on Norwegian territory; Norway must make her contribution to easing international tension and to peace; Norwegian foreign policy should be based on neutrality and non-participation in blocs; Norway must withdraw from NATO." The Communists are taking an active part also in the struggle of the democratic forces of the Nordic countries to make Northern Europe an atom-free zone.

The Communist Party believes that the tasks of the struggle for the peace and security of Norway coincide with the aims of the popular movement against nuclear arms. And the Communists are doing all in their power to ensure the victory of this movement.

J.L.

National Independence, Democratic Liberties

IN our days the movement of the peoples for liberation has become an irresistible force. Five years ago there were only four independent states in Africa, not counting the racist Union of South Africa; today there are nearly 30. "The entire course of world history in recent decades," the Moscow Statement of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties noted, "shows the need for the complete and final abolition of the colonial system in all its forms and manifestations."

But moribund colonialism, though in retreat, does not consider itself beaten. Though doomed, it clutches at every straw in the hope of prolonging its privileges, frequently stooping to shameless intrigue, bribery, conspiracy and even assassination.

French imperialism, for example, makes no secret of its intention to preserve its privileged position in the diplomatic, economic and military life

of the new African states, whose political independence it has been obliged to recognize. "As far as our country (read: our monopolies) is concerned," the French Prime Minister Debré has declared, "we wish to safeguard its political and strategic interests, and preserve its spiritual influence and economic positions." This explains why the French-African "community" was formed and a number of economic and military agreements concluded undermining the sovereignty of the young states; it explains why the de Gaulle government has been trying so hard to instal its "advisers" in the governments of the new African countries. The people of Africa are beginning to understand the purpose of these moves and are resisting them. True, they might be more successful in this respect if some African leaders would avoid taking steps that correspond neither to the

aspirations nor the genuine interests of the peoples and still less to the cause of national independence.

In the former French Congo many trade union and youth leaders were held under arrest for a long time. Political prisoners are denied legal aid and medical treatment. One of the imprisoned democrats, Jean Jacques Mouaya, died in jail on December 23, 1960, for lack of medical aid. The French government, incidentally, has placed at the service of the Youlou government such specialists in persecution of democrats as the police officer Delarue, the notorious "Charles," who was convicted of collaboration with the Nazis. Leon Mve, secretary-general of the Gabon Trade Union Federation, has been in jail for months without any charge being preferred against him.

The jails in the Cameroons, and especially in the towns of Douala, Yaounda and Nkong-Samba, are filled with political prisoners. Dozens of patriots have been executed. Others, like Mathieu Boutscheu, for instance, died under torture. More than 150 students have been summarily deprived of their scholarships. In April 1961 a military tribunal in Yaounda exiled Abel Khinke and Ernest Ouandi, leaders of the Union of Cameroon Peoples. Six other patriots were sentenced to 20 years hard labor. The government of the Cameroons, headed by Ahidjo, enjoys the support of the French colonialists. At Ahidjo's request, French troops have remained on the territory and have repeatedly taken part in punitive operations against the local population. Two years ago these troops murdered Ruben Um Nyobe, secretary-general of the Union of the Cameroon Peoples. More recently the well-known patriot Felix Moumie was killed.

Many trade unionists and youth leaders, active in the struggle for independence in the Niger Republic, are obliged to work clandestinely or to leave the country.

The government of the Niger has banned the General Confederation of Workers of Black Africa, youth organizations and the Sawaba, the chief opposition party, whose organizing secretary, Bakary Djibo, ex-Prime Minister, was sentenced in absentia to two years' imprisonment.

The government of Dahomey has repeatedly attempted to curtail the right to strike, chiefly that of civil servants. A bill to this effect was drafted, but a 24-hour protest strike against encroachments on democratic liberties forced the government to retreat.

Reprisals have been taken against students. Student meetings have been banned, some scholarships have been withdrawn, and vacation payments for Dahomey students abolished for the 1960-61 term. These measures are in retaliation

to the resolutions adopted by the Fifth Congress of the Students' Union which have not been published and because of this are regarded as "subversive."

Anti-democratic measures against trade unions and educationalists have been taken also by the Senegal government. One month after the 1958 referendum the authorities took action against those who had urged the people to vote for immediate independence. Active trade unionists were removed from their posts and dismissed from their jobs. Teachers were transferred to other work, or dismissed. Some were arrested.

Last summer the Senegal government took advantage of incidents which occurred during the municipal elections in Saint Louis to ban the African Independence Party (PAI), several of whose leaders were subsequently arrested. In March 1961, 15 members of this party were tried in Dakar and sentenced to terms ranging from 10 months to 10 years. Among the patriots held in jail in Saint Louis is the author Majhemout Diop.

In November 1960 the leaders of the General Confederation of Workers of Black Africa were arrested, and the organization dissolved by special decision of the Council of Ministers.

The government of Upper Volta deported the trade union leader Coulibaly on the pretext that he was not born in Upper Volta, although he has lived there for more than 35 years, is married to a local woman and has a big family.

The opposition party, led by Boni, has been banned repeatedly and its leaders placed under constant surveillance. Some of them have been deported. Dozens of champions of genuine independence are held in Gorom-Gorom, a prison camp of sinister repute.

In the Ivory Coast only those trade unions which support the government's policy are permitted to function. Active trade unionists are deported on the slightest pretext. Yao N'Go Blaise, secretary-general of the Ivory Coast section of the General Confederation of the Working People of Black Africa, was deported in 1959.

In Madagascar tyranny reigns supreme. Hundreds of political prisoners, men who fought for genuine independence, are in jail. Attacks on democratic liberties were intensified after the electoral swindle of October 1960 which swung the Social Democratic Party into the saddle.

All manner of restrictions are placed on the opposition press, and students and journalists are forbidden to travel abroad, especially to the socialist countries. As one Malagasy newspaper aptly put it, Madagascar is a "prison without walls."

Such, in brief, is the state of affairs in countries which only recently gained their independence. The Communists cannot but be in full solidarity

with the patriots who are being persecuted for upholding the interests of the peoples and fighting for full independence and unhindered development of their countries. For every measure directed against democracy and freedom is, in the final analysis, a threat to the independence of these countries. And conversely, broadening democracy and abolishing the survivals of colonialism strengthen independence. Many of the best fighters against colonialism—trade union leaders and democrats—are being jailed and persecuted in every way. Some governments treat them no better than did the former colonialists.

The Communists welcome all actions which bring the hour of liberation nearer. They give every assistance to the struggle of the oppressed peoples for their independence. And when independence is won they support every measure taken to consolidate it. Everyone knows that communism, a scientific theory reflecting the laws of social development, declares that these laws lead to the establishment of a society in which all oppression and exploitation will be abolished forever. It shows the means by which this noble ideal can be quickly achieved. Communists are not conspirators, they are the standard-bearers of the struggle against imperialism.

The fables about Communist plots are used by the reactionaries in their efforts to divide the

peoples. After the colonial yoke has been abolished the workers demand an improvement in their social status, while the peasants want to reap the fruits of their labors, and both workers and peasants strive for broad democratic reforms. These legitimate demands, on which the Communists insist, are opposed by the reactionary circles in some African countries, with the backing of the former colonial powers. Such is the truth of the matter, and "Communist intrigue," the favorite argument of the imperialists, is simply a red herring.

The workers and peasants who played a prominent role in winning national liberation naturally expect their demands to be satisfied. They want freedom of speech, press, assembly, freedom to form their own political parties and organizations. Democracy helps to unite all the national forces, multiplies the energy and enthusiasm of the people and, consequently, strengthens national independence. Any infringement of democratic liberties, on the other hand, places national independence in jeopardy.

The Communists, in fighting for democratic liberties, are upholding the highest interests of the new African countries which in the end will win through to genuine national independence.

P.B.

Against the Persecution of Democrats

COMBATING THE TERROR IN IRAQ

THE world-wide protest movement against the terror in Iraq is steadily growing. Progressive public opinion, deeply concerned for the future of the newly independent republic, is rising in defense of the Iraqi democrats.

The government's anti-democratic policy is aimed at strengthening the dictatorship of the national bourgeoisie, at solving the social contradictions in favor of the bourgeoisie, at placating the counter-revolutionary elements with a view to eliminating the danger of conspiracies on their part.

The imperialists, in league with the local reactionaries, would like to destroy Iraqi independence and to restore the old regime. It must be noted that although they have not rejected conspiracy as a means for overthrowing the national government (so far four plots have been uncovered), *they now place the emphasis on encouraging the policy of clamping down on the people and compromising with their enemies* with a view to making the government a tool of the imperialists. Most

unsavory is the role played by the imperialist oil interests, which recently succeeded, together with the reactionaries, in inciting blood-shed between the Turks and Kurds in Kirkuk. And the government, far from punishing the instigators, ordered the arrest of genuine patriots, among them members of the secretariat of the bourgeois Kurd Democratic Party. Several of the party leaders were thrown into jail and others sentenced to exile. The Party's paper was suppressed. Thus the government is persecuting progressive bourgeois elements as well as the Communists.

The ruling national bourgeoisie, seeking to crush the popular movement and to "curb" the Communists and other progressives, is giving more and more freedom of action to the reactionaries. Prime Minister Kassem, for example, has commuted the death sentences and reduced the prison sentences passed by a revolutionary court under the presidency of Colonel Mehdawi on a number of top officials of the old regime—men who took

part in imperialist conspiracies against the republic, who shed the blood of the people and who sold the country to British and U.S. imperialists.

On the other hand, the death sentences passed on the 16 Mosul patriots were allowed to stand. And these juridical murders are but one link in the chain of tyrannical measures effected by the government. Scores of democrats were condemned to death earlier, and at present 48 Communists and other patriots are confined in the death cells. Thousands more are in prison, many of them without trial or investigation. Political prisoners are tortured and denied medical aid. The death of Behnam Murad of Mosul, for example, was due to lack of medical attention, as was the miscarriage suffered by a woman prisoner.

Peaceful demonstrations on national holidays and in defense of elementary civil rights end as a rule in baton charges and arrests. Eight were killed and 26 wounded, including four women, at the end of last year in Baghdad, when the police opened fire on a demonstration held in support of a tobacco workers' strike. Wholesale arrests followed the demonstrations of solidarity with the Congo and Cuba.

Blood was again spilled in Baghdad in late March when fire was opened on a demonstration protesting against tax increases. Emergency measures were introduced and hundreds arrested, including the popular poet Mohamed Mahdi Al-Jawahari, head of the Iraqi writers' and journalists' unions. The authorities, however, were compelled to release him under the pressure of popular protest.

In the past year and a half the government's internal reactionary policy has been accompanied by the assassination of democrats. To date more than 150 people have been murdered, not counting the 90 killed during the Shawaff mutiny in 1959. In Mosul alone, over 40 patriots were murdered in the space of four months.

Terrorist attacks on patriots are made in broad daylight in the towns and villages, and even in the center of Baghdad. In most cases the authorities know about this but nothing is done to apprehend the assassins. Yet the friends and relatives of the victims run the risk of being arrested for attending the funerals. The terror is obviously part of a master plan designed to intimidate the progressive forces, crush the popular movement and to provoke members of the Communist Party and other democratic organizations to clash with the reactionaries, which in turn is used as a pretext for further reprisals.

Political refugees, too, suffer from the persecution, although originally granted asylum by the government in conformity with the Constitution, which extends protection to patriots seeking sanctuary from terror in other, especially Arab, countries. Syrian, Jordanian and Iranian refugees have be-

come victims of the deportation drive. Some have been handed over directly to the reactionary governments in these countries. This was the fate of ten Jordanian patriots. The Syrian patriot Rashied Kurd, similarly handed over to the Syrian authorities, was subsequently killed by Nasser's secret police.

In its drive against democracy the Iraqi government has gone so far as gradually to wipe out the democratic freedoms won by the people. Elections in the trade unions, peasant associations and other democratic organizations, usually rigged and conducted under pressure, are preceded by wholesale arrests and victimization of active members. By the spring of 1960, some 6,000 active trade unionists had been victimized. Moreover, there is direct interference by the security authorities and the police. As a result, reactionaries and conspirators have seized control of the principal unions. In the same way the supporters of feudal land tenure have captured the peasant associations. Many youth, students' and women's organizations have been banned.

Most progressive publications, including the newspaper *Ittehad el Shaab*, have been suppressed. The genuine Communist Party is not allowed to function legally, whereas a hand-picked clique of government agents is allowed to masquerade as a Communist Party. Neither has the ban on the Republican Party been lifted. Those parties that are permitted to function are actually allowed to do so only in Baghdad.

Although over two and a half years have passed since the revolution, and Kassem has repeatedly assured the public that the emergency situation would soon be ended and a general election held, the extraordinary military tribunals continue to operate.

Inside the government itself there have been numerous reshuffles in the course of which the ministers who had taken a resolute stand against the oil monopolies and the feudal elements were ousted. The purge goes on in government institutions as well; top civil and military posts are given to supporters of the old regime and reactionary conspirators.

The narrow class interests of the bourgeoisie prevent it from seeing the grave dangers arising from the present policy, which is opposed not only by the masses, but also by some influential sections of the national bourgeoisie.

The people are offering vigorous resistance to the protests against the persecution of the Mosul patriots. Over 300,000 signed the protests against the persecution of the Mosul patriots. Nearly as many signatures were collected to petitions against banning the *Ittehad el Shaab*.

The workers have taken peaceful strike action on repeated occasions in defense of their civil and trade union rights. Twice the tobacco workers of Baghdad declared a sit-down strike in protest against rigging trade union elections. The government retaliated by ordering electricity and water cut off from the factories and all deliveries of food to the strikers stopped. Public support of the strike, however, foiled the government's action and the strikers were able to carry on.

The same militancy was displayed in the mass demonstrations held in central Baghdad to protest against the shooting of workers who had come out in solidarity with the tobacco strikers.

The cement and vegetable oil workers also struck against arbitrary action by the employers. A protest movement swept the countryside against the election swindles in the peasant association. Baghdad students have held several protest strikes against the arrest of their active leaders. The entire national press is calling for democratic rights, abolition of the extraordinary military tribunals, a general election to the National Assembly and the adoption of a Constitution.

Three hundred artists, professors and other intellectuals have appealed to Kassem to put an end to the death sentences. The Iraqi Peace Committee has called for freedom for all peace supporters now in prison; the leader of the bourgeois National Democratic Party has protested against the death sentences.

The policy of the Communist Party, aimed at upholding the country's independence, a genuinely national-democratic government, and at raising the standard of living, is winning more and more support.

As before, the Communist Party calls for a *broad national front of all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal forces, including the national bourgeoisie*. It supports all progressive measures of the government, while denouncing the reactionary aspects of government policy, defends the vital interests of the people and heads their struggle for democracy, economic independence, agrarian reform, closer relations between Iraq and the socialist countries, and the achievement of the aims of the July revolution.

April 1961

Sami MAHMUD

NAZI PRISON EXPERTS IN JORDAN

PERSECUTION of Communists and other progressives and patriots by King Hussein and his clique has assumed unprecedented proportions. The terror has been intensified since the Jordanian, United Arab Republic and Iraqi governments got together at the last Arab League Council session in Baghdad. Evidently the three governments found common ground in the joint persecution of democrats.

Literally every day hundreds are thrown into prison and concentration camps for no reason whatever and subjected to torture. Feeling that its own executioners were not skilful enough, the government has invited experts from the United States, Britain and West Germany and has turned over the police, security agencies and the army to these foreign agents who are now intensifying the terror against progressives.

Foreign experts, including German fascists, have appeared in the prisons as well. In the Amman prison, for example, they are "trying out" new methods of torture in "improved" cells specially built for the purpose.

The Jordanian authorities and their foreign "advisers" stop at nothing to break the spirit of democrats and extract "confessions" from them

that could be used to arrest others and discredit the champions of Jordanian independence and freedom. For this purpose 18 patriots were transferred from the Al-Jafr concentration camp to the Amman prison last December and subjected to new methods of torture under the supervision of foreign experts.

In the middle of February another 18 were brought in chains from Al-Jafr to Amman. The group included Dr. Jaqub Zeyadin, Fayiz al-Rusan, Issa Madanat, Khaldun Abdulhaq, Talaat Harb, Amal Naffa, Ibrahim Bakir, Arabi Awad, Khalil al-Salim, Sulaiman Najjab, Jourious Qawas, Mohammed Laswi, Rufael Zeyadin, Fayiz Baggali, Munir Asal and Bashir al-Barghuthi. A Nazi "expert" took charge and they were locked up in a dark, damp cellar with nothing but the bare floor to sleep on. Relatives are not allowed to see them or send in food or medicine. No medical care is given.

The torture, however, has not broken the will of the patriots. On the contrary, it has aroused indignation among the people and has spurred on the popular struggle for the release of the political prisoners and the restoration of democratic liberties.

In a recent appeal entitled "Hands Off the Freedom Fighters," the Communist Party points out that the imperialists and their agents are driven to frenzy by the staunchness of the hundreds of arrested Communists and other democrats. Torture, the appeal states, has not deprived the imprisoned democrats of their national dignity or forced them to betray their people and country. By their firmness they have won the esteem of the entire people.

The savagery of the reactionaries is incapable

of breaking the spirit of the courageous fighters who, remaining true to the cause of national liberation in spite of their ordeal, are upholding the honor of the nation.

The appeal calls upon the people to protest against the crimes committed against patriots, to demand better treatment and freedom for all political prisoners and the restoration of democratic liberties.

Salim KHALIL

STOP THE PERSECUTION OF PEACE SUPPORTERS!

THE World Peace Council at its recent sessions in Delhi took up the persecution of peace supporters in a number of countries, including the Congo, Greece, Jordan, Kenya, Pakistan, Portugal, South Africa, South Viet Nam, Spain, United Arab Republic, West Germany, the Portuguese and Spanish colonies, Iran, France and countries of the French Union. A resolution adopted on the question points out that the object of the hounding, imprisonment and sometimes murder of thousands of active fighters for peace, national liberation and independence is to retard or paralyze the movement for these goals.

The resolution mentions the inspiring examples of such courageous fighters as Jomo Kenyatta,

Farajallah Helou and Manolis Glezos, and of political prisoners in Franco Spain, many of whom have been in prison for more than twenty years. They are a model for thousands of others who are standing firm in the face of incredible ordeals.

The Council urges all progressive organizations and peace-loving peoples to conduct a broad campaign for the immediate cessation of the persecution of peace supporters and their release from prison.

It also decided to examine the expediency of establishing an International Committee in Defense of Fighters for Peace, National Liberation and Independence.

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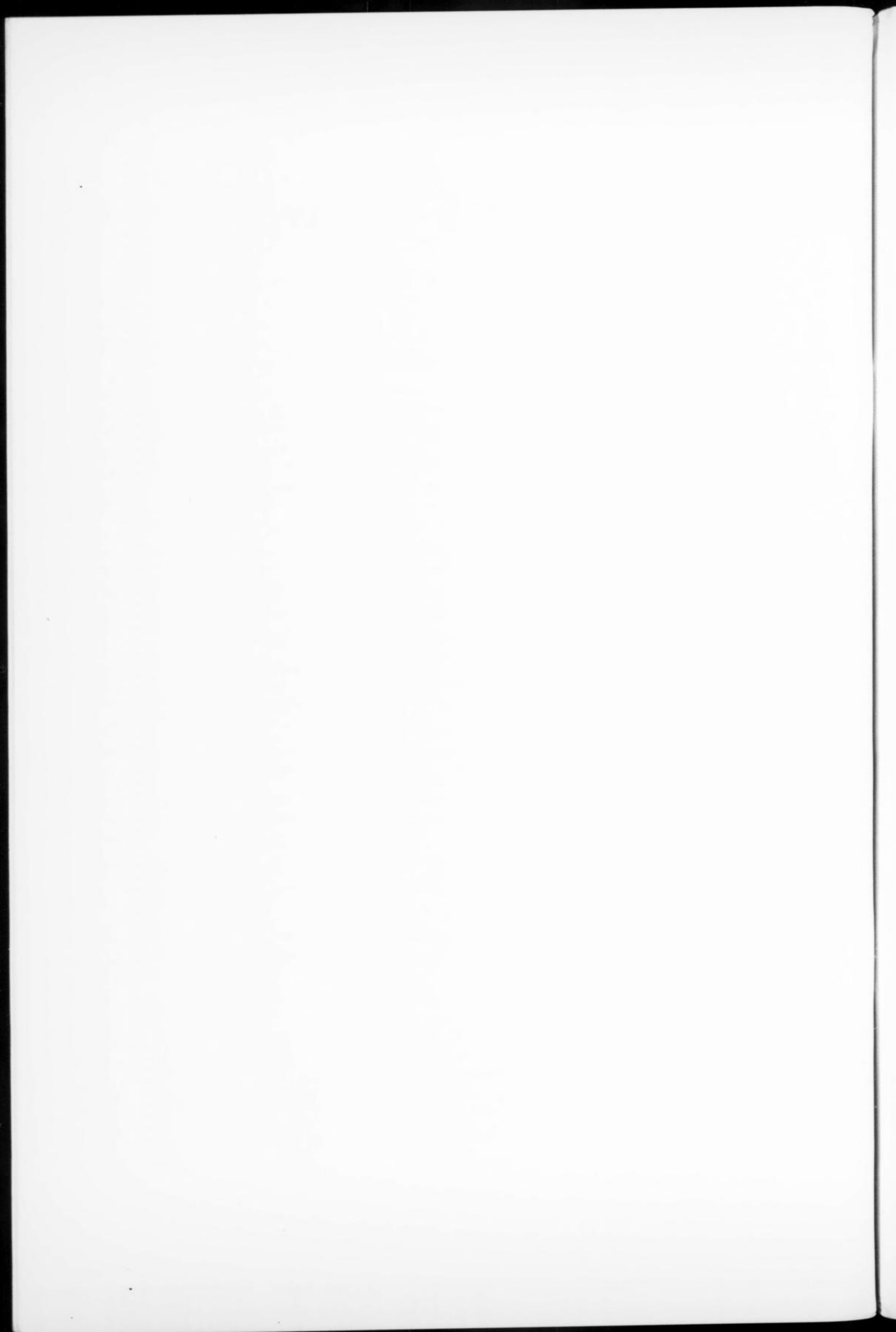
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